

MUSEOEUROPE

SREČANJA DVEH SVETOV

THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

REGIONAL MUSEUM MARIBOR



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MUZEJ MARIBOR
POKRAJINSKI

The collected volume of the symposium 15. and 16. 10. 2015

Zbirka / Collection MUSEOEUROPE 2
Srečanja dveh svetov / THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

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SREČANJA DVEH SVETOV / THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 15. in 16. 10. 2015 /
The collected volume of the symposium 15. and 16. 10. 2015

Izdal: Pokrajinski muzej Maribor / Publisher: Regional Museum Maribor
Zanj / By: Mirjana Koren, direktorica / director

Glavna urednica / Editor - in - Chief: dr. Valentina Bevc Varl

Recenzenti / Reviewers: dr. Andrej Hozjan, dr. Leopold Toifl, dr. Mateja Kos, dr. Marjeta Ciglencečki,
dr. Maja Lozar Štamcar, dr. Drago Kunej, Mirko Ramovš

Prevod in lektoriranje besedil v angleškem jeziku / English Translation and copy editing: Robert Heričko, s. p.

Lektoriranje povzetkov v slovenskem jeziku / Copy editing of the Slovene summaries:
mag. Darja Gabrovšek Homšak

Oblikovanje / Design: Dejan Štampar

Maribor, 2015

Publikacija je dostopna na / The publication is available at: <http://www.museoeurope.si>

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

930.85(4)"14/18"(082)(0.034.2)
930.85(560)"14/18"(082)(0.034.2)

SREČANJA dveh svetov [Elektronski vir] = The meeting of two worlds : the collected volume of the symposium 15. and 16. 10. 2015 / [glavna urednica Valentina Bevc Varl ; prevod besedil v angleškem jeziku Robert Heričko, s. p.]. - El. knjiga. - Maribor : Pokrajinski muzej = Regional Museum, 2015. - (Zbirka Museoeurope ; 2)

ISBN 978-961-93424-4-2 (pdf)
1. Vzp. stv. nasl. 2. Bevc Varl, Valentina
283324672

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MUSEOEUROPE 2015

MIRJANA KOREN, Director of the Regional Museum Maribor

It is with great joy that I can introduce you to the collective volume of papers which have been presented at the international Symposium MUSEOEUROPE 2015. The project MUSEOEUROPE is based on the concept of mobility of cultural heritage as well as its keepers, which enables the juxtaposition of different cultural and social spaces and concepts. Within the scope of the project, which had been conceived by the Regional Museum Maribor in the year 2012, we were able to collaborate with a number of institutions, like for example the Pontifical Swiss Guards from Rome, The Universalmuseum Joanneum from Graz, the Zinnfigurenwelt - a museum from Katzelsdorf near Wienerneustad, the National Museum in Warsaw, and the National Museum of the Romanian Peasant from Bucharest.

This year, we have joined forces with three institutions from the city of Sarajevo: the Nacionalni muzej Bosne i Hercegovine (National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina), the Muzej Sarajeva (Sarajevo Museum), and the Bošnjački institut – fundacija Adila Zulfikarpašića (Bosniak Institute – Foundation Adil Zulfikarpašić). The temporary exhibition THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS with its presented museum material instigated the contemplation regarding those things which unify the present-day Catholic and Islamic worlds as well as those which divide them. We have confronted the content of the ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall with the substance of the exhibition which was set up by the colleagues from Sarajevo in the same space. The central field of the ceiling in the Knights' Hall was painted with brutal battle scenes between the Austro-Hungarian soldiers and the Ottoman army which reflect the general external perception of the Ottomans around the year 1680. With an exceptionally subtle choice of concomitant objects of utility, the authors of the exhibition have managed to shift our viewpoint and have shown us the concrete view from the inside. The objects testify about the high knowledge level of craftsmen and aesthetical requirements which were to be met by the artisans in Sarajevo in the times of the Ottoman Empire, with which they have elevated the culture of living of the population.

The ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall as well as the exhibition served as an excellent starting point for numerous interpretations of the central topic of this year's symposium. Fourteen lecturers, coming from Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, and Slovenia have taken up the invitation to participate in our symposium. The symposium was prepared in the times when Slovenia is faced with a new form of social life, with refugees from Syria who cross Slovenia on their way to the promised lands of Western Europe. We witnessed the emergence of numerous new questions, but most of all we can sense the fear of people which perhaps resembles the fear that was felt by the commissioner of the ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall more than three hundred years ago. If we are to believe the ancient saying that just a little good can destroy a lot of evil, there is no doubt that nowadays we are direly in need of our symposium dealing with the topic THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS.

The present collective volume of the papers; the reading of which I warmly recommend, was conscientiously edited by the curator of the Regional Museum Maribor, Dr Valentina Bevc Varl with the help of international reviewers.

THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

Valentina Bevc Varl

This year the conceptual starting point for the project MUSEOEUROPE 2015 was found in the heritage of fine arts which is to be found in the castle building, the home of the Regional Museum Maribor. The construction of the castle dates back to the 15th century when the administrative court of the sovereign prince had been constructed. Later, the court was connected with the city fortification system into a single building. This building was later turned into a residential castle, to which the Loretto chapel and the breathtaking baroque Knights' Hall and staircase were added. The Knights' Hall was built by the earls Khisl. Around the year 1680, its mirror ceiling with its plastered stucco work was decorated by Alessandro Sereni and his assistants, while the allegories of the four seasons, the Roman gods Jupiter and Mars, and the two scenes of the battles with the Ottomans were made by the painter Lorenzo Lauriga. The scenes from the two smaller medallions probably show Odysseus' return to Ithaca. In the year 1763, the painter Josef Mihael Göbler from Graz painted the central ceiling fresco showing a scene of a battle with the Ottomans.

The iconographical motif of the battle with the Ottomans, which is depicted in three scenes on the ceiling of the Knights' Hall, was determined as the starting point for a wider approach to the reciprocal influence of two great cultures of the past – the Western culture; predominantly Catholic and the Eastern culture; predominantly Islamic and regionally limited to the former Ottoman Empire. The incursions of the Ottoman army into our lands and this part of Europe in the time between the 15th and 17th century have had a great impact on the life of the people. The consequences of these incursions have reflected themselves in architecture, fine arts, the way of life, etc.

The questions which concerned themselves with the way in which the Western and Eastern cultures have enriched each other and where they have diverged throughout history were recognised as a good challenge for the preparation of professional and scientific papers for the symposium. Fourteen authors, coming from Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, and Turkey have taken up the invitation to participate in our symposium. Their papers were presented according to the sets of topics which were predefined within the guidelines that were included in the call for papers. The four sets of topics were the following: historical topics, topics concerned with the field of fine arts, topics relating to applied arts, and topics dealing with the wider context of cultural history and present age.

A special word of thanks goes to the group of reviewers, who were generously involved in helping to create the collective volume *The Meeting of two Worlds*: Dr Andrej Hozjan, from the University of Maribor, Dr Leopold Toifl from the Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz, Dr Mateja Kos, from the National Museum of Slovenia, Dr Marjeta Ciglencečki, from the University of Maribor, Dr Maja Lozar Štamcar, from the National Museum of Slovenia, Dr Drago Kunej, from the Institute for Ethnomusicology, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and Mr. Mirko Ramovš, retired associate, from the Institute for Ethnomusicology, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

The papers gathered in the collective volume of the Museoeurope symposium are organised in the same order in which they were presented at the symposium.

Dr Andrej Hozjan from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Maribor discussed the concepts of the Ottoman threat on the territories of Northeastern Slovenia. Dr Leopold Toifl from the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz aimed to review the main features of the Styrian defence. The fortification of the cities in the territory of Styria which had developed because of the constant Ottoman threat in the middle of the 16th century was presented by Mag Beatrix Vreča from the Museum im Zeughaus in Bad Radkersburg. In her paper, particular emphasis was given to the Italian architect Domenico dell Allio and the fortifications in the town of Bad Radkersburg. Mag Marina Gradišnik from the Museum of Ribnica spoke about the impact of the Ottoman incursions on the life of the inhabitants of Ribnica. Ivan Koridš from the Kočevje Regional Museum talked

about the Battle of Sisak and the coat of Hassan Pasha which is preserved by the aforementioned museum. Dr Dragan Potočnik from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Maribor concluded the set of topics, which mainly focused on Ottoman incursions and their consequences, with his paper on the contributions of the Islamic civilisation to the world treasury of art and science.

The paper titled Laurel or Cypresses. Ottoman Battles on the Ceiling of the Maribor Castle Hall was the only contribution which was presented at the symposium and was concerned with the field of fine arts. It was written by Dr Polona Vidmar from the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Maribor. Vidmar analysed the ceiling paintings that are to be found in the Knights' Hall of the castle and served as the conceptual starting point of this year's project Museouerope 2015. The author revised the hitherto published attempts of iconographic interpretation of the paintings concerned as well as the reasons for their selection. In her own scientific in-depth study, Vidmar presented her interpretation of the addressed topic and fundamentally complemented our existing knowledge about the ceiling paintings of the Knights' Hall in the Maribor castle.

The field of applied arts was especially well represented with a significant number of papers. Marica Popić-Filipović from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina talked about those objects of utility which reveal elements of Oriental culture and are preserved in the collections of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Museum, and the Bosniak Institute in the city of Sarajevo. The objects concerned were displayed at the exhibition in the Knights' Hall of the castle at the time of the symposium. In her paper, Amina Rizvanbegović Džuvic from the Bosniak Institute – Foundation Adil Zulfikarpašić, devoted her attention to writing and literary creation in Oriental languages in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the era of Ottoman rule. The lecturer from Turkey, Candan Sezgin from the Turkish Grand National Assembly, The National Palaces in Istanbul, presented a fascinating paper which dealt with the technological exchange between industrial countries and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th and the early 20th century. Mag Darko Knez from the National Museum of Slovenia tackled the appealing topic titled The Scent of Coffee. His lecture was rounded off with a tasting of coffee and traditional Turkish sweets which were prepared by the representatives of the Maribor branch of the Islamic community of Slovenia. The material which is being preserved by the Regional Museum Maribor was presented by Mirjana Koren and Dr Valentina Bevc Varl in their papers titled The Influence of the Water Pipe on the Shape of the Smoking Stands of the Late 19th Century and Islamic- and Pohorje Glass.

The last paper to be presented at the symposium was written by Dr Rebeka Kunej from the Institute of Ethnomusicology in Ljubljana and bore the title The Reflections of the Juxtaposition of Two Cultures in the Slovene Dance Tradition. The paper bound the entire content of the symposium with the presence since the presented dance tradition revealed the influences of the past, which cannot be exactly defined *prima facie* but still reflect the mutual affinity of the two rich cultures discussed.

If, at the end, we are to return to the conceptual starting point of the project Museoeurope 2015, thus the ceiling paintings depicting battles with the Ottoman army which are to be found in the Knights' Hall of the castle, we can conclude without any doubt that the papers represented at the symposium contributed a great deal to the knowledge that the mutual awareness of two great cultures is not merely reflected in the military engagements as seen in the frescoes in the hall of the castle. On the contrary, we come to realise that, throughout history, these two cultures have intertwined and also enriched each other. The project Museoeurope wishes to present the native cultural heritage in the context of the wider European space. The current collective volume fulfils this paramount task.

THE OTTOMAN THREAT ON THE TERRITORIES OF NORTH-EASTERN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The paper will present the concepts of the Ottoman threat on the territories of Styrian lands and of the Slovenian border lands on the left bank of the river Mura (Prekmurje region). In the aforementioned lands the Ottoman presence is known ever since the 15th century and until the 17th century. In regard to the intensity and intentions of their incursions, one must differentiate between at least two basic forms:

- incursions of smaller independent groups (engaging up to 400–500 horsemen) of a sporadic character; with the main and exclusive intent being the plundering of everything there was to plunder; which had lasted up to one month;
- more extensive and longer lasting military campaigns of greater brigade groups (engaging up to 15,000–20,000 men) under the supreme command of an Ottoman commander; with the intention of a systematic weakening of a larger territory, which could then be conquered by a single finishing blow and consequently quickly integrated into the frame of the Ottoman Empire.

KEY WORDS

Styria, Prekmurje Region, Ottoman incursions, Ottoman Empire

INTRODUCTION

In the time from the middle of the 15th until the late 17th century, the ethnically Slovene territory had experienced the atrocities of Ottoman incursions. But, we have seen only one single transition of the whole Ottoman army. The territory represented an obstacle as well as a defence line against the potential Ottoman foray into Central Europe or the Italian peninsula. If we are to regard the hitherto events in the territories of central- and northern parts of the Balkans, it is most likely that the conquest and complete submission of the ethnically Slovene territory had been the objective of these incursions. How did these men even manage to come this far?

THE OTTOMAN TURKS AND THEIR INCURSIONS INTO THE BALKAN PENINSULA

Ever since the Late Antiquity, the European continent experienced incursions of non-European tribes or nations, which generally came from the territories of Central- or Southwest Asia. After the conquest of a larger territory, the majority of the invaders also permanently settled in that territory or, on the contrary, quickly vanished from the political history of Europe. Later, the same fate awaited the Huns and their chronologically very distant »successors« Avars, as well as many other ethnic groups, who accompanied them. But it came to pass, that the Bulgarians conquered and subordinated one part of Southeast Europe, the territory of today's Bulgaria, and stayed there as well. This happened in the era when the Avars were on the peak of their power. Then the Hungarians came to Carpathian Basin where they also took up residence. In the middle of the 11th century, the first of many stronger groups stemming from the Turkish ethnic complex - the Seljuq Turks - arose at the eastern border of Asia Minor; opening the doors for many other hitherto nameless Turkish tribes to the Anatolian peninsula.¹

The Ottoman Turks, or with one word Ottomans, created a more or less strong principality in the territory of Inner Anatolia until they entered the stage in the Balkans in the 14th century. The territory of their state was a wider area which extended from today's Ankara and Bursa to the shores of the Marmara Sea. Sultan Orhan of the Ottomans (1326–1362) was the first to start conquering the Balkans. Orhan was the successor of the legendary founder of the aforementioned state, Osman Gazi ben Ertuğrul (1258–1326), after whom the dy-

¹ WAGNER, H. 1972, pp. 13–15; SIMONITI, V. 1990, p. 6.

nasty got its name. In the year 1346, Orhan allied himself with one of the potential candidates to accede to the throne of the Byzantine Empire and married his daughter. The marriage enabled the Ottomans to engage more seriously in the domestic political conflicts concerning the then already decaying Byzantine Empire, as well as the battles fought in Thrace. It is important to emphasise that the Byzantine men of note are meritorious for the fact that the Ottomans were directed towards European soil, since they have hired them over decades as auxiliaries in order to settle their accounts. In the year 1352, the Ottomans obeyed Orhan's order and conquered the small fortress of *Cimpe* on the north shore of the Dardanelles, which represents the first conquest of the Ottoman Turks in Europe. It was two years later, in the month of May, when they conquered the coastal fortress of Gallipoli, which had been larger and of greater importance. Additional reinforcements from Anatolia were brought in order to assist the soldiers who were in situ.²

The reciprocal relations between the states and politics in the central territory of the Balkans of that time have suited the Ottomans almost perfectly. That is why they immediately continued with their intensive conquests. Their tactic was childishly simple and efficient: the phase of numerous quickly executed incursions, which completely paralysed the attacked territory, was followed by the actual conquest that was carried out with a single blow of a larger military group. In the year 1408, during the reign of Sultan Mehmed I Çelebi (1389–1421), just a half century after the fall of the mentioned fortresses and more than 1500 kilometres to the northwest, the first known incursion into the Slovene territory - into Bela krajina - occurred. The most fatal events, which have enabled the beginning of the incursions, were the extinction of the Counts of Celje in the year 1456, and the Ottoman conquest of Central Bosnia seven years later.

The paper will present the concepts (solely their basic features) of the Ottoman threat on the space of eastern and north-eastern parts of Slovene territory, thus the territory of Styrian lands and of the Slovenian border lands on the left bank of the river Mura (Prekmurje region). The Ottoman presence in the aforementioned lands is known ever since the 15th century and until the 17th century.³ In regard to the intensity and intentions of Ottoman incursions, one must differentiate between at least two basic forms:

- Incursions of a sporadic character; with the exclusive intent of plundering everything there was to plunder. The incursions were carried out by smaller independent cavalry groups – *martolos* and *akıncı* (engaging up to 400–500 horsemen) – that moved very quickly within a space of a larger dimension; obviously without a predefined path. Such incursions never lasted more than a month.
- Longer lasting incursions that were carried out by greater brigade groups (engaging up to 15,000–20,000 men) under the supreme command of an Ottoman commander. The troops acted in accordance to a pre-



Image 1: Akıncı, Ottoman cavalry soldier, Ottoman-Turkish work, 16th century (source: Wikimedia)

Image 2: Akıncı, Christian work, 16th century (source: Wikimedia)

² SIMONITI, V. 1990, p. 6, 8.

³ The latest paper by Leopold Toifl on Ottoman incursions into the territory of Styrian lands serves as the basis for this review: Leopold Toifl, *Turški vpadi / The Turkish raids*, in: TOIFL 2012, pp. 19–25.

emptive plan. They stormed into the territory as a unity and used established routes. When they reached a certain point, they divided into several groups which then plundered within a narrow frame. After a given period, the groups regathered at the starting point and headed back home with an enormous loot. The intention of such campaigns was the systematic weakening of a larger territory, which could then be conquered by a single finishing blow and consequently quickly integrated into the frame of the Ottoman Empire. During the aforementioned campaigns, units of Sipahi cavalry have often joined the groups of soldiers.

The martolos and akinci were armed with a spear, sabre, knife, horseman's pick or a morning star. They also used firearms during attacks that they carried out in the first half of the 16th century. Footmen stemmed from those social classes that could not afford to buy a horse, so naturally they could not afford the purchase of weapons either. That is why their armament had been very simple. They even used hand tools which were altered into weapons. These soldiers tried to get their hands on real weapons during actual plundering or by seizing weapons from defeated enemies.⁴

15TH CENTURY

The incursions into the delineated territory, which have taken place in the course of the 15th century, have actually started in the second half of the century concerned; that is also the time when the incursions were most intensive. This period is marked by the reign of our territorial duke and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415–1493). The incursions started in the 1470s and did not subside before the peace agreement between King Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490) of Hungary and the Ottomans had been signed shortly before the end of the year 1483. The Ottomans usually invaded the territory concerned coming from the territories of Slavonia, Croatia or over the western boarder of Hungary using natural pathways along the rivers Sava, Drava and Mura, with which they have already been familiar (see Map).



Map: The main directions of Ottoman incursions into the ethnically Slovene territory in the course of the 15th and 16th century (source: Wikimedia)

⁴ VOJE, I. 1996, pp. 6–7.

Larger groups typically separated from the main body of the Ottoman army in the territory of Carniola or even Carinthia. From there they then continued their invasions into individual areas reaching all up to the more highly situated localities and valleys that belonged to the territories of Upper Styria. According to the number and variety of consequences, one cannot compare these incursions with those that were to follow at a later time, since these have been most numerous by far. Let us take a look at the worst of them:

- The 1470s and 1480s: almost annual incursions which occurred during the years 1471 and 1479 had only affected the territories of Lower Styria, but were nonetheless thoroughly carried out. Thousands of horsemen simultaneously stormed into the mentioned area, like for example the invasion of 15,000–20,000 horsemen lead by the Bosnian Beylerbey Ishak Pasha (+ 1497) in the year 1471, or the invasion of 12,000 men which followed a year after. It was in the year 1473, when the Ottoman incursions had extended over all three lands - Styria, Carniola and Carinthia - for the first time. Six years later, in 1479, our territory witnessed mass Ottoman incursions. Until then, the incursion into the territory of Lower Styria, which had been carried out in the summer, had been by far the most extensive in regard to the number of aggressors, since it is believed that there were around 30,000 Ottomans, who came from Bosnia and Croatia; that is, if we are to believe very unreliable estimates. The aggressors plundered in the territory that extends from Krško polje and the central part of the Savinja Valley towards the east, and all until the city of Ptuj and market town of Ljutomer. It is most likely that this army force crossed the river Mura and also plundered the west of Hungary. According to unconfirmed sources, it was only some months prior when the aggressors, which came from the direction of Bosnia, also invaded Carniola. In fall of the same year, a smaller division plundered the territory that is located between the city of Brežice and the market town of Pilštanj once again. Incursions from the direction of Carinthia into Styrian territory occurred repeatedly as well, like for example in the year 1478. This has taken place at the end of the renowned Carinthian peasant revolt, which was finally quelled by no other than the Ottomans. After that, the aggressors relentlessly plundered the areas around the city of Celje and market town of Konjice.⁵
- The year 1480 marks the worst Ottoman incursion into our lands of all times; whereby Styria being the territory which had been hit hardest. The incursion had directed with great intensity towards the territory of Upper Styria, whereby the wider territory around the city of Graz had been the one to suffer the most. This was not the first incursion into Upper Styria, but it was the worst which this territory experienced in the course of the century concerned. A year prior (1479), two Ottoman armies attacked territories which had been under Hungarian rule. In the course of the aforementioned »summer-attack«, the horsemen of the Ottoman army also quickly devastated the westernmost parts of Hungary, whereas, in October, the second much more numerous army experienced a grave defeat in Transylvania. These were the times when Sultan Mehmed II (1432–1481), best known as Mehmed the Conqueror, had been in power. The consequence of the Hungarian victory over the Ottomans was the Hungarian raid into the region of Wallachia, which followed the next year, where they defeated the Ottoman army once again and even invaded their territory over the river Danube. The attack unleashed strong reactions among the Turks. So they revenged the incursion into their territory.

The Bosnian commanders and beys from surrounding territories gathered an army and marched towards Slovenian lands. They were aware of the fact that the border crossings into Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were heavily guarded. That is why they decided to take a different path. The main body of the army took the path over Styria and Carinthia, while solely a small part had chosen the path over Carniola and reached the city of Klagenfurt. The new path, which had been chosen by the smaller part of the army, surprised the defenders and for that reason the robbers were yet again victorious. Styria was the land that suffered the most, but that does not mean that the other lands were spared. In the middle of the summer in the year 1480, when the Ottomans and around 9,000–10,000 of their prisoners transited from Carinthia, passing the cities of Slovenj Gradec and Celje, to Croatia, not a single sole tried to hinder them; not even to mention that no one dared to attack them. The atrocities and suffering that the local population experienced in that year were additionally exacerbated by the Hungarian attack on the east of Styria, which had been the consequence of the declaration of war by King Matthias to the Emperor.⁶

⁵ VOJE, I. 1996, pp. 28–29; SIMONITI, V. 1990, pp. 73–74; TOIFL, L., LEITGEB, H. 1991, pp. 5–8.

⁶ cf.: VOJE, I. 1996, pp. 28–29; SIMONITI, V. 1990, pp. 73–74; TOIFL, L., LEITGEB, H. 1991, pp. 8–10; POSCH, F. 1972, pp. 61–62.

A similar incursion also occurred in the time between August and October in the year 1483. The Ottomans, coming from Carniola, invaded the south of Styria up to the river Drava. Then they turned around and once again pillaged the territory which extended all the way to the city of Celje. It was not before they turned around and directed themselves towards Croatia and the north of Bosnia that they sustained a great defeat at the river Una. After that, we enter the era of truce between the new Sultan Bayezid II (1447–1512) and Corvinus. This era marks the end of the most brutal Ottoman campaigns into Styria, however it does not mean that campaigns in general had come to an end.

The first known stronger incursion into the Prekmurje region, which extended over a wide area directly along the river Mura, occurred in the already mentioned year 1479. The incursion was the continuation of the incursion into the territory of Lower Styria. In August, the Ottomans also attacked the territories of the boarder counties Zala and Vas after they crossed the river Mura. The interesting thing about this incursion is the fact that, until now, it was completely overlooked by the Slovene specialist literature or noted as an eventual incursion into the territory between the aforementioned loci Ljutomer and Ptuj.⁷

In the times of these worst incursions Sipahi cavalry corps from Bosnia and neighbouring Sanjaks also invaded the aforementioned territories. The Sipahi cavalry, like many other, had been composed of mainly native Bosnian inhabitants. That is why the Slavic ethnic element from the Balkans had predominated among the incursion troops. Initially, the Christians represented the majority of the troops. But with the Islamisation of Bosnia the aggressors of Muslim religious confession had gained prevalence.

Only a few years after the death of King Corvinus, the incursions of the Ottomans continued. In the year 1493, the army, which had been under the command of Hadım Yakup Pasha, came to Slovenia once again. The army also invaded the territory of Lower Styria, where it plundered in the territory between the city of Celje and the area of Ptuj Field. On their way home, the army celebrated the victory over the Croatian nobles' army in the Battle of Krbava Field near the settlement of Udbina. The Croatian army did not want to wait for the merging with the Styrian troops that were already on their way and decided to attack the Ottoman convoy, hence experienced a catastrophe. One incursion had followed the year after, but then they stopped for a longer time period. In the course of the next decades, the Ottoman force redirected its focus on other territories; mainly the Middle East and North Africa.⁸

16TH CENTURY

The main characteristic which is to be ascribed to the Ottoman threat to the territory concerned in the course of the 16th century is the decline of attacks. This fact is quite surprising, since the northern border of Ottoman Empire, which had been extended by the conquests of Croatian territories, constantly advanced towards our lands. With the appearance of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1494–1566) a new era of Ottoman attacks, which were mainly directed towards the territories of Carniola, had taken place. But, Styria did not miss out on Ottoman incursions as well. The aforementioned incursions into Styria had mainly taken place during the years 1511 and 1540. That is why the intensity of these incursions did not differ from those which have occurred in the previous century; some of them were even greater.

There were two occasions when Styria was forced to face a vast Ottoman army. Both confrontations occurred during the two attempts to conquer Vienna made by Suleiman. The first attempt was made in the year 1529 after the siege of the imperial city, but then only the outermost eastern edge of the land had been threatened. That is exactly why three years later things were different. In late summer, in the year 1532, the Ottoman army, personally lead by the Sultan, was returning from the second unsuccessful siege of Vienna over the eastern part of Styria, and reached Drava Valley and the city of Maribor. In the middle of September, the army attacked the city. Due to the unexpected feisty resistance of the citizens and the completely shattered morale of the army, the Sultan rather promptly ended the siege, ordered the army to cross the river over a quickly constructed temporary pontoon, and moved his army towards the south. However, the army still

⁷ SIMONITI, V. 1990, pp. 73–74; SIMONITI, V. 1997, pp. 95–97; VOJE, I. 1996, p. 28; MAGYARORSZÁG TÖRTÉNETI KRONOLÓGIÁJA, 1989, p. 303: augusztus (August).

⁸ POSCH, F. 1972, pp. 62–63.



Image 3: The Ottoman army besieges a Christian city, Ottoman-Turkish work, 16th century (source: Wikimedia)

continued to thoroughly plunder the wider surroundings. That is why the lands, like for example Drava Field, remained completely empty throughout the whole next decade.⁹ A significant source originating from the 16th century regarding these happenings was discovered some years ago – a writing of the city of Maribor to the Archduke Ernest of Austria (1553–1595), which explicitly mentions 13 victims of this siege and an even greater number of inhabitants from the nearest surroundings who were taken into slavery.¹⁰

After the early 60s - that is the time when the incursion into the surroundings of Ljutomer had been recorded - the incursions into the Styrian territory became a very rare exception. However, the Ottomans did appear only a few kilometres from the land border until the end of the century concerned, but did not manage to cross it. Meanwhile, Prekmurje started to witness the beginning of Ottoman incursion. Immediately after the Battle of Mohács in the year 1526, an Ottoman troop, which had been plundering the west of Hungary, came like a bolt from the blue into the eastern territory of Goričko and then quickly pulled back. After this attack, the Ottomans did not invade these lands until the 80s of the century concerned. The 80s mark the time when the Ottomans already gained mastery over the Hungarian space on the left bank of the river Drava, as well as the eastern shores of the Balaton Lake. In the future, the Ottomans invaded the space of Prekmurje from both aforementioned directions.¹¹

17TH CENTURY

A century after the incursion into the surroundings of Ljutomer, the Ottomans appeared at the outermost eastern border of the land in front of the village Zelting / Žetinci in Radkersburg Corner / Radgonski kot near the city of Radkersburg. This raid in 1655 was the last time that the Ottomans appeared within the Styrian land. The Ottoman conquest of the fortress of Nagykanizsa that is located 45 kilometres to the south from the market town of Lower Lendava marks the era when the Ottoman occasional- and constant pressure on the space of Prekmurje had begun. Since the beginning of the century, the worst incursions have followed

⁹ SIMONITI, V. 1990, pp. 134–136; VOJE, I. 1996, pp. 34–35; POSCH, F. 1972, pp. 23–24.

¹⁰ TOIFL, L., LEITGEB, H. 1991, pp. 12–15; OMAN, Ž. 2010, p. 121.

¹¹ SIMONITI, V. 1997, pp. 97–99.

alternately and came from the southeast and, in the same haste, from the east, from the wider surroundings of Balaton Lake. The worst plundering followed in the time from the 20s and until the 40s, and then again in the 60s and early 80s. All of the eight local market towns as well as dozens of villages located in the area concerned went up in flames. Like everywhere else, the aggressors systematically chased the local inhabitants, tied them up and formed convoys, and drove them to their cities where they were sold as slave labourers. The Ottomans as the strongmen over the territory of Central Hungary even demanded the oath of subservience from individual settlements – in the majority of cases they also received them. This meant that the village communes had to give their directly superior Ottoman strongmen a variety of natural produce (crops, butter, cheese, etc.) on an annual basis. If the commitments were not fulfilled, vindictive raids of the aforementioned strongmen into the village concerned followed. There were just a few villages and solely the market town of Dolnja Lendava that were excluded from the obligation to fulfil these duties. But, at the same time the Ottomans respected the rights of the local landowners who were stemming from the rows of the high nobility. The nobility continued, as before, to demand and collected tax and other obligations of their subjects. It was not until the beginning of the so called Vienna War between the Empires; or better said Habsburg Monarchy, and the Ottoman Empire in the year 1684 when we witness the final end of Ottoman threats on this territory.¹²

The consequences of the Ottoman threats were complex. The appearance and the raging of the Ottomans have profoundly changed the historical course of the development of the territory concerned, and caused the rise of a collective consciousness of the people about the common danger for the existence of their homeland - within a narrower context - the land of Styria.

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¹² SIMONITI, V. 1997, pp. 100 and onwards; VOJE, I. 1996, pp. 37–38; The new comprehensive study on Ottoman threats on the western part of the then Kingdom of Hungary; more precisely of the counties in our immediate proximity, as well as the territory of Prekmurje during the years 1606 and 1663, is by far the most concrete analysis of the depicted happenings and circumstances: ILLIK, P. 2009.

OSMANSKO OGROŽANJE SEVEROVZHODNEGA SLOVENSKEGA PROSTORA

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POVZETEK

V prispevku so predstavljeni principi osmanskega ogrožanja prostora dežele Štajerske in obmejnih slovenskih pokrajin na levem bregu reke Mure (Prekmurje). Osmanska prisotnost je na tem območju znana od druge polovice 15. stoletja pa vse do poznega 17. stoletja. Vpade je glede na njihovo intenzivnost in na namene treba ločiti vsaj v dve osnovni obliki:

- na vpade manjših samostojnih skupin (400–500 jezdecev) s sporadičnim značajem, katerih poglavitni namen je bil izključno rop vsega mogočega; trajali so največ en mesec;
- na obsežnejše, časovno daljše vojne pohode večjih bojnih skupin (15–20 tisoč mož) pod vrhovnim vodstvom visokega osmanskega poveljnika; namen takih pohodov je bil načrtno slabljenje večjega ozemlja, ki bi ga nato lahko z enim dokončnim sunkom osvojili in hitro vključili v okvir osmanskega imperija.

Vpadi v načrtani prostor v 15. stoletju so bili najintenzivnejši v drugi polovici stoletja, začeli pa so se v šestdesetih letih. Na to ozemlje so osmanske skupine največkrat prišle po znanih naravnih poteh ob rekah Savi in Dravi ter ob spodnji Muri. Po številu vpadov ter po raznovrstnosti posledic se ne morejo primerjati s poznejšimi, saj jih je bilo tu daleč največ. Prvi močan vpad v Prekmurje, v okoliš reke Mure se je zgodil že leta 1479.

Za ogrožanje v 16. stoletju je značilno manjše število napadov kot prej, zato pa je bila hujša njihova intenziteta in v enem primeru tudi ogromnost osmanske vojske. To se je pripetilo v poznem poletju leta 1532. Tedaj je osmanska armada pod vodstvom sultana Sulejmana Zakonodajalca po obleganju Kőszega prek vzhodne Štajerske prišla do Dravske doline ter napadla mesto Maribor, nato je hitro prečkala reko ter se premaknila naprej proti jugu. Po letu 1559 so bili vpadi na ozemlje Štajerske redki, vpadi v Prekmurje pa so se v osemdesetih letih šele dobro začeli.

Neposreden in silovit pritisk na območja Prekmurja je trajal več obdobj 17. stoletja. Dokončen konec groženj je tudi za to ozemlje pomenilo leto 1684. Na Štajerskem so se Osmani sploh zadnjikrat pojavili na njeni skrajni vzhodni meji v območju nad mestom Radkersburg (Radgona).

Posledice osmanskega ogrožanja so bile kompleksne. Pojav in divjanje Osmanov sta bistveno preusmerila tok historičnega razvoja omenjenega prostora in povzročila nastanek kolektivne zavesti ljudskih množic o skupni nevarnosti za obstoj ožje domovine – dežele Štajerske.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE STYRIAN DEFENCE

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ABSTRACT

In medieval times, the rule had made the attempt to incorporate all Styrian men into the territorial defence. Since this had not been possible, due to economic reasons, the Styrian dukes resorted to recruited armies of knights. It was not earlier than in the 15th century, when the knights were replaced by infantry and horsemen, being summoned on the base of the annual income of the landlords (*Gült*). From 1443 onwards, a number of defence regulations formed the basis for the emergence of the numerous Styrian levies, known as *Landesaufgebot*. They defended the land in cases of enemy attacks all up to the year of 1704. After that, the Styrian soldiers were incorporated into the Imperial army. As a consequence, Styria suffered the loss of its independence in regards to its territorial defence.

KEY WORDS

Styria, Graz, military, defence, city fortifications, 16th century, military border, Turkish wars, Turkish raids, Kuruc invasions

Throughout the course of history, the human race has tried to protect itself against the recurrent war by building appropriate defence systems and fortifications as well. The inhabitants of the territories who were threatened by enemies have sought refuge behind walls, trenches, and entrenchments. But it needs to be stated that the associated construction of the Styrian city fortifications did not rest on a general need of protection. The construction concerned had mainly been a targeted response of the inhabitants to the threat which the land was facing as described above. A settlement surrounded by walls always served as a symbol of defence and safety. That is why the Styrian cities such as Bruck an der Mur, Fürstenfeld, Hartberg, Judenburg, Leoben, Marburg / Maribor, Rann / Brežice, Pettau / Ptuj, Radkersburg, and last but not least Graz had already been surrounded by fortifications since the 13th/14th century. Initially, such fortifications consisted of relatively weak curtain walls with semi-circular towers and city gates. But later on – during the 16th century –, things changed fundamentally. The construction of strong fortifications in the Italian-style was considered to be a reaction to the offensive weapons which had become more and more powerful.

And so it came to pass, that since the middle of the 16th century the medieval walls were replaced by trenches, curtain walls, bastions, casemates, and gate-towers in the important cities of Fürstenfeld, Marburg / Maribor and Radkersburg. (Image 1) Such a course of events had also taken place in the city of Graz since the year of 1544.¹



Image 1: The castle of Maribor, copper engraving by Georg Matthäus Vischer, 1678

¹ About the development of fortifications in Graz see TOIFL, L. 2003, pp. 450–600. About the Development of fortifications in Radkersburg, Fürstenfeld, Rann / Brežice, Pettau / Ptuj und Marburg / Maribor see the paper from Mrs VREČA, B. in the present volume.

However, with regard to a proper territorial defence people did not solely rely on the fortified cities and castles. Due to the medieval conception of legality authorities tried to obligate all able-bodied men for military service. But reality has shown that, due to economic reasons alone, it was impossible to draft all inhabitants of the land into military service at the same time. Especially from the peasants a participation in military campaigns across the borders of the country and lasting for several weeks, could not have been demanded. Otherwise the crops would not been harvested and the food supply would have collapsed. Based on this recognition, a principle emerged in the course of the Late Middle Ages which stated that economically dispensable subjects of a territorial lord only had to achieve military services. However, even in this connection the Styrian margraves and – since 1180 – dukes, could initially demand unrestricted military service solely from their own subjects and ministerials. Nevertheless, the High Middle Ages have already forestalled something which became relevant for the organisation of the territorial defence in the late 15th century under the nomination *Gült*. It was already in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the manpower of the aristocrats liable to the enlistment of (their) men had depended on the size of their estates. At this point it needs to be stated that the richer ministeriales were obliged to provide a higher number of mounted soldiers to military service than those who were less affluent.² In the course of the Middle Ages, the number of these men was kept within reasonable limits due to the relatively low population density of the land during that time. But during the prime time of the territorial defence in the period during the 16th and 18th centuries, things were completely different. With a better personal positioning of the Styrian ministerials since the High Middle Ages, the principles of imperative allegiance to the duke were becoming increasingly weak; a timely limited military service had been reached gradually. Finally, the service was limited to a few weeks per year and ultimately strictly amounting to the defence of Styria. The aforementioned limitation forced the Habsburgs, who started to rule over Styria in the year of 1282, to use recruited contingents of knights in order to achieve the military enforcement of their European dynastic politic. By this way armies formed by knights dominated the numerous battle fields in Europe during the whole High Middle Ages. It was not until the 14th century, that a change of the military tactics took place. From then on people's levies were increasingly being put into use, both in Austria and in Styria. Such mass levies fought on foot, carried on the wings of national enthusiasm, following the example of the Old Swiss Confederacy and the Hussite troops in Bohemia.³

A strictly organised territorial defence for Styria started in 1443 out from a defence regulation, which was been directed against Hungarian mercenaries: three captains and the inhabitants of the northern part of East Styria had to hinder the intrusion of Hungarian troops into Styria. Because this did not guarantee sufficient protection for the whole land, a second defence regulation was issued in the year of 1445 that radically extended the conscription to war service. The parishes were earmarked as an organizational basis, whereby several parishes were united into defence districts. By this way, Styria had been divided into 22 smaller districts which were presided over by a total of 75 aristocratic captains. In addition to that, all aristocratic and clerical landowners, as well as cities, and market towns were obliged to send every tenth man to military service. Cities and market towns were urged to set up weapon- and ammunition depots, as well as food storages in order to supply the participants in the campaigns.⁴

The defence regulations from the years 1443 and 1445 came into existence at a joint instigation of the Styrian estates land and duke Frederick III. The same applied to the third defence regulation from the year of 1446. The provisions of the aforementioned regulation had been closely aligned to its predecessors. The only, but important, novelty was the fact that Carinthia and Carniola, which were under the Habsburg rule as well, promised to send soldiers for the defence of the borders of Styria.

It was at the diet in Leibnitz in the year of 1462 when the Styrian estates had acted entirely independent in relation to the defence of Styria for the first time. A defence regulation, in German language *Defensionsordnung*, had been approved without the consent Frederick III, who had become emperor in the meantime. According to this new defence regulation Styria was divided into four districts (later there were five) and every household was obliged to pay taxes.⁵ Frederick III reacted disgruntled and even accused the Styrians

² RUHRI, A. 1986b, p. 201.

³ RUHRI, A. 1986a, p. 155.

⁴ ROTHENBERG, I. 1924, pp. 14–42.

⁵ RUHRI, A. 1986a, p. 156.

of conspiracy. However, on the part of the emperor no sanctions were imposed. That is due to the fact that Frederick was dependent on the estates concerning the defence of the borders and peacekeeping. It was Frederick's son Maximilian I who endeavoured to take the reins from the Styrian estates with regard to the territorial defence. In 1495 Maximilian I sought for a collaboration of all Habsburg hereditary lands. But things were not crowned with success until the year of 1518 when the defence regulations called the *Innsbrucker Libell* had been passed. The aforementioned regulations provided mutual military support between the duchies Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the archduchy of Austria below the river Enns (Lower Austria) and Austria above the river Enns (Upper Austria) as well as joint financing of the mercenary troops, being hired in order to protect the Habsburg hereditary lands.⁶

Nevertheless, during the course of the 16th century, the Styrians took a number of steps leading to specific requirements of the Styrian defence, remaining valid for more than 200 years: the appointment of war councils in the cases of concrete wartime situations,⁷ the installation of the permanent Graz court council of war (*Hofkriegsrat*) in the year of 1578,⁸ the development of armouries, and the creation of a military border in the territory of today's Croatia. In the course of time, a phenomenon, later known as the »dualistic military constitution«, emerged due to the fact that both, the Styrian estates and the ducal authorities largely acted independently. The principle of the concerning constitution seemed to be simple: the current Styrian duke (and also Emperor since 1619) as well as the Styrian estates were obliged to keep their own troops, to equip the armouries, to provide provisions and, last but not least, to provide funding for all listed above. However, in cases of emergency, a merging of either both system structures or with other words both armies, under the slogan: »Organising separately, marching jointly« had been planned. The image of reality was much more miserable. Both sides tried to influence each other, whereby the ducal authorities in particular exerted a great deal of pressure on the estates, which were personified by the five representatives named the *Verordneten*. The main demands were the payment for soldiers who were in garrison at the Slovene or Wendish military border, the call-up of Styrian levies and the hiring out of military equipment to the ducal cities and market towns.⁹

Despite the constantly tense financial situation the Styrian estates vigorously carried on with the call-up of levies, with organizing the taxation being necessary for the financing of the levies, as well as with the development of the administrative machinery. The Styrian diet, consisting of representatives of the nobility, clergy and citizens, became the deciding authority and was obliged to deliberate at least once a year. The responsibility for the implementation of the resolutions concerning the territorial defence, which had been passed, rested with the aforementioned diet. Decisions of the diet were carried out by an executive body of the estates, which consisted of five members and had to be re-elected every year. They were named *Verordnete* and acted permanently since the year of 1527. (Image 2) In agreement with the ducal authorities (*Hofkriegsrat*) the aforementioned *Verordneten* deployed the officers which were necessary for the cavalry and the infantry of the levy, appointed a colonel (who then acted as the supreme commander), as well as the captains and cavalry captains for the five military districts, into which Styria had been divided. The submission of candidate proposals for the officer positions on the military border, the acquisition of funds in order to pay the soldiers and mercenaries, the compliance of fire signals (serving as a pre-warning system since the year of 1557),¹⁰ effective military border post connection Graz – Maribor – Ptuj – Varaždin – Zagreb, as well as the procurement of arms also counted amongst the duties of the *Verordneten*. The call-up respectively financing of the levies presented the biggest problem for the *Verordneten*. In simple terms, the manorial ownership of the landlords was the basis for the application of fighters or for the recruitment of mercenaries to defend the country. Accordingly, each landowner was required to provide a rider or three foot soldiers for war services per 100 pounds of annual income. An example: was the income between 500 and 600 pounds, the landowner had to send either 5 horses and horsemen or 15 foot soldiers. The arms, which had been a necessary part of the accoutrement for the subjects, could have been borrowed or purchased from the Sty-

⁶ RUHRI, A. 1986b, p. 201.

⁷ StLA, Laa. Archiv, Antiquum XIV (Militaria), 1526 September 2 (201514/125).

⁸ StLA, Laa. Archiv, Antiquum XIV (Militaria), 1578 s.d. (201514/6015); SCHULZE, W. 1973, p. 73 f.

⁹ Cf. the extensive documentary material in the Styrian Archives (StLA), Laa. Archiv, Antiquum XIV (Militaria).

¹⁰ Steirische Kreidfeuerordnung ddo 1557 Mai 15: StLA, Laa. Archiv, Antiquum XIV (Militaria), Slipcase Kreidfeuer (1530–1594). About the fire signal system itself cf. ROTH, A. 1986, p. 219 f.

rian armoury (*Landeszeughaus*) by the landlords. Landowners with an annual income of less than 100 pounds were not required to send any soldiers, but they were obliged to pay a special tax which was known under the name *Wartgeld*. These earnings enabled the estates to finance additional horsemen or foot soldiers for the levy. Additionally the inhabitants of the Sovereign's cities and market towns were also obliged to pay special taxes for the recruiting of mercenaries. Despite all efforts, the military power of the country was not fully exploited in such a way. That is why, starting from the year of 1522, additional levies in form of the *fifth* and *tenth man* had also been called up in cases of need. This means that 20 percent or 10 percent of subjects from each landlord were called to arms.¹¹ However, due to the fact that the increasing vigour of firearms made the military importance of such people's levies insignificant, battle-tried mercenaries were recruited instead since 1530. Due to high costs, this had presented an undertaking which could not be realised in a long run. That is the reason why the Styrian estates returned to the form of exclusive people's levies, but also applied stronger measures which concerned the selection of the conscripts. This led to the emergence of an elite unit: a levy consisting of 2,000 to 2,500 men called the *Levy of the Thirtieth Man*, well-known as the contingent of marksmen since 1556. This contingent too was recruited according to the principle of the *Gült*: for each 100 pounds of income a landlord had to send three marksmen. Things remained that way all until the year of 1594.¹² It was only in times of great enemy threat when the levy of the *Fifth*- and *Tenth Man* had been called up additionally. In some cases the aforementioned levies were convened with recruited foreign mercenaries. An essential change in the organisation of the Styrian levy took place in the year of 1631. It was from that year on that the levies were no longer called-up and mustered every year as hitherto, but only in extreme cases of enemy threat.¹³

Mounted harquebusiers and heavy cavalrists, representing levies funded on the basis of the landlord's annual income, participated in the territorial defence parallel to the contingents of the infantry levy. Per 100 pounds



Image 2: The *Verordneten* in the early 18th century. Detail of a copper engraving by Ignaz Flurer. In: Georg Jacob von Deyersperg, *Erbhuldigungswerk für Kaiser Karl VI.*, 1728

¹¹ SCHULZE, W. 1973, pp. 113–117.

¹² RUHRI, A. 1986b, p. 201 f.

¹³ StLA, Laa. Archiv, Antiquum V, Slipcase 174 (Alte Zeughausakten), Slipcase 15 (1631–1680).

of annual income, a landlord had to send one horseman (or three foot soldiers) to the levy. But it was left up to the landlords to raise the horses and horsemen either by themselves or to entrust a reliable person in providing the horsemen. It was not until the year of 1629 that the institution of the constant cavalry had been abandoned. But, when needed, salaried cavalry units were recruited instead.¹⁴

In an ideal situation, the levy consisted of a combination of heavy cavalry, lightly armed harquebusiers, marksmen and halberdiers. (Image 3) However, the protection of the land very often rested on levies consisting solely of foot soldiers or cavalry. The quantitative extent of a levy depended on the degree of the enemy threat and for how many of the five districts of the country the call-up was valid. Based on a general call-up the *Verordneten* determined the number of the levy participants, appointed supreme commanders, defined the numerical ratio of fighter-types to one another, and fixed the deployment date.¹⁵ Then, the levy participants were obliged to come fully equipped to gathering places which had been previously determined. There they were tested for their war suitability in a special military check. It was only in cases of emergency that the banns marched from the military inspection directly to the theatre of war. Normally they were sent return to their homes.¹⁶



Image 3: Mannequins of participants in a Styrian levy, around 1590. Group of figures in the former exhibition *Zum Schutz des Landes* (1997–2012) in the Landeszeughaus Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum (Photograph by Niki Lackner)

The fact that the levy had been raised every year until the twenties of the 17th century did not automatically mean that the men were sent on a mission. The purpose of such assemblies primarily lied in the capability assessment of the soldiers to be. It is for this purpose that Styria had organised annual military inspections. (Image 4) Commissioners visited all five districts in order to record the subjects who were able to serve as foot soldiers or horsemen in registers. It is in these registers where one can often read that only very few noblemen were willing to despatch well-equipped subjects.¹⁷ The reason for that was the noblemen's fear of very high costs and apparently peasant uprisings as well. Sometimes it even happened that subjects with physical disabilities were sent to the military inspections. The commissioners then furiously noted words in the registers like: »has a bent back«, »is stupid«, »is blind«. It happened quite often that persons to be checked failed to appear at the military inspections, for which various excuses have been given. Even high fines could not make a difference in their way of thinking.

¹⁴ PICHLER, F. 1986, p. 237 f.; TOIFL, L. 2005, pp. 25–27.

¹⁵ TOIFL, L. 2005, p. 25.

¹⁶ StLA, Patente und Kurrenden: 1522 Februar 26 Graz.

¹⁷ About the military inspections cf. the numerous inspection registers in the StLA, Laa. Archiv, Antiquum V, Slipcase Musterregister (mostly existing for every year in the 16th century).



Image 4: Military inspection, end of the 16th century. Woodcut in *Kriegsbuch des Leonhard Fronsperger*, 1596

The depicted structures of the Styrian defence remained in use until the early 18th century. But then, due to the course of strong centralisation endeavours the hitherto independent Styrian warfare fell evermore under the supremacy of the imperial authorities in Vienna. In the year of 1704 the soldiers of a Styrian levy suffered a horrible defeat against Hungarian rebels. The surviving men were incorporated into the imperial army. In the later 18th century they found themselves on various battlefields of Europe.¹⁸ Even the Styrian armoury which had also been independent up to that point and was responsible to provide arms exclusively for the territorial levy and the military border, turned more and more into a supply basis intended for the needs of the imperial army. In the year of 1749 the armoury should have been dissolved completely.¹⁹ But it survived.

In the course of the 18th century the hitherto war apparatus of the Styrian dukes like the court war council (*Hofkriegsrat*), the court chamber (which had acted as a revenue), as well as the court armoury in Graz also passed under the guardianship of the Viennese central authorities and were finally dissolved. They were followed by a number of institutions under the control of Vienna like the General Command, the National Military Command or the Army Corps command.²⁰ All of them performed tasks of exclusively administrative character only and were restricted to the territory of Inner Austria, namely Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Important orders were given from Vienna. With the collapse of Austria – Hungary at the end of World War I the Styrian warfare passed away definitively.

¹⁸ BRAMREITER, P. 1982, p. 67.

¹⁹ KRENN, P. 1962, pp. 146–148.

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POVZETEK

Človek se je z gradnjo ustreznih obrambnih sistemov skušal obvarovati pred vojno, ki se je v zgodovini vedno znova vračala. Nastajala so mesta in trgi, obdani z obzidji in jarki, ter obrambni gradovi, ki so služili kot zatočišča. Da bi deželo lahko zaščitili pred zunanjimi napadi, so ustanavljali vojske, ki so jih sestavljali moški. V srednjem veku je bil cilj plemstva, da bi vse Štajerce vključili v deželno obrambo. Ker to iz gospodarskih razlogov ni bilo mogoče, so štajerski knezi najemali viteške vojske, v 14. in 15. stoletju pa so jih zamenjali s pehotnimi četami in konjenico. Te enote so sestavljali domačini, ki so jih zemljiški gospodje rekrutirali na osnovi tako imenovanega imenjskega davka. To pomeni, da je moral vsak zemljiški gospod na vsakih 100 funtov svojega letnega dohodka dati na razpolago po enega konjenika ali tri oborožene pešce. Na tak način zbrane čete podložnikov so imenovali deželne naborne čete. Kot elitna enota je od leta 1556 deloval kontingent iz 2500 strelcev in 300 arkebuzirjev. Glede na velikost preteče nevarnosti so lahko kontingent dodatno okrepili z vpoklicem vsakega petega ali desetega moškega. Včasih je štajerska dežela deželne naborne čete zamenjala tudi z nanovačenimi, bojno izkušenimi najemniškimi vojaki. To se je dogajalo zgolj v časih zelo velike nevarnosti, na primer v vojni z Osmanskim cesarstvom med letoma 1593 in 1606. Obrambno sposobnost konjenikov ali pešakov iz vrst deželnih nabornikov ali najemniških vojakov so preverjali v okviru tako imenovanih naborov. Vse do leta 1630 so nabore izvajali enkrat na leto, kasneje pa so potekali zgolj pri zelo veliki sovražni nevarnosti, na primer v letih 1664, 1683 ali 1704. Posebnost Štajerske je bila, da sta tako dežela kot tudi vojvoda vzdrževala svoje lastne čete. Te so v vojni delovale kot zaključena enota. Orožje in oklepe so nabavljali v deželni (*Landeszeughaus*) oziroma dvorni orožarni. Vojne stroške je plačeval urad za pobiranje dajatev oziroma dvorna pisarna.

Štajerska je svojo samostojnost pri organizaciji obrambe dežele ohranila do leta 1704. Po uničujočem porazu, ki so ga Štajerci doživeli proti krucem pri Modincih (Mogersdorf), so dotedanje deželne naborne čete priključili cesarski vojski. Tako je štajersko obrambo od 18. stoletja dalje nadziralo osrednje vojaško poveljstvo na Dunaju.

DOMENICO DELL ALLIO: THE WORK OF THE ITALIAN ARCHITECT WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS ON THE RADKERSBURG FORTRESS

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the work of the Italian architect and master builder Domenico dell Allio. A special attention is devoted to his activities in Graz, Fürstenfeld, Radkersburg, Marburg / Maribor, Pettau / Ptuj and Varaždin. Special emphasis is given to the post-medieval fortifications in the town of Bad Radkersburg, which is unique due to the fact that it had survived in an almost complete form.

KEY WORDS

Domenico dell Allio, Styria, fortification, Ottoman Empire, architecture, Renaissance

BACKGROUND

Ongoing tensions with the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century led to a period of renewal and modernisation of fortifications throughout Austria and the lands connected to it. The Styrian border was particularly important to be secured, as the Battle of Mohacs in 1526 saw large parts of Hungary come under Ottoman control. The fortifications had to be adapted to new methods of warfare, something that became clear following the siege of Vienna in 1529; medieval defences were no longer able to withstand the increased firepower of firearms and artillery. Defences required new, well-fortified buildings. For the fortifications in Graz and other important locations such as Gleisdorf, Feldbach, Hartberg, Fürstenfeld, Radkersburg, Marburg / Maribor, Pettau / Ptuj, Friedau / Ormož, Cilli / Celje and Rohitsch / Rogatec, it was essential that subsidies were granted and compulsory labour done. The Styrian estates were prepared to make the manpower of their farmers and subjects available, however only under the condition that Ferdinand I would bring an »experienced and skilful war master builder«¹ to Austria to plan and carry out the fortification works.

The sovereign initially took his time in appointing an architect. The Ottomans² were continuing to advance – and proving themselves to be very adept at warfare as they did – however, Ferdinand also had to contend with other considerable problems in the form of oppressed and therefore rebelling farmers, religious conflicts and on-going fighting in Hungary, as well as feeling threatened by what he perceived to be the increasing power of the estates. Money was tight and so the Landtag (regional parliament) was being called on more frequently to ask the Styrian estates for contributions.³

Due to the increasingly critical situation – a further attempt by the Ottomans in the direction of Vienna was anticipated – the subsidies for Graz, Fürstenfeld and Radkersberg (which would become the main Styrian fortress) were finally made available in March 1531.⁴ Initially, the medieval fortresses were renovated and improved upon. Only in the 1540s did the Inner-Austrian states begin to develop a comprehensive fortification concept. On the 10th of July 1544, Ferdinand I ordered the renovation of the fortifications at specific strategically important locations. The state capital Graz was at the centre of the renovations and would be situated within an inner and outer ring of defences.

To this end, Italian master builders and architects were brought to Austria, due to their renown in building such defences. The religious struggles of the first quarter of the 16th century saw many artisans leave their homes and led to a dearth of qualified professionals. Under the influence of the Italian-educated Viennese

¹ ROTH, F. O. 1981, p. 359.

² See TURETSCHKE, C. 1968.

³ See ZIEGERHOFER, A. 1996; BURKERT, G. 1976.

⁴ ROTH, F. O. 1981, p. 360.

humanists, the first group of Italian architects migrated to Austria. Skilled workers such as builders, stonemasons, overseers and architects from the area around Lake Como and Lugano came to Styria. At this point, the building fortifications had developed into a particular art form in Italy and there was a series of talented individuals working in this field. The profession of architect in the 16th century had little to do with the modern concept. There was no strict distinction between the person who designed buildings and those who led construction or carried out the building works. Sources show individuals referred to interchangeably as *master*, *overseer* and *mason*. The Italian master builders were known not only for their technical skills, but also for their artistry. The most famous was Domenico dell Allio. A whole school of master builders developed around him, active not only in Styria, but also along the so-called Croatian-Slavonic military border.⁵



Image 1: Trifora window on the front of the Zehnerhaus in Bad Radkersburg, 2012 (photograph by Wolfgang Löschnigg)

DOMENICO DELL ALLIO

King Ferdinand I named Domenico dell Allio the head builder for Inner Austria and the Croatian-Slavonic military border, awarding him the life-long title of a »Superintendent of the Border«. In 1545, he became the general director of the fortification of Graz, Radkersburg, Fürstenfeld, Marburg / Maribor and Pettau / Ptuj. He went on to be appointed as the royal master builder in 1553 and in 1555 the chief master builder for the Croatian and *Windisch* territories.⁶ On the 22nd of July 1558, Domenico and his brothers Andrea and Gianmaria were raised to the nobility, including a heraldic augmentation of honour.⁷

Unfortunately, very little is known about the life of Domenico dell Allio. He was likely born in Scaria⁸ as the son of Martino dell Allio, and completed his training in Northern Italy.⁹ Domenico's father is also named as a mason in 1520 at the fortress in Radkersburg.¹⁰ The family appears in records written as Aglio, Dallio, Delalio, Iaglio, dell Aglio, Ilalio, Lallio. Their family crest was a bulb of garlic on a red background.

Domenico's brother is first mentioned in the 1540s working in Varaždin and other border fortifications under the name of Gianmaria or Giovanni dell Allio. He was eventually naturalised and later known under the name of *Hans von Kumersee*¹¹ (perhaps a reference to Lake Como). In 1554 and 1558, he is documented as the master builder for the fortifications at Pettau / Ptuj. By 1550, he was working in Marburg / Maribor.¹² Andrea dell

⁵ ROGATSCH, F. 1933.

⁶ THIEME-BECKER, 1907–1950, vol. 1, pp. 316–317.

⁷ KRAIGHER, E. 1977, p. 270; JAKSCH, A. 1907, p. 45 ff.

⁸ According to Cavarocchi, dell Allio was born in Scaria, east of Lugano. CAVAROCCHI, F. 1979/1980, p. 293; According to Kraigher however, Domenico was born in Lugano. KRAIGHER, E. 1977, p. 265.

⁹ WASTLER, J. 1883, p. 83.

¹⁰ THIEME-BECKER, p. 317.

¹¹ KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 39.

¹² MEISTERL, J. 1997, p. 132.

Allio – another brother – was employed by Domenico for the building of fortifications in Marburg / Maribor. From 1554 until 1556, he worked in Rann / Brežice.

From 1530, Domenico dell Allio was active in the Habsburg lands, particularly in Styria and the area around Zagreb and is documented as *Domenico Illalio from Carinthia* in relation to the *Prediger Bastei* in Vienna.¹³ In 1545, he inspected Castle Oberwildon and was creating sketches, as well as reporting on the condition of the building and offering suggestions to address the deficiencies he had identified.¹⁴ Documents show that he owned a house in Klagenfurt, where he was town planner, overseeing renovations in the »Italian manner«.¹⁵ The fortification of Hochosterwitz is also ascribed to him.¹⁶ His annual wage was by now 240 Gulden and later raised to 360 Gulden.¹⁷ His primary construction site was Graz, where he began work as a superintendent in 1545. Graz also became his main residence, from which he was able to travel to his other sites in Fürstenfeld, Radkersburg, Marburg / Maribor, Pettau / Ptuj, Rann / Brežice, Varaždin, Kopreinitz / Koprivnica, Kreuz / Križevci, and Iwanitsch / Ivanić-Grad. In order to build the various fortifications, he brought numerous skilled workers from his home region who would become known as the *Comasken*. Dell Allio was not only an excellent and prodigious builder of fortifications, he was also an artist. His *Prunkstiege* (a magnificent staircase in the Landhaus in Graz) was widely celebrated.¹⁸ The *Landhaus* became his most famous work: Rochus Kohlbach later described the building and its inner courtyard as a wonderful piece of Italy.¹⁹ Domenico dell Allio was a major force in the spread of the Upper Italian Renaissance style in Styria and northern Croatia. Typical for his building style are the so-called biforate and triforate windows, the latter is still referred to as an »Allio window« today. The Renaissance wing of the castle at Neuhaus on the Danube / Novè Zamky, along with its tournament grounds, was also built according to Domenico's plans.²⁰

Under his leadership, a sort of school of architects was established that was not active only in Styria, but all along the Croatian-Slavonic military border.²¹

Dell Allio was still reporting on the building works in 1560, when he inspected the fortifications at Sissek / Sisak, Iwanitsch / Ivanić-Grad, Kreuz / Križevci, Rann / Brežice²², Pettau / Ptuj, Marburg / Maribor, Radkersburg and Graz. For each location, he produced sketches and made proposals for how to combat any identify weaknesses.²³ Domenico dell Allio seems to have stopped working three years later, the last payment made to him was on the 5th of August 1563.²⁴ According to Josef Wastler, dell Allio died in 1563; Rochus Kohlbach mentioned the same year, with the additional note that he died somewhere at the border, whilst Ferdinand Rogatsch asserted that he died before the 29th of November 1563.²⁵ The office of head master builder and superintendent was subsequently awarded to Francesco Theobaldi.

GRAZ

Aside from the militarily strategic position of Graz, the city had always played an important role in arming the various border fortresses and troops stationed at the border. On the 29th of June 1543, representatives of the Styrian state reported the terrible conditions of the Graz city defences to Ferdinand I.²⁶ One year later – on the 10th of July 1544 – Ferdinand I authorised funds for the redevelopment of the city fortifications.²⁷

¹³ ILG, A. 1886, p. 115 f.; WASTLER, J. 1887, p. 168; see also KRAIGHNER, E. 1977, pp. 263–273; JAKSCH, A. 1907, p. 45 ff.

¹⁴ EBNER, H. 1974, p. 16 f.; FRIZBERG, H. 1993, p. 46 ff.

¹⁵ See GLOSSARIUM ARTIS 7, 1990, p. 249.

¹⁶ DEHIO, 1976, p. 232.

¹⁷ MEISTERL, J. 1997, p. 147.

¹⁸ KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 73 f.; WASTLER, J. 1890, p. 9 f.

¹⁹ KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 70.

²⁰ RECLAMS KUNSTFÜHRER, 1974, p. 390.

²¹ See ROGATSCH, F. 1933.

²² See SCHÄFFER, R. 1984, pp. 31–59.

²³ MEISTERL, J. 1997, p. 131.

²⁴ SAUR, AKL, 1992, pp. 527–528.

²⁵ ROGATSCH, F. 1937, p. 14.

²⁶ WASTLER, J. 1887, chapter 1 (pp. 166–168), chapter 2 (pp. 198–216), p. 168.

²⁷ WASTLER, J. 1887 (1), p. 168.

In 1543, dell Allio visited Graz for the first time to submit a survey report.²⁸ In the spring of 1544, he became the superintendent in control of the defences. Under his supervision, bastions were installed in the three most important areas of the city, beginning with the so-called *Stallbastei* at the Schlossberg. At the same time, the cisterns on the Schlossberg plateau were begun and completed in 1546.²⁹ They still exist today and are some of the largest examples of their kind. The rainwater that they collected was however insufficient, and so between 1548 and 1550 dell Allio built a water pump with the help of the Bohemian fountain builder Wenzel von Pannischitz, powered by the current of the Mur river. The pump, however, doesn't seem to have worked correctly and so dell Allio set his workers to constructing the *Türkenbrunnen* (Turkish fountain) blasting 94 m down to the water table of the Mur – a technical feat. In this way, a sufficient water supply for the fortress was achieved.³⁰ Down in the city, around 1548 the bastion in *Grillpichl* – which later became the Dietrichstein Bastion – was built in the Southeast corner.³¹ Work continued with the *Bürgerbastei* in 1552 and between 1556 and 1562 in the area of the Burggarten today, the *Burgbastei*.³² The modernisation of the fortifications through the addition of bastions and curtain walls was largely completed by 1559.³³ Ruins of the post-medieval fortifications in Graz are the Stallbastei and Bürgerbastei at the Schlossberg and the Burgbastei in the city.

The Romuald chapel in the Cathedral of Graz – the former Court oratory of Emperor Friedrich III – was also allegedly remodelled by Domenico dell Allio in 1554,³⁴ the same year he also completed a beautiful staircase at the south side of the Graz town castle, just opposite the Cathedral. Unfortunately, it was demolished in the middle of the 19th century, along with the Friedrich wing.³⁵

The *Landhaus* (County Hall) in Graz has been the office and representative building of the Styrian estates since the 15th century. The whole complex is not stylistically uniform. As time progressed, countless alterations and additions were made. The new development under Domenico dell Allio got underway on the 30th of May 1557 and was completed two years after Domenico's death, in 1565.³⁶ Unfortunately, the original symmetry of the façade was lost due to changes made by the brothers Antonio and Francesco Marmoro in the years 1565–1581. The arcaded courtyard comprises three stories of columned arcades with Tuscan pilasters over two sides, with the main floor distinguished by higher vaults. Today, the County Hall at 16 Herrengasse can be counted as one of the most important monumental buildings of the Renaissance north of the Alps.³⁷



Image 2: The courtyard of the county hall in Graz, 2008 (photograph by Heinrich Kranzelbinder)

²⁸ WASTLER, J. 1887 (1), p. 168.

²⁹ WASTLER, J. 1887 (2), p. 199.

³⁰ POPELKA, F. 1928; KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 54; WASTLER, J. 1887 (2), p. 200 ff; TOIFL, L. 2002, pp. 49–97.

³¹ WASTLER, J. 1887 (2), p. 200.

³² POPELKA, F. 1935, p. 30 ff.

³³ POPELKA, F. 1928, p. 277 ff.; WASTLER, II, p. 204; TOIFL, 2003, pp. 450–600.

³⁴ DEHIO, 1982, p. 14.

³⁵ KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 73 f.

³⁶ See WASTLER, J. 1890; KOHLBACH, R. 1961, p. 70.

³⁷ DEHIO, 1979, p. 51 f.

Between 1555 and 1559, the west wing of the *Admonterhof* was built under the direction of dell Allio.³⁸

FÜRSTENFELD

Fürstenfeld was another town whose post-medieval fortifications were built according to the plans of Domenico dell Allio. Dell Allio received the commission and visited for the first time in 1555 to measure the building site and to draw up the plans. A building commission – including *Hofkammerrat* Servatius von Teuffenbach and Christoph von Mindorf – was set up to evaluate the plans, with building works beginning in 1556.³⁹ Domenico was supported in his work by the foreman Bartholomäus Biscardo. The new fortifications at Fürstenfeld were built in the Italian style and were based on the existing shape and position of the medieval city walls. This produced a square, with a bastion to be built at each of the corners. Two towers acted as the entrance and exit points to the fortress. Construction began near the Augustinian monastery with the building of the *Klosterbastei*.⁴⁰ It seems that there were enough problems at the building site that in 1557 Domenico was forced to stake out the bastion anew.⁴¹ Further delays occurred due to problems with financing of the project. In 1559 however, the building works were in full swing once again, as shown by an invoice of Domenico's dated on the 16th of January 1560 in which the completion of several elements of the *Klosterbastei* is included.⁴² However, a storm later that year destroyed a large part of what had been built and a lack of funds once more put a hold on the project with work only continuing in 1561 and 1562. At this point, work began in the southeast corner with the construction of the largest bastion: the *Ungarbastei*. Following dell Allio's death, Bartolomäus Biscardo became head of construction in 1563, followed by Peter Tadei and Domenico de Riva. In 1564, works on the *Ungarbastei* and the *Ungartor* (Hungarian Gate) were both continued, the watchtower which stood on the *Klosterbastei* was by all accounts very similar to the clock tower in Graz.⁴³ In the following years, major problems caused by a lack of materials and construction mistakes became obvious, stemming in no small part from disagreements between the building managers and the workers. The *Ungarbastei* was nevertheless mostly completed by 1570 and the *Schlossbastei* was begun and completed eight years later.⁴⁴ The curtain wall that exists today between the *Ungartor* and Kavalier was built in the mid-17th century. The fortress at Fürstenfeld was abandoned in 1775 and different sections of the complex were changed or completely dismantled as part of the town's expansion, however there are still distinctive sections of the fortifications that can still be seen today. A walk of the remaining bastion and wall remnants has been installed with thirteen stations.⁴⁵

VARAŽDIN

The construction in Varaždin was undertaken simultaneously with the fortifications in Graz. It was no doubt a deciding factor that the then-governor of Styria and the commander-in-chief of the border was Hans von Ungnad, the owner of the castle at Varaždin. The town, in the Slavonian northwest, close to the Styrian border, was at the time the main fortress on the so-called »Windisch border«. The decision of the Styrian estates made on the 18th of April 1544 to fund the fortification and redevelopment of Varaždin was justified by the fact that the town was a very important location near the Styrian border, lying on the Drava river and other important transport routes.⁴⁶ Domenico dell Allio's presence in Varaždin was first documented in 1543, when he confirmed that he had received 200 pounds from Ungnad, via his servant Taxenberger, for his work on the castle.⁴⁷ The building work at Varaždin was plagued by ongoing financial problems, which led to long delays in the completion of the planned works.

Along with Antonio Reiff, Giovanni dell Allio – Domenico's brother – was the foreman.⁴⁸ Later he would go on

³⁸ DEHIO, 1979, p. 58.

³⁹ KAPPER, A. 1906, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 22.

⁴² Ibid., p. 24.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 47 ff.

⁴⁵ <http://www.festungsweg.at> (quoted: 16. 7. 2015).

⁴⁶ ILIJANIC, M. 1981, p. 369–379.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 372.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 376.

to become not only an honorary citizen of Varaždin, but also an alderman and member of the town council. The Styrian estates commissioned him to undertake several other projects, including the renovation of the so-called Palffy house, and the rebuilding of the magazine and the granary.

In 1562, Varaždin was granted 4,000 pounds for further urgently needed additions to the fortifications and Domenico suggested that the two dilapidated bridges and the bridge to the castle gate should be repaired, the arrow slits should be renovated, the walls and bastions should be reinforced and the magazine enlarged.⁴⁹ After Domenico's death the following year, Francesco Thebaldi took on the role of the superintendent.

The renovation and remodelling of the Varaždin defences of the castle and the town fortifications were largely completed in Domenico dell Allio's lifetime. Domenico's signature style and Renaissance elements can be found particularly in Varaždin Castle, such as the so-called »dell Allio window«, over which the arms of Ungand can be found. Finally, the three round squat towers are typical of Northern Italian defensive architecture and a testament to Domenico's work. The castle still has the appearance of a typical Renaissance moated castle. The town walls mostly fell victim to town expansion in the mid-18th century, with only a small section of the South Wall still standing today.

MARIBOR

When Ferdinand I ordered the refortification of the border towns in 1530, Maribor (then in Lower Styria) was also included. Development in Maribor however, was not a priority in the years 1549–1562 compared to the »primary fortresses«. Domenico dell Allio created drafts of four new defensive works: 1552 the *Kärntner Bastei* to defend the *Kärntnertor*; 1555 the water tower in the southeast corner and the *Gerichtsturm* (Court Tower) in the southwest corner; and finally in 1562 the *Schlossbastei* with the Eastern Terrace in the northeast corner. Maribor Castle was built in the last third of the 15th century and underwent expansions and renovations into the 19th century. Between 1556 and 1562, the medieval defensive tower was replaced by a bastion designed by dell Allio with a cellar and two canon terraces which were not originally connected to the castle. The bastion stood in the moat and had two floors; the lower floor has since been filled in.⁵⁰

Construction was originally overseen by Domenico's brother, Andrea dell Allio, until 1557. He was succeeded by Valentin Traveno, who worked there until 1559, and Pietro Antonio Pigrato until 1565.⁵¹ The fortifications underwent several phases of renovation in the 17th century, however over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries the defensive structures and city gates were torn down as they no longer served any purpose. In 1751, a residential floor was added to the bastion (Castle Bastion) and the original appearance was lost. The moat was filled in at the end of the 19th century. Four towers and some small remnants of the city walls have survived until today;⁵² the Maribor Regional Museum is now situated in the castle and the former bastion.



Image 3: The castle of Maribor. Copper engraving by Georg Matthäus Vischer, 1678

⁴⁹ ILIJANIC, M. 1981, p. 376.

⁵⁰ CURK, J. 2007, pp. 33–41; CURK, J. 1959, p. 31.

⁵¹ CURK, J. 2007, p. 40. See also: CURK, J. 1982, p. 5–11.

⁵² CURK, J. 1988, p. 137.

PTUJ

The castle and town of Ptuj were amongst the most important defences on the Styrian border at that time. Work on fortifications at this site had already begun in the first half of the 16th century and although substantial financial resources had to be invested, the work only covered securing and renovating the existing medieval defences. From 1549 until 1570, the remodelling of the fortress was done under the management and according to the plans of Domenico dell Allio.⁵³ He was supported by his brother Gianmaria dell Allio and Antonio de Riva. The construction of a semi-circle shaped tower on the Drava river and the bastion behind the Franciscan monastery were completed in 1551. After 1555, all efforts were concentrated on the major renovations of Ptuj Castle, to the detriment of the progress of the other defensive works. A great deal of effort went into building the *Speckbastei* in the northeast of the town that was almost complete in 1559. Other important military buildings included the foundry – completed in the western section of the town walls – and the magazine in front of the Dominican monastery. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the fortifications were renovated a number of times. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Ptuj fortifications were demolished, with the Lower Bastion behind the Franciscan monastery demolished by a detonation in 1931 and the smaller semi-circular tower opposite the monastery destroyed by bombing in 1945. Some traces of the fortress remain today; the tower built in 1553 behind the Dominican church; the *Pfarrturm* (Parish Tower); and some sections of the city walls. The best-preserved building is the *Drauturm* (Drava Tower), which has a conical roof that was added at a later date. The city's coat of arms on the tower – originally from the now-demolished Hungarian Gate – with the year 1551 keeps the memory of the whole defensive structure alive.⁵⁴

RADKERSBURG

The refortification of the Radkersburg fortress began in 1546. The history of the fortress can be divided into two phases: the first wholly influenced by Domenico dell Allio and lasting until his death in 1563; the second beginning in 1570 and lasting until 1591.⁵⁵

Lying close to the former border between Styria and Hungary (today: between Austria and Slovenia), Radkersburg had always been strategically important. The fortress was the first line of defence, hindering potential enemies from advancing through the Murtal region to the regional capital of Graz. In 1582, Radkersburg was elevated to the status of a Reichsfestung (imperial fortress) by the Reichstag (Imperial Diet) in Augsburg.

Medieval Radkersburg was surrounded by a simple city wall – the Ringmauer – and a ditch. Two gates (later known as the *Ungartor* and the *Grazertor*) were connected via a street running north-south – today's *Lange-gasse*. Important elements of the medieval fortifications were the watchtowers, of which four are still standing today in a more or less complete state: at the former Augustinian monastery, at the parish church, the *Kapuzinerbastei* and the so-called *Obalturm*.⁵⁶

The building and maintenance of the town fortifications and defence of the town was not the responsibility of the town's citizens and inhabitants alone, those living in the surrounding region were also responsible. In exchange, the farmers were able to seek refuge there in case of danger.

The post-medieval fortifications at Radkersburg were built around the existing medieval town centre, including the *Ringmauer*. The defining characteristic of the Renaissance defences are the bastions,⁵⁷ curtain walls and the deep ditch. The first building stage was in the old Italian style.⁵⁸ The bastions were earthworks, disguised on the outside with bricks, located on the protruding corners of the structure and offering on the one hand a very limited surface that could be attacked and on the other hand allowing those defending to bring up more cannons. The bastions were connected to each other by curtain walls: these earth and brick buildings – measured from their deepest point in the city moat – had a height of between ten and fourteen

⁵³ CIGLENEČKI, M. 1992, p. 32.

⁵⁴ CIGLENEČKI, M. 1999, pp. 12–62.

⁵⁵ DIRNBERGER, G. 1973, p. 212.

⁵⁶ See: REIDINGER, E. 1997, p. 185–212.

⁵⁷ For more information about the Italian bastion system see: Glossarium Artis 7, 1990, p. 16.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 14 *Festungsbau*, in: Die Steiermark 1986, p. 349.

meters. The bastions were built a maximum of 400 m from each other in order to keep potential attackers within range as the canons only had a firing distance of 200 m. The ditch excavated for the moat had a special role in this system, being enlarged and deepened and the earth that was removed was used to build the bastions and curtain walls around the medieval town walls (*Ringmauer*). At this time, two branches of the Mur river also surrounded the town. The main branch of the river ran immediately north of the town, turning at the bridge in front of the *Ungartor* and flowing to the southeast. Until 1700, this branch of the Mur was the main stream, however since the beginning of the 18th century it has gradually silted up. Another branch of the river flowed between the town and the castle, with another branch of the Mur redirected to fill the moat, leaving the town more vulnerable to flooding.

A precise and unequivocal dating of the individual defensive structures at Radkersburg is not possible due to the scarcity of documents. Only the beginning of construction on the *Pfaffenbastei* in 1585 can be stated with any certainty. It is however possible to determine that the seven bastions (the *Pfaffenbastei*, *Murbastei*, *Teufelsloch*, *Bürgerbastei*, *Ungarbastei* and *Hohle Bastei*) and the seven connecting curtain walls were not completed by the end of the 16th century, but the initial plans of Domenico dell Allio were complete.⁵⁹

As already mentioned above, the building works were undertaken in two phases. Between the first and the second phase, the construction seems to have come to a complete standstill with dell Allio's successor, Francesco Thebaldi, calling Radkersburg a place »of chaos and confusion«. ⁶⁰ The most important person onsite apart from the master builder was the site clerk, who kept the book dealing with income and outgoings. The master builder, stonemasons, foremen and builders were predominantly from Northern Italy and local craftsman were not engaged in any significant way. The less lucrative and respected jobs – such as guards and ditch diggers – were more likely to be local workers and labourers. The same applies to the craftsmen; about 70 workers were employed as part of the building measures. These workers mostly came from the area surrounding Radkersburg, as well as from Carinthia and Carniola. The farmers in the vicinity were also drafted in to carry out obligatory labour when required. Women were also active on the building site, evidenced by an entry in the building records in 1575 whereby »a day of women's work« was paid four Kreuzer.⁶¹



Image 4: Aerial image of the historical center of Bad Radkersburg, 2007

⁵⁹ ROGATSCH, F. 1937, p. 197.

⁶⁰ See Chapter 14 *Festungsbau*, in: Die Steiermark 1986, p. 349.

⁶¹ DRESCHER, B., STOCKER, K., VRECA, B., 1999, p. 42.

The construction costs were enormous. At the beginning, the town was the main financier of the works; the county later took over a large part of the costs. In addition to financial problems, other problems such as fires and flooding could set the works back significantly, destroying or delaying construction. This was the case in 1549, for example, when the city wall between the Murtur and the tower of the Augustinian monastery was badly damaged by a fire. The fortress was described as being in a bad condition in 1574 and renovations and reconstruction work were unavoidable and began the same year. Nevertheless, the following year the fortress was inspected by the royal master builder Bernardo Magno and the regional master builder Jeronimo Accomath, as well as representatives of the local Diet and judged negatively. The inspectors further criticised the non-fortification of the Upper Radkersburg castle hill and the district of *Gries*, on the other side of the Mur river. They called for a solution whereby the defence centres – the castle hill, *Gries* and the town – should be connected in terms of security. This was especially important as should the castle hill fall into enemy hands, it would prove a good position for firing on Radkersburg. The topography of the hill however, made the implementation of the suggestions impossible.

In 1591, the building works at Radkersburg were officially suspended. The fortress at Radkersburg was never fully completed, the fortifications continued to be damaged by flooding, fires and weather conditions such as snow and rain and had to be renovated or newly built from time to time.

Radkersburg had another important function as a storage location for ammunition, weapons and provisions for the troops in Styria and Croatia. The armoury at Radkersburg was built under the direction of Francesco Marmoro, being completed in 1588. The building, with its Renaissance arcaded courtyard, now houses the »Museum in the Old Armoury«. The provisions warehouse was attached to the armoury but has not survived in its original form.

In the mid-17th century, the royal engineer Martin Stier was commissioned to inspect the various border fortresses to see whether they were fit for purpose, what condition they were in and to offer suggestions about how they might be improved.⁶² Stier inspected the Radkersburg Fortress. Only a few years after the Styrian survey, Michael Possanner also compiled a plan for improvements.⁶³ The suggested measures were only implemented in a very piecemeal way. The comprehensive suggestions, including the fortification of the castle hill and the suburb of Gries, and the plan to connect them into a defensive complex were never realised. After the fortress fell out of use in 1773, the grounds were handed over to the town and subsequently divided into smaller plots and sold to the inhabitants. The town became accessible via several entry points and both city gates were demolished; the Ungartor in 1837 and the Grazertor in 1878.

Since the 1920s, the renovation and conservation of the Radkersburg fortifications has been frequently discussed and planned. Limited financial means in the period between the 1920s and the 1950s meant that only very modest measures could be undertaken. In 1921, the question of restoring the damaged bastion sections came up. The intention to repair and maintain the almost complete fortifications from the 16th century was pretty much a foregone conclusion; however, the implementation of such plans would prove difficult. The most pressing question was, of course, who would pay for the costs of the renovations. When the *Pfaffenbastei* was on the brink of collapse in 1928, the danger was imminent and the town council decided to conserve the whole ring of fortifications and had the full support of the then-state conservator, Walter Semetkowski. Semetkowski expressed his opinion several times that the stonework was unique and important, not only for the Radkersburg townscape, but for all of Styria.⁶⁴

Alfred Merlini, mayor of Bad Radkersburg, recognised from the very beginning of his term in office in 1955 the importance of maintaining and protecting the town fortifications. To this end, he sought qualified opinion and help often. He found a supporter in the state conservator, Ulrich Ocherbauer, who considered the bastions, walls and the moat of particular importance for the image of the town. On the 19th of August 1968, the Radkersburg town council voted unanimously to ban development in the moat to »protect the overall view« of the town. In March 1991, this principle was abandoned and 300 parking spaces were created in the eastern part of the moat.

⁶² Stier's report can be found in: ROGATSCH, F. 1937, p. 197 ff.; Illustrations of the plans can be found in: DRESCHER, B. 1999, pp. 46–50.

⁶³ ROGATSCH, F. 1937, p. 213.

⁶⁴ KURAHS, H. 1999, pp. 91–92.

Following a visit by the president of the Vienna State Federal Monuments Office as part of an experts meeting in Radkersburg in 1968, the discussion about the preservation of the bastions was revisited. It would, however, be another eight years before the very fragile section of the *Pfaffenbastei* was renovated by the town authorities. In 1982, the medieval defences and the Renaissance wall by the *Bürgerbastei* were uncovered and partly reconstructed. Since 1985, several restoration efforts have been undertaken on the Renaissance fortifications with the aim of conserving the whole site.⁶⁵

Today, the central elements of the Renaissance fortifications at Bad Radkersburg are the six remaining bastions that are almost in a unique and complete condition. Of the civilian buildings – remodelled under the direction of various Italian master builders in the 16th and 17th centuries – there are several that deserve to be highlighted: the Herberstorff Palace at 27 Langegasse with its impressive arcaded courtyard by Battista della Porta de Riva; the old town hall at 14 Hauptplatz, the work of Domenico Gallo and Antonio Piazzo; the house at 12 Hauptplatz with its many Renaissance elements and the biforate window to Frauenplatz; and finally, 10 Hauptplatz, today the cultural centre of the town. The triforate window above the heavy round-arched portal dates to the end of the 16th century. Made from sandstone, the window framing with decorative frieze and grimacing faces carved in relief is one of the most beautiful testimonies to the Italian building style in Bad Radkersburg.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Italian architect Domenico dell Allio can be considered a master builder of the 16th century. He is a representative of the many Italians employed by the Styrian authorities and the Habsburgs – who lived in Graz between 1564 and 1619 – to modernise the country in every way. This was not only in relation to the architecture and arts, but also in other aspects, such as business and craftsmanship. The Italian builders brought with them a new, modern style of fortifications and Renaissance architecture, with its clear and harmoniously structured forms and characteristic bastions. Initially limited to building defensive structures, they went on to build palaces, castles, churches and monasteries, many of which survive today. Many of the fortification projects fell victim to town planning after they had fallen into disuse and disrepair, but remnants of them can still be found. Particularly impressive is the example of Bad Radkersburg, with its six surviving bastions, today surrounded by beautiful gardens. The so-called *Teufelslocher* Bastion went from a military use to something more community-based: today it is a children's playground for the town's kindergartens.

Looking at Domenico's completed building projects, the ingenious planning and immense work that went into them are clear. Huge amounts of money were spent on the construction and renovation of defensive structures and complexes. Projects took much longer than anticipated, often due to a lack of the necessary resources to continue, as well as other catastrophes, such as fire or flooding that destroyed or delayed work. The implementation of such plans was only possible with a formidable person such as Domenico dell Allio at the helm.

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⁶⁵ KURAHS, H. 1999, pp. 130–131.

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DOMENICO DELL ALLIO: DELO ITALIJANSKEGA ARHITEKTA S POSEBNIM Poudarkom NA UTRDBI V RADKERSBURGU

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je obravnavano delo italijanskega arhitekta in gradbenega mojstra Domenica dell Allia s posebnim poudarkom na njegovem delovanju v Gradcu, Fürstenfeldu, Radgoni (Bad Radkersburg), Mariboru, Ptuju in Varaždinu. Posebna pozornost je namenjena utrdbam, ki izvirajo iz obdobja po srednjem veku in stojijo v Radgoni. Zgradbe predstavljajo pravo posebnost, saj so se skoraj v celoti ohranile.

O življenju Domenica dell Allia je na žalost znanega zelo malo. Najverjetneje se je rodil v Scarii očetu Martinu dell Alliu, šolanje pa je zaključil v severni Italiji. V zapisih najdemo različne oblike imena družine, na primer Aglio, Dallio, Delalio, Laglio, dell Aglio, Ilalio ali Lallio. Od leta 1530 je Domenico dell Allio deloval na območju habsburških dežel, še posebej na Štajerskem in v okolici Zagreba. Njegovo prvo gradbišče je bilo v Gradcu. Dell Allio pa ni bil zgolj izvrsten in izjemen graditelj obrambnih zgradb, ampak tudi umetnik. Graški *Landhaus* je postal njegova najznamenitejša zgradba. Kralj Ferdinand I. ga je imenoval za glavnega stavbenika na območju Notranje Avstrije in hrvaško-slavonske Vojne krajine. Podelil mu je tudi doživljenjski naziv »nadzornika za vojaško arhitekturo na območju Vojne krajine«. Leta 1545 je postal generalni upravnik obrambnih zgradb v Gradcu, Radgoni, Fürstenfeldu, Mariboru in na Ptuju. Leta 1553 je bil imenovan za kraljevega gradbenega mojstra, leta 1555 pa za vrhovnega gradbenega mojstra na območju Hrvaške in *Vendske*.

Domenico in drugi italijanski arhitekti so migrirali v Avstrijo zaradi zgodovinskega ozadja te dežele. Nenehne napetosti med Avstrijo in Osmanskim imperijem v 16. stoletju so privedle do obdobja obnavljanja in modernizacije utrdb po celotni Avstriji in po deželah, ki so bile z njo povezane. Zavarovanje štajerske meje je bilo še posebej pomembno. Ker so bili italijanski gradbeni mojstri in arhitekti z območij Comskega jezera in Lugana znani po gradnji takšnih obrambnih zgradb, so jih pripeljali v Avstrijo.

THE PEOPLE OF RIBNICA UNDER ATTACK FROM THE OTTOMANS

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ABSTRACT

The time of transition between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period was one of the most turbulent periods in history. The area of Ribnica and Kočevje was under attack from the Ottoman incursions for almost two hundred years. However, even though this period was characterised by great devastation and uncertainty, it was also the time when the inhabitants of the Kočevje region, which Ribnica was part of, were granted a special privilege in the form of a patent. Based on this patent, they were allowed to sell their wares throughout the empire tax-free. Over centuries, the privilege evolved into a way of life. And so it came to pass that a modern version of this lifestyle has survived until the present day.

KEY WORDS

Ottoman incursions, Ribnica, Kočevje

INTRODUCTION

The time of transition between the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period was one of the most turbulent periods in European history. In addition to other regular tributes, feudal lords also needed to maintain an army for the court's fight against the Ottomans, who were at the time plundering the area. Due to additional costs, they often ran into financial trouble, which they attempted to solve by requiring their serfs to pay an ever increasing amount of taxes. The situation escalated and, in 1515, this drove the serfs into joining forces for a large-scale revolt and demanding the so-called 'stara pravda' (old rights), i.e. that their feudal lords reintroduce the original feudal obligations and trade rights. To make the matter worse, at the time Carniola (*Kranjska*) suffered a number of disasters. In 1511, the region was hit by a massive earthquake and Valvasor also reported that the fields were swarmed with locusts, which wrought havoc. These natural disasters resulted in hunger, which caused the spreading of various diseases. People were expecting the end of the world. This was also a time of the most stirring religious reform and the accompanying reform movement, both in the countryside (the Jumpers, the so-called *Štiftarji*, etc.) and among the nobility and the bourgeoisie (Lutheranism).

Ribnica, and its surrounding area, was no exception and was greatly affected by these events, in particular by the religious movement and the Ottoman incursions. While the religious movement originated in the people themselves (after all, the Slovenian reformer Primož Trubar was also born near Ribnica, in the village of Rašica, north of Velike Lašče), the Ottoman incursions posed a threat from an outside world, which threatened the people's families, livelihoods and possessions, and hence probably left an even deeper mark on them.

Although several centuries have passed since then, it is interesting to note that the period of Ottoman incursions is still very much alive in the form of oral narratives; even though to a lesser extent than in the past, many people still know that the Ottomans besieged the Ribnica Castle 27 times (according to some accounts 22, and others 23 times), but never managed to conquer it. Some local people know how to explain the origins of their surnames and link them to this period or can, at the very least, mention some of the places where woodpiles were burnt to signal any imminent danger.

And without doubt, there is not a single native of Ribnica who is unable to say off the top of their head that due to the devastation left behind by the Ottoman army the emperor granted them the so-called *Peddler Patent*, which allowed them to sell their wares throughout the empire tax-free, as a result of which they used to travel far and wide, and still do.

The aim of the paper is to shed light on the period of Ottoman incursions and to find the elements that defined the places within this area to the greatest extent. The paper will touch upon both the incursions themselves and the organisation of defence, with a focus on the area in question, i.e. the Kočevje region, which

Ribnica was part of. The *Peddler Patent*, which in a way still impacts the lives of the people who live in this area, was granted right during this time.

Memories of this time are present everywhere in the form of microtoponyms or the vantage points visible from afar that used to serve as warning bonfires. On the way from Ribnica to Ljubljana, the church of St. Agathius can be seen on the nearby hill; the church is a reminder of the role that the Auerspergs played in defending the land against the Ottomans, as well as of the famous Battle of Sisak in 1593.

It is certainly worth mentioning that this particular period provided the content for a number of folk songs and tales, and left such an indelible imprint on people's memory that it is also reflected in the Slovenian literature of the 19th century.¹

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF RIBNICA AND THE OTTOMANS

Looking into the data collected by historians who have studied this subject thoroughly² reveals that the first Ottoman incursion of the Slovenian lands occurred in 1408, while after this year the incursions took place yearly with a few longer breaks in between. Among the Slovenian lands, it was Carniola that was most severely affected by these attacks as it was closest of all to Bosnia, which made the passage easier than elsewhere. During the first period, which lasted from 1408 to 1469, the aim of the Ottoman incursions was for the most part looting. Incursions that took place during the second period between 1469 and 1483 were already said to be conquering in nature; if they were not specifically aimed at conquering a certain territory, these attacks were at the very least supposed to exhaust the lands that were under attack to such an extent that these would become easy prey at the earliest opportunity.

In 1415, the Ottomans passed Ribnica for the first time on their way to Ljubljana and back, but according to a written account by Anton Skubic, the Dean of Ribnica, Louis of Teck, the Patriarch of Aquileia, set off to come to Ribnica's help as soon as he had learnt of the attack, but arrived too late, after the Ottomans had already left.³

The year 1469 saw the start of the worst period of Ottoman attacks that took place westwards. That year, approximately 10,000 Ottomans made it to Metlika and were seen pillaging all around Carniola for 14 days. After they caused havoc at Metlika, they divided into three sections. The second troop struck against Kočevje, burnt it to the ground together with all of the surrounding villages, and then broke into the Ribnica Valley and all the way to Ig.⁴

According to some historical sources, as many as four attacks took place in 1471. In June 1471, the Ottoman army, which consisted of between 15,000 and 16,000 horsemen, set up an encampment in Rašica, from where it dispersed on all sides and plundered the surrounding area. In 1476, the Ottomans were plundering around Carniola for four months. They were still seen raiding in the area of Ribnica in 1480, 1491 and 1497.

The devastation and great poverty that the Ottomans had left behind in the area of Ribnica is clearly seen from the fact that the emperor, in 1493, ordered the caretaker of the Ribnica Castle, Gašper Ravbar, to lend some seeds for sowing to farmers, as they did not have any.⁵

The worst year of all turned out to be 1528, when Carniola was subjected to four attacks. In one of these attacks, the Ottomans conquered Ribnica, from where they set off towards Ortnek, Lašče, Turjak, and all the way to Ig, and captured 4,000 prisoners.⁶ Apart from these large-scale attacks, a large number of smaller-scale ones took place, carried out by divisions of Ottoman frontier troops – the so-called *martoloz*i. These

¹ Some of the most important authors were: Josip Stritar (*Turki na Slevici*), France Prešern (*Turjaška Rozamunda*), Anton Aškerc (*Janičar, Brodnik*), Josip Jurčič (*Jurij Kozjak, Slovenski janičar, Domen*), Rado Murnik (*Lepi Janičar*).

² Two of these historians were Dr Ignacij Voje and Dr Vasko Simoniti.

³ SKUBIC, A. 1976, p. 498.

⁴ VOJE, I. 1996, p. 22.

⁵ SKUBIC, A. 1976, p. 509.

⁶ VOJE, I. 1996, p. 82.

were small groups that had settled in the forests in the vicinity of Ribnica, Loški Potok and the dominions of Poljane and Kočevje. They constantly attacked the local population and plundered their homes.

In the 1525–1530 period, Carniola suffered 50 attacks, which completely devastated all frontier areas, including the area of Ribnica.⁷

In the second half of the 16th century, the attacks became increasingly rare. The final plundering incursions by the Ottoman troops in the Ribnica dominion took place in 1584.⁸

DEFENCE AGAINST THE OTTOMANS

The defence against the Ottomans was inadequate and ineffective, quite often the Ottomans would plunder without any resistance whatsoever and were already on their way back with their loot when they were finally caught up with by the army, which sometimes even managed to take away at least part of the Ottomans' looted goods. Setting up a system of signalling points was one of the first attempts at organised defence against the Ottoman attacks in the 15th century. In the 16th century, the system was organised to such an extent that it covered all of the lands, namely Upper Carniola, Styria and Carniola.⁹ The system of main signalling points was set up on the peaks visible for miles around, where bonfires were lit whenever imminent danger was threatening. Bonfires were accompanied by cannon shots; two cannon shots signalled that the Ottomans were assembling, three shots that the enemy was already on the border, which also signified a general call-up,¹⁰ whereas four shots or more, warning fires, smoke and bell-ringing signalled that the enemy was already within the country.¹¹ The 1596 equipment inventory lists the signalling points in this area: Vinica, Straža (near Sinji vrh), Poljane (near Stari trg ob Kolpi), Spaha, Kostel, Zajčji vrh nad Črnim potokom, Fridrihštajn, Kočevje, Ložine, Ribnica (Sv. Ana nad Ribnico – Church of St. Anne), Ortnek (Grmada nad Ortnekom), Turjak (Sv. Ahac – Church of St. Agathius) and others further north. The inventory also reveals what weapons these signalling points were equipped with. For instance, the signalling point at Sv. Ana nad Ribnico, which was one of the best equipped ones, was fitted with two two-pound mortars, 50 shotguns with gun rests, 60 lightweight shotguns, three small wheeled cannons, four large-sized cannons, three muskets and sufficient amounts of fuse.¹²

Moreover, attempts were made to also discourage Ottoman attacks through the construction of obstacles such as ramparts, canals, clearings, or – a feature known from the area of Kočevje – protected forest areas where felling was prohibited. Thus, forests spread in the area between Nemška Loka, Hrib and Tanči vrh.¹³ The overgrown forest areas were supposed to make the passage of the army more difficult.

During the period of the heaviest Ottoman incursions after 1469, the emperor attempted to help by granting some of the open market-towns, town- and other privileges, thus also giving them the right to build defensive walls. Two of the nearby places in the area that were granted town privileges during this period were Kočevje and Lož na Notranjskem. In 1475, the provincial prince issued a decree according to which all towns in Carniola were to be fortified, as a result of which the network of fortifications around the country was expanded.¹⁴ In the market town of Ribnica, which was not walled, the castle in the very centre of the town constituted an important stronghold, where the local population was able to flee to whenever an attack was looming. During the time of Ottoman incursions, the castle was enclosed with defensive towers, a moat was built around the walls and the castle was additionally fortified. Johann Weikhard von Valvasor wrote the following in his famous work *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* in relation to the suffering of Ribnica and its surrounding area during this time: *The traditional enemy of the Christian name and the neighbouring perpetrator of atrocious deeds defeated this market town on more than one occasion and smothered the*

⁷ VOJE, I. 1996, p. 83.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ SIMONITI, V. 1982, p. 102.

¹⁰ VOJE, I. 1976, p. 17.

¹¹ The previously unpublished material by the Kočevje Regional Museum.

¹² SIMONITI, V. 1982, p. 102.

¹³ The previously unpublished material by the Kočevje Regional Museum.

¹⁴ VOJE, I. 1976, p. 18.

*surrounding villages with smoke, but never managed to gain control of the castle; beside himself with fury he always took large numbers of Christians into captivity, robbed them all, sabred countless people, imitating the devil, the tyrants' father, in every single thing he did...*¹⁵

Peasants in the countryside erected their own strongholds, encampments, usually located around churches.

Valvasor reports that strongholds, encampments, were started to be set up in 1471. In Loški Potok, a wall was built on the hill around the church, which is nowadays called *Na tabru* (At the Encampment). The original settlement of Lašče used to be situated on a plain leading towards the railway station, but that same year it was relocated onto a hill where the present-day village of Velike Lašče is located, and fortified by means of a wall. Another encampment was set up in the village above Struge; it is nowadays called *Podtabor*. On 27 June 1471, the Emperor Frederick III issued a charter establishing the town of Kočevje. According to the charter »... a fortress is to be built there, to make people safe from the incursions by Ottomans, who have in recent years invaded ... Kočevje, plundered, burnt down houses, took people into captivity.«¹⁶

Two of such anti-Ottoman encampments were situated at the church of St. Roch (Sv. Rok) in the village of Dolenja vas and at the church of St. Anne (Sv. Ana) on Mala gora.

THE CHURCH OF ST. AGATHIUS – A MONUMENT TO THE VICTORY OVER THE OTTOMANS

Between Ribnica and Ljubljana, in the vicinity of Velike Lašče, is the location of Turjak Castle, where the Family of Auersperg originated from; the Auerspergs were heavily involved in the defence of the land against the Ottoman army and two of their most famous family members are presented below.

Herbard von Auersperg inspired terror among the Ottomans for thirty years. In 1566, he captured several Ottomans near Novi and had them imprisoned in Črnomelj; two of the most notable captives were Pasha Usraim-beg and an Ottoman priest who he put in prison at the Ribnica Castle. That same year, the Emperor rewarded Herbard by appointing him the provincial governor and the commander-in-chief of the Croatian Military Frontier.

Miha Preinfalk believes that the reason why Herbard went down in history was not only his great fighting-related successes, but even more so his death, »which came as a terrible shock to the then Carniola and turned him into an immortal hero«.¹⁷ On 22 September 1575, the Ottomans achieved a remarkable success at the Battle of Budačko near Karlovac. Most of the imperial army was killed or imprisoned, with one of the victims being Herbard himself. As a sign of the Ottomans' great victory and triumph, commander Ferhad Pasha sent to Istanbul the heads of Herbard von Auersperg and Frederick von Weichselberg (Friderik Višjegorski). The Auerspergs devoted a great deal of effort in getting back Herbard's mortal remains and in freeing their captured son Wolf Engelbert. After lengthy negotiations, they finally succeeded in 1577; however, they had been forced to give the Sultan large numbers of captured Ottomans in return, as well as an additional 30,000 ducats to Ferhad Pasha,¹⁸ who, in 1579, supposedly used this ransom to build a mosque in Banja Luka, which was unfortunately demolished in 1993.

Eighteen years after Herbard's death, another member of the Family of Auersperg played a key role in the battle against the Ottomans, namely Andreas von Auersperg, Lord of Schönberg und Seisenberg. Andreas was also nicknamed the Carniolan Achilles and was called *The Terror of the Ottomans*.¹⁹ Owing to his successes, he was in 1589 appointed commander-in-chief of the Military Frontier. As one of the commanders of the imperial army, he achieved immortality in the Battle of Sisak, which took place on 22 June 1593, the day of Saint Agathius. That Battle of Sisak was a crucial factor in stopping further Ottoman conquests towards the west. However, he was not able to enjoy his fame for much longer as he died aged 38 years, just over a year after the battle.

¹⁵ SIMONITI, V. 1982, p. 101.

¹⁶ DEBELJAK, J. 1982, p. 84.

¹⁷ PREINFALK, M. 2005, p. 96.

¹⁸ DEBELJAK, J. 1982, p. 85.

¹⁹ PREINFALK, M. 2005, p. 83.

A monument and a reminder of the famous victory at Sisak is the Church of St. Agathius near Turjak, which used to be dedicated to Saint Mary, however, after the victory in the Battle at Sisak, it was rebuilt and re-named after the saint whose name day was on the day of the great victory. From the battle, Andreas von Auersperg brought along a richly decorated coat that belonged to the military commander Hasan Predojević (Telli Hasan Pasha), which has been preserved until the present day in the National Museum of Slovenia.

THE PEDDLER PATENT

As previously stated, the people of Ribnica and the surrounding area still remember that the Ottoman incursions greatly contributed to the Emperor granting the aforementioned privilege, which was on 23 October 1492 signed in Linz by the Emperor Frederick III. During the time of Ottoman incursions, trade in this region suffered severely, and for a certain period the fairs in Ribnica came to a complete halt. In 1469, Kočevje and the surrounding villages were burnt to the ground, and the looting and demolishing forced people into simply leaving their homes, which resulted in a number of desolate areas. Such abandoned areas in the area of Kočevje were at a later time populated by the Uskoks.

Due to the situation at the time, the Emperor granted this privilege to the townspeople of Kočevje and all subjects of the local Land Office, and indirectly also the people of Ribnica, thereby allowing them to trade throughout the Empire without any additional burdens.

With this privilege, the Emperor aimed to mitigate the consequences of the Ottoman incursions in the area of Kočevje and Ribnica and to make sure the farms would thus be lived on and more cultivated, and that the tax would be paid on a regular basis. The free trade privilege in the region stimulated the development of peddling-based trade, which provided the people with an important source of livelihood for centuries. It therefore comes as no surprise that the people would refer to it as the *Peddler Patent*.

This privilege read as follows:

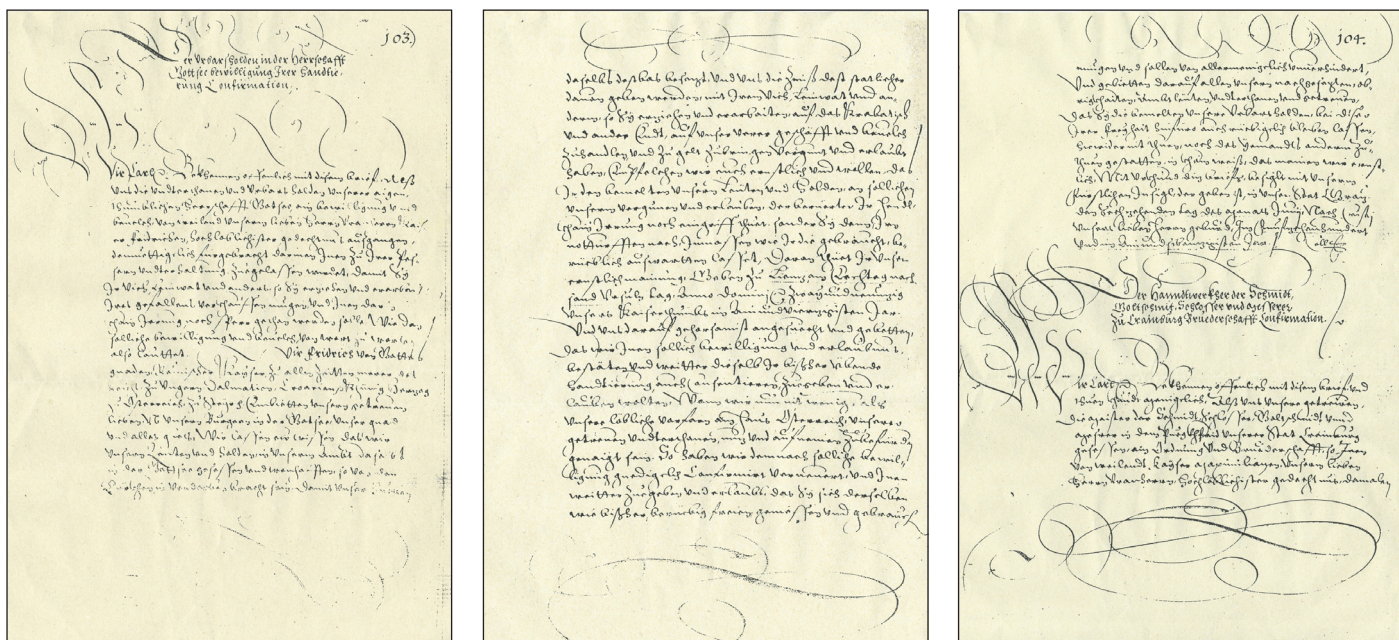
I, Frederick, by the grace of God the Holy Roman Emperor, the eternal expander of the empire, the King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia etc., the Duke of Austria, Styria etc., hereby give our loyal, dearly beloved townspeople of Kočevje, our grace and benevolence, so our people and subjects in offices there, the people settled and residing in Kočevje, who were brought about the devastation by the Ottomans, who occupy our farms there and pay their duties, are allowed to trade in their livestock, linen and anything else they breed and produce for Croatia and all the other lands. By our further order, they are allowed and encouraged to trade in anything that helps them make ends meet. We give this order (with a favourable disposition) and request that you place no obstacles or interventions in the way of these people and subjects with regard to this furtherance of ours and the permission to engage in their trade; you are instead requested to allow them to practice their trade peacefully, in accordance with their needs. We hereby give you our opinion, issued in Linz on a Tuesday following the day of St. Ursula in the year of our Lord ninety-two, year forty-one of our empire (23 October 1492).²⁰

At the time when it was signed, the privilege was considered to be a temporary measure granted in emergency situations with the aim of helping all subjects in the area of Kočevje. However, through confirmation deeds in the 16th and 18th centuries, it turned into the foundation for the peddling in this area.²¹

Due to its geographical location, the area of Kočevje and Ribnica has actually been designated for trade from the very start, as some of the most important trade routes had passed through here in the past. The privilege granted by Emperor Frederick allowed peddlers' trade in this area to flourish and various forms of peddling were developed; most notable were peddlers from Kostel and Predgrad, peddlers from Ribnica with a focus on sellers of locally made handicrafts, i.e. woodenware makers and potters, as well as chestnut sellers, egg sellers, and other peddler forms typical of the entire area in question.

²⁰ Part of the text of the 1571 confirmation deed.

²¹ OTOREPEC, B. 1982, p. 83.



Images 1–3: Confirmation deed, so called *Peddlers patent* from 1571, by Karl II Duke of Inner Austria. A Copy after original in the Austrian State Archives, Vienna

While other forms of peddling in the area of Ribnica and Kočevje died down after World War II, the preserved tradition is what makes Ribnica-based peddling so special. Even today, more than five hundred years since the Emperor's privilege was granted, peddlers from Ribnica can be seen on a daily basis in front of modern shopping centres, at trade fairs, as well as on their way from one house to another selling the wares made as part of the Ribnica cottage industry.

SOME INTERESTING OTTOMAN-RELATED DETAILS AND ORAL TRADITION

A few other interesting historical details that are related to the period in question and that constitute an important link between the two worlds need to be mentioned as well. An interesting example of how the two worlds were intertwined is Primož Trubar's visit to his native country in 1567, when he was already in exile in Germany. The aim of his visit was to meet the Ottoman prisoners. In the prison at the Ljubljana Castle, he met with the Bosnian Pasha Usraim-beg, after which he went to Ribnica to talk with an Ottoman prisoner, a Muslim priest whose name is not known. Trubar wanted the priest to explain certain things about the Koran and to get information about the possibilities of translating the Bible into the Turkish language and the propagation of the Christian faith among the Ottoman people.²² This was in fact one of the ideas about how to overcome the Ottomans, namely to convert them to Christianity. This was advocated not only by the Protestant Reformers, but also by Catholic Rome.

Another interesting historical detail, which was discovered by Dr Boris Golec during his study of the market town of Ribnica, is the christening of the so-called *Turkinja* (i.e. Turkish / Ottoman woman), actually an Ottoman captive, who was christened *Catherine Elizabeth* on New Year's Day 1684 in Ribnica. Three local notables were her godparents: the regional administrator George Sigmund Count von Gallenberg, Catherine Elizabeth Countess von Auersperg and Anna Catherine Countess von Trillek. As is the case for the vast majority of other Muslims christened in the territory of Slovenia, the ultimate fate of the Ottoman woman christened in Ribnica likewise remains unknown.²³

In general, it is interesting to note how well preserved Ottoman-related knowledge and oral tradition are among the Slovenian people even though so much time has passed since then. There are numerous tales of treasures, secret tunnels, miraculous rescues from the Ottoman captivity, various atrocities committed by Ottoman attackers, locals tricking the Ottoman army or of the miracles performed by saints as a way of protecting the villages and towns and the people from atrocities.

²² VOJE, I. 1996, p. 87

²³ GOLEC, B. 2010, p. 61.

All these stories have been preserved as tales or songs – and Ribnica is no exception to this.

Among miraculous events, the undoubtedly most famous one is a miracle that involves the market town of Ribnica being saved from the Ottomans by the parish saint – St. Stephen, Pope and Martyr, which was described by Valvasor:

These barbaric brutes supposedly made it as far as just a stone's throw from the market town, but they were overcome by blindness and thus they failed to see Ribnica even though they had their eyes wide open and were very close. People believed it was St. Stephen, Pope and Martyr, who had been responsible for this and had protected them. Once, while they were making a dash for the market town, these predators suddenly caught sight of the church, which made them withdraw as they had gotten frightened of the saint who lived in the church.

From the work *Zgodovina Ribnice in ribniške pokrajine (The History of Ribnica and the Area of Ribnica)*,²⁴ written in the 1930s by the dean Anton Skubic, it can be assumed that the legend was at the time still very much alive: »Even today, people will tell you that when the Ottomans came rushing through the village of Goriča vas, they saw an apparition of the parish saint, St. Stephen, in a great cloud of light; they could not see anything because of the bright light and they started shouting '*I can't see!*', which is why the parish fields towards Hrvača are called *Na Vidmu*. «²⁵

As regards the tradition of songs, the most credible source for the area of Ribnica is a study by Dr Zmaga Kumer, which was in 1967 published as a book entitled *Ljudska glasba med rešetarji in lončarji v Ribniški dolini*,²⁶ which includes some songs associated with this period. Below, two best known songs are presented in their original form, in the Slovenian language, while short summaries are given in the accompanying footnotes; the first of the two describes an attempted kidnapping of a young girl, whereas the second is about a girl being rescued from Ottoman captivity by her brother. Both songs were presented in written form in the early 19th century, however, Dr Kumer assumes that they are quite possibly even older, but were at some point changed to make them more topical and relevant for the time of the Ottoman incursions, and had as such been preserved until they were written down.

RIBNIŠKA ALENČICA (ALENČICA FROM RIBNICA):²⁷

Stoji, stoji tam Ribnica,
po sredi je dolinica.

V nji je lepa kamrica,
v kamrici Alenčica,

katera sprelepó tekè
pretanke riže šljarašte.

Prišel Turek hud po njo,
potrkal ji na kamrico:

»Odpri, Alenčica, brzno!«
Alenčica pa prav tako:
»Brez matere jez ne odprem,
nocoj k nobenmu jez ne grem.

Mat so šli pa v Ljubljano,
men po suknjo židano.«

²⁴ SKUBIC, A. 1976.

²⁵ This originates in *Ne vidim!*, which is Slovenian for 'I can't see'. SKUBIC, A. 1976, p. 506.

²⁶ Folk Music among the Sieve-Makers and Potters of the Ribnica Valley.

²⁷ KUMER, Z. 1968, p. 282.

Potrka v drug: »Alenčica,
odpri, me vidit bratica!

Saj je minilo petnajst let,
kar sem bil na vojsko vzet.«

Alenčica mu le odpre,
v kamrico k nji notri gre.

Po hiši se prešetata,
za roke se sprejemata.

Prijel jo nizko je za pas,
na konjiča vrgel jo v tem čas.

Alenčica kriči na glas:
»Avbe, slišite, graf, le-to!
Ste hotli imeti me gospo,
naj bom za vašo kuharco!«

Še v drug zavpila premočno:
»Avbe, slišite, graf, le-to!

Ste hotli me gospo imet,
za hišno dajte me vzeti!«

V tretje vpije na ves glas:
»Avbe, graf, to prosim vas!

Ste hotli me gospo imet,
me svinjarico prosim vzeti!«

Iz spanja graf se prebudi,
tako mi pravi, govori:

»Brž hlapci, konje osedlat,
tako se mi hoče zazdevat,

de mlada vpije Alenčica,
de njo zdaj Turek proč pelja.«

Konj grofa že sedlan stoji,
na njega graf se zaluči.

In pač močno konje driči,
de ogenj spod kovi beršči.
Došal je bliz Goriče vsi
Turčina, ki z Alenko bži.

Izza pasa zdere svetli meč,
Turčinu vrže glavo preč:

»Turčin, to imaš zdaj za to,
k si hotel jmet Alenčico!«²⁸

The second song, Ribniška Jerica²⁹ (Jerica from Ribnica), is about how a brother manages to rescue his sister from Ottoman slavery, but when he returns, the parents no longer recognise him due to his many years of absence.

Stoji bela Ribnica,
v Ribnici dolinica.

Tam bla Jerca vkradena,
doli v Turško vplenjena.

Zdaj pšenico grede žet,
Jerca s Turkinjami vred.

Polk leži gladka steza,
ozka steza vglajena.
Po nji prišal lep vojšak,
lep vojšak, pravi junak.

»Dobro vsaki žanjičici,
zlasti tebi, Jerici!

Al bi rada šla domu?«
Žalostna prav Jerca mu:
»Rada, vsmili se Bogu!«

Njo na konjiča zavihti,
v belo Ribnico zdrči.

Še gospa v lin stoji
in hitro govori:

»Bodi hvala zdaj Bogu!
Naša Jerica gre domu.«

Jerco so sprejemali,
nič vojšaka čislali.
Milo njemu se stori,
na vrt gre on zeleni.

Tam utrga jabelko,
en rudeče, jabelko.

In tako zdaj govori,
k jabelko v rokah drži:

»Jablan, jablan, jablanca,
bodi srečno ti doma.
Ko sim nekdanj pobeč bil,
saj sim tebe jez sadil!«

²⁸ A short summary of the song: The song is about Alenčica from Ribnica and how she is tricked by an Ottoman soldier. He talks her into letting him into the house by making her believe that he is her long-lost brother. When she lets him in, he grabs her and gets on his horse, aiming to take her with him to his homeland. Alenčica is shouting out, trying to get the count to come to her help; from what she is saying, one can assume that the count used to court her, but she did not care much for him. When she calls out to the count for the third time, he wakes up, has his horse saddled and dashes off to save her. Near the village of Goriča vas, in the vicinity of Ribnica, the count catches up with the two, saves Alenčica and cuts the kidnapper's head off with a sword.

²⁹ KUMER, Z. 1968, p. 282.

Spet se njemu milo stri,
potok solz mu gre z oči.

Se na konjča zavihti
in na Dunaj brž zleti,
ker tako še govori:

»Jaz cesarja služil bom,
večno pustil ljubi dom.«³⁰

Two of the other songs collected by Zmaga Kumer that explore this subject matter are *Mladi Marko pobije Turke* and *Rešitev kralja Matjaža iz turške ječe*.³¹

Nowadays, the time of Ottoman incursions is also recalled through a number of microtoponyms such as Pod-tabor in the village of Struge in Suha krajina near Ribnica, Martoloz, Na taboru in Loški Potok, and Grmada nad Velikimi Poljanami.

CONCLUSION

The meeting and intertwining of different worlds has been taking place throughout the history of mankind, be it due to trade- or conquest-related purposes. The Ribnica Valley and a wider area of Kočevje were connected to the world in their own specific way. Not only did other sellers come over here to sell their wares, many people from the villages and towns in this area also left to travel far and wide, wishing to learn about the world, discover it and adapt to it, motivated by a desire to earn some money and make a living for their families. The so-called Peddler Patent, which had such a profound impact on the everyday lives of the people in this area, was issued right at the time of the most intense Ottoman incursions, raids that marked the lives of several generations.

The Patent has survived throughout the centuries and so have the people who were able to adapt to the times and to any situation. Even when the Ottomans no longer posed a threat, people maintained the privilege that had evolved into a way of life. What is so special about this is that after more than five hundred years, Ribnica peddlers are still around and that trade has in this area become a value, a postulate of efficient management and, consequently, of livelihood.

By letting imagination take wing, one might say that every encounter with peddlers from Ribnica is at the same time also an encounter with the Ottomans, the Janissaries, religious reformers, rebellious peasants and a number of historical events and personalities.

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³⁰ A short summary of the song: The song is about Jerica, who has been kidnapped and taken to the Ottoman Empire. Now she is working in the field along with the local women. One day, a beautiful young soldier comes walking by and stops right where Jerica is working. It is her brother who was kidnapped when he was only a little boy, which is why she no longer recognises him. But when he offers to take her home to Ribnica, she agrees straightaway and they ride off, going home. When they arrive in Ribnica, everyone comes rushing to see Jerica, happy that she is home, but no one recognises the soldier. Feeling sad, he goes into the garden of the house he was born in, reminiscing about the happy days of his childhood with tears in his eyes. As not a single person knows him any longer, he gets on his horse and rides off in the direction of Vienna, where he wants to serve the imperial army, thus leaving his home sweet home for good.

³¹ *Young Marko Kills Off the Ottomans and King Matjaž Gets Rescued from an Ottoman Prison.*

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RIBN'ČANI V PRIMEŽU TURŠKIH VPADOV

mag. Marina Gradišnik, Muzej Ribnica, Ribnica, Slovenija

POVZETEK

V prispevku poskušam v kratkih orisih predstaviti razmere na Ribniškem v 15. in 16. stoletju. Obravnavano obdobje so poleg številnih naravnih nesreč, verskih nemirov in kmečkih uporov močno zaznamovali prav vpadi Turkov. To je bilo obdobje stalne negotovosti. Številčna turška vojska ter pogosta ropanja, plenjenja in ugrabitve so za sabo puščali opustošenje in v ljudeh vzbujali nenehen strah, tudi strah pred drugo kulturo in vero. Boj proti Turkom je bil v prvi vrsti obramba očetnjave, vendar tudi obramba »prave« vere.

Zato se ni čuditi dejstvu, da je Slovenija prepletena z zgodbami o čudežih, ko so svetniki ali celo devica Marija pomagali, da so Turki kdaj prizanesli domačemu prebivalstvu. Tudi na Ribniškem ni bilo nič drugače. Med ljudmi so se ohranile tudi številne balade, ki pripovedujejo o ugrabitvah in rešitvah iz turškega ujetništva ter o vrnitvi domov.

Vojaška obramba dežele je bila počasna in pogosto neučinkovita. Ljudje so si pomagali tako, da so si sami zidali tabore, pogosto so se zatekali v gozdove, kraške jame idr. Prebivalci ribniškega trga so se zatekali v grad, ki ga Turkom, če verjamemo Valvasorju, kljub večkratnim poskusom nikoli ni uspelo zavzeti.

Na prihod Turkov so ljudi opozarjali »ognjeni telefoni«, ki so se vrstili od Kolpe mimo Ribniške doline in naprej proti Ljubljani. Ko so se ognjem pridružili topovski streli in cerkveno zvonjenje, je pomenilo, da je sovražnik že v deželi.

Prav zaradi nenehnega plenjenja in negotovosti, ki je vladala med prebivalci, je cesar Friderik III. leta 1492 dodelil prebivalcem kočevsko-ribniškega območja poseben privilegij, patent, na podlagi katerega so lahko brez davka prodajali svojo robo po vsem cesarstvu. Ta privilegij je bil takrat začasen ukrep, dokler se razmere ne bi izboljšale, a je zaradi potrditev kasnejših vladarjev prerasel v način življenja tukajšnjih ljudi in ta način življenja se je v posodobljeni obliki ohranil do danes.

THE BATTLE OF SISAK AND THE COAT OF HASSAN PASHA

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ABSTRACT

It was on June 22nd in the year of 1593, on St. Achatius' day, when the outnumbered Christian army had crushed the Ottoman army in a short, yet fierce battle at Sisak. This victory stands for the beginning of the end of Ottoman advances towards Western Europe. The defeated Ottomans had left behind a precious cloth which once belonged to their commander Hassan Pasha Predojević. After some years have passed, the cloth was tailored into a liturgical vestment (*chasuble*). Today, it is being preserved in the National Museum of Slovenia under the name of Hassan's coat. The chasuble possessed by the Kočevje Regional Museum also bears its name after Hassan Pasha Predojević. But, the provenance and origin of the aforementioned coat from Kočevje are still to be closely investigated. Hitherto gathered data indicate that the chasuble and the belonging liturgical paraments most likely date from the 17th century.

KEY WORDS

Ottomans, 16th century, Battle of Sisak, coat of Hassan Pasha, National Museum of Slovenia, Kočevje Regional Museum

OTTOMAN INCURSIONS INTO THE SLOVENIAN LANDS

In the course of the 15th- and 16th century, the Habsburg hereditary lands Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria had been significantly affected by the incursions of the Ottomans, which strongly marked the country and its inhabitants. The intensity of the incursions depended on the internal circumstances of the Ottoman state, its politics, local interests, and the judgement of the Ottoman border commanders. The Slovenian lands were predominantly invaded by members of a light cavalry, the Akıncı. The Akıncı consisted of native and Muslim peasant population. Their troops, which represent the predecessors of the main body of the Ottoman army, weakened the resisting power of the population, which had been located in the territory intended for conquest at a later date, with numerous predatory incursions and ravages.¹

After the conquest of Bosnia in the year of 1463, the Ottomans became the fear and dread of Slovenian lands. Carniola, which was located nearest to Bosnia, had suffered the most. The Ottomans have approached the land up to a hundred kilometres, after that in the times of the Bosnian Beylerbey Ferhat Pasha, who ruled during the years 1576 and 1577, up to forty-five kilometres, and under the rule of Hassan Pasha even up to fifteen kilometres.²

In the second half of the eighties of the 16th century, the Ottoman incursions into the Slovenian territory came to a complete standstill, due to the Ottoman-Persian War, a better organisation of the informing, and improved military defence system in Croatia and the Slavonian borderland. This events mark the end of the constant restlessness of the territorial army in Carniola and Styria. But it was already in spring of the year 1590 when Sultan Murad III restored peace with Persia. The consequence were new Ottoman incursions into the lands of Inner Austria, which had followed in the course of the next year.³

HASSAN PASHA BESIEGES THE FORTRESS OF SISAK

In the same year, the competent and ambitious Hassan Pasha Predojević had been appointed the commander of the Bosnian pashaluk.⁴ He was notorious for his pugnacity and conquering expeditions. He

¹ SIMONITI, V. 1990 (1), pp. 40, 209.

² SIMONITI, V. 1990 (2), p. 4.

³ ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 9.

⁴ The Bosnian pashaluk (*beglerbegluk*, *ejalet*) was a province located at the most western point of the Ottoman Empire. It was established in the year 1580. The range of the pashaluk covered the larger part of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina. A pasha (*beylerbey*) who had been under the direct command of the sultan presided the pashaluk.

immediately strengthened the Bosnian armed forces, because he intended to subdue all unconquered territories between the rivers Una and Kolpa and unite them under Ottoman authority. He also wanted to gain a free passage to the city of Zagreb and towards Carniola. He focused his particular attention on Sisak⁵; one of the last strongest fortresses located at the most western point in the triangular area between the towns of Zagreb, Karlovac, and Sisak.

Hassan Pasha attacked Sisak three times. The first attack took place at the beginning of August in the year of 1591, but he had to retreat after a four-day siege due to the speedy assistance of the Christian army to the forces of the fortress coming from all sides. However, this failure did not alter Hassan Pasha's plans, which were interrupted by winter. In the spring of 1592, he started to build the fortress Jeni Hisar, later called Petrinja, which was located at the river mouth of the rivers Petrinjsica and Kolpa and represented a counterpoise to the Sisak fortress. This way he ensured a good starting point for his attack on Sisak at a later time.⁶

At the beginning of June in the year of 1592, he began the siege of Bihać, which had been isolated due to Hassan's skilful distraction of attention. The town surrendered on the 19th of June, but regardless of the peace agreement, the Ottomans murdered around two thousand inhabitants and some of the defenders.⁷

Only a month after the city of Bihać had fallen, Hassan Pasha started his second siege of Sisak in July of 1592. After four days had passed, he realised that he would have to make greater and prolonged preparations if he wanted to achieve his goal. So, all winter long, he committed smaller troops over the Croatian border to weaken the military clout of the border garrisons and to prevent military preparations for the incursion into Ottoman territory.⁸

THE BATTLE OF SISKAK

In the middle of April in 1593, the order to repair the bridge over the river Kolpa near the village of Petrinja made it apparent that Hassan Pasha will attend to attack Sisak for the third time. On the 15th of July in 1593, he and 12,000 of his men pitched camp on the right bank of the river Kolpa and started the siege of the fortress Sisak, which had been defended by approximately eight hundred men. He started to bombard the city gates and the defence tower with cannons that were located on the left side of Kolpa. When the news about the Ottoman siege of Sisak had spread, a Christian army started to gather near the city of Zagreb and set off to the help with the defence of the fortress. The Croatian cavalry and infantry were led by the Croatian Ban Thomas Erdödy. The German forces were under the command of Ruprecht von Eggenberg, the Uskoks came with the Croatian count Peter Erdödy, the local troops from Slavonia followed the captain from Koprivnica Stephan (Štefan) Grasswein, and General Andreas von Auersperg lead the arquebusiers from Karlovac. Smaller riflemen- and cavalry units were also lead by Adam Raubar (Ravbar), Christopher Obratschan (Krištof Obračan), Georg (Jurij) and Sigmund (Žiga) Paradeiser, Ivan Drašković, Stephan (Istvan) Tahy and Stephan Ursini Blagaj. Melchior Rödern and his troop of well-trained German riflemen were the last to join the army above. In the end, the gathered Christian army numbered around four- to five thousand men. When Hassan Pasha, infatuated with the idea of his military superiority, heard the news about the march of the Christian army, he decided to cross to the left river bank of the river Kolpa with the main body of his army. He ignored the advice of the experienced military commander Memi Beg, who had been against this move. Hassan Pasha positioned himself in the triangle between the rivers Sava, Odra, and Kolpa where he awaited the army of the nobles. The pontoon bridge over the Kolpa river represented the only connection between Hassan Pasha and his

⁵ The fortress to which the sources refer to as »the key of Croatia« was constructed during the years 1544–1552. The chapter of the city Zagreb gave the initiative for the construction of the fortress because of the protection against the Ottoman invasions towards Zagreb and Carniola. The fortress had a triangle shape with three fortified towers. The first tower was positioned on the shore of the river Sava, the second on the shore of the river Kolpa, and the third at the junction of both rivers. ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 9.

⁶ ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 10; SISKAK O UBRANI OD TURAKA 1993, p. 12. For further information regarding the construction of the fortress see: KRUHEK, M. 1994, p. 40–42.

⁷ SIMONITI, V. 1990 (1), p. 190; ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 10.

⁸ SIMONITI, V. 1990 (1), p. 192.

camp, which had been located on the opposite side of the river Kolpa.⁹ Such a strategic position could have been chosen only by a commander who was already confident of victory, a commander eager to fight without any delay and driven by the desire of victory.¹⁰

The estimates concerning the military power of both armies acquired from historical sources and literature are different.¹¹ We also encounter varying interpretations of the battle itself.¹² But the fact that the army of Hassan Pasha had outnumbered the Christian army by nearly three times is undisputed.¹³

The main encounter took place on St. Achatius' day, the 22nd of June in 1593. Around midday, a ferocious battle inflamed under bad weather conditions. Andreas von Auersperg (1557–1593 or 1594) and his riflemen from Karlovac repulsed the Ottoman counter-attack and forced them back towards the river Kolpa with the help of the German troops. The Ottomans tried to retreat to the right bank of the river Kolpa over the narrow pontoon bridge. But their path had been cut off by the arquebusiers from Karlovac, who were led by the leaseholder of the dominion of the Kočevje (Gottschee) Count Stephan Ursini Blagaj and Jakob Prank. These troops and the forces of the Sisak fortress had taken the bridge over the river Kolpa and hindered the retreat of the Ottoman army to the right river bank. The panic-stricken Ottomans tried to save themselves trying to cross the river Kolpa, whose water level had risen. But the majority drowned, among them also their commander Hassan Pasha Predojević.¹⁴ Around eight thousand Ottomans have drowned or fallen in the battle. The losses of the Christian army were small and amounted altogether to about forty to fifty men.¹⁵

A better military organisation, motivation, and the armament with firearms were the decisive factors which brought victory to the united Christian army. Nearly half of the cavalry and infantry were armed with firearms. The cavalrymen were armed with arquebuses and pistols, and the infantrymen with muskets. Until the Battle of Sisak, the Ottoman army had never engaged in an open field battle, since its strength lied in the besieging of fortified cities with the use of cannons. The Ottomans possessed only small amounts of other firearms. The elite infantry units (the Janissaries) were armed with these firearms while cavalrymen and other foot soldiers used cold weapons (bows, sabres, daggers, and spears). This kind of armament had been appropriate for the conquest of fortresses guarded by weak garrisons.¹⁶ After the defeat of the Ottoman fleet in the Battle of Lepanto in the south of Greece in the year of 1571, the Battle of Sisak proved that the Ottoman army can be defeated on land as well.

The Battle of Sisak is considered as the turning point relating to the battles against the Ottomans and marks the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power which they asserted in the Balkans. Even though the Ottomans started to overstep the borders of their state after some years have passed, their power had never been the same. So it came to pass, that the days of immediate Ottoman danger for Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria had come to an end. Unfortunately, this did not hold true in regards to the Slovenes living in Hungary. This locus became the new centre of Ottoman conquering expeditions.¹⁷

However, the defeat did not force the Ottoman Sultan to make peace with the Emperor Rudolf II von Habsburg but even triggered the Long Ottoman War (1593–1606). It was in the course of this war and nine months after the defeat that the Ottomans managed to conquer the Sisak fortress. But the peace treaty which had been signed at the mouth of the river Žitva into the river Danube had not been to the benefit of the Otto-

⁹ SIMONITI, V. 1990 (1), p. 192; ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 12, 13, 17, 19.

¹⁰ KRUHEK, M. 1994, p. 52.

¹¹ ŽARGI, M. 1993, pp. 12–13. For further information see: NAZOR, A. 1994, pp. 93–108.

¹² SIMONITI, V. 1994, pp. 200–202.

¹³ ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 13; MOAČANIN, N. 1994, pp. 129–130.

¹⁴ ŽARGI, M. 1993, pp. 12–17.

¹⁵ Auersperg's report to Archduke Ernst of Austria about the defeat of the Ottomans at Sisak from the 24th of June 1593. SISAK U OBRANI OD TURAKA, 1993, p. 500.

¹⁶ ŽARGI, M. 1993, pp. 19–21. For further information regarding the military equipment and armament see: ŠERCER, M. 1994, pp. 243–254.

¹⁷ SIMONITI, V. 1993, p. 29.

mans. The Habsburgs managed to achieve a balance of power with the Ottoman Empire; the Slovenian lands managed to stay in contact with the civilisation and culture of the Christian Western Europe.¹⁸

The news about the victory over the heretofore invincible enemy had spread rapidly far to the West. The entire Christian world was carried by a wave of enthusiasm. A whole range of celebrations took place; memorial services were celebrated and numerous thanksgiving songs were sung. The commanders received commendations and praises from the courts of the pope, the emperor, and many other. The supreme commander of the Croatian-Dalmatian Military Frontier Andreas von Auersperg was among those to receive the praise.¹⁹

CONTEMPRANEUS ECHOES AND THE REMEMBRANCE OF VICTORY

The Battle of Sisak found a great echo in the press. Pamphlets and newspapers *Neue Zeitung*²⁰ spread all over Europe, describing and depicting the first grand victory of the Christian world over the Muslim Ottoman army. The news were printed in various languages; in the cities of Graz, Freiburg, Cologne, Prague, and Passau in German; in Copenhagen in Danish; in Lyon in French, in Prague in Latin; in Pesaro in Italian; and in Oxford in English.²¹

The entire territory of Carniola also beamed with joy. The victory was honoured with the *Te Deum* hymn of praise, the ringing of church bells, and cannon firing. In the Ljubljana Cathedral a thanksgiving service in the name of St. Achatius was founded.²² The same mass was held on the centenary of the battle concerned in the Church of St. Achatius near the settlement of Turjak.

The memory of the victory, which had been ascribed to the invocation and help of St. Achatius, was preserved throughout the following centuries; especially in the 19th century.²³ To this day, the church bell of the Zagreb Cathedral still rings every day at two p.m. and there is also a thanksgiving service which is being held on the 22nd of June.

A wide range of events that honoured the memory of the victory took place in order to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Battle of Sisak, which had been celebrated in the year 1993. The Republic of Slovenia issued three commemorative coins (gold coin, silver coin, circulation coin), the Post of Slovenia issued a commemorative stamp with the motif of the battle according to the copperplate of Valvasor, and the National Museum from Ljubljana prepared an exhibition and a bilingual catalogue consisting of five texts from different authors.

The military victory of the Christian army over the Ottomans did not receive great attention solely in Slovene historiography²⁴, but also in foreign-, and especially Croatian historiography.²⁵

PICTORIAL DEPICTIONS OF THE BATTLE OF SISAK

The Battle of Sisak also sparked the creativity of artists. We encounter the emergence of many literary works dealing with the topic²⁶, musical works²⁷ and pictorial depictions.²⁸ A sketch made by an unknown participant in the battle has a pride of place among the depictions mentioned above.²⁹ The unknown author had send

¹⁸ SIMONITI, V. 1993, pp. 25–29.

¹⁹ SIMONITI, V. 1994, p. 204.

²⁰ *Neue Zeitung* (Neue Zeitung) is considered as the predecessor of the contemporary newspapers. The extent was smaller, usually up to twelve pages. The titles and texts were generally decorated with woodcuts, illustrations, initials, and vignettes. They brought the news about the latest and sensational events. TOBLER, F. 1994, pp. 187–196.

²¹ GÖLLNER, C. 1968, pp. 473, 474, 478, 479, 481–483, 486–490; SISAK U OBRANI OD TURAKA 1993, pp. 673–696.

²² We do not know much about the Carniolan, Christian martyr, who was one of the fourteen patronesses. Legend has it that he was the commander of a Roman legion. The Roman Emperor Hadrian (117–138) had him and his soldiers crucified because Achatius had converted to Christianity. KURET, N. 1989, pp. 484–485.

²³ SIMONITI, V. 1994, pp. 204–210.

²⁴ REISP, B. 1993, pp. 41–48; REISP, B. 2008, pp. 60–77.

²⁵ SISAČKA BITKA 1994; SISAK U OBRANI OD TURAKA 1993.

²⁶ SLOVENSKA LJUDSKA PESEM, 1970; HLADNIK, M. 1983, pp. 63–77; REISP, B. 2008, pp. 75–76; HLADNIK, M. 2011, pp. 253–263.

²⁷ CVETKO, D. 1967, p. 140; REISP, B. 2008, p. 75.

²⁸ HORVAT, J. 1993, pp. 31–36. For more information regarding the pictorial depictions also see BREGOVAC-PISK, M. 1994, pp. 149–162.

²⁹ The original is being preserved by the Staatsarchiv Wien, Kartensammlung, sign. H III a 60–500, fol. 2, 3.



Image 1: Ferdinand Gemeindler?, relief of the Battle of Sisak, 1731, tapered, copper relief painted with oil colours, National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 15963 (photograph by Tomaž Lauko)

the sketch to Archduke Matthias of Habsburg in Vienna on the 1st of July in 1593. Octavian Lanelli made a copperplate just a few months after the battle had taken place. According to known data, the object had not been preserved. The copperplate served as the basis for a very precise description of the battle made by Valvasor at a later time.³⁰

The National Museum of Slovenia preserves a tapered, copper relief painted with oil paints depicting the Battle of Sisak. It is presumed that the girdler from Ljubljana Ferdinand Gemeindler made the relief in the year of 1731. It is likely that the author used the copperplate of Valvasor as a template for his work.³¹ In the upper part of the relief one finds depictions of heavenly powers, which contributed to the victory, depicted in mandorlas. On the left side we see St. Achatius depicted as a warrior holding a palm branch in his right hand and a pole in his left hand. This depiction is followed by the images of St. John the Baptist, three (arch)angels, Christ with raised right hand in blessing, and St. Lawrence. The relief depicts three historic events that occurred at a different time with great accuracy: the Battle of Sisak is depicted in the middle of the relief, the arrival of the victorious troops of Andreas von Auersperg to the city of Karlovac on the 28th of June in 1593 is to be found in the lower, right part of the relief, and the conquest of the town of Petrinja in August of 1594 is located in the upper, right part of the relief.³²

The Battle of Sisak was also depicted in the church of St. Achatius over Mali Ločnik. The painting, which was located on the great altar, portrayed the aforementioned saint holding a sword in his right hand and thorns as well as a palm in his left hand. The lower part of the altar painting depicted the flight of the Ottomans at Sisak.³³ Today, the painting is missing. According to the art historian Emilijan Cevc it had been stolen.³⁴

ALTERATIONS OF THE BATTLE COAT OF HASSAN PASHA

Alongside weapons and jewellery, a precious fabric that belonged to the renowned Ottoman military commander Hassan Pasha Predojević was one of the things which found itself among the great spoils of war. We do not know for what the fabric was initially intended. Maybe it was used to make a cape for the Ottoman grandee, or it was a part of the accoutrement in his tent. It is most likely that the fabric found its way into the Ljubljana Cathedral through the intervention or as a gift from Andreas von Auersperg, who was one of the main commanders and the victors of the Battle of Sisak. The bishop Tomaž Hren ordered that the fabric should be tailored into liturgical vestments. So it came to pass, that the fabric was altered into a vestment, a *chasuble*, and two *dalmatics* that are worn by deacons.³⁵ The alteration of Hassan's coat was intended as

³⁰ VALVASOR, J. W. 1689, appendix No. 422.

³¹ BREGOVAC-PISK, M. 1994, pp. 149–162.

³² HORVAT, J. 1993, pp. 32–33.

³³ KURET, N. 1989, p. 485; DOLENC, I. 2000, p. 712.

³⁴ KURET, N. 1989, p. 584.

³⁵ STESKA, V. 1937, p. 222; REISP, B. 1992, p. 83–84.



Image 2: Chasuble (liturgical vestment), back side, sewn from the Ottoman coat of Hassan Pasha, last third of the 16th century. National Museum of Slovenia, Inv. No. N 14585 (photograph by Tomaž Lauko)

a demonstration of the superiority of the Christian religion over Islam, the invulnerability and invincibility of Christianity. At the same time, it also expressed mockery over the defeated Ottoman army.³⁶ Every year, on St. Achatius' day, a solemn mass was donated in this getup in the Ljubljana Cathedral in order to honour the memory of the great victory of the Christian army.

The *chasuble* was given its final form in the year of 1655. It had been worn out and too small and, therefore, unsuitable to perform the holy mass. So, it was »...at the will and the order of the honourable chapter...« altered and enlarged with the fabric of both dalmatics. This fact is being supported by the parchment strip with a Latin inscription, which is sewn on to the inner side of the *chasuble*.³⁷ The fabric of the vestment, which is of Oriental- or Italian origin, is a silk brocade in a cardinal red colour with gold threads and adorned with the motif of a pomegranate, the symbol of love and fertility that had been woven into the fabric. The parish office of the cathedral handed over this remarkable fabric, which is extraordinary even according to world standards, to the National Museum of Slovenia in the year of 1931. The coat remains in the care of the aforementioned museum until the present day.³⁸

The vestment was used to celebrate mass all until the year of 1909 when the liturgical rules forbade to celebrate the holy mass in the red Hassan's coat. On the 22nd of June they started to honour St. Paulinus of Nola, who is symbolised by a different, white liturgical colour.³⁹

HASSAN'S COAT FROM KOČEVJE

If one investigates the opinions regarding the number as well as the alleged find spots of the vestment made from Hassan's garment which are to be found in specialist literature, it is apparent that they differ.⁴⁰ The vestment that

³⁶ SIMONITI, V. 1994, p. 204.

³⁷ The inscription reads: Longo usu, akrita in hanc formam redacta est anno 1655 volente jubente Venerabili Capitulo. (After the coat had been used for a long time, it had been altered into its present form in the year 1655 by the will and order of the honourable cathedral chapter). DREI MERKWÜRDIGE MESSGEWÄNDER 1842, p. 92; STESKA, V. 1937, p. 221.

³⁸ ŽARGI, M. 1993, p. 18–19, 111.

³⁹ STESKA, V. 1937, p. 222; ŽARGI, M. 1993, pp. 18–19, 111.

⁴⁰ REISP, B. 1992, p. 84.



Image 3: Chasuble (liturgical vestment), back side, sewn from the Ottoman coat of Hassan Pasha (?), 17th century (?), Kočevje Regional Museum, Inv. No. 510:PMK;0001067 (photograph by Boris Farič)

is being preserved by the Kočevje Regional Museum was also given its name after Hassan Pasha Predojevič. The museum acquired the coat in the surrounding area of the settlement of Turjak at the beginning of 1950's when the Museum Society of Kočevje started to gather museum material for the newly emerging museum. The origin and provenance of the coat are yet to be closely examined. That is why these questions remain open.

In the course of the 19th century, numerous authors mentioned the coat, from the Ljubljana Cathedral. But they also mention the coat from Turjak and/or from the succursal church of St. Achatius on Gora (748 m) above Mali Ločnik.⁴¹ Around the year 1900, the coat was also examined by the art- and cultural historian Viktor Steska (1868–1946) in the vestry of the church of St. Achatius. Steska ascertained that it is not »...*in any way similar to the coat from the cathedral...*«⁴² Almost hundred years later, the Slovene historian Branko Reisp (1928–2009) wrote in the newspaper Newspaper for the Slovene Local History (*Časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino*) that »...*according to the tradition, the coat is supposedly made from the coat of Hassan...*«⁴³

The silk fabric, the embroidery made from metal threads, and the motifs indicate that Hassan's coat from Kočevje most probably dates back to the 17th century. Hundred years after the famous battle, the Auersperg family enlarged the existing gothic church of The Assumption of Mary on Gora and dedicated it to the saint of knights, St. Achatius in the dedication to the memory of the victory at Sisak.⁴⁴ We can assume that the vestment as well as other liturgical paraments, which are of the same liturgical colour, were also made for this occasion. Then, every Sunday after the 22nd of June, the priests would read thanksgiving service in honour of St. Achatius dressed in the aforementioned garments.⁴⁵

⁴¹ COSTA, H. 1818, p. 268; PRENNER, C. 1838, p. 87; DREI MESSGEWÄNDER 1842, p. 92; RADICS, P. 1861, p. 6; DIMITZ, A. 1875, p. 248; DR. FR.(ANČIŠEK), L.(AMPE) 1893, p. 334. In the course of the 20th century the following authors have also dealt with this topic: STESKA, V. 1937, pp. 221–222 and REISP, B. 1992, pp. 83–84.

⁴² STESKA, V. 1937, p. 222.

⁴³ REISP, B. 1992, p. 84.

⁴⁴ STESKA, V. 1937, p. 222.

⁴⁵ Nowadays the thanksgiving service is still donated.

The basic fabric of the coat is a blue shaded silk. The pattern in the fabric depicts stylised ears of wheat, which run in a zigzag. This serves as the template for the embroidery that is hand embroidered out of fourteen different kinds of metal threads. Analysis has shown that the metal threads consist of gilded silver, silver, and copper. Some of the threads have a fibrous silk core. The accompanying liturgical paraments - the maniple, stole, pall, burse, and shoulder cape - are also made from the same fabric and adorned with the same embroidery.

In the year 2009, conservation- and restoration works have been carried out on the liturgical paraments in the textile workshop of the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož. After the works have been concluded, one cannot overlook the rich metal embroidery which shines in new splendour due to its new gilding, which provides the garments with a value that is particularly valuable.⁴⁶

Despite the still unanswered question regarding the origin and provenance of Hassan's coat from the Kočevje Regional Museum and the older coat of the same name, which is being preserved in the National Museum of Slovenia, they still uphold the memory of the victory of the Christian army in the Battle of Sisak in the year of 1593 after 422 years have passed.

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⁴⁶ ILEC, E. 2010, p. 3.

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BITKA PRI SISKU IN PLAŠČ HASANA PAŠE

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POVZETEK

Slovensko zgodovino v 15. in 16. stoletju poleg kmečkih uporov, ki sodijo med največje tudi v evropskem merilu, in reformacije, ki je Slovincem dala knjižni jezik, pomembno zaznamujejo tudi turški vpadi na slovensko ozemlje. Po prvem vdoru leta 1408 so se s krajšimi ali daljšimi prekinitvami vrstili skoraj dve stoletji, včasih celo po večkrat na leto.

V začetku devetdesetih let 16. stoletja se je turška meja slovenskim deželam približala na okrog petnajst kilometrov. Turki so prav v tem času v siloviti ofenzivi osvojili celo vrsto manjših in večjih utrd ob obrambnega sistema na ozemlju med Savo in Jadranskim morjem vzdolž hrvaško-turške meje. Junija 1592 je padla utrdba v Bihaću, ki je bila več desetletij glavni branik Hrvaške in slovenskih dežel. Turki so načrtovali še zavzetje utrdbe Sisek ob izlivu reke Kolpe v Savo. S tem bi si priborili prosto pot proti Kranjski in Štajerski ter še naprej proti zahodu.

Beglerbeg Hasan paša Predojević, poveljnik bosanskega pašaluka, je trdnjavo Sisek oblegal že avgusta 1591 in nato še julija 1592, vendar obakrat neuspešno. V začetku junija 1593 je tretjič krenil proti Sisku. Takrat je zbral vojsko iz vsega bosanskega pašaluka. V enourni bitki 22. junija 1593 je združena krščanska vojska premagala številčno močnejšo muslimansko turško vojsko. Zmaga je pomenila prelomnico v protiturški obrambi slovenskih dežel, ki so se lahko za vselej oddahnile pred neposredno turško nevarnostjo. Po vsej krščanski Evropi je zavladalo navdušenje nad zmago proti dotlej nepremagljivi turški vojski, velik odmev je bitka našla tudi v sočasnih novičarskih »časopisih«.

Pri umiku turške vojske je padel tudi njen poveljnik Hasan paša. Njegov bojni plašč so kmalu po bitki predelali v mašni plašč. Dragoceno muzealijo danes hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije.

Tudi mašni plašč s pripadajočimi paramenti, ki ga hrani Pokrajinski muzej Kočevje, naj bi bil izdelan iz bojnega plašča Hasan paše Predojevića. Interpretacija temelji na ljudskem izročilu in tradiciji potomcev Andreja Turjaškega, enega izmed junakov bitke pri Sisku. Dokument, ki bi potrdil njegov izvor in poreklo, žal ni ohranjen. Glede na material, vezenine in motiv liturgična oblačila najverjetneje sodijo v 17. stoletje.

Oba mašna plašča sta zaradi pomena dogodka izredno dragocena za slovensko zgodovino in redka materialna vira, ki po več kot štiristo letih še vedno ohranjata spomin na bitko pri Sisku.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ISLAMIC CIVILISATION TO THE TREASURY OF THE WORLD'S ARTS AND SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

The world treasury of art and science was immensely enriched by the Islamic civilisation. For nearly half a millennium, Baghdad had been one of the most important cultural centres. It was a space where the Greek- and Persian-Arabic worlds have coincided and where scientists and scholars from all around the world were gathering. So it came to pass, that the Arabs have not only helped Europe to get acquainted with ancient philosophers, but also with discoveries and inventions of the Islamic world, and with science and art originating from India and China. Furthermore, a great merit of the Islamic world is the fact that it gave exceptional scientists like Ibn Sina (Avicenna), Al Razi, Al Masudi, Al Biruni, Al Tusi, etc. to humanity. The inventions of the aforementioned scientists have influenced numerous changes in the world.

KEY WORDS

Umayyad, Abbasids, Islamic art, Islamic scholars, Islamic civilisation

The beginnings of Islam date back to the 7th century when the holy prophet Muhammad had been active in the area of Mecca and Medina. It was during his lifetime when the Muslims had become a religious and political community at once, with the prophet being the head of the state. So the prophet ruled over the territory as well as the people, decided on justice, lead the army, and made peace.

Before the end of half a century, the enthusiasm evoked by the new religion motivated the Arabs to embark on world conquest, which had evolved into one of the most powerful happenings in the history of humanity. So it came to pass, that within the period of almost an entire millenium after the onset of Islam, the Islamic world, together with China, had represented the leading civilisation of the world.

SCIENCE AND ART IN THE TIMES OF THE UMAYYADS AND ABBASIDS (661–1258)

With the onset and spread of Islam into the territory of the Mediterranean region, India, and China ideas, cultural values, inventions, and discoveries have also been transferred alongside trade. Hence, centres for the exchange between the Greek, Arab, and Indian culture had emerged.

In the year 754, a translation centre for the translations of Greek manuscripts into Arabic had been established in Baghdad. It was in this as well as in other suchlike centres where Greek and Arab scholars have translated scientific and philosophical texts into Arabic. They translated the works of Greek philosophers Aristotle and Plato as well as some writings of Neoplatonic philosophers; in the field of natural science the works of Euclid, Archimedes, and Ptolemy; and in the field of medicine Hippocrates' textbook. Generally speaking, Baghdad had represented one of the greatest cultural centres of the Old World, where the Greek- and Persian-Arabic worlds have reapproached and where scientists and scholars from all around the world were gathering. Many Caliphs have protected science and were patrons of numerous philosophers and scholars.

In addition to the systematic arrangement of knowledge and the impact on the Christian West with the works of Persian, Indian, and Greek sciences, the Arabic culture had also enriched the West's scientific and technical knowledge with its own original contributions. For this purpose, an astronomical observatory had been established in Baghdad in the year 829.

All of the above had brought a considerable technological progress which caused important achievements in the fields of irrigation and glass manufacture.

As the Islamic conquering expeditions had unfolded, Europe got acquainted with the Islamic discoveries and inventions and had once again found new cultural stimulants through the Arabic translations of Greek tradition.

IMPORTANT ISLAMIC SCIENTISTS

Ibn Sina, in Europe better known as Avicenna (980–1037), is considered as the greatest scientist in the field of medicine. He left behind a multitude of works stemming from all fields of natural science. His most significant work is *The Canon of Medicine*, which had been swiftly incorporated into curricula of European schools of medicine. The Canon contains descriptions of symptoms for different diseases. His findings regarding diabetes, inflammation of the meninges, and jaundice are considered novelties. Avicenna applied geometry, acoustics, mathematics, and astronomy as ancillary sciences of medicine.

Al-Razi is also to be counted among important physicians of the Islamic world. His greatest work of medicine, the book *Kitab al-Hawi* (the Comprehensive Book on Medicine) embraces all areas of medical knowledge of the time.

Important discoveries were also made in the field of mathematics. Muhamad ibn Musa al-Khwarizimi, who lived in Baghdad in the second half of the 9th century, is considered as one of the most important mathematicians and one of the fathers of algebra. We have to thank al-Khwarizimi for the adaptation of the decimal positional system of the Indian scholars. It is since then that the Indian numerals, which also know the number zero, are being referred to as Arabic numerals.

Al-Masudi is an important name one should mention when it comes to the fields of geography and history. He is referred to as the Herodotus of the Arabs. He wrote a large-scale work in 30 volumes entitled *The History of Time*. The Persian, Al Biruni, (around 973–1048) is also an important figure since he is considered as one of the greatest personalities of the medieval Islamic era. As a prisoner of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Biruni worked at his court and accompanied him on his military campaign to India. Biruni is known as the most brilliant astronomer and mathematician of his time. His astronomical work titled the *Mas'ud Canon* is the most impeccable book of this kind. He left a precious collection of historical, ethnographic, and cultural works. Biruni was also the first to describe India.¹

Ibn Battuta (1304–1377) is the most important Arab explorer, who travelled round North and East Africa, the Middle East, South of Russia, Turan Lowland, India, Sunda Islands, and China. After some time had passed he also embarked on a journey to Spain, Western Sahara, and the river basins of the Senegal- and Niger River.

CULTURE AND ART IN THE TIMES OF THE Umayyad

The Arabic occupation of the vast territories of Western Asia, Mediterranean, Central Asia, and India had contributed to the enrichment of the »original« Arabic culture, or, in other words, had caused a powerful mutual influence.

Mosques were the places where Islamic art had been most visible. The mosques, which were built in the period of the first successors of the prophet are simple spaces, intended for praying. The simple bare wall indicated to which direction the believer should turn. But, the floor-plan concept of the mosque slowly changed. A niche (*mihrab*) indicating the direction of Mecca was made in the holy wall. It was from this location from which the Imam addressed the congregation. After some time had passed, the pulpit (*minbar*) was added. There are two important elements regarding the exterior of a mosque: the dome, which was the symbol of heaven, with which Islam has followed Byzantine tradition; and the minaret from which the believers were called to prayer.

One of the peculiarities of Islamic art is the proscription of worship of idols or figures of any kind since they could remind of paganism from the pre-Islamic era. This is the reason for the rejection of all kinds of figurative depictions. As a result, the Muslims introduced geometrical patterns, abstract figures; they resorted to subtle plays of colours or they used Arabic script or Kufic as elements of building decoration.

The arabesque represents the characteristic Arabic ornamental motif. The arabesque consists of volutes that cross or follow each other in an abstract pattern, which reminds of floral shapes, composed of stems, leaves, and buds.

¹ LUNDE, P. 2005, pp. 94–98; HITI, F. 1967, pp. 331–369; BRAUDEL, F. 1990, pp. 98–102.

It was not until the era of the Umayyad when architecture and art of the Islamic world have blossomed. The art of the Umayyad laid the foundations, on which the majority of artistic styles had evolved. The Arabic conquerors based themselves on the cultures which had existed prior to their arrival: the Hellenistic and Sassanid (Persian) culture. They built their first mosques in the eastern Roman province, Syria under the influence of art. They were inspired by the old Christian basilica which they developed in accordance with the first oratory of the Prophet. These were the foundations which created those famous masterpieces like the Dome of the Rock, the Great Mosque of Damascus (Umayyad Mosque), and the nowadays non-existent mosques in Kufa and Basra.²

Literature played an essential role among other art genres. Both sacred traditions, the Quran and Hadith asserted a special position. Both works have influenced the rest of the literature. Epic poetry developed as a memory of heroic deeds from the pre-Islamic era, the times of the legendary Bedouin. The themes on the Bedouin were later joined by new themes, like for example hymns in honour of princes, love poetry. Non-Arabic artists like for example St. John of Damascus were also attracted to this treasury of Islamic art.³

CULTURE AND ART IN THE TIMES OF THE ABBASIDS

In the times of the Abbasid dynasty, Islam had opened its doors to the Greek influence, which is due to the translations of texts of great Greek philosophers and scholars into the Arabic language. In the field of art, the Persian influence is especially noticeable. The influences of Persian traditions in particular, which had already been perceivable in the era of the Umayyad, had enhanced under the Abbasids and prevailed in both of the grand capitals that were founded by the Abbasids: Baghdad and Samarra.

The caliphs also differed from each other in their choice of capitals, thus the cities of Al-Raqqah and Samarra also greatly flourished beside Baghdad. Samarra, which had been founded by the caliph Al-Mu'tasim in the year 836 north of Baghdad, also took over an important role among the newly founded cities, because the caliph had been there in exile. The city represents one of the most beautiful examples of Abbasid art since it is the only undamaged city which had been preserved due to the attentive excavations of Herzfeld during the years 1911–1913. Samarra was the centre of the Abbasid rule for fifty years (836–892). The city is particularly renowned for its fifty metres high minaret, the Malwiya Tower in the shape of a spiralling cone. The examples of Abbasid capitals were also copied elsewhere, like for example in Transoxiana.⁴

Monumental palaces and mausoleums were also built in all cities of the Middle East. The Ismail Samanid Mausoleum in Bukhara is quite renowned. It was built during the years 892 and 907 and imitates the shape of a Zoroastrian temple. The mausoleum represents a characteristic example of decorated brick work, which was achieved by the combination of various geometric brick patterns. The mausoleum also represents an example of a later development of mausoleums in the Islamic world.⁵

Ceramics particularly gained in importance. The patterns were adopted from the Chinese models stemming from the era of the Thang dynasty. It was not long after when the independent Abbasid artisan craftwork of panel ceramics. The largest workshops of ceramics were located in Baghdad in Samarra. Decorative bands, which were adorned with inscriptions are also characteristic of this period. The most popular inscriptions were *suras* taken out of the Quran or quotes of poets. Here we can detect the first announcements of the arabesque. This decorative entanglement was complemented by animal or hunting scenes, from where the later Islamic art had drawn.⁶

The inexhaustible model of Arabic literature is represented by the Quran; not solely because of his sacredness, but also due to its literary perfection. The emergence of classic Arabic literature is connected to the

² HATTSTEIN, M., DELIUS, P. 2000, pp. 64–87; LUNDE, P. 2005, pp. 82–86.

³ LUNDE, P. 2005, pp. 88–90; STIERLIN, H. 1996, pp. 23–82.

⁴ STIERLIN, H. 1996, pp. 115–134.

⁵ DU RY, C. J. 1971, pp. 56–59; STIERLIN H. 1996, pp. 117–134.

⁶ LUNDE, P. 2005, pp. 90–93.

golden era of the Abbasids. Initially, the Arabic prose had gained a boost because of the already mentioned translating of texts from all fields. In the time of this long period, various literary genres have developed; one of them being the *adab*, which developed when long-distance merchants were writing down their adventures. The purpose of the *adab* was the transfer of knowledge in an intelligible way.

One of the first greatest writers of Arabic prose was the Persian writer Ibn al-Muqaffa. His greatest work is an adapted translation of a Persian collection of fables, of Indian origin titled *Kalila wa Dimna*. There was yet another literary genre which had developed simultaneously to the *adab*: the rhymed prose (*maqama*). The message of the *maqama* with an ethical, philosophical, and even socio-critical content intertwines with genre pictures. The purpose of the described genre was the search of the form and entertainment of the readers. Arabic tales are best represented by the collection *One Thousand and One Nights*, which is an excellent example of the *adab* and *makama* forms at the same time.⁷

One of the most delicate flowers which are to be found in the sensual garden of Arabic literature is the book by Muhammad al-Nafzawi titled *The Perfumed Garden*. The book that is written in the spirit of the Indian *Kama Sutra* reflects the medieval Arabic view and knowledge of sex.⁸

The Abbasid court enabled for poetry to witness an even greater heyday as it had in the times of the Umayyad. This great heyday came to pass in the time of the so-called Arab Renaissance, the period of the greatest prosperity of Muslim poetry and culture with its centre in the the Middle East and Persia. Literature was written in the so-called classical Arabic language. Love of life was glorified; songs of love and vine were sung. One of such people was Omar Khayyam⁹ (around 1048–1122), also a mathematician and astronomer, who reformed the Persian calendar system as was ordered by Sultan Malik-Shah I. It is believed that Khayyam wrote about 600 four line verses or *rubaiyat*. The verses contain a free-spirited idea; for its greater part directed against religious dogmas, favourable towards the celebration of pleasures and sometimes even passes into mysticism.¹⁰

The Persian epicist Ferdowsi is also a name which needs to be mentioned since he is the author of the most famous Persian book titled *The Book of Kings (Shahnameh)*. *Shahnameh* is an epic poem which describes the history of Persia from its mythical beginnings until the Arabic conquest.¹¹

The high level of appreciation that was granted to poets is also supported by the fact that many other poets, who went into history as literary greats on account of their works, were active within the discussed period, like for example Rudaki (Abu Abdollah Jafar), Nizami, Abu Nuwas, Attar of Nishapur (Farid al-Din), and others.

The miniature, which had developed within solely the scope of manuscripts for a long time, is inseparably connected to literary art. Initially, the Arabs did not dispose of painting tradition.

The first exemplars were probably the works of Christians (Byzantines and Copts). The first schools for miniatures were raised in the Abbasid era when Arabic transcriptions of translated works were illustrated and, at a later point in time when literary works were illustrated as well.¹² Besides literature, the Abbasid court also deeply cherished music. The artists were revered beyond all description and paid great amounts of money.

ISLAMIC ART AFTER THE MONGOL INVASION

After the Mongol invasion, the entire space ranging from Western Asia an all up to the East China See found itself in one country, under one rule. During the time of the Mongol Invasion, many art centres of the Islamic world had been destroyed. At the end of the 13th century, when things had calmed down, and life had

⁷ ŠOLJAN, A. (ed.) 1980, pp. 154–159; TISOČ IN ENA NOČ, 1975.

⁸ NEFZAVI, M. 1991.

⁹ HAJAM, O. 2001, p. 52; cf. RUBAIYAT, 1986.

¹⁰ MAALOUF, A. 1999, p. 345.

¹¹ FIVE STORIES FROM SHAHNAMA, 1998.

¹² LUNDE, P. 2005, pp. 88–90.

normalised, new art had been formed. New motifs influenced by Chinese art in black, blue, and green have arisen. The physiognomies obtained notes of the Mongol type: hair, eyes, accented eyebrows.

But in the field of architecture, in particular, the Persian tradition had prevailed and also remained valid under the Mongols which had been considered as important by the Abbasid architects.

The Mongolian architecture is most notably characterised by large dimensions. The structural components were multiplied and differed in function, the spaces amplified, and the domes were more elegantly merged with the buildings that they crowned. In a general sense, the buildings were freed of the sheer display of their greatness through a harmonic composition and ornamentation, which had been brilliantly planned and perfectly executed.¹³

Mahmūd Ghazan¹⁴ (by the Westerners also referred to as Casanus; 1271–1304) is regarded as one of the greatest Persian rulers, but also as the initiator of a new and important era within Persian architecture. Ghazan's vizier founded the university city of Tabriz, which combined twenty four caravanserais, five hundred shops, thirty houses, hospitals, pharmacies, gardens, etc. The city surpassed all comparable complexes within the wider space of this world.¹⁵

The new rulers of Persia preserved the schema of the Seljuk mosques and madrasas without any essential changes. The Friday Mosque in the city Yazd is one of the most beautiful mosques stemming from this period.

It needs to be stated that the characteristic Mongolian style becomes conspicuous within the field of sepulchral architecture. The mausoleum of Sultan Ūljaitū (Oljetu), who ruled during the years 1303 and 1317 near Qazavin, is to be counted among the most important monuments. The only preserved building of the former vast complex consists of a large hall with a dome and one small chapel. The massive towers resembling minarets, which accentuate the octagonal contours of the roof, are especially interesting.

In the field of minor arts, faience from Kashan attained the greatest perfection. The Mongols strived for the city of Rey to flourish as well. Rey had been one of the most prosperous cities in Persia before the Mongol invasion. The city which used to pride itself with vivid trading activities became without any importance in the course of the 14th century. Sadly, Rey never recovered.¹⁶

The greatest poets of this era are without any doubt Saadi and Hafez. Saadi Shirazi (Sa'dī) was born in the year 1184 in Shiraz. The Persian poet and writer reached the peak of his fame with two of his artworks; The Rose Garden (Gulistan) which is written in prose and The Orchard (Bustan), which is entirely in verse. Through his verses, Saadi aptly expresses moralism and advice, which are considered as typical expressions of Persian folk wisdom.¹⁷

The next century was also marked by an important poet who had been active in Shiraz as well. Hafez (1325–1389), is regarded as one of the most read and esteemed poets in the world. After he had passed, a collection of almost 600 poems had been issued. The majority of his works are ghazals, known as Hafez's ghazals, in which he lauded wine, love, the joys of life, and the beauty of nature.¹⁸

These were also the times of Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (Rumi), a mystic poet who is considered as the founder of the order of the *Whirling Dervishes* (the proper name is the Mewlewī Sufi Order). Rumi was born in the year 1207 and is also regarded as one of the most read and esteemed authors in the world. He is the author of the book titled *Mathnawi*, which gives a mystical interpretation of the Quran. One cannot find another poet who would have a greater influence on spiritual life as Rumi.

¹³ POPE, A. U. 1969, p. 74.

¹⁴ GHAZAN, M. 1295 and 1304.

¹⁵ POPE, A. U. 1969. 63.

¹⁶ HATTSTEIN, D. pp. 392–405.

¹⁷ TAMIMDARI, A. 2002, p. 87.

¹⁸ HAFEZ, 2003; cf. *Divan of Hafez*, in which Hafez's poetry is in Persian and English. The book was published in Tehran in the year 1998.

One of the poets who had also been immortalised and lived in the era prior to the Safavid dynasty is DJāmī (Nur ad-Dīn Abd ar-Rahmān Jāmī, or simply Jami). DJāmī was born in the year 1414 in a village near the city Samarkand.¹⁹

In the times of the Mongol invasion, Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (Khawaja Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Tūsī; 1201–1274) lived in Persia. He gained the trust of the Mongolian rulers and was therefore in the position to preserve a great part of Persian cultural heritage. He was born in the city Tusi, educated in Horasan, becoming a very renowned philosopher, theologian, and astronomer. He invented a new model of the planetary system, which was entirely different from that of Ptolemy, and also perfected the science of trigonometry. Under his leadership, different constructions were developed, which were adapted by other observatories in Europe as well and were later also used by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe.

ISLAMIC ART AND THE TIMURID

When the greater part of the Islamic world had been conquered by the Timurid army, a new era of Persian art arose. Epic poems, love poetry, and episodes of novels were often illustrated in various art schools. In these times local art schools were established in the cities of Shiraz, Tabriz, and Herat. The richly illuminated manuscripts indicate the general style of the era, which is also conspicuous in objects made of metal, in textiles, and rugs. Timurid art soon became the ideal of the eastern Islamic world and reached the highest level of the manufacture of decorative motifs and compositions.

After the downfall of the mighty Timurid empire, Islamic art experienced the rise of the so-called Timurid Renaissance.

The Timurid style accentuated and strengthened the aspirations dictated by the mighty patrons. The most impressive heritage of this period is undoubtedly the architecture. We can find several territories of present day Iran and Uzbekistan are particularly rich with marvellous sacred buildings stemming from the era in question. Timur and his successors Shāhrukh Mīrzā, Ulugh Beg, Baysonqor (Gīāt al-dīn Bāysongor), Abū Sa'īd Mirza ruled in the golden age of art. Under Timur, Samarkand once again became the centre of splendour. »I was determined to build a mosque in Samarkand which will be unrivalled in all countries,« Timur declared.²⁰ For the capitol of his kingdom, Timur had chosen his birth place Samarkand. With the loted riches and the best artists, he turned the city into the most magnificent city of the Orient.

Samarkand, the city in Transoxiana (present day Uzbekistan), is located in former Achaemenid Persia and was the capital of the Sogdian region. The city was the stopping place of tradesmen on the Silk Road and was therefore always the target of conquerors who have fought for the domination over Central Asia. In the year 712, the city had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. In the year 1220, the city had been ravaged by the Mongols under Genghis Khan. It was half a century later when Timur had declared it for his capital. Under his rule and the rule of his successors the Timurid, the city experienced a Renaissance and gained some exceptional Islamic monuments.

Timur and his grandson Ulugh Beg brought numerous artists and craftsmen from Persia, India, and other lands to the city, where they performed excellent works. So it came to pass, that in the course of two centuries a marvellous architectural composition had arisen; a composition with a great number of domes, elegant portals, alongside which the minarets are shooting to the sky. The domes are covered with turquoise-blue ceramic tiles. The mosques and madrasas were adorned with abstract geometrical patterns, images of the plant kingdom, and verses from the Quran.²¹

In these times other neighbouring cities, like Khiva and Bukhara have also witnessed a heyday. The mentioned cities were ascribed great importance throughout history since their development had been based on the wealth which had been acquired on the Silk Road.

¹⁹ THE LAND OF POETRY, Kayhan International, p. 40.

²⁰ POPE, A. U. 1969, p. 75.

²¹ POTOČNIK, D. 2006, p. 206.

The first and largest monument which survived the course of time and originates from the era concerned is the beautiful Goharshad Mosque (1418) in Mashhad. Its entrance continues in the Samarkand style (arch within arch). The thick, tower-resembling, minarets merge with the outer corners of the entrance screen, extend to the ground and, together with the high foundation revetment made of marble provide the entire building with the impression of solidity.²² The entire courtyard façade is treated with painted bricks and mosaic faience. The colour scale includes the dominant cobalt blue and turquoise, and whit, green, yellow, saffron, aubergine, and glossy black. All colour tones alternate through numerous shades. The distinct and vivid patterns are skilfully adapted to their decorative role. All this colourfulness is perfectly completed by floral and geometric patterns with an open gallery, contrasting ivans, arcades, etc.

»There is no need to get introduced to other styles to approach this monument, since it is considered as the most beautiful example of the fusion of colour and architecture which had ever been conceived, even among present day buildings.«²³

Among Timur's most renowned buildings is also his mausoleum Gur-e-Mir (Gūr-i Amīr; 1404) which is located in Samarkand. The dome is adorned with 64 circular grooves and covered with light blue bricks. The interior also impresses with its alabaster dado, grey-green jasper cornices, black limestone niches, and marble balustrade. We also need to make mention of the madrasa in Herat, which also originates from the Timurid era, that was built by Shāh Rukh at the beginning of the 15th century (1417).²⁴

ISLAMIC SCHOLARS IN TIMES OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The renowned historical philosopher Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), who lived in the 14th century in Northern Africa, has written as follows:

»It is to hold in high regard that, with few exceptions, most Muslim scholars, religious as scientists, were not Arabs. Thus the founders of Grammar were Sibawaih and after him, al-Farsi and Az-Zajjaj. All of them were of Persian descent. They were brought up in the Arabic language and acquired knowledge through their education and the contact with Arabic scholars. They invented rules of (Arabic) grammar and thereby laid the foundations of this discipline for later generations. Most of the scholars, who have studied the Hadith and in this way ensured that the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad had been preserved, were also Persians or Persians by tongue or education. The majority of great jurists was also Persian. It were also only the Persians who engaged in the task of preserving knowledge and writing systematic scholarly works of other scholars. In this way, the truth of the statement of the Prophet Muhammad becomes evident when he said: »If learning were suspended in the highest parts of heaven the Persians would obtain it.«²⁵

Art was also reserved for the Persians. The Arabs received their education from Arabised Persians. This was the reason why Persia and its neighbouring countries, Iraq and Transoxiana, were under the Arabic cultural and economic influence.

The comment of Ibn Khaldun indicates the fact that Iran had an enormous influence on Islam, the Arabs, and the Arabic language.

The questions regarding the influence on the different fields – from administration and rule, religion and philosophy, science and medicine, trade and craftsmanship, art, literature and language are to be discussed in a separate paper.

²² POPE, A. U. 1969, p. 77.

²³ Ibid., p. 78.

²⁴ HATTSTEIN, M, DELIUS, P. 2000, pp. 416–425.

²⁵ NASR, S. H. 1971, p. 39.

THE ISLAMIC WORLD IN THE TIMES OF MIGHTY ISLAMIC STATES OF SAFAVID PERSIA, MOGHUL INDIA, AND OTTOMAN TURKEY²⁶

The Islamic world once again experienced a Renaissance in all spheres of life during the times of the Safavid dynasty in Persia. The Safavid dynasty ruled the lands from the beginning of the 16th century until about the middle of the 18th century. In the same time, the mighty Ottoman Turkey and Moghul India arose. This time is marked by the heyday of architecture, which is visible in the construction of beautiful cities, like for example Isfahan in Iran, Istanbul, and Agra in India.

These were also the times of exceptional artistic metalworking and ceramics processing, and the manufacture of marvellous rugs in Persia as well as in Turkey. One of the most renowned genres of Persian art is miniature painting, which, like other art genres, had a great impact on Islamic art.

If we were to categorise the genres of sacred art according to their importance for the Islam, calligraphy would be placed right after architecture, which would come first. Calligraphy is considered as one of the most beautiful forms of visual art that requiring special sensitivity. Calligraphy reached the zenith regarding its perfection in the time between the 15th and 18th century.

CONCLUSION

The contribution of the Islam to the art world is immense. The art of the Umayyad laid the foundations, on which the majority of artistic styles of later dynasties had evolved. The Muslims built their mosques under the influence of the Hellenistic and Persian art. They were inspired by the old Christian basilica which they developed in accordance with the first oratory of the Prophet.

These were the foundations which created those famous masterpieces like the Dome of the Rock, the Great Mosque of Damascus, and the mosques in Kufa and Basra. Literature Played an essential role among other art genres. Naturally, both sacred traditions, the Quran and Hadith asserted a special position. In the times of the so-called Arab Renaissance, poetry, in particular, witnessed a heyday at the Abbasid court. Poets glorified the love of life was glorified and sung songs of love and vine.

One of such poets was Omar Khayyam who is the author of about 600 four line verses called the rubaiyat. The Persian epicist Ferdowsi is also a name which needs to be mentioned since he is the author of the most famous Persian book titled The Book of Kings (Shahnameh). Shahnameh is an epic poem which describes the history of Persia from its mythical beginnings until the Arabic conquest. The poets, who went into history as literary greats were also Rudaki (Abu Abdollah Jafar), Nizami, Abu Nuwas, and Attar of Nishapur (Farīd al-Dīn).

The greatest poets in the times of the Mongol invasion (13th century) were Saadi and Hafez.

These were also the times of Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (Rumi), a mystic poet who is considered as the founder of the order of the *Whirling Dervishes*.

The miniature, which had developed solely within the scope of manuscripts for a long time, is inseparably connected to literary art.

The rich tradition of the caliphate was carried on by the Ottoman Turks, Persia in the times of the Safavid dynasty, and in India, many exceptional art works were created under the rule of the Mughal dynasty.

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²⁶ Due to the limitations of space, I only mention the last great period of Islamic art and science. For more on art and science within the specified period see: POTOČNIK, D. 2015, pp. 145–164; POTOČNIK, D. 2006.

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PRISPEVEK ISLAMSKE CIVILIZACIJE V ZAKLADNICO SVETOVNE UMETNOSTI IN ZNANOSTI

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POVZETEK

Prispevek islamske civilizacije v zakladnico svetovne umetnosti in znanosti je izjemen. Skoraj pol tisočletja je bil Bagdad eden najpomembnejših kulturnih centrov, kjer sta se zblíževala grški in perzijsko-arabski svet in kjer so se zbirali znanstveniki in učenjaki z vsega sveta. Ob pomoči Arabcev se je tako Evropa seznanjala ne le z deli antičnih filozofov, temveč tudi z islamskimi spoznanji in iznajdbami ter z znanostjo in umetnostjo stare Indije in Kitajske. Poleg tega je dal islamski svet človeštvu tudi izjemne znanstvenike, npr. Ibn Sino (Aviceno), Al Razija, Al Masudija, Al Birunija, Al Tusija ... Njihovi izumi so vplivali na številne spremembe v svetu.

Izjemen je tudi prispevek islama v zakladnico svetovne umetnosti. Umetnost Omajadov je položila temelje, na katerih se je nato razvijala večina umetniških slogov. Tako so pod vplivom helenistične in perzijske umetnosti zgradili prve mošeje. Te osnove so dale znamenite mojstrovine, kot so Kupola na skali, Omajadska mošeja v Damasku ter mošeji v Kufi in Basri.

Med drugimi zvrstmi umetnosti je posebno visoko mesto zavzemala književnost. Posebno mesto sta imeli obe sveti izročili, Koran in Hadis. Eden največjih proznih piscev arabske književnosti je bil perzijski pisec Al Mukafa. Arabske pravljice najodličneje predstavlja zbirka Tisoč in ena noč.

V t. i. arabski renesansi se je na abasidskem dvoru še posebno razcvetela poezija. Pesniki so povzdigovali ljubezen do življenja, peli so o ljubezni in vinu. Eden takih je bil Omar Hajam. Med pesniki je pomemben še perzijski epik Firduzi, ki je avtor najslavnejše perzijske knjige, Knjige kraljev (Šah Name), pesnitve, v kateri opisuje zgodovino Perzije od mitskih začetkov do arabske osvojitve. Med velikane svetovne poezije so se zapisali še Rudaki, Nizami, Abu Nuvas, Atar ... Največja poeta iz časa vdora Mongolov sta Sadi in Hafez. To je tudi doba, ko je živel Jelaludin Rumi, mistični poet, ki velja za ustanovitelja reda vrtečih se dervišev. S knjižno umetnostjo je neločljivo povezana miniatura, ki se je dolgo obdobje razvijala le v okviru rokopisov.

Bogato tradicijo kalifata so nadaljevali osmanski Turki, Safavidi v Perziji in tudi Moguli v Indiji.

LAUREL OR CYPRESSES. OTTOMAN BATTLES ON THE CEILING OF THE MARIBOR CASTLE HALL

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ABSTRACT

The topic of the paper are three battle scenes on the ceiling of the Maribor castle hall. Two of them were painted around 1680 by Lorenzo Lauriga for Johann Jacob Count Khisl. Count Khisl reorganised the main wing of the castle into a *piano nobile* containing a representative two-storied great hall. As conceived by Count Khisl the iconographical program of the ceiling contained two battle scenes, probable two episodes from Odysseus Homecoming, Four Seasons, Jupiter, Mars and an unknown topic to be depicted in the large cavetto. Because both battle scenes were painted before Count Khisl's own participation in the Ottoman wars, the author argues that they were painted to celebrate the deeds of his famous father-in-law Raimondo Count Montecuccoli in the Ottoman war of 1663–1664. The third battle scene in the cavetto was painted 1763 by Joseph Michael Gebler.

KEY WORDS

Johann Jacob Count Khisl, Raimondo Count Montecuccoli, Joseph Michael Gebler, Maribor Castle Hall, Lorenzo Lauriga, Ottoman wars

The lavish stucco and pictorial decoration of »the largest and most beautiful hall in Maribor«¹ was conceived around 1680, during the rebuilding of the Maribor Castle, which was carried out by Johann Jacob Count Khisl (1645–1689). Count Khisl reorganised the main wing of the castle into a *piano nobile* containing a representative two-storied great hall.² Written sources about the great hall decoration are not preserved. Based on stylistic analysis and comparative methods, Barbara Jaki Mozetič attributed the stuccowork to Alessandro Serenio of Lugano and his workshop.³ From the 1660s until his death in 1688, Serenio executed several stucco decorations for the Styrian nobility. Barbara Jaki compared the Maribor stucco with stuccowork in the castles of Eggenberg, Rabenstein and Trautenfels.^{4,5} For the paintings, Johann Jacob Count Khisl employed Lorenzo Lauriga (1632–1681), whose signature »Lo: Lauriago pin(x)« was still legible in 1945 in the lower right corner of the Allegory of Autumn.⁶ Lauriga's paintings executed in the tempera technique are embedded in the stuccowork along the coving and on the north and south rim of the cavetto. Above the east side-wall, Jupiter is flanked by the allegories of Spring and Summer, above the west side-wall, Mars is accompanied by the allegories of Autumn and Winter. Above the narrower side-walls are two battle scenes interpreted by Bogó Teply and Ivan Meznarič as the Battle for Castel Sant'Angelo during the Sack of Rome (1527) and the Battle of Sankt Gotthard on the Raab River (1664).⁷ Above each battle scene is a multi-figure composition, probably depicting Odysseus Homecoming.⁸ The small cartouches below the paintings are filled with landscapes. Barbara Murovec discovered that the pictorial source for Lauriga's allegories of the Four Seasons were the engravings by Susanna Maria von Sandrart (after etchings by Gérard

¹ As the Great Hall of the Maribor castle was described by Rudolf Gustav Puff in 1847. See: PUFF, R. G. 1999, p. 34.

To avoid doubling and confusion, all geographical names are written in the language of the country where there are today. The exceptions are Vienna and Szentgotthárd/St. Gotthard/Monošter, for which the most frequent English version Saint Gotthard was chosen.

² For rebuilding of the castle at the time of Johann Jacob Count Khisl, see: FABRICI, E. 1935, pp. 8–10; CURK, J. 1950, p. 33; CURK, J. 2007, pp. 59–61, 65–67, 86.

³ JAKI MOZETIČ, B. 1995, pp. 68–69.

⁴ Serenio's stuccowork for Eggenberg was commissioned by Johann Seyfried Prince Eggenberg and executed between 1666 and 1670 (KAISER, B. 2014, p. 151). Serenio was employed in Trautenfels and Rabenstein in the early 1670s by Siegmund Friedrich Count Trauttmansdorff and his wife Cäcilia Renata Countess Dohna zu Wartburg (SCHULLER, H. 1992, p. 28).

⁵ JAKI MOZETIČ, B. 1995, p. 69.

⁶ MUROVEC, B. 1997, p. 56.

⁷ TEPLY, B., MEZNARIČ, I. 1950, p. 141.

⁸ Ibid.

de Lairesse), probably executed around 1679 in Nürnberg, which makes it plausible that the Maribor ceiling paintings were not commissioned before 1680.⁹ The date is in accordance with the knowledge about the oeuvre of Alessandro Serenio who could have worked in Maribor between 1679 and 1681.¹⁰ The large central field was apparently unfinished at the time of Lauriga's death in 1681 and was painted in fresco not earlier than in 1763 by Joseph Michael Gebler («(J) M Gebler fecit et pinxit ANNO 1763») when the castle was owned by Heinrich Adam Count Brandis. Brandis paid no attention to the original iconographical concept. Instead of an expected allegorical apotheosis of the commissioner's family¹¹ as appearing for example in the already mentioned castles of Eggenberg (ca. 1679–1682), Rabenstein (early 1670s) and Trautenfels (ca. 1670–1673), Count Brandis chose another battle scene. It was interpreted as the Battle at Parma in 1734,¹² the Siege of Vienna in 1683¹³ or a historically indefinable battle.¹⁴

Common to all three battle scenes is the fight of the Austrian army against the Ottomans. There are no inscriptions, portraits or identifiable topographic characteristics that would make the identification of historical battles possible. It is the aim of this article to identify the intentions of Johann Jacob Count Khisl and Heinrich Adam Count Brandis for commissioning battle scenes as well as to identify visual sources for the paintings. Based on the family history of both commissioners, a new identification of the depicted battle scenes will be proposed.

BATTLE SCENES FOR CHRISTIAN VICTORS

Before 1680, with the exception of woodcuts, engravings and etchings as well as ex voto paintings,¹⁵ the depictions of historical battles with the Ottomans were not a frequent subject of artworks commissioned by the nobility fighting in the Ottoman wars. Their number increased after the Liberation of Vienna in 1683, when the victors over the Ottomans and their heirs wanted to commemorate their deeds also in the medium of visual arts.¹⁶ One of the important examples painted before 1680 can be found in the Sárvár Castle in Hungary. In 1653, Ferenc Count Nádasdy employed Hans Rudolf Miller to paint seven battle scenes on the ceiling of the great hall of the Sárvár Castle, which were intended to glorify the deeds of his grandfather Ferenc in the Austro-Ottoman war of 1593–1606 but also to point out the up-to-date necessity for the nobility to fight against the Ottomans.¹⁷ The formal scheme of the Sárvár Castle hall stucco and painted decoration resembles closely to the Maribor Castle hall. Embedded in the rich stucco, the scenes in the coving depict the sieges of Buda, Tata, Pápa, Székesfehérvár, Kanizsa and Győr, in the cavetto is a depiction of the Battle of Sisak.¹⁸ According to Géza Galavics, Hans Rudolf Miller used Antonio Tempesta's series about the exploits of the Roman hero Paulus Aemilius (1601) as a visual source for battles scenes, but it was actually Tempesta's Third Battle Scenes Series executed in the 1590s and not referring to any defined historical battles.¹⁹ For the depictions of Hungarian and Croatian fortresses in

⁹ MUROVEC, B. 1997, pp. 65–66.¹⁰ Alessandro Serenio was employed in Eggenberg between 1666 and 1670 and again in 1682 (RUCK, B. 1985, pp. 54, 58; KAISER, B. 2014, p. 151); in Trautenfels and Rabenstein he worked in the early 1670s (BRUCHER, G. 1973, pp. 21–22). Between 1674 and 1679, he is documented as the stuccoer of the nave of the church of Maria Elend in Graz (SCHWEIGERT, H. 1979, p. 256). In 1681, Serenio received payments for the stucco decoration of the bishopric chapel in Seggau (VIDMAR, P. 2014, p. 54). Regarding these dates, it is most probably, that Serenio executed the stucco of the Maribor hall after completing his works in Maria Elend and before his employment in Seggau, i.e. between 1679 and 1681.

¹¹ MUROVEC, B. 1997, p. 64.

¹² TEPLY, B., MEZNARIČ, I. 1950, p. 141–142.

¹³ FABRICI, E. 1935, p. 9.

¹⁴ VRIŠER, S. 1969, pp. 13–14; VRIŠER, S. 1979, p. 20; CURK, J. 2007, p. 67.

¹⁵ For example the ex voto painting preserved in Bayerisches Armeemuseum, Ingolstadt. See: DIE TÜRKEN VOR WIEN 1983, pp. 38–39, N. 4/7.

¹⁶ See: RÓZSA, G. 1987.

¹⁷ GALAVICS, G. 1976, p. 25.

¹⁸ GALAVICS, G. 1986, p. 83, 165.

¹⁹ GALAVICS, G. 1986, pp. 84, 165. Galavics knew Tempesta's Third Battle Scenes Series, which is preserved in the Prague National Gallery. On the bottom edge of these etchings are verses describing the deeds of the Roman hero Aemilius Paulus. See: GALAVICS, G. 1986, p. 84. On the same series, preserved in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the bottom edges are either empty or contain the dedications of Nicolaus van Aelst to Jacob König or of Giovanni Orlandi to Lelio Orsini; on the frontispiece is a dedication to Giovanni Angelo Altamps. For the reproductions, see: BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, pp. 138–146, Ns. 848–855 (156); for the Third Battle Scenes Series: LEUSCHNER, E. 2005, p. 379. Eight etchings from the series were copied 1622 by Matthäus Merian the Elder and published by Peter Aubry and Lazarus van der Heyden as the History of Aemilius Paulus. See: FALK, T., ZIJLMA, R. (ed.) 1989, pp. 132–136, Ns. 147–154.

the background, Miller copied the etchings by Johann Sibmacher, which were published in the »Chronologia« by Hieronymus Ortelius.²⁰ Miller copied Tempesta's battle scenes accurately, sometimes abandoning superfluous figures or changing the format of the compositions. The names of the fortresses and the name NADASDI are added to increase the documentary value of the paintings. In the Battle of Sisak, Ferenc Nádasdy is shown with portrait features taken from a portrait in the Sárvár portrait gallery. Together with topographic details painted after Sibmacher, the portrait emphasises the documentary character of the paintings. The ceiling paintings in Sárvár are the only preserved example of depictions of national history topics in Hungarian early baroque period.²¹ Ferenc Count Nádasdy got the inspiration for the ceiling paintings in the Günzburg Castle in Bavaria, where Charles of Burgau commissioned a series of paintings celebrating his own military achievements in today's Hungary and Croatia in the war of 1593–1606.²² We are informed from literary sources that Nicolaus Count Zrinski also commissioned a series of battle scenes celebrating his victories over the Ottomans for his Čakovec Castle before 1660, but they are not preserved.²³ Taking into account the infrequency of the historic battle scenes in the medium of ceiling painting before 1680, we may speculate that Johann Jacob Count Khisl got acquainted with the topic in the Sárvár or Čakovec Castle.

BATTLE SCENES FOR JOHANN JACOB COUNT KHISL

The military career of Johann Jacob Count Khisl has not been studied yet. According to the old historiographic literature, he was imperial councillor and councillor of the Inner Austrian government,²⁴ in the inventory after his death in 1689, he is mentioned as imperial councillor, vice-president of the Inner Austrian Aulic War Council and colonel of a dragoon regiment.²⁵ The same functions are mentioned in the inscription on his coffin in the family vault in the Maribor Capuchin Monastery.²⁶ His early military career remains a subject for further research, but we have some information about his last years. In December 1682, he got the task to establish a German infantry regiment, but the project was dismissed.²⁷ Instead, from 1686 till 1689, he was proprietor and commander of the dragoon »Regiment Khisl«.²⁸ It is not known in which battles he had participated before commissioning the ceiling paintings, but it is unlikely that his opponents before 1680 were the Ottomans. He was probably too young to participate in the Austro-Turkish War of 1663–1664, and after the war the Vasvár peace treaty, which held for about twenty years, was signed. Later in the 1680s, Khisl's regiment participated in the siege and conquest of Buda (1686), in the battle at Harsány (1687), in the capture of Titel (1688) and in the siege of Beograd (1688).²⁹ In October 1688, Count Khisl was already in Maribor, where he and his wife acted as godparents to a boy and a girl of Turkish origin who received the Christian names of Jacob and Maria Eleonora.³⁰ In 1689, his regiment undertook a military campaign to Serbia and fought in the battles at Batočina and Niš, after which the Ottomans were driven back into Bulgaria; in mid-October, the Imperial forces took Vidin by storm before occupying Kladovo.³¹ On 4 November, Count Khisl passed away in Kladovo.³²

²⁰ GALAVICS, G. 1973, p. 25. For fifty-nine etchings by Johann Sibmacher published in Ortelius' »Chronologia« (1602, 1603, 1604, 1620, 1665), see: SEELIG, G., BEVERS, H. (ed.) 2002, pp. 162–203, Ns. 234–292.

²¹ CENNER-WILHELM, G. 1969, p. 183.

²² GALAVICS, G. 1986, p. 83, 165. About Charles von Burgau's participation in the 1593–1606 war, see: HAUSER, W. 1980, pp. 167–170.

²³ GALAVICS, G. 1976, p. 26; GALAVICS, G. 1986, pp. 89, 165.

²⁴ WIßGRILL, F. K., ODELGA, K. 1804, p. 106.

²⁵ STLA, Landrecht, K. 538, H. 3, fol. 189v (»... der Röm. kayl. may. etc. etc. cammerern, i. o. hoff khriegsraths vice praesidenten und über ein regiment dragoner bestelten obristen...«).

²⁶ »Silet sub marmore silex, videlicet Illsimus Ds Ds Ioan. Iacob. Kisel, Comes in Gotschee etc. S.C.M. Camerarius Consilii Bellici I.A. Vicepraeses Dragonorumque Colonellus etc. Pauperum Pater, Mavortis filius, patriae amor, sic cedit majori minor. Condiditque cum duro, murum hunc durum, Pater unigenitae, filius bini stematis, spiritus pacis et belli. Obiit Vetslaviae in Bulgaria, die 4. Novemb. hora 7 Vesp. anno aetatis 44, et a Christo nato, quo hVIC nVnC reqVleM a Christo preCare, qVI pro Christlanitate noLvit qVlesCere.« (1689) Cited after: ŠKAFAR, V. 1993, p. 74.

²⁷ WREDE, A. 1898, p. 166.

²⁸ WREDE, A. 1901, pp. 191–192.

²⁹ WREDE, A. 1901, p. 194.

³⁰ »Die 17 baptizatus est Iacobus ex Saracenis parentibus natus, quorum nomina ignota. Patrini fuerunt illustrissimus dominus dominus comes Iacobus Kisl cum coniuge sua illustrissima domina Carlotta Polixena...« (17 October 1688); »Die 20 baptizata est Maria Eleonora ex Saracenis parentibus nata, quorum nomina ignota. Patrini fuerunt illustrissimus dominus comes Iacobus Kisl et illustrissima domina sua coniuge Carlotta Polixena...« (20 November 1688). Cited after: MLINARIČ, J. 2000, pp. 81–83.

³¹ HOCHEDLINGER, M. 2003, p. 161.

³² See: ŠKAFAR, V. 1993, p. 74. For the identification of »Vetslavia« with Kladovo, the author would like to thank Boris Hajdinjak.

Since the opponents of Johann Jacob Count Khisl before 1680 were probably not the Ottomans, we may assume that the occasion for commissioning two battle scenes with Ottoman motives were not his own military achievements, but the celebration of the deeds of his father-in-law, the imperial field marshal Raimondo Count Montecuccoli (1609–1680). Most important in Montecuccoli's career was his victory over the Ottomans in the Battle of Saint Gotthard in August 1664, which for him did not end with »cypresses«, but with plenty of »laurel«, if we paraphrase the metaphor from his speech during the battle.³³ Immediately after the battle, he received the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1678 the title of the Duke of Melfi by the King of Spain and a promise by Emperor Leopold I to be made a Prince of the Empire.³⁴ In 1668, he became president of the Aulic War Council and the leader of the arsenal.³⁵ As a skilled administrator and theorist of war, Raimondo Montecuccoli was most influential in 17th century warfare and military thought.³⁶ Johann Jacob Count Khisl married Raimondo's daughter Charlotte Polyxena Montecuccoli in the mid-1670s and in 1675 their son Johann Joseph and a year later the daughter Maria Eleonora were born.³⁷



Image 1: Lorenzo Lauriga, Battle scene from the Austro-Turkish War of 1663–1664 (Battle of St. Gotthard?), 1680–1681 (photograph by Andrej Furlan, UIFS)

³³ As recorded in his memoirs, count Montecuccoli used the metaphor of laurel and cypresses in his speech to commanding officers: »Io dissi ai Generali niuna via aprirsi alla nostra salute, se non la virtù de' nostri animi e delle nostre destre; Doversi assalire l'Inimico con tutte le forze e far l'estremo di nostra potenza per cacciarnelo via, e quando ciò anche à pieno riuscito non fosse, doversi in ogni modo fermar qui il Piede, pigliarci posto, e coglierci immortali ò gli allori ò I Cipressi, ottenerci gloriosii Trionfi ò I funerali, viverci ò morirci.« Cited after: NOTTEBOHM, W. 1887, p. 19.

³⁴ SCHREIBER, G. 2000, pp. 267, 273.

³⁵ About the battle and its consequences, see: WAGNER, G. 1964.

³⁶ HOCHEDLINGER, M. 2003, pp. 113, 123.

³⁷ ŽABOTA, B. 2003, p. 22. Born in 1660, Charlotte Polixena was the second eldest daughter of Raimondo Montecuccoli who married Maria Margaretha Countess Dietrichstein in 1657. See: SCHREIBER, G. 2000, p. 209. According to Franz Karl Wißgrill and Karl Odelga, Charlotte Polixena Countess Khisl died in St. Pölten in 1733 and was buried in the there's Franciscan monastery to which she was a great benefactor. See: WIßGRILL, F. K., ODELGA, K. 1804, p. 107. After the death of her husband in 1689, she was granted 8,000 florin widow emolument per year. See: BRANDIS, F. 1889, p. 168.

Regarding the family history, the commission of the Battle of Sankt Gotthard for the hall ceiling would be expected. Lauriga's painting on the south side of the ceiling does not contain any direct motives for such identification. (Image 1) In the foreground, a passionate combat of a small group of soldiers is taking place. Two officers are accentuated, the standing one is about to stab his opponent, the mounted one is beheading an Ottoman. Another mounted officer tries to interfere in the combat and a mounted Turk on the left observes the happening. The scene could have taken place in whichever battle. It seems that Lauriga painted the combatants after his own invention, but for the position of horses he used an etching by Antonio Tempesta showing a Cavalry Engagement at Close Quarters and belonging to the Third Battle Scenes Series.³⁸ By copying the black horse from the front, the brown one from the side and the white one from behind, Lauriga achieved a firm triangular but at the same time dramatic and agitated composition, which he completed with passionate combatants in contemporary uniforms. Background scenes do not contribute to the identification of the battle. To the left, some small scale combatants, a burning building and some distant hills are depicted, to the right is a fortress or a defensive wall with merlons. Perhaps it is a fictitious depiction of Saint Gotthard Abbey or of the village of Mogensdorf. The part of the painting in front of the fortress is in a bad state of preservation and it seems that this part was occupied by a depiction of soldiers attempting to cross a river. If this is the case, the painting would have a documentary character, depicting the attempts of the Ottomans to cross the Raab river by using fords and auxiliary bridges made of rafts.³⁹ The answer is to be expected from further restoration, respectively cleaning of the painting. Another hint for the documentary value of the painted scene is Count Khisl's painting collection in his palace in Graz. In 1690, there were six paintings with battle scenes, one of them depicting the Battle of Saint Gotthard.⁴⁰



Image 2: Lorenzo Lauriga, Battle scene from the Austro-Turkish War of 1663–1664, 1680–1681 (photograph by Andrej Furlan, UIFS)

³⁸ For the series, see: BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, pp. 138–146, Ns. 848–855 (156). The etching depicting the Cavalry Engagement at Close Quarters has no inscription. See: BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, p. 145, N. 854 (156).

³⁹ WAGNER, G. 1964, pp. 189–191.

⁴⁰ StLA, Landrecht, K. 538, H. 3, fol. 232, 233, 233r.

Furthermore, the battle scene to the north of the ceiling lacks distinctive characteristics for identification. (Image 2) It cannot refer to the Sack of Rome in 1527, because hostile soldiers are clearly defined as the Ottomans. Its previous identification was based on the round fortress and the vaulted bridge in the background that are recognisable as Castel Sant'Angelo and the bridge over the Tiber river. Lorenzo Lauriga did not use any of the many engraved or etched depictions of the Castel Sant'Angelo for the fortress in the background, but an etching by Antonio Tempesta depicting *An Attack on a Walled City* and belonging to the already mentioned *Third Battle Scenes Series*.⁴¹ The fortress and the bridge are imitated with great accuracy, even the smoke clouds appear in the same positions. Regarding the content of the painting, Lauriga got the task to depict another battle against the Ottomans. Judging from the hundreds of Ottoman soldiers with white turbans occupying the fortress and the Christian infantry approaching the bridge, the painting depicts a Christian attack on an Ottoman fortified town. It probably depicts another event from the Austro-Ottoman war of 1663–1664. The imperial officers wear the same justaucorps with broad cuffs as in the battle scene on the south side of the ceiling. No Ottoman fortress in the mentioned war was captured by Montecuccoli himself. In the north part of the Austrian-Ottoman border, the most important capture was that of Levice in July 1664, whereas in the south, Nicolaus Count Zrinski managed to destroy the strategically important and strongly fortified Osijek Bridge in February 1664, recapturing some strong fortresses like Berzence, Babócsa and the town of Pécs on his way, but failed in conquering Nagykanizsa as the main objective.⁴² We may speculate that the siege of one of the mentioned fortresses is depicted at the ceiling of the Maribor Castle hall by using the etching by Antonio Tempesta.

In the foreground, Lauriga painted five combatants in passionate fighting. An officer fires from his handgun on a Turk who is about to spear a Christian soldier. Another Turk interferes in the combat with the sabre but a mounted officer is approaching hastily from the right, shooting from his handgun. In much smaller scale, passionate combats are depicted in the middle of the painting, in front of the fortress. At least the Ottoman spearing a Christian soldier and the lying horse in the foreground were copied after another etching from the *Third Battle Scenes Series* by Antonio Tempesta depicting a *Cavalry Attack, with Two Men Speared*.⁴³ In order to turn Tempesta's soldier into an Ottoman, Lauriga changed his dress and headgear and added a shield with a crescent. He also modernised the uniform of his opponent into a contemporary justaucorps. The same etching by Tempesta was used by Miller in Sárvár Castle to depict the *Siege of Kanizsa*.⁴⁴ In contrast to Lauriga, Miller also copied other combatants from the etching, only changing and modernising their uniforms and headgear.

Lauriga's battle scenes in the Maribor Castle hall are one of the many examples of the popularity of Tempesta's etchings from the 1590s as a visual source for battle scenes of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴⁵ Tempesta's series of battle scenes »... offered a figurative legacy and an example of formal grammar, with figures placed in the foreground at the sides of the composition, which represented an immense reserve for the genesis of this new iconographic school of painting.«⁴⁶ Tempesta's three series of battle scenes depict no historically or literary determined battles; with their thematic openness they represent a preliminary stage to many baroque paintings, denominated by Fritz Saxl as the »Battle Scene without a Hero«,⁴⁷ which became very popular through their aesthetic reflexion of contemporary and historical war events.⁴⁸ Their applicability for different contemporary or historical battles can be observed also in the Maribor and Sárvár Castles. In comparison with Miller's paintings in Sárvár, Lauriga's battle scenes in Maribor are of lower documentary value. However, by using details from trusted etchings and adding his own inventions, Lauriga was able to depict the action and drama of a battle with convincingly handling figures. He paid much attention to the horses which contribute to the effect of excitement and agitation.

⁴¹ BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, p. 141, N. 850 (156).

⁴² For contemporary engraved depictions of the mentioned fortresses, see: MEYER, M. 1672, after p. 1142 and after p. 1144 (Levice), after p. 1142 (Babócsa), after p. 1132 (Pécs), after p. 1160 (Kanizsa).

⁴³ BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, p. 142, N. 851 (156).

⁴⁴ GALAVICS, G. 1986, illustration 36.

⁴⁵ See: LEUSCHNER, E. 2005, p. 379.

⁴⁶ SESTIERI, G. 1999, p. 641.

⁴⁷ SAXL, F. 1939/40, p. 70.

⁴⁸ LEUSCHNER, E. 2005, p. 375.

Although the identification of historical events remains questionable, we may speculate that both scenes refer to the Austro-Ottoman war of 1663–1664 and that Count Khisl's intention was to glorify his father-in-law's heroic deeds. The commission of the Maribor Castle hall ceiling decoration coincides with the death of Raimondo Montecuccoli in October 1680 and Johann Jacob Khisl wanted to celebrate the heroic deeds of his famous father-in-law being hailed the saviour of Europe for his success in halting the Ottoman advance.

BATTLE SCENE FOR HEINRICH ADAM COUNT BRANDIS

As already stated, the central field remained unpainted due to the death of Lorenzo Lauriga on 9 October 1681. For reasons unknown, Count Khisl did not employ another painter to finish Lauriga's work and the central field was completed with a large battle scene (Image 3) not earlier than in 1763 by Joseph Michael Gebler (1730–1808). The commissioner of the central fresco was Heinrich Adam Count Brandis (1715–1790), who wanted to commemorate the deeds of his family at the hall ceiling. The fresco was executed at the end of a thorough rebuilding of the castle by Heinrich Adam, who continued the endeavours of the last counts Khisl and his father Franz Jacob Count Brandis in changing the once fortified castle into a prestigious town palace.⁴⁹ The interpretation by Teply, Meznarič and Curk that the scene depicts the Battle at Parma⁵⁰ seemed plausible, because Karl Franz Count Brandis (1710–1734),⁵¹ the elder brother of the commissioner, lost his life in the battle. However, the battle at Parma was fought between the troops of France and Sardinia on one side and the Austrian troops on the other, whereas the soldiers' costumes and headgear on the fresco suggest that it depicts a battle with the Ottomans. Fabrici's interpretation as the Siege of Vienna in 1683 and Vrišer's interpretation as a historically indefinable battle⁵² lack convincing arguments.



Image 3: Joseph Michael Gebler, Death of Guidobald Joseph Count Brandis at the Battle of Cornea, 1763 (photograph by Andrej Furlan, UIFS)

⁴⁹ For rebuilding of the castle at the time of the counts Franz Jacob (1677–1746) and Heinrich Adam Brandis, see: FABRICI, E. 1935, pp. 10–13; CURK, J. 1950, pp. 33–34; CURK, J. 2007, pp. 61–62, 69–70, 86.

⁵⁰ TEPLY, B., MEZNARIČ, I. 1950, 141–142; CURK, I. 2007, p. 61. The same interpretation by SCHLÖGL-ERNST, E. 2006, p. 51–52.

⁵¹ RADOVANOVIĆ, S. 2007, p. 162. According to Wißgrill, Carl Franz Joseph Count Brandis had the rank of a second lieutenant when he was killed at Parma. See: WIßGRILL, F. K. 1794, p. 368.

⁵² FABRICI, E. 1935, p. 13; VRIŠER, S. 1969, pp. 13–14; VRIŠER, S. 1979, p. 20; CURK, I. 2007, p. 67.

Most likely, the fresco commemorates the death of the younger brother of the commissioner, Guidobald Joseph Count Brandis (1717–1738), who lost his life in the battle against the Ottomans at Cornea in today's Romania.⁵³ 25 years after the battle, Heinrich Adam did not only commemorate his brother's heroic death in action through the medium of a ceiling painting, but also his own military past. In 1734, Heinrich Adam entered as officer candidate in the infantry regiment of his relative Maximilian Adam Count Starhemberg⁵⁴ and acted in 1738 as recruiting officer in Regensburg. In the same year, he took over, as captain, the troops of his at Cornea deceased brother,⁵⁵ but already in 1739, his father summoned him as his only remaining son from the military service. In 1744, he married Maria Anna Countess Trauttmansdoff and in 1746 he inherited the estates of his father. Although it has no impact on the depicted scene, it is worth mentioning that the military conflicts were not Heinrich Adam Count Brandis' only contact with the Ottomans. He spent several months (July 1740 until May 1741) in Constantinople in the retinue of the Imperial embassy headed by Anton Corfiz Count Ulfeldt. Heinrich Adam was one of the twelve so-called embassy gentlemen (»Bothschaftscavalieri«).⁵⁶ When he commissioned the battle scene for the central field of the hall ceiling, he could not look back on his own glorious military past, but could nevertheless still boast of his ancestors on the maternal side, the counts of Starhemberg, as being famous victors over the Ottomans. On the other hand, the scene depicts a crucial event in his short military career, i.e. when he took over the troops of his deceased brother.

The bloody battle at Cornea was fought on 4 July 1738 during the Austro-Turkish War of 1737–1739. Under the command of Lothar Count Königsegg, the imperial army based in Temesvár defeated the Ottomans at Cornea, but due to logistical problems, it was forced to retreat as far as Beograd and left the Banat unprotected against further Ottoman raids.⁵⁷ From the painting itself and from the preserved oeuvre by Joseph Michael Gebler,⁵⁸ it is obvious that he was not skilled in painting battle scenes. The figures are disproportionate and the painter had problems depicting them in convincing warfare positions. It is unlikely that Gebler invented all dramatic postures of horses and combatants himself, but visual sources for the painting have yet not been found. Some details, like the falling horse of the hit Austrian officer and the horse of his killer, resemble the horses on Tempesta's etching *Cavalry Attack with Soldiers Fleeing* forming the so called *First Battle Scenes Series*.⁵⁹ The mounted soldier on the right edge is a mirror-inverted copy of the cavalryman on Tempesta's etching *Cavalry Engagement* from the same series. Also the costumes of Austrian soldiers, a combination of contemporary and antique harnesses, are taken from Tempesta's repertoire. Therefore, Gebler's painting is probably a pasticcio from different visual sources and his own inventions painted in consideration of the instructions of the commissioner.

From the composition of the painting, we may assume that Gebler got the task to eternalise a precise moment of the Battle at Cornea when a mounted Turk killed an imperial officer with a handgun. The smoke of the shot is visible, the officer was already hit and is falling from his horse, but he is still alive. We can see the fear of death on his moustached face, but his bellicose character is accentuated with a still raised sable. Gebler painted his face with more endeavour than the faces of other combatants and therefore we may assume that he got the task to depict the death of Guidobald Joseph Count Brandis. Guidobald Joseph and his killer are placed in the centre of the composition and accompanied by a cadet with a red flag to the left and an officer with the Maltese cross on his armour to the right. They act as witnesses, but do not interfere in the happening. Around the central group, the battle is taking place, corpses, horses, arms, armour, flags and military instruments lie in the foreground. All these figures and objects do not contribute significantly to the

⁵³ BRANDIS, F. 1889, p. 171. Ferdinand Count Brandis falsely wrote that it was Jakob Andreas Count Brandis who fell in action at Cornea, but Jakob Andreas died already in 1708 at the age of 1. For genealogy, respectively Guidobald Joseph, see: Brandis Family. URL: <http://genealogy.euweb.cz/austria/brandis1.html> (retrieved: 25/06/2015) Also according to Wißgrill, the name of count Brandis, killed in action by the Ottomans in 1738, was Guidobald Joseph. See: WIßGRILL, F. K. 1794, p. 368.

⁵⁴ The proprietor of the infantry regiment Maximilian Adam Count Starhemberg (1669–1741) was an uncle of Heinrich Adam's mother Maria Anna Starhemberg – Brandis (1680–1721), respectively a brother of his grandfather Gundacker Count Starhemberg (1652–1702).

⁵⁵ BRANDIS, F. 1889, p. 171.

⁵⁶ HAMMER, J. 1832, p. 11.

⁵⁷ HOCHEDLINGER, M. 2003, p. 215. See also: HAMMER, J. 1831, p. 510.

⁵⁸ For the life and work of Joseph Michael Gebler, see: SCHLÖGGL-ERNST, E. 2006.

⁵⁹ For the series, see: BUFFA, S. (ed.) 1983, pp. 126–131, Ns. 828–837 (156). The engraving has the Number 837.

message of the painting; they are here to illustrate the bloody battle. The only figure apart from the central group, whose face is painted with much attention and who even shows emotions like anxiety and concern, is the officer with the raised sabre just to the right of the central group. With his moustache, he looks like a double of the supposed Guidobald Joseph. It is possible that it is a portrait of the commissioner Heinrich Adam Count Brandis in his young years when he participated in the battle at Cornea. The white crenelated fortress in the background does not seem to be painted after existing architecture, although it probably represents Temesvár. The death of Guidobald Joseph is painted in the »reportage style« making the viewer another witness of the event.

CONCLUSION

Three depictions of Ottoman battles evoke an impression of a strong military character of the iconography of the Maribor Castle hall ceiling paintings. Conceived around 1680 by Johann Jacob Count Khisl, the iconographical programme contained two battle scenes, probably two episodes from Odysseus Homecoming, Four Seasons, Jupiter, Mars and an unknown topic to be depicted in the large central field of the ceiling. The paintings by Lorenzo Lauriga executed around 1680 along the coving are characterised by an equilibrium of historical, mythological and literary topics embedded in the eternal cycle of the Four Seasons. Both battle scenes, probably glorifying the great deeds of Johann Jacob Count Khisl's famous father-in-law Raimondo Count Montecuccoli, would not attract so much attention if the central field were not used for another battle scene painted by Joseph Michael Gebler in 1763 in the »reportage style« and probably intended to commemorate the death of Guidobald Joseph Count Brandis, respectively to glorify the deeds of Heinrich Adam Count Brandis and his relatives in the Ottoman wars. Abandoning any allegorical intentions, the scene in the cavetto contributes to the narrative character of the paintings making the ceiling of the Maribor Castle hall a pictorial testimony of the long-lasting struggles with the Ottomans.⁶⁰

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⁶⁰ This article is the result of the research conducted within the research project Visual Representations of the Nobility: Early Modern Art Patronage in the Styria.

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LOVOR ALI CIPRESE. BITKE Z OSMANI NA OBOKU SLAVNOSTNE DVORANE MARIBORSKEGA GRADU

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POVZETEK

V prispevku so obravnavani trije bojni prizori na oboku slavnostne dvorane mariborskega gradu. Prizora na obodu oboka je okrog leta 1680 naslikal Lorenzo Lauriga po naročilu grofa Janeza Jakoba Khisla. Grof Khisl je dal nadstropje glavnega grajskega krila prezidati v *piano nobile*, pri čemer sega reprezentančna slavnostna dvorana čez dve nadstropji. Ikonografski program poslikave oboka je v času grofa Khisla obsegal omenjena bojna prizora, domnevna prizora o Odisejevi vrnitvi na Itako, štiri letne čase, Jupitra in Marsa, veliko osrednje polje pa je ostalo neposlikano. Ker sta bila bojna prizora naslikana pred Khislovim vojaškim udejstvovanjem v bitkah z Osmani, je v prispevku postavljena hipoteza, da je naročnik z njima želel obeležiti velika dejanja svojega slavnega tasta grofa Raimonda Montecuccolija v avstrijsko-turški vojni v letih 1663 in 1664. Na južni strani je verjetno upodobljena bitka pri Sankt Gotthardu / Mogersdorfu / Modencih, po kateri so Montecuccolija slavili kot rešitelja Evrope. Primerljive upodobitve najdemo na stropnih poslikavah slavnostne dvorane v gradu Sarvar na Madžarskem, ki jih je leta 1653 naslikal Hans Rudolf Miller po naročilu grofa Ferenc Nádasdija. S stropnimi slikami je Nádasdi želel obeležiti junaštva svojega deda Ferenc v avstrijsko-turški vojni v letih 1593–1606, hkrati pa je želel svoje plemiške goste opozoriti na pomen bojov z Osmani in njihovo aktualnost. Oba slikarja, Lauriga in Miller, sta kot likovne vire uporabljala jedkanice Antonia Tempeste.

Bojni prizor na osrednjem polju je leta 1763 naslikal Joseph Michael Gebler po naročilu grofa Henrika Adama Brandisa. Grof Brandis se je v mladosti udeležil bojov z Osmani, nekaj mesecev pa je preživel tudi v Konstantinoplu kot spremljevalec cesarskega veleposlanika grofa Uhlfeldta. Bojni prizor je bil verjetno naslikan v spomin na smrt naročnikovega mlajšega brata, grofa Gvidobalda Jožefa Brandisa, v krvavi bitki z Osmani pri Cornei v današnji Romuniji. Bratova smrt je upodobljena v reportažnem slogu s portretnimi potezami umirajočega častnika in spremljevalca v ozadju, v katerem lahko prepoznamo Henrika Adama. Tudi Gebler se je pri zasnovi prizora delno naslonil na jedkanice Antonia Tempeste. Trije bojni prizori so kljub različnemu času nastanka in namenov naročnikov učinkovita vizualna pripoved o več stoletij trajajočih bojih z Osmani.

THE OBJECTS REVEALING ELEMENTS OF ORIENTAL CULTURE IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, THE SARAJEVO MUSEUM, AND THE BOSNIAC INSTITUTE IN SARAJEVO

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ABSTRACT

The ethnographic collections of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Museum and the Bosniac Institute hold numerous objects the form and names of which reveal the powerful influence of oriental cultural elements on the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Though certain crafts had already begun to develop in mediaeval Bosnia, craftsmanship grew and prospered under the influence of craftsmen from the East, who came to Bosnia along with the conquering army. Oriental influences appear in the application of elaborate decoration, the diversity of forms and the names of the various objects, in particular those produced by coppersmiths, goldsmiths and wood carvers. Oriental influences are also to be seen in textiles, particularly in the use of gold-thread embroidery and oriental decoration.

KEY WORDS

oriental cultural elements, crafts, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, wood carvers, gold-thread embroidery

INTRODUCTION

Given the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina is located at the heart of the western Balkan peninsula, it has always been at the crossroads of cultural and political influences from both western and eastern civilizations. The country's cultural heritage is the product of multiple assimilations of several different cultural elements (early Balkan, Mediterranean, Slavic, Byzantine, Oriental, Pannonian and central European) which met and intermingled over the centuries. These cultural influences can be traced on objects in museum collections, and also in the intangible heritage that still forms a living component of the traditional culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The arrival of the Ottomans in the Balkans, and their conquest of Bosnia in 1463, paved the way for oriental cultural elements (Turkish, Arabic, Persian, etc.) to infiltrate the traditional culture of mediaeval Bosnia.¹ Holding civil, military and religious power, the Ottomans used their religious and civil institutions to introduce the indigenous population to a new ideology, way of life, customs and other aspects of daily life.² For over four centuries, Bosnia and Herzegovina remained within the ambit of a uniform administration, economy and customs region, bringing its people into direct contact with other parts of the Ottoman Empire and its different peoples, between and with whom cultural trends were freely exchanged. The transmission of oriental cultural elements was facilitated by the Muslims who settled in Bosnia – Turks, Arabs and others, whether soldiers, officials of the state, craftsmen or religious teachers.³ Certain privileges were accorded to those who embraced Islam and the oriental way of life and world view, accelerating the process of acculturation.

In mediaeval Bosnia, the Ottomans found that mining and its associated crafts were already well developed, thanks to the country's rich mineral resources and the extraction of iron, gold, silver, copper, lead and other metals, and of salt. The evidence of these trades is to be found in the many agreements signed by the rulers of Bosnia with merchants from Dubrovnik, who acted as middlemen in the export of ores and crafts products from Bosnia. Silver was mined and extracted from the ore in Srebrenica, Olovo, Fojnica, and the Foča-Čajniče region; iron was produced in Kreševo, Vareš, Stari Majdan and Sasina; and gold was panned in the Vrbas, Lašva and Fojnica rivers. Coins were minted in Srebrenica, Čajniče and Sarajevo.⁴ The mainstay of Bosnian

¹ BELJKAŠIĆ-HADŽIDEDIĆ, LJ. 1980, p. 80.

² PETROVIĆ, Đ. 1989, p. 90.

³ FILIPOVIĆ, S. M. 1970, p. 109.

⁴ MLADENOVIĆ, LJ. 1958, p. 89.

society was formed by craftsmen and merchants from the established settlements of miners, craftsmen, and tradesmen. Blacksmiths, goldsmiths and filigree-workers, armourers, quarrymen and other craftsmen were renowned beyond the borders of mediaeval Bosnia.

Under Ottoman rule, new socio-economic relations gradually took shape in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Along with the Ottomans came officials of state, religious officials, artists, travel writers, and a great many craftsmen. These originally supplied the military, but later also the civilian population and also transmitted their skills to the local people. The spread of Islam also brought about a shift in the structure of the population, when craftsmen and merchants acquired a privileged status.⁵ The Ottomans left their stamp on the country's existing settlements and built new ones with oriental features and amenities. The mediaeval settlements which were already crafts and trade centres evolved into *kasabas* (small towns) and cities. The Ottomans built not only religious edifices, but also substantial secular buildings, entirely different in size and design from those of the mediaeval state. Educated and professionally trained master craftsmen applied oriental arts and crafts in all of their creations (architecture, painting, calligraphy, and the applied arts).⁶ The Sarajevo *čaršija* area, where the crafts and trades were located, took shape from the mid-14th to the mid-15th century around major buildings – mosques, *bezistans* (covered markets where cloth was traded), hammams, khans (hostels) and caravanserais, along with a number of public buildings.⁷

Reflecting the pace at which Islam spread among the local population, a symbiosis emerged between the new Islamic, oriental influences and the existing cultural heritage, giving rise to new cultural values with their own distinctive local features, in which the Islamized population was the primary recipient and vehicle of these cultural changes.⁸

EXHIBITION

The displayed objects, which are being lent by the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Museum and the Bosniac Institute, have been arranged in groups according to the themes specified by the organizers: religion, old books and manuscripts, literacy, personal hygiene, coffee and tobacco, jewellery, the hammam, the bride's trousseau, clothing, pottery, and wood carving. Most of the objects were made by goldsmiths, coppersmiths, wood-carvers, and makers of textiles. We can also find some objects which were made by blacksmiths, tailors, potters and other craftsmen. The objects are not merely utilitarian, but are also of artistic value, reflecting the considerable decorative skills of the craftsmen. A few are of foreign origin. All objects date from the Ottoman period, and form a part of the valuable museum collections which attest to the golden age of the applied arts in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

As already noted, many craftsmen came to Bosnia along with the Ottoman army. Some of the craftsmen even took up permanent residences there. These craftsmen did not only introduce the oriental way of life, strongly influenced by Islam, to Bosnia, but also brought a range of objects differing in both form and use from those made by local craftsmen intended for the indigenous population.

For example, many oriental household wares were made of copper, and the rooms in the houses were adorned with carved wooden furniture and woven or embroidered textiles. With the passage of time, the entrenched mediaeval Bosnian cultural tradition was outweighed by the new oriental culture, assisted by Islam, the religion of the ruling class.

The meeting between local and foreign craftsmen led to an exchange of experiences in the fields of building, the applied arts in metal, the production of objects of everyday and religious use, and the manufacture of arms, and many other objects. Though local handcrafted products were a match in quality for those made by oriental craftsmen, they were strikingly different in the way they were decorated. Oriental decoration, which was much more elaborate than that used in mediaeval Bosnia, was rapidly adopted. Even so, despite the obvious influence of oriental decoration, local crafts products retained local features and the standards

⁵ BELJKAŠIĆ-HADŽIDEDIĆ, LJ. 1980, p. 89.

⁶ TIHIĆ, S. 1979, p. 305.

⁷ KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, H. 1951, p. 191.

⁸ VLADIĆ-KRSTIĆ, B. 1986, p. 143.

of beauty were appropriate to the people for whom these objects were made.⁹ Craftsmen not only adopted new production methods, but also accepted the strict organization of crafts and trades into guilds, resulting in wares of extremely high quality, renowned beyond the borders of the country concerned. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the craft production peaked in the 17th and 18th century.

COPPERSMITHS' WARES

The exhibited coppersmiths' wares were used for personal hygiene (jugs, hand basins, scoops), to prepare and serve coffee (coffee pots, trays, sugar castors, coffee dispensers), for heating and lighting of rooms (braziers and candlesticks), and by smokers (ashtrays). The name *kazandžija*, meaning coppersmith, derives from the Persian word *khazan*, a large, two-handled copper cauldron. The first coppersmiths were Ottomans, who transmitted their craft to local craftsmen. Sarajevo, Mostar, Foča and Travnik were centres of the coppersmiths' craft. To this day, coppersmiths still ply their trade in Kazandžiluk Street, in Baščaršija, Sarajevo. All coppersmiths of Sarajevo were Muslims. They used copper imported from Austria and tin imported from England.¹⁰ They made about seventy different articles, mainly household wares such as braziers, plates and dishes, beakers, cauldrons, *demirlije* (large trays used as table tops), frying pans, ewers, water jugs, trays, coffee pots, censers, and *zarf* (small copper cups used to hold finjans, little handleless coffee cups). Utensils used for the preparation as well as serving of food and beverages were tinned before use in order to prevent oxidation. Coppersmiths and tinsmiths belonged to the same guild due to the nature of their crafts.

Copper wares were decorated with the *savat* (engraving) or *kalemluk* (embossing, or chasing) technique. There were two kinds of *savat*. The first one, which involves using a fine chisel to make patterns through the tin in order to reveal the copper beneath, is known as red *savat*. The other kind, the black *savat*, is being created when the decoration is coated with plum jam and baked, before being vigorously rubbed down.¹¹ *Savat* decoration usually consists of stylized plant or geometric designs in concentric circles around the object, or of arabesques in separate, alternating patterns. (Image 1) There are also two kinds of *kalemluk*. The first is being created by filling the object with lead, after that the decoration is incised on the outside using a hammer and other tools. The edges are then embossed in order to eliminate any roughness, and finally the lead is melted off and the object is cleaned. The other kind, which is harder to make, also involves lead, but in this case the lead is applied to the exterior and the decoration is embossed from the inside. Though more complicated, it results in finer detailing.¹² *Kalemluk* decorations are usually floral and foliar – scrolling vines, leaves and flowers. The ornamental designs on coppersmiths' wares are of eastern origin – Persia and Arabia – but also reveal the influence of the West, drawing on Gothic, Renaissance and early Baroque decoration.¹³



Image 1: Sugar box, Sarajevo, 19th century, National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photograph by Marica Filipović)

⁹ BELJKAŠIĆ-HADŽIDEDIĆ, LJ. 1980 a, p. 15.

¹⁰ MLADENović, LJ. 1958, p. 90.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 91.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

GOLDSMITHS' WARES

The objects which are being displayed were used by both, men and women. Jewellery and other adornments include belt buckles, bags, *ežder* a woman's belt made of metal, usually silver, plaques with a snake buckle), bracelets (*halhale* or bangles, and *belenzuke* or chain bracelets), earrings, and amulet locket. Then there are finjan holders (*zarf*), and objects which were used mainly by men – pipes, pen-and-ink cases, Qur'an cases, cigarette cases, and tobacco holders.

Goldsmiths and filigree-workers worked in both gold and silver in order to make various items of jewellery and other objects, and also decorated weapons. They came from all three communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox Christians). The goldsmiths' *čaršija* (word of Turkish origin meaning market) in Sarajevo came into being in the 16th century, since then it has continued to exist in Veliki and Mali Kujundžiluk streets. As well as Sarajevo, there were goldsmiths' centres in the cities of Mostar, Foča, Livno, Fojnica and Kreševo.¹⁴ In the 18th century the Goldsmiths' Guild had 200 members.

The goldsmiths' craft came to central European Bosnia from the East and from the Adriatic coast, principally the city of Dubrovnik. Primarily, the art of filigree-making evolved from the goldsmiths' craft. Over time however, it became a separate craft in its own right. Filigree work is a mediaeval tradition, reaching Bosnia via Byzantium. In the Ottoman period, it was the technique which had most widely been used to make jewellery in silver, gold and other metals (brass, nickel silver), incorporating many oriental features. The filigree-workers of Sarajevo were the most highly regarded in the entire Empire. They used fine silver, woven gold wire and tiny granules to make and decorate their wares. There is no such thing as a standard pattern – every item of filigree work is unique, made using a linear composition reminiscent of embroidery.¹⁵ (Image 2)

Goldsmiths and filigree-workers use a variety of techniques – casting, hammering, embossing, granulation, engraving, chasing – in order to produce decorative and practical objects (jewellery boxes, tobacco cases, cigar cases, pipes, decorative vessels), objects used for religious purposes (candlesticks, chalices, crosses, censers, etc.), and jewellery to complement traditional costumes (bracelets and bangles, belt-buckles, hair pins, head bands, earrings, brooches, rings, belts, pendants, necklaces, bags, and silver buttons for men's waistcoats). They also made cases for amulets or Holy Scriptures. A number of these items are on display.

Bosnian filigree-workers were famous for their true, embroidery-like filigree, while those from Herzegovina mainly produced embossed wares. The most common designs were rosettes, swastikas, spirals, stars, S-curves and leaf motifs. These could be further decorated with granulation and precious or semi-precious stones.

Goldsmiths also decorated weapons (sabre hilts, guns, inscriptions), using the oriental technique known as damascening, introduced by the Ottomans. This technique consisted of incising a design on the object, which had then been inlaid with gold or silver wire. The most common decorations used on weapons were oriental motifs and stylized Arabic script.



Image 2: Coral bracelets, Kiseljak, 19th–20th century, National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photograph by Azra Bečević-Šarenkapa)

¹⁴ MLADENOVIĆ, LJ. 1958, p. 91.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 95.

ARTICLES OF CLOTHING AND OTHER TEXTILES

The objects displayed in the framework of the exhibition are an *anterija* (a woman's outer robe), hammam shirts, hammam towels, decorative towels, *čevrme* (wedding bands), *jagluci* (wedding bands with gold embroidery), waistbands, and wrappings for the *boščaluk* (wedding gifts). (Image 3)



Image 3: Wedding gifts, Sarajevo, 19th century, National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photograph by Azra Bečević-Šarenkapa)

These objects are decorated with silk threads, gold threads or braids. Except for the red velvet *anterija*, which was made and decorated by a *terzija* (tailor), all of the items on display were home-made. Tailors used imported broadcloth and velvet to make and decorate men's- and women's garments for the urban population. *Anterijas* were embroidered with silver and gold *zeh* (a thick yarn composed of several threads), braid, or gold wire.¹⁶

Influenced by the oriental way of life, the rooms in the houses were sparsely furnished, but adorned with fabrics and embroidery – *kilims* (carpets) on the floor and walls, drapes around mirrors and doors, cushions, etc. Fabrics were usually woven by married women, while girls mainly practised embroidery. Typically, embroidery styles, designs, and techniques were handed down unchanged from generation to generation.

Embroidery is a skill of distinct character, used to decorate articles of clothing and household fabrics. The rise of embroidery as decoration is associated with feudalism and the social position of women, who spent much of their time at home. Old embroidery traditions were preserved. The motifs, in which mediaeval, byzantine, renaissance, baroque and late baroque influences can be discerned, were often borrowed from higher social strata. Oriental influences on embroidery can be seen in the designs of cypress trees and trees of life, as in floral and geometric motifs.¹⁷

In essence, embroidery is equivalent to painting with a needle and coloured silk or cotton thread, and with gold and silver thread. The designs were either drawn on the fabric, or created by counting threads.

Gold-thread embroidery is an old technique, originally from the East. In this part of the world, it evolved into a blend of Levantine and central European baroque, in which floral and geometric designs predominate. The fabric used for gold-thread embroidery is fine locally made lawn or silk, held in an embroidery frame; the gold thread is sometimes accompanied by silk-thread embroidery or the woven decoration known as *pirilit*. There are two kinds of gold-thread embroidery: a) an adornment which is being embroidered by using a drawn design over a card base, so that the design stands out in relief, or b) an adornment which is embroidered in such a way that the face and reverse are almost identical. The most common stitches are the lattice stitch, the diagonal filling stitch, the cushion stitch, the *razvaruša*, the pearl stitch and the *provlak*.

A wide range of motifs was used in gold-thread embroidery. Plant designs include rose, tulip, hyacinth and carnation flowers, vine leaves, almonds, pears, pomegranates, apples, okra and cypress trees. Common ani-

¹⁶ BELJKAŠIĆ-HADŽIDEDIĆ, LJ. 1980 a, p. 18.

¹⁷ JANJIĆ, Z. 1964, p. 6.

mal motifs include peacocks, spiders, butterflies and birds. Geometric designs are composed of rhombi, and can be found in mosques, on caskets and amulets.

Though long forgotten, the symbolism of these designs has been recorded. Tulips were fashionable in the 17th and 18th century. In the Turkish language they are known as *lala*, which is composed of the same lettering as the word Allah. Trees represent life and paradise; the cypress stands for life after death; the almond is a symbol of fertility, the pomegranate represents abundance. Animals symbolize joy; the fish is a Christian symbol. The swastika is another symbol of fertility. The Arabic script, when used in embroidery, serves the same purpose as an amulet.¹⁸

WOOD CARVING

The items on display include furniture and other objects: *peškun* (a small many-sided table), *škrabija* (the end piece of a built-in settee known as a *sećija*), *čekmedže* (a small chest), a Qur'an stand, and a back scratcher.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, wood-carving was mainly the preserve of countrymen, who decorated household wares and furniture for their own use (chairs, cradles, shelves, bedheads, distaffs, whetstone holders, ladles, musical instruments, farm tools), as well as the porches of their houses. Over time, the more skilled carvers became craftsmen, moving to towns, where they set up their own workshops. These town-based wood carvers produced decorative ceilings, doors, *musanderas* (built-in cupboard ranges with shelves, spaces to store bedding by day and so on), *škrabije*, wall cupboards, clothes chests, *peškun* tables, bookshelves, etc. The most famous wood-carving centre is the town of Konjic, where two families (Mulić and Nikšić) are still carrying on the tradition of wood carving. (Image 4)

In wood carving, as in other crafts, the direct adoption of various motifs and the original form of various objects reveal the marked influence of oriental art. This fact is particularly noticeable in regards to the small round or many-sided tables known as *peškun* (from the Persian), which remain identical to those of earlier times. Three basic kinds of decoration evolved in the wood carving of Konjic: Bosnian, Arabic, and »deep« patterns. The Bosnian pattern consists of a network of rhomboids (*tilsum*, from the Arabic *tilsim*, a magical secret, sign or drawing), forming an unbroken succession; the Arabic pattern consists of interwoven geometric and floral designs; and the deep pattern, which is in relief, usually consists of vine leaves and grapes, or of oak leaves and acorns.¹⁹ Islamic decorative motifs can even be seen on church furnishings of the 16th and 17th century in Bosnia and Herzegovina (iconostases, choir stalls, church doors).²⁰



Image 4: Ornamented chest, Sarajevo, 19th century, Museum of Sarajevo (photograph by Amra Madžarević)

¹⁸ MLADENović, LJ. 1958, p. 91.

¹⁹ MULIĆ, Š. 1985, pp. 3, 7.

²⁰ TIHIĆ, S. 1979, p. 314.

POTTERY FROM THE VILLAGE OF VIŠNJICA

The pottery from the village of Višnjica near the town of Kiseljak is represented by three water vessels: *ibrik* (a ewer), *bardak* (a jug), and *testija* (a pitcher). This pottery, which is known for its distinctive white body and typical decoration in reddish brown, is mentioned in travel chronicles from the 19th century. There, the pottery-making has evolved thanks to the deposits of white clay that had been found in that area, though the potters knew little about its origins. In the early 20th century, there were more than thirty potters throwing pots on hand wheels, but their numbers gradually declined. By the year of 1955, when C. Popović, a curator at the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, conducted his research, only one family of potters (a father and son) was still active. The shapes and decoration of this pottery suggests that it was based on the oriental pottery brought to Bosnia by the Ottomans. The comparison with archaeological finds of pottery reveals that many of the designs are similar to those on the prehistoric pottery of Mycenae, Greece.²¹

The pottery of Višnjica is also recognizable by its shapes, often resembling in appearance, as well as in name, the copper water vessels known as *ibrik*, *bardak* and *testija*. The decoration on these vessels is very striking in both colour and design. The most common motifs are those of stars, roses, branches, lattice patterns, and coin-like circles. Some older vessels also have decorations in relief (as for example on the *ibrik* on display).²² (Image 5)



Image 5: Water jug, Višnjica, Kiseljak, 19th-20th century, National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (photograph by Marica Filipović)

CONCLUSION

The arrival of the Ottomans in the Balkans paved the way for oriental cultural elements which then infiltrated the traditional culture of mediaeval Bosnia. New socio-economic relations took shape under the Ottoman rule. Along with the Ottomans came officials of state, religious officials, and a great many craftsmen, from which the last mentioned originally supplied the military, but later also the civilian population and transmitted their skills to the local people. These craftsmen did not only introduce the oriental way of life, strongly influenced by Islam, to Bosnia, but also brought a range of objects differing in both form and use from those made by local craftsmen intended for the indigenous population.

²¹ POPOVIĆ, C. 1956, p. 101.

²² Ibid., p. 104.

The meeting between local and foreign craftsmen led to an exchange of experiences in the fields of building, the applied arts in metal, the production of objects of everyday and religious use, and the manufacture of arms. Oriental decoration, which was much more elaborate than that used in mediaeval Bosnia, was rapidly adopted.

The first coppersmiths were Ottomans, who transmitted their craft to local craftsmen. They produced a wide range of copper wares, mainly household objects. These were decorated with the *savat* (engraving) or *kalemluk* (embossing, chasing) technique. The decoration was Eastern, but noticeably influenced by the West.

The goldsmiths' craft came to central European Bosnia from the East and from the Adriatic coast, principally the city of Dubrovnik. Filigree work is a mediaeval tradition, reaching Bosnia via Byzantium. In the Ottoman period, it was the technique most widely used to make jewellery, incorporating many oriental features.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, wood-carving was mainly the preserve of countrymen, who decorated household wares and furniture for their own use, as well as the porches of their houses. The direct adoption of various motifs and the original form of various objects reveal the marked influence of oriental art on wood carving.

The making of pottery in the village of Višnjica near the town of Kiseljak, which is known for its distinctive white body and typical decoration in reddish brown, came to be thanks to the deposits of white clay found in that area. The shapes and decoration of this pottery suggests that it was based on the oriental pottery brought to Bosnia by the Ottomans.

Embroidery is a skill of distinct character, used to decorate articles of clothing and household fabrics. The influence of the Orient can be seen in the designs, including cypress trees, the tree of life, as well as floral and geometric motifs. Gold-thread embroidery is an old technique with its origins in the East. In this part of the world, it evolved into a blend of Levantine and central European baroque, in which floral and geometric designs predominate.

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UPORABNI PREDMETI, KI RAZKRIVAJO ELEMENTE ORIENTALSKE KULTURE V ZBIRKAH NARODNEGA MUZEJA BOSNE IN HERCEGOVINE, SARAJEVSKEGA MUZEJA IN BOŠNJAŠKEGA INŠTITUTA V SARAJEVU

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POVZETEK

Osmani so s svojim prihodom na Balkan utrlj pot orientalskim kulturnim elementom, ki so se nato prepletli s tradicionalno kulturo srednjeveške Bosne. Pod osmansko vladavino so se razvili novi družbeno-ekonomski odnosi. Osmani so s seboj pripeljali državne in verske uradnike ter veliko obrtnikov. Obrtniki so sprva oskrbovali vojsko, kasneje pa tudi civilno prebivalstvo, svoje veščine pa so prenašali na lokalno prebivalstvo. Ti obrtniki pa ljudem niso predstavili zgolj orientalskega načina življenja, ki je bilo pod močnim vplivom islama, ampak so s seboj pripeljali tudi številne predmete. Ti so se od tistih, ki so jih izdelovali lokalni obrtniki in so bili namenjeni avtohtonemu prebivalstvu, razlikovali po obliki in namembnosti.

Srečanje med lokalnimi in tujimi obrtniki je vodilo k izmenjavi izkušenj na področju gradbeništva, uporabne umetnosti pri oblikovanju kovin, proizvodnje predmetov za vsakdanjo rabo in sakralnih predmetov ter izdelave orožja. Ljudje so hitro prevzeli orientalske okrase. Ti so bili veliko bolj dovršeni od tistih, ki so jih uporabljali v srednjeveški Bosni.

Prvi kotlarji so bili Osmani, ki so svojo obrt posredovali lokalnim obrtnikom. Izdelovali so vrsto bakrenih predmetov, med katerimi so bili najštevilnejši gospodinjski predmeti. Ti so bili okrašeni s tehnikami graviranja (*savat*) in cizeliranja (*kalemluk*). Okrasje je bilo vzhodnjaškega izvora, vendar so bili precej opazni tudi zahodnjaški vplivi.

Zlatarska obrt je prišla v osrednjo evropsko Bosno z Vzhoda in obal Jadranskega morja, predvsem iz Dubrovnika. Delo v filigranski tehniki je srednjeveška tradicija, ki je prišla v Bosno iz Bizantinskega cesarstva. V obdobju Osmanov je bila ta tehnika najpogostejše uporabljena tehnika za izdelavo nakita, vključevali pa so tudi veliko orientalskih oblik.

V Bosni in Hercegovini so se z rezbarjenjem večinoma ukvarjali kmetje, ki so na tak način krasili gospodinjske predmete, pohištvo za lastno uporabo in preddverja svojih hiš. Neposreden prevzem različnih motivov in izvirne oblike raznih predmetov razkrivajo izrazit vpliv orientalske umetnosti na rezbarstvo.

Izdelovanje lončenih izdelkov v vasi Višnjica v bližini Kiseljaka, znanih po značilnih belih osnovah in tipičnem okrasju v rdečerjavi barvi, se je razvilo zaradi nahajališč bele gline na tem območju. Oblike in okrase teh lončenin nakazujejo, da so bile zasnovane na orientalskih lončenih izdelkih, ki so jih v Bosno pripeljali Osmani.

Vezenje je specifična ročna spretnost, ki so jo uporabljali za krašenje oblačil in tekstilij za domačo uporabo. Vpliv Orienta lahko vidimo v oblikah okrasja, vključno s cipresami, drevesi življenja, cvetličnimi in geometrijskimi motivi. Vezenje z zlato nitjo je stara tehnika, ki izvira z Vzhoda. V tem delu sveta se je razvila v kombinacijo lavantinskega in srednjeevropskega baroka, kjer prevladujejo cvetlični in geometrijski vzorci.

LITERACY AND WRITING IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN BOSNIA DURING THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION: MANUSCRIPTS AS GUARDIANS OF WRITTEN HERITAGE

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to give an overview of the circumstances and patterns regarding the acquisition of education and of written- and manuscript heritage in Bosnia during the Ottoman administration. If we were to search for a single word or an expression that would present Islam as a religion and civilisation, it would certainly be the word »text«. In Islam all revolves around the *Text of all texts*, the holy Qur'an. The holy text came down as the mercy of the All Mighty in order to serve as an inspiring example to all other texts of wide and complex textual- and interpretative community that devoted itself to the Text.

KEY WORDS

literacy, Oriental languages, manuscripts, Ottoman Bosnia, Bosnian literature, Madrasahs, Waqf, Qur'an, Libraries, Arebica, Aljamiado, Islamic calligraphy, Islamic civilisation, Ottoman documents

From the onset of the Islamic civilisation, learning, transmitting knowledge and reading had their base in the Qur'an itself. The very first revelation that came down to the Prophet of Islam was: »Read in the name of your Lord Who created; He created men from a clot; Read and your Lord is most Honourable; who taught (to write) with the pen; taught men what he knew not«.¹

Countless are traditions and citations with virtues of those whose life has been marked by the text: from those who committed it to their memory, to those who copied it, interpreted it, spread it, taught it, and wrote their own texts, thus contributing to creation and spreading of the textual community of Islam.

The Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463 caused great changes in all spheres of life: economic, social, cultural. In addition, Bosnians were exposed to Islam and a large number of them embraced Islam as their religion and Islamic culture and way of life. Their needs for spirituality and culture grew, as the cities developed as urban, administrative and trade centres in which arts and crafts flourished. Bosnians started learning the so-called Oriental languages; they started to receive education in organised and structured educational institutions, and generally speaking, became a part of energetic and vivid cultural, scholarly and literary scene of the Ottoman Empire, and further of Islamic civilisation and its achievements.

The central and most thorough educational institutions where students acquired middle and higher education were *madrasahs*.² *Madrasahs* were regularly erected in the vicinity of mosques. They were public institutions, however with privately initiated endowments (*waqf*) and were supported by the income of other properties of the endower (*waqif*). Based on numerous surviving charters of *waqf* (*waqfnamah*) and tax registers (*defter*), we see that state dignitaries, *wazirs* (ministers), *sanjaks* (administrative division governors), *walis* (provincial governors), and generally high state functionaries endowed *madrasahs* in Bosnia.³

The students were taught Qur'an, Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*), Prophetic tradition (*hadith*), the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*usul*), Islamic law (*ahkam*), apologetics (*kelam*), poetics and stylistics (*me'ani* and *beyan*), the languages – Arabic, Persian and Ottoman, and other subjects that the place and specific customs required.⁴ It is difficult to determine the exact number of *madrasahs* established in Bosnia during the Ottoman

¹ The Qur'an, 1990, p. 626.

² Primary and basic education was received in *mektebs* and *muallimhanas*.

³ KASUMOVIĆ, I. 1999, p. 152.

⁴ NAKIČEVIĆ, O. 1999, p. 102.

administration, as many of them no longer exist and unfortunately a large number of historical documents vanished. However, judging from the surviving documents and written accounts, it can be concluded that there were more than a hundred.⁵

Starting from the first century of the Ottoman conquest, numerous Bosnians were educated in *madrasahs* in Bosnia as well as in Istanbul, and later in other Islamic centres of learning in the Ottoman Empire, where they acquired higher education. Upon completing education within a *madrasah*, a student would get a diploma. One such diploma for a Bosnian student, Ahmed Ferhad, the son of Muhamed Čokić, is presented here, stating the name of the teacher and subjects that the student is now qualified to teach (in this case, the Qur'anic exegesis, the Prophetic tradition and other traditional sciences.)⁶

In addition to *madrasahs*, the nucleus of education and literacy in Bosnia were libraries. Libraries are among the oldest cultural institutions of Ottoman Bosnia. Even though it is difficult to establish continuity for many of them (as for example with the Ghazi Husrev-beg's library that has been operating since the mid-16th century until today), what we can claim with certainty is that the written word through the institutions of *madrasahs* and the libraries flourished from the 16th century onwards, the time of strong political, cultural and institutional rise of Bosnia.

The first libraries were initially collections of manuscripts that served as textbooks for students within *madrasahs*. *Waqifs* or benefactors ensured a certain amount of money for acquiring books for the *madrasah* they endowed, evidence of which we find in many *waqfnamahs*. As the need for books grew, libraries as premises of their own were erected close to *madrasahs* and mosques. For example, *wali* Elči Ibrahim-paša (1704-1705) built a *madrasah* in Travnik and adjacent to it a library to which he initially endowed 103 manuscripts.⁷ Gazi Husrev-beg's library in Sarajevo, which dates from 1537, was first situated within the Kuršumli *madrasah* and subsequently, as the book fund grew, moved to a building next to Gazi Husrev-beg's mosque and later next to the Emperor's mosque.⁸ Learned men often returned to their home towns after receiving their education and they established schools and libraries. Therefore, *madrasahs* and libraries did not flourish only in big cities like Sarajevo, Mostar or Travnik, but also in smaller cities (*kasabas*).

Gračanica was one of the small towns that had several public libraries. One of the most significant ones was that of Halil-efendi, the Emperor's librarian in Belgrade. The manuscripts in this library were mostly of philosophical and religious content, and some titles in linguistics. That the care for books here was taken seriously is evident by each manuscript having the seal of the benefactor imprinted in it. Also, anybody who borrowed a manuscript had to leave a substantial sum of money as a deposit.⁹ We have the evidence of the same practice also in other libraries, like in Elči hadži Ibrahim-paša's library in Travnik.¹⁰

In addition to public libraries, it is important to note that many learned men had their own private libraries, evidence of which we find in the seals on manuscripts and surviving written documents, which clearly shows the extent to which the book was revered in the Ottoman Bosnia.

In the administrative apparatus of the Bosnian *diwan* (government office), among professors of *madrasahs* and numerous officials of mosques, *darwishes* of *tekkes* and *zawiyas* (*darwish* lodges), there were people who wrote or showed an interest in literature and writing, while copying of books was among the usual and normal activities within these institutions.

»The term Bosnian literature in Oriental languages refers to the rich and diverse prose and poetic opus created with a time span of more than four centuries. (...) As existing studies have proved, it was in this period

⁵ KASUMOVIĆ, I. 1999, p. 156.

⁶ NAMETAK, F., TRAKO S. 2003, pp. 39–40.

⁷ BEJTIĆ, A. 1942, pp. 27–30.

⁸ ZLATAR, B. 2010, p. 128.

⁹ HANDŽIĆ, M. 1940, pp. 195–197.

¹⁰ BEJTIĆ, A. 1942, pp. 28–29.

that more than four hundred authors – scholars, poets and prose writers created their opus in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, as well as in *Arebica*.¹¹ Literacy in the Ottoman Empire, and in Bosnia as a part of it, meant proficiency in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Some of the authors wrote in one of these languages, others in two, while most, especially poets, wrote in all three languages (although on the whole, the largest corpus of works was written in Ottoman, then in Arabic and the least in the Persian language). Upon the Ottoman advent to Bosnia, a script called *Arebica* was developed: the Bosnian language written in Arabic script, adapted to Bosnian phonetics. Based on this script, a specific literacy, parallel to Bosančica, was created along with a distinct literature called *aljamiado*, rich in spirituality and artistic expression.¹²

This literature originated on the grounds of Islamic culture and tradition, from which it inherited its forms, genres and often themes. This literature is deeply rooted in the Bosnian soil by the fact that it was written by Bosnian »authors who imbued it with layers of their own spiritual heritage and elements of their reality and homeland.«¹³ A large body of works has been written and it represents invaluable cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is the subject of continuous and intense researches in our country, as well as outside of it. The time and space do not allow going into deeper analyses of literary forms, but we will mention the most significant ones: in prose those are commentaries, glosses, disputations, historical chronicles, hrestomaties, notebooks, dictionaries, compendiums, and alike.¹⁴

In poetry, *diwans*, *qasidahs*, *ghazals*, *rubais*, *masnawi*, and noteworthy separate genre is the form of epitaph, epigraph or a memorial written on various occasions (*tarih*). In the 17th century, a process called *mehallilešme* (literary regionalism), when local events are dominant themes in literary works, is visibly present in Bosnia, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵

Sufi, or mystical poetry, was very much present as well. Immediately after the conquest in the 15th century, *darwish* orders, or followers of mystical Islam – *tasawwuf* – were formed. Numerous were poets who belonged to sufi orders, Mawlawi, Naqshibandi, Qadiri, etc.

An example of vast corpus of sufi literature in Bosnian poetry is *Diwan-i Qa'imi*, a manuscript of which is displayed at the exhibition. It is a compilation of poems written in the Turkish language by the Sarajevo poet Hasan Qa'imi (died in 1692). The most of the poems are dedicated to the founder of the Qadiri sufi order Abdulqadir Geylani.¹⁶ Hasan Qa'imi was a *shaykh* of Qadiri sufi order, and is regarded as the most prominent poet in Bosnia of his time.¹⁷

In the centre of the education and literacy were manuscripts, as eternal holders of cultural memory. All about manuscripts as texts has to do with the feeling of the deepest respect, love and loyalty; from authors who after decades of their lives spent studying other works and authors decided to give their own direct contribution to the lavish literary community by writing commentaries, glosses, reference books, dictionaries, grammar books and literary works in verse and prose. Apart from them, there is a whole army of people who imbedded the best part of themselves in the Islamic manuscripts: from copyists, who transformed texts into exquisite works of art, skilfully using the great many possibilities of curves and hooks of Arabic script, to illustrators of the texts, to manuscript binders, who transformed the blank covers of a manuscript with their ornaments into a pure artistic pleasure, both to the eyes and touch.

In the Islamic East, a distinct art or writing – Islamic calligraphy was developed.¹⁸ Throughout the centuries, fascinating elaborate works of art were created based on fine writings of Arabic letters and illustrated with

¹¹ HADŽIOSMANOVIĆ, L. 2001, p. 221.

¹² HUKOVIĆ, M. 1986, p. 25.

¹³ HADŽIOSMANOVIĆ, L. 2001, p. 222.

¹⁴ For more see HADŽIOSMANOVIĆ, L. 2001, pp. 222–238, BOŠKOV, V. 1987, pp. 41–60.

¹⁵ BOŠKOV, V. 1987, p. 45.

¹⁶ NAMETAK, F., TRAKO S. 1997, pp. 343–344.

¹⁷ For more see ŠAMIĆ, J. 1985, pp. 201–210.

¹⁸ For Islam prohibited idolatry or worshiping any human or other being save the One and Only Omnipotent God, therefore visual representation of humans or other beings (angels, etc.) was not present in Islamic tradition. more see ŠAMIĆ, J. 1985, pp. 201–210.

intricate floral or geometric designs and ornaments. Calligraphic inscriptions were conveyed to paper and leather in the art of books, but also on stone, plaster, textile; the magic of decoratively and intricately written words is present in all that surrounded men of that era: in books, documents, interior and exterior of mosques, madrasahs, tekkes, on bridges, tombstones, mausoleums, etc. Many of them remain and are conserved to the present day, testifying to the artistic creation of local craftsmanship.

Islamic manuscripts and written texts are a summary of all realisations of Islamic civilisation in general: from learned thoughts and ideas that were intertwined in texts, to artistic accomplishments of scribes – calligraphers, illustrators and painters, book binders, whose work gave those ideas and thoughts a beautiful look and form.

Each and every one represents a story of its own, and its way through time and space, while mutually creating an intertwined net of relations of all those who were, in one way or another, connected to a manuscript.

Entering into oriental-Islamic civilisational and cultural circle upon falling under the Ottoman administration in the middle of the 15th century, Bosnia in the period of several centuries remained and lasted as the utmost Western point of the authentic Islamic intellectual, written and manuscript geography.

Bosnia was a cultural and civilisation space where various forms of writing were not only collected and kept as isolated artefacts significant for an individual's pursuit. Rather, this is where manuscripts were written, copied, endowed to private or public libraries where they directly participated in literacy and culture; manuscripts in Bosnia were inherited and passed on to younger generations as a treasure; manuscripts were brought to Bosnia from Istanbul, from Makkah where pilgrims performed *hajj* and brought back with them manuscripts as perpetual good and the most valuable gift.

Manuscripts were copied throughout Bosnia, either in organised scriptoriums or as an individual endeavour, often by students and professors of *madrasahs* or other religious schools, *darwishes* and *ulama* (scholars). In the town of Foča in eastern Bosnia, apart from a library within the *madrasah* of Mehmed-paša Kukavica, there was a scriptorium since the second half of the 16th century. Manuscripts were copied in this scriptorium, the evidence of which we find in colophons of surviving manuscripts and in the specific systemised way of writing them.¹⁹

Today, manuscript and archival heritage of the Ottoman Bosnia is kept in heritage institutions throughout the country: the Ghazi Husrev-beg's library, the Bosniac Institute, the Archive of the City of Sarajevo, the National and University Library, the City Library in Tešanj, the Museum in Travnik, the Franciscan Monastery in Fojnica, the Mesudija Library in Kačuni, etc. Unfortunately, the largest collection of Ottoman administration documents and manuscript collection in the country was destroyed during the shelling of Sarajevo in 1992, and its entire collection of more than 5,300 codices and over 200,000 documents gone in flames. The collections of Ottoman documents and manuscripts available in Bosnia today hold a whole range of disciplines that the human intellect has pursued: the Islamic law, rituals, copies of the Qur'an, Qur'an exegesis, collections of the Prophetic traditions (*hadith*), compilations of legal solutions (*fetwas*), philosophical works, prayers (*du'a*), grammar books, lexicographical works, manuals for learning oriental languages or the Bosnian language. Apart from these, each larger collection contains a large number of works in fine literature in verse and prose, historical chronicles, as well as works in the domain of exact sciences – mathematics, pharmacology, astronomy, etc.

To illustrate the scope of writing and richness of manuscript collections in Bosnia, we have chosen works for the exhibition that show various aspects of written heritage from that period: we earlier mentioned the book of poetry by the Bosnian poet Hasan Qa'imi and the diploma issued to a Bosnian student.

It is obvious that one of the principal motifs for copying books of religious themes is a reward in the next world for the God-pleasing deed done. That is particularly significant in the cases of copying the holy book of Islam – the Qur'an, the text of all texts of Islam. There are traditions from the earliest history of Islamic history in which the followers of Islam are particularly encouraged to copy the Qur'an with beautiful and refined

¹⁹ DOBRAČA, K. 1972, pp. 69–70.

writing, and to recite it in a beautiful voice in accordance with the correct reciting rules (*tajwid*). Countless scribes and copyist throughout history, and indeed until today, in all parts of the Islamic world, decided to answer to this call and with their calligraphic virtues copy the holy text, participating thus in spreading God's word among people, hoping for a place in paradise as the ultimate reward. Considering that the content is too known, many of those who copied the Qur'an have already committed it to their memory (*hafiz*), while the actual process of writing was also a way of securing text to their memory. The Qur'anic text, copied and bound, is always distinct from other manuscripts. They were the most elaborately decorated, especially the first chapter (*surah*) and the beginning of the second one. Golden colour was often used to frame the text, separations between verses are given special attention, and the cover was particularly carefully made and ornamented. Out of respect and awe of the Text, commentaries, notes or any other text was almost never written on the margins, which is characteristic of an outspoken literacy and phenomena present in all other manuscripts. The Qur'an displayed here is a quite rare example of the text in Arabic with interlinear translations into the Turkish language.

Another significant manuscript here is Masnawi, being the embodiment of an idea of manuscript as a repository of cultural and historical memory, cultural treasury of the region in which it came from. Masnawi is the renown and much translated sufi poem by Jalaluddin Rumi (died in 1273) in the Persian language. The example we have here was copied by *darwish* Muhammad Bošnjak in 1058 AH/1644 AD in the Mawlawi *zawiya* (*darwish* lodge) in Betbaša in Sarajevo. In the colophon at the end of the book, it also states that this *zawiya* is a new premise erected and revived for the needs of Mawlawi *darwishes* in Sarajevo. As is often the case with manuscripts, a short and casual remark offers significant information about this Mawlawi lodge in this period, which apparently has previously been shut down and most probably destroyed. The *tekke* was by the effort of unnamed benefactors revived again and the clearest evidence of its new flourishing is this beautiful copy of Masnawi.²⁰ Muhammad Bošnjak made an impressive example: he paid great attention to the geometrical organisation of space and text within it, he organised the text in 4 columns per each page in which he wrote with great precision the distich of the poem, framed with red lines, and golden at the beginning of each chapter. Considering the size of the original work, most often printed in 6 separate volumes, it is clear that *darwish* Muhammad was faced with a true challenge as a copyist. His high calligraphic ability, example of patience and determination, he decorated with *ebru* (a technique of painting on water surface) motifs and covered in leather binding with floral rosette, which is in its own right a work of art of book binding.

There is no doubt that this manuscript was used in the *darwish* lodge for reading and interpretation. Subsequently, the manuscript clearly continued its life outside the *tekke*: certain Lutfi-efendi gave it as a present to his teacher Salih Grebo in 1231 AH/1816 AD as a token of his personal appreciation, while the last owner of the manuscript, according to the note at the beginning of the book and the seal, was Sarajevo mufti and last Bosniac poet in the Persian language Muhammad Šakir Muidović (died in 1858). He is the last in the line of Bosniac learned men and poets who for their own works looked for inspiration in Rumi's Masnawi.²¹

It is worth noting that Rumi's Masnawi had a significant place in Bosnia. Alongside some other important classical works, Masnawi was read and interpreted in literary circles, in all Mawlawi *tekkes*, and also lectures were held in individual mosques houses and schools. This tradition of reading and interpreting this classic of Persian literature is very much alive even today, in the East as well as in the West, and this very manuscript is the best confirmation of the deeply rooted tradition of reading, copying and interpreting of Masnawi in Bosnia and in the Balkans in general.

En'am is a collection of Qur'anic verses and prayers recited on various occasions. Their shapes and size vary, but here we have a wonderful example of a book highly treasured: it is first wrapped in a cloth, designed according to the book's dimensions, and then placed in a specially designed silver box with a strap, so it could be worn as an amulet (the box being called *enamluk*). This *En'am* has another particularity: its content is not completed, which shows us the methodology of the copyist: he first illustrated and determined the shape of each page, and then filled it in with the text.

²⁰ Subsequently, this Mawlawi tekke in Sarajevo was flooded, destroyed by fire, repaired, being closed and opened, until it was definitively closed in 1952 and torn down completely in 1957.

²¹ NAMETAK, F., TRAKO S. 1997, p. 243.

Lastly, we mentioned the usage of the Arabic script in the art of writing – calligraphy. Bosnian houses, mosques, *madrasahs* and other public institutions regularly had *lawhas* decorating their walls. *Lawha*, in Arabic meaning board, is an inscription written on paper, leather, wood, brass, copper, stone, etc. having various content: most often Qur’anic verses, but also poetry verses, the Prophetic tradition or other texts. *Lawhas* (in Bosnian *levha*) are characterised by their superb calligraphy and ornaments. Here displayed, we have a smaller example of a *lawha* with verses from the famous ode of praise for the Prophet Muhammad called Qasidah al-Burdah, written in the 13th century by the Egyptian Imam al-Busiri. This particular *lawha* was found among calligraphic inscriptions of the Sarajevo calligrapher Ali ef. Faginović, the last calligrapher who had his own calligraphic school in Sarajevo in the 19th century.

We will conclude by stating that the Ottoman Bosnia had a significant and vibrant literary and spiritual community, which produced valuable and distinct texts of various contents, thus contributing to the creation and spreading of knowledge and the written word throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Even though the written sources from this period were written in Arabic, Persian, Turkish or Bosnian Arabica, they are invaluable historiographical sources for all inhabitants of the region. It is impossible to systematically research history, literature or tradition of Bosnia and its people without having an insight into these sources.



Image 1: A small book which was being carried like an amulet and En’am, Collection of Qur’anic verses and prayers, Bosniac Institute – Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation, 1187 AH / 1773

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PISNO IN LITERARNO USTVARJANJE V ORIENTALSKIH JEZIKIH NA OBMOČJU BOSNE IN HERCEGOVINE V ČASU OSMANSKE VLADAVINE

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je predstavljen pregled okoliščin in vzorcev pri pridobivanju izobrazbe in pisne ter rokopisne dediščine v Bosni v času osmanske vladavine.

Če bi hoteli islam kot religijo in civilizacijo predstaviti z eno samo besedo ali izrazom, bi to zagotovo storili z besedo »besedilo«. V islamu se vse vrti okoli besedila. Sveti Koran, besedilo vseh besedil, je bilo na Zemljo poslano kot milost Vsemogočnega. Sveto besedilo naj bi služilo kot vzor vsem besedilom iz širše in kompleksne literarne in interpretativne skupnosti, ki je imela opraviti z literaturo.

Koran je bil vse od začetka islamske civilizacije temelj za izobraževanje, prenašanje znanja in branje. Prvo razodetje, ki ga je bil deležen prerok islama, je bilo: »*Beri (pridigaj) v imenu svojega Gospodarja, ki ustvarja! Ki ustvarja človeka iz strdka krvi. Pridigaj, kajti velikodušen je tvoj Gospodar, On, ki uči človeka uporabljati pero, ki ga uči tega, česar ne ve.*«

Številna izročila in citati navajajo vrline tistih, na katere je imelo besedilo velik vpliv: od tistih, ki so se ga učili na pamet, do tistih, ki so ga prepisovali, širili, ga poučevali in pisali svoja lastna besedila, torej vseh, ki so prispevali k ustvarjanju in širjenju islamske literarne skupnosti.

TECHNOLOGICAL TRADE BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES. THE MAIN INFLUENCES ON TURKISH DAILY LIFE

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ABSTRACT

In the 19th century, technological innovations and opportunities of physical access swept away the obscurities between the East and the West to a great extent. The adjectives Orient and Oriental appeared in travel books, memoirs, paintings and photographs of the Westerners as an idyllic presentation. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the increasing competition between the Western countries and the struggle to get a share from the raw materials transformed this Orientalist concern related to the East to an ideal of influencing the East and dominating it in a short time. Technology has played an important part on the way to realising this ideal that would give way to many wars and conflicts between the East and the West.

KEY WORDS

Ottoman Empire, 19th century, crafts, industrialisation

The question of where East and West begin and end, and East with respect to whom, West with respect to whom, has shown differences depending on the commentator throughout history. The East, which has played host to numerous civilisations for centuries and made a considerable progress in positive sciences, has always been a mysterious territory to be explored for the West, something to be curious about, to obtain further information about. With the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, when the Middle Ages came to an end and the Modern Era began, Anatolia, the Middle East and Asia Minor embodied all the science disciplines of the time. Tens of thousands of volumes of manuscripts written down by Eastern scholars have taken their places in the leading libraries of the World. Centres such as Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Basra, Esfahan, Samarkand, Tabriz, and Bukhara were the leading science, education and discussion centres of the world for centuries.

While the East got such an accumulation of knowledge, Western scientists enhanced their wealth of positive thinking and sciences by adding on countless texts written by Eastern and Islamic scholars to their own knowledge. With the increasing discoveries beginning from the 15th century, Renaissance, described as a great cultural revolution, was initiating a great transformation, which was going to reconstruct Europe's system of thinking. The new world view brought by the Renaissance gave the European communities the opportunity to reconsider the world, nature, events, life and the beliefs they possessed. In the modern era, the Mediterranean and European cities were growing by virtue of tradesmen who procured spices and luxury goods, a wealthy bourgeoisie, composed predominantly of merchants and bankers who undertook the protectorship of literature and art. In that period, interest and support towards any kind of invention increased. In the episode ranging from the Renaissance to the 19th century, the increase in transportation and trade, and communication thereby, provided the acceleration in the circulation and sharing of knowledge and each development experienced set up a substructure for the opinions, knowledge and technology that would produce the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution carried this process to a higher level first in Europe, and then in America. With the innovations and access opportunities it brought about, it played the most significant part in opening the gates to the East. Since the late 18th century, when the Industrial Revolution gained momentum, the tendency to get to know the East more closely has manifested itself in Orientalism, which could be qualified as a romantic movement. For this reason, in the beginning of the 19th century, the adjectives Orient and Oriental appeared in travel books, memoirs, paintings, architecture, home decoration, furniture and in countless photographs later on of the Westerners as a half image – half truth idea in their minds. However, with the advent of the In-

dustrial Revolution, which created competition and a struggle to get a share from the raw materials between the Western countries, this Orientalist concern related to the East transformed into an ideal of influencing the East directly or indirectly and dominating it, in a short time. This desire to influence and dominate would be the primary reason of many wars and conflicts the West would go through first within itself, and then with the East. This process, which has been a matter of long debates in terms of why, what for and how it happened, as we all know, still continues in the Middle Eastern geography in an inconclusive and unsolvable way.

With the Industrial Revolution, a switch in the lifestyles from the natural to those that were constructed, planned and determined beforehand was taking place. Those that stayed out of this would be condemned to be isolated, getting alienated from the industrialising societies and gradually getting impoverished. Indeed, the East, a considerable part of which was living at peace with nature as an agrarian society that had based its philosophy of life on producing and consuming just as much as maintaining one's life, had been watching the dynamism that appeared in the West from afar for a long time. When it became inevitable to get involved, it found itself in a situation where it was impossible to catch up in terms of capital, new production information, and facilities and labour force. For this reason, it is possible to say that the East and surely the Ottoman Empire appeared on the 19th century scene as »passive« actors which possessed the resources to be exploited.

The 19th century certainly deserves to be called an age of reason for Europe and America, however, whether it is an age of enlightenment or not is controversial for many nations and locals who met with concepts of capitalism and imperialism that emerged in the same century, who faced exploitation and suffered agony.¹

The Industrial Revolution was basically a surplus product revolution. Industrialising countries, which were acquiring a large number of products in a short time with mass production, were targeting to sell the surplus to the whole World. What was intended to achieve was not only money, but also to provide a more comfortable and high-quality life with the acquired wealth. To this end, through organising low income groups that were freed of slavery after the collapse of feudalism, the working class was established and industrial towns founded. First, heavy industry was established with steam power. Simultaneously, the cities and countries were interconnected with a railroad network of thousands of kilometres which would ensure regular transportation by land.

In the 19th century, a considerable amount of money was allocated to inventions and the efforts of machine and product development. During the years of industrialisation, the renowned banker and industrialist Nathan Mayer von Rothschild talked about supporting technology and product development as follows:

»There are three ways of losing your money: Women, gambling and engineers. The first two are probable, whereas the third is the most certain way.«²

While the mechanisation, production potential and product range in the West were rapidly increasing, traditional methods of production were going on in the East; mostly the trade of unprocessed or semi-processed raw materials and semi-manufactured products were continuing. In the Ottoman Empire, until the mid-19th century, when you spoke of a product, it was understood as what was produced with an ordering procedure, in a particular number and mostly with hand labour. Farmers and artisans each year produced as much as they consumed and, in accordance with the state policy, sent a part of their production to the nearby cities and paid some as a tax to the state. Muslim or non-Muslim communities that lived in the provinces affiliated to the Empire were obliged to pay taxes to the state within the determined periods. Production was subject to a particular quota and was generally as large as the market which would consume it. In such a system, it was impossible to obtain surplus products and to get rich by selling them. For that reason, the lives of the people were always within the boundaries and laws that the center stipulated and the facilities it provided. Therefore, in the years of obligatory industrialisation, to the Ottoman citizens, who were away from innovations with a withdrawn lifestyle, industrialisation appeared as a phenomenon that they suddenly had to face, challenging them in every sense, threatening their living.

¹ SEZGİN, C. 2011, p. 23.

² HOBBSBAWN, E. 1998, p. 38.

On the other hand, there was another reality. In the Empire, it was impossible to provide the elements that industrialisation required like capital, building a facility, processing the materials, production management, organising, management and marketing, which were impossible to be provided by local ventures. In spite of this, foreign investors, who obtained very high pays and privileges for industrialisation and technology export to the Ottomans, were not so eager to include the indigenous peoples in the production process by educating them. This situation, which the foreigners perceived as time and money wasting for them in the short and long run, would expose the limited Ottoman capital to a heavy burden stemming from the high labour wages. As a matter of fact, the Empire's efforts to narrow the rapidly growing gap of industrialisation between Europe and itself with hiring knowledge and task force would start to fall short after a while. After the second half of the century, because of the draining capital and lack of experienced staff, we see that a substantial part of the production and service-oriented facilities were hired out to the foreigners. The Ottoman manufacturers and tradesmen, faced with the heavy toll of the state not having been able to establish a system that would utilise the rich resources it possessed, had to go through a long lasting and uphill struggle so as to be able to preserve their competitive power among the foreign goods in this setting. Even though all means available to prevent the dominance of European goods were used, this resistance, neither in the technical nor the economic sense, could evolve into a power that could challenge the industrialisation largely captured by the foreigners.³

Looking at the profile that the Ottoman Empire displayed against the industrialising Western countries in the early years, it can be said that the Empire looked like an athlete who tried to run a marathon without sufficiently working out. The policy established to import the developing industry and technology with all their branches so as to narrow the ever widening gap was predestined to collapse in a short time.

Ottoman industrialisation, in accordance with the then existing demands, was started by giving priority to textile, leather-working, gunpowder, paper and glass industries, where it was easier to make use of water power. In the 19th century, most of the factories that constituted the first examples were set up by the palace under the name *Fabrika-i Hümayun* (Imperial Factory), and those factories, which imitated the imperial factories owned by the European states, were established to set a model for the Ottoman industrialisation. Facilities such as *Feshane-i Hümayun* (Fez Factory), Beykoz Leather and Shoe Factory, Hereke Textile Factory, Zeytinburnu Iron Factory, Beykoz İncirköy Ceramics and Glass Factory were set up in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century under the auspices of the palace by spending considerable amounts of money, each one having the characteristics of a school for the employees. In all the facilities that the state established, adapting the old traditional production methods to the new system brought about by industrialisation, setting the standards in local production and being able to compete with the European goods by increasing the range of products, were intended. In those years, merchandising small businesses and converting those into factories was also one of the ways attempted for the sake of industrialisation. Even though this method was seen as a less costly and accelerating way in many respects, adapting the traditional production methods to the new industrial machines was more difficult than expected. The process of factory conversion necessitated breaking the old routines and relearning the operation sequences and methods from start to finish.⁴

One of the first examples of the efforts for going through the proper channels was seen in the Sultan Mahmud II period: Sultan Mahmud II sends a research delegation to England in 1838 for the innovations he was planning to implement in the Ottoman industry. The delegation visits the factories of English industrialist Fairbairn in Manchester and London. A few months after the visit, Fairbairn has come to Istanbul upon the invitation of the Padishah and examined some industrial institutions in active production including the ship-building yard, armoury and gunpowder factory and prepared reports.⁵

The need to closely examine Europe, which started with Sultan Selim II sending a permanent envoy to England for the first time in 1783, had turned into a commercial and economic occupation beyond what was planned since the mid-19th century as a result of industrialising Western countries' acquiring privileges and having a voice in the Ottoman market with their countless investments and goods. Western countries, particularly Eng-

³ SEZGİN, C. 2004, p. 12.

⁴ SEZGİN, C. 2015, p. 216.

⁵ EKİNCİ, S. 2006, p. 6.

land, France and Germany, tried every way to invest in the Ottoman land, introduce their own goods and to sell every product, device and machine they produced. The Baltalimanı Treaty of Commerce dated 1838, which provided an entrance to the Ottoman market with minimal tariffs, granted great privileges first to England, which enhanced its exports to the Ottomans twelvefold within a quarter of a century, and then to most of the Western countries. These privileges caused a decline in the sales of the local goods produced by craftsman and artisans and brought about the dissolving of domestic production against the foreign goods in the long run.

With the Treaty of Commerce, new taxations for the Ottoman producers who exported their own goods came into force. Following the Treaty, the non-Muslim population gained weight in the harbours and their neighbourhood and those non-Muslim citizens of the Empire, who were close to Europe with their language, trading history and the religious element, were turning into a class with increasing demands each day. Many non-Muslim merchants and agents among the minorities who lived in the Ottoman cities chose to be under the protection of the foreign states and benefit from the privileges. They would thus go on with their business, paying much less taxes than the Ottoman craftsman and artisans whom they have been working alongside for years, or none. This separation in the economic field was one of the starting points of the social, demographic and political changes to occur in the Ottoman Empire at the time and started a process that would extend as far as the Wealth Tax in the Republican Era.

During the Crimean War, since the revenues of the treasury became inadequate for affording the cost of the war, the Ottoman Empire had to borrow money from abroad for the first time in its history in 1854. The economic crisis that the state underwent prevented the continuity of the industrialisation attempts carried out by the state and in this period, in order to balance the monetary stability and be able to pay the increasing debts, the state gave up the factories and production units it possessed to the management of foreign capital owners at giveaway prices.

A comment published in the Times newspaper dated 12 February 1856, was such as to display the plans envisaged for the Ottomans: »Elimination of all kinds of obstacles in land buying by the foreigners, establishment of a healthy fiscal system, warranties given to ensure the capital invested in roads and bridges are diplomatic achievements that will bring major outcomes. There is an uncultivated fertile land ahead of us. The Western industry should influence this land and possess it.«

Coming to the Abdülaziz era (1861–1876), an evaluation summarising the situation of the Ottomans in the industrialisation field is as follows:

The rulers let the foreigners compete with the countrymen without imposing any conditions whatsoever in return by granting privileges and giving exemptions with the capitulations as a favour. These privileges, which were later included in treaties, have become liabilities that are impossible to abolish today. Not a single trading agreement that does not create negative outcomes on Turkey's part is made any more.⁶

According to Cavit Bey, Minister of Exchequer, those that possessed the capitulations, thereby bringing their wealth and capital, also brought along the sovereignty of their states. They distributed justice with their own judges and all of their appeals were performed by their envoys. The sentence »As if they were the masters and dominant sovereigns in our country, and we were merely guests« by Cavit Bey summarises the position the capitulations provided for the foreigners perfectly.⁷

Residents were aware that they were in need of foreign capital in the fields that necessitated a large capital and labour force such as railroads, tramways, electricity, water, mining, harbours, docks, telegraph and ship management. They defended that the foreign capital inflow to the country should be encouraged, but this encouragement should not turn into a submission. On the other hand, they found it unacceptable if the strategically important areas of the country were given up to the foreign capital.⁸

⁶ COLLAS, B. C. 2005, p. 278.

⁷ TOPRAK, Z. 1982, p. 71.

⁸ AKYILDIZ, A. 2001, p. 82.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE'S ATTEMPTS ON THE WAY TO INDUSTRIALISATION

Founding of the Expertise Councils: In the Selim III and Mahmut II eras, numerous expertise councils were founded. This was because European imperialism's jeopardising position towards the Ottoman economy and political integrity hit the top in the 1830's. These were supra-ministry councils dealing with the territorial, legal, economic and military aspects of restructuring on a large spectrum. In some of those, foreign experts were employed.

Code of Commerce: With the Code of Commerce enacted on 28 June 1850 (28 Ramadan 1266), the application regarding incorporation was effectuated. With this code, the rules regarding commerce and incorporating, which were based on the ecclesiastical law, were giving their place to new applications congenial to the parameters of Western law. It was a regulation made for being able to establish unlimited and limited partnerships and joint-stock companies in the Empire. The code was expected to yield results for boosting the interest of foreign capital towards the Empire where there was no sufficient accumulation of capital and motivating the account owners.

Establishment of the *Islah-ı Sanayi (Improvement of Industry) Commission:* The most solid one of the measures that the Ottoman Empire implemented to free its financial structure from foreign dependency and provide industrial development was the establishment of the »Islah-ı Sanayi Commission.« The commission, which was founded in the Sultan Abdülaziz period with the objective of preparing and implementing a more comprehensive programme concerning industrialisation, worked towards increasing the tariffs for imported goods, promoting industry by opening exhibitions, enhancing industrial investments via establishment of companies and opening industrial schools.

Providing customs exemptions: Within the context of promoting industrial investments, the Ottoman government passed an ad hoc resolution on 16 September 1873 (23 Receb 1290) to exempt the tools, instruments and machines, which the entrepreneurs who wanted to establish factories would import, from the customs rate. However, the local capital owners continued to pay heavy taxes to the state for the products they would offer for sale both at home and abroad. No steps were taken regarding the restriction of inflow of imported goods or export of raw materials. The state could not intervene in these points. The state nevertheless went on to declare other promotions.

Abolition of the capitulations: From the Tanzimat era to World War I, nearly all the promotions and investments regarding industrialisation were overshadowed by the capitulations or privileges granted to the foreign states. The legal, administrative and financial privileges granted to the foreigners and later to the minorities in the Empire have always been a hindrance and an inextricable burden before the progress of the Empire. The attempts to abolish the capitulations in the 18th and 19th centuries could not succeed although in fact the legal bases of the capitulations were weak due to the fact that they were unilaterally granted privileges. The declarations made in 1869 and 1908 that the capitulations would be repudiated could not actually be implemented. The Turkish people were unable to be entirely free of the capitulations until the Turkish Republic era, with the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1924.

Efforts to create national entrepreneurs: From the declaration of the İkinci Meşrutiyet (Second Constitutional Period) in 1908, economic problems, the importance of trade, the necessity of competition, capital accumulation and the positive effects of incorporation on the economic and social lives had a large coverage both in the press and the government policies. The primary subject emphasised most in the press was development in trade and incorporation, which was the most important tool to realise this. The media encouraged Muslims to trade by covering concepts such as the necessity of capital accumulation and incorporation, the harms of poverty, the benefits of engaging in trade and acquiring wealth, reinterpreting the concepts of profit and interest. These efforts bore fruit and resulted in the establishment of local companies in numbers incomparable with earlier. From the local grocery to the housewives, small capital owners formed many joint-stock companies by combining their capital. The press that constantly encouraged incorporation and purchasing of local commodities produced by such companies played a significant role in the formation of national capital and boosting of domestic production.

The government, taking action with this viewpoint, having sequestered some important and strategic institutions in the hands of foreign capital in the World War I years, nationalised the facilities belonging to those.

The trade in the inland seas was decided to be carried out with the Ottoman ships. On the other hand, the areas evacuated by the enemy English and French capital were tried to be filled by the capital and labour force of allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Ottoman Empire, which took part in World War I as an ally to Germany, used up all the resources of the country but on the other hand motivated all its production. With the war, the economy of the country became self-enclosed and the products that used to be imported began to be obtained from Anatolia. The Ottoman society was getting industrialised in the environment provided by the war. The Association of National Fabricators (Milli Fabrikacılar Cemiyeti) founded in the beginning of the year 1917 defined its objective as creating cooperation and joining forces between the citizens so as to be able to establish the industrial enterprises that the country needed.

Founding of a national bank: The Unionists (Union and Progress Committee members) started an unprecedented versatile campaign for the implementation of national economy policies being able to free the economy of the country of foreign tutelage and to transform small savings into investments. With a decree dated 1 January 1917, the Osmanlı İtibar-ı Milli Bank (the Ottoman National Dignity Bank) was established. In order to be able to buy the shares of the bank, the condition of being an Ottoman subject was stipulated. The bank would be a partner and supporter of national companies that operated in the areas of public works, agriculture, trade and industry. This was followed by the banks founded in the Anatolian cities. Thus, the Muslim-Turk element, which kept away from it up until then, was starting to become active in the banking field.

Founding of cooperative companies: Cooperative companies were founded in order to provide protection and to organise domestic producers against foreign and minority merchants who caused local producers to suffer losses due to low prices for the products. The attempts to become cooperatives played a significant part in removing commercial activities from the hands of the foreigners and minorities, while ensuring their transfer to the Muslim-Turk element also contributed to making consumers more aware of the capital owner, broker, merchant and shopkeeper.

Opening of technical schools, workhouses (islahhane) and industrial schools: The Ottoman State became aware of the necessity to provide trained staff in addition to the necessary items for the industrialisation such as raw materials, regional potentials, natural resources, capital, shipment and marketing, in order to pave the way to open up new businesses in the country and switch to modern production methods from traditional ones, as the cost of importing labour force for operating the imported machinery was very high. The first technical school in the Ottoman Empire was the *Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun* (the Imperial Naval Engineering School) founded by Sultan Selim III in 1773 with the objective of training technical staff for the army. *İdâdi-i Sanayi Alayları* (Industrial High School Regiments) were founded afterwards to provide the soldiers in the army with manual skills, thus providing the staff to be employed in the military factories. In the 1860's, the project of founding an industrial school, which would play an efficient role in the raising of the labour force that would satisfy the efforts of the Ottomans for industrialisation, was put on the agenda. This plan was first materialised by the Governor of Niş, Midhat Pasha, in 1861 in Niş. In *Islahhane*, which were founded as boarding charitable institutions that gathered together the Muslim and non-Muslim orphan children and taught them arts and crafts, adults were also trained in craftsmanship during the daytime.

In 1869, the Istanbul Industrial School went into service and industrial schools in many different cities of the Empire were opened providing education as boarding and day schools where applied classes were held. In the Ottoman Empire, the concepts of arts, crafts and industry were used together most of the time and schools with a similar curriculum sometimes operated under the name *arts school* and sometimes *industrial school*. The graduates of schools that became prominent due to the increase in the requirement for technical staff in the Balkan War and World War I were sent to several European cities for specialisation.

Expertise schools: In addition to the Industrial Schools, there were also schools in the Ottoman Empire that provided education for particular professions. Many vocational schools that provided a Western-type education such as agriculture, farming, labourer schools, gardening, sericulture, silviculture, veterinary school, chemindefer school, engineering school, mail and telegraph school, cadastral survey school or conductor school served for the training of staff who knew the new applications that were necessary in the new business areas. Sultan Abdülhamid II enabled thousands of young Ottomans to be sent to Germany to obtain a vocational education in the beginning of the 20th century with the Turkish-German Student Agreement

signed on 15 May 1903. Student groups, mostly composed of orphans, returned to the country as technical staff after completing their three to four year educational and training programmes in the factories in Stuttgart, Köln, Munich and Berlin.

Vocational courses: The first example of public oriented mass education courses were the fancywork courses to upskill the adult women for handicraft which were opened in the Cevri Kalfa Girls' High School in the 1860's. In the Sultan Abdülhamid II period, i.e. the last quarter of the 19th century, short-term courses given by various individuals and firms with the aim of teaching the usage of the imported tools and machines were active. Starting from the İkinci Meşrutiyet years, associations and societies, which were rapidly increasing in number as non-governmental organisations, organised a large variety of courses in order to improve the educational level of the public and provide opportunities for the people to acquire occupational skills. In these courses, training for the implementation of the imported technology or innovations was provided by either an employee of a company or a professional instructor depending on the quality of the product or the service. The most sought after courses among the people were needlecraft using a sewing machine, photography and typing courses.

THE USE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE DAILY LIFE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The first event that caused the people in the Ottoman Empire to become closely acquainted with the actual Western lifestyles in everyday life was the Crimean War from 1853 to 1856. While the war raged in Russia, the Turkish and European wounded soldiers, who were carried from the front lines to the port cities of the Empire, and the volunteers and the officials who came from Europe to look after them started to live together in the cities, which brought about the introduction of the new products and newly invented devices that started to be used in the daily life in Europe to the Ottoman cities. It was after that joint life experience, which started in the aftermath of the war, that the opening of the shops that sold European commodities and the kicking in of numerous brokers, commission agents, negotiators and distributors took place.

Most of the equipment representing the technological innovations seen in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century was of European or American origin. With the equipment directly imported to the Empire with its spare parts, the Ottoman craftsmen were trying to make similar products, or trying to catch up with the developments by producing self-designed products in their own mills, in line with the needs of the time. From the second half of the century, imitating equipment that came from Europe, domestic versions of less elaborate tools and equipment that did not require heavy industry or that could be operated with muscle strength emerged: coppers, simple agricultural devices, water pumps, grain milling machines, etc. This way, the Ottoman manufacturing tradesmen started to compete with the European products both consciously and not knowingly.

Those who manufactured in the Ottoman Empire considered all the rules and crafts that served for the enhancement of wealth via processing the raw materials as industry. Therefore, in production, the concepts of arts, crafts and industry were mostly used together and synonymously. Before entering the Ottoman market, the inventions that turned into a product were presented to the related units of the state which in turn authorised the circulation of the product in the market and were in the largest buyer position at the same time.

It is understood that in the knowing and use of the technology stemming from outside of the Empire and all kinds of techniques and devices presented by it, the method of »let those who saw tell those who did not« was used involuntarily. The people saw and learned about the use of numerous technological products designed to be used in the daily life in a store, a state office or at a wealthy neighbour's for the first time. The process of acquiring or being able to use a technological product differed depending on the quality of the product. One could immediately buy a gramophone, a sewing machine or a stove and learn how to use it from the seller or another user and be able to use it, whereas one had to wait for the installation of the line to be able to use a telephone, or installation of a gas line for a water heater. When designing numerous types of equipment, which was newly named or shaped, various decorative elements were used, while together with having products that made use of the new technology the drawing of attention with their visual aspects was also taken care of.

In the Ottoman Empire, which was an official participant of the first international fair which was held in the Chrystal Palace in London in 1851, the products and innovations imported from Europe were first tried and implemented by the palace. The Dolmabahçe Palace, which was built completely in consideration of the Western styles although with Turkish house plan characteristics, was a palace where all the technologies that were started to be used in the daily life of Europe were used.

The most important activities that kept the Empire informed about the developing technologies in Europe were international fairs. The Ottoman Empire, which entered those fairs whenever the political and economic conditions were convenient, sent observers to the fairs it could not attend, and received reports and impressions about the new developments. The product, exhibition booths and activities that would represent the Ottoman State were carefully determined and country-wide contests were organised for choosing the materials to be sent. The international exhibition that was organised by the Ottoman Empire and opened in Sultanahmet Istanbul on 27 February 1863, which was held under the name of *Sergi-i Umum-i Osmani* (the Ottoman General Exhibition), attracted considerable interest in Europe and groups from European cities, especially Vienna, including journalists, businessmen and factory owners, came to Istanbul for the exhibition. Fair catalogues, which introduced both the handmade products and products of mass production brought about by mechanisation, were always one of the first reference guides to keep informed about the innovations in the Ottoman market. In order to educate people on the technological products, illustrated newspapers, magazines, flyers, company cards and pamphlets played an important part. After this exhibition, domestic and foreign products were displayed in many local expositions around the country. With the commercial almanacs published, or the salnames, which were regional yearbooks, information on the exporters, distributors and merchants engaged in commercial activities as well as innovations that began to be applied in that city or region was provided. Train, tramway, telegraph, telephone, cinema schedules appeared in the city yearbooks.

In the Ottoman Empire, the law that governed the registration and patent rights for individuals and institutions that implemented the invention, production and distribution of a product, entered into force on 22 March 1880, and the implementation of the «ihtira beratı» began within the territory of the Empire.

In the late 19th century, new Western-style models of living came together with the traditional ones in the west and east of the imperial territory and in the port cities. Even though this togetherness caused conflicts from time to time due to the contradicting habits, the Ottoman citizens quickly complied with the new technologies that were put into service and the new lifestyles that they met, and were disposed to use them.

From the second half of the century, when trading intensified, numerous individuals and companies that imported products went into operation. While some of those won a seat in the Ottoman market by getting institutionalised, others disappeared by cheating the local buyers, who were just learning about foreign goods and foreign buying and selling procedures. The majority of the judicial records on cases of fraud were about insurances, warrants and product guarantees.

In Istanbul, a port city where import, transit trade, raw material export and export of products based on agriculture and hand labour took place, banking, insurance, transportation, higher education, infrastructure and health care services were the main sectors of service at the turn of the 20th century. The major part of the services of provision of water, electricity, gas, lighting and tramway services were foreign capital investments.

In 1923, at the end of the 10 Year War, the national movement of independence in Turkey succeeded, sovereignty within the boundaries of *Misak-i Milli* (National Pact) was ensured, the Istanbul government and palace lost their raison d'être and Turkey adopted the ideal of becoming a self-contained modern country. The people were exhausted. They lost 70 percent of the labour force, but had the determination of creating a new life. The new Turkey started countless reforms on the way to national progress and modernisation with its new leader Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, whom the populace had been watching with admiration since Çanakkale.

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TEHNOLOŠKA IZMENJAVA MED INDUSTRIJSKIMI DRŽAVAMI IN OSMANSKIM CESARSTVOM V 19. IN ZGODNJEM 20. STOLETJU. GLAVNI VPLIVI NA VSAKDANJE ŽIVLJENJE TURKOV

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POVZETEK

V 19. stoletju so bili tehnični izumi in možnosti fizičnega dostopa tisti dejavniki, ki so v veliki meri odpravili nesporazume med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Stremljenja Zahoda po tem, da bi bolje spoznal skrivnostne vidike Vzhoda, so se manifestirala z orientalizmom. V 19. stoletju sta se v potopisih, biografijah, slikah in fotografijah, katerih avtorji so bili zahodnjaki pojavila pridevnika vzhodnjaški in orientalski kot napol resnica, napol predstava. S pojavom industrijske revolucije se je konkurenca med zahodnimi državami vedno bolj povečevala, vnel pa se je tudi boj za surovine. Zaradi tega se je tako imenovani orientalistični problem, ki je bil povezan z Vzhodom, hitro sprevrgel v idejo o tem, da bi na Vzhod vplivali in ga premagali.

Pri uresničevanju te ideje je pomembno vlogo odigrala tehnologija, saj je omogočila številne vojne in spopade med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Pojav orožja in bojnih ladij ter izgradnja komunikacijskih mrež sta bila osrednjega pomena v vojnah med zahodnimi državami, ki so se borile med seboj in tudi proti Vzhodu. Ideje o tem, da bi spoznali neznano, dosegli nedosegljivo in posedovali potrebno, pa zagotovo ni mogoče uresničiti zgolj z bojevanjem. Tako so povečevanje transportnih možnosti, širitev pojavljajočih se tehnologij, prodaja izdelanih orodij, nakupi surovin in izdelkov (ki jih ni bilo ali pa so bili redki) prav tako predstavljali način, na katerega sta se Zahod in Vzhod med seboj spoznavala in se drug od drugega učila.

Tehnologijo so sprva uporabljali le za namene varnosti, rasti in širjenja. Toda spremembe, ki so se v 19. stoletju pojavljale na področju zdravstva, navad v vsakdanjem življenju, prehrane, izobraževanja, zabave in potovanja, so bile revolucionarnega pomena za izboljšanje kakovosti življenja ljudi, vzdrževanje mentalnega in telesnega zdravja ter telesni razvoj moških in žensk.

Skladno s tem je v zadnjih treh četrtinah 19. stoletja in prvi četrtini 20. stoletja vladalo prepričanje, da je bistveni del trgovskega odnosa med Zahodom in Osmanskim imperijem, kasneje pa med Zahodom in Republiko Turčijo, trgovanje s tehničnimi informacijami in izdelki.

Osmanski imperij se je zelo dobro zavedal, da je spremljanje industrijskih in tehnoloških izumov temeljnega pomena, če želijo doseči varnost, napredek in sodoben način življenja, zato je bilo 19. stoletje najbolj dinamično stoletje v zgodovini cesarstva. Napor, s katerim so si Osmani prizadevali dohiteti države, ki so se industrializirale in ki so izumljale tehnologijo, je včasih deloval kot uspeh, drugič kot neuspeh, tretjič pa kot zadrževanje izumov, ki so izzvali odzive.

Proces pridobivanja in uporabe tehnologije v Osmanskem imperiju se je začel z uvozom industrijskih in tehničnih izdelkov. Te so razvili v državah, ki so se industrializirale v prvi četrtini 19. stoletja. Inovacijsko gibanje se je začelo v vojski. Iz varnostnih razlogov so se sprva trudili, da bi zgradili proizvodne obrate in zagotovili tehnično usposabljanje. Zaradi uporov in vojn, ki jih je imperij doživljal doma in v tujini, so Osmani pri pridobivanju tehnologije, kar je bilo v 19. stoletju občasno prekinjeno, za številne izdelke in informacije, kupljene na Zahodu, plačali višjo ceno.

Pri trgovanju s tehnologijo z Zahodom je bil vstop mnogih izdelkov v cesarstvo olajšan z zmanjšanjem tarif. Delavce in študente so pošiljali na izobraževanja v tujino. Izume, potrebne za ustanavljanje tovarn, transport in komunikacije, so postavljali na prvo mesto. V časopisih in revijah, ki so jih za osmanski trg pripravljali tuji proizvajalci in jih distribuiral na vse konce države, je bilo nešteto oglasov. Cesarstvo je sodelovalo na mednarodnih razstavah, leta 1863 so prvo mednarodno razstavo priredili v Istanbulu, domači in tuji proizvajalci pa so razstavljali tudi na lokalnih razstavah.

V cesarstvu so začeli izdajati komercialne almanahe ali salname. Gre za regionalne letopise, v katerih so bili objavljeni podatki o izvoznikih, distributerjih in trgovcih, ki so opravljali tržno dejavnost. Vsebovali so tudi podatke o izumih, ki so jih začenjali uporabljati v določenem mestu ali regiji. V mestnih letopisih so bili navedeni vozni redi vlakov in tramvajev ter podatki o telegrafih, telefonih in sporedih kino predstav.

Na začetku druge polovice 19. stoletja so v velikih pristaniških mestih ustanovili številna podjetja. Ob koncu stoletja so začeli delovati bankirji in banke, ki so dajali posojila. Odnos med Zahodom in Vzhodom se je oblikoval v senci imperializma in kapitalizma. Prav temu odnosu se pripisuje zasluga za prinesene spremembe in dinamičnost v vsakdanjem življenju osmanske družbe, štejemo pa ga tudi za rezultat intenzivnega toka informacij med skupnostmi na eni stani in medsebojnega trgovanja na drugi strani. V tem obdobju se je na zahodu in vzhodu cesarstva in v pristaniških mestih zahodnjaški način življenja združil s tradicionalnim. Čeprav je skupni obstoj zaradi nasprotujočih si navad občasno povzročal spore, so prebivalci Osmanskega cesarstva hitro sprejeli nove tehnologije, ki so se začele uporabljati, in bili naklonjeni njihovi uporabi. Privadili so se tudi novim načinom življenja, s katerimi so se srečali.

THE SCENT OF COFFEE

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ABSTRACT

The Balkans or the south-eastern part of Europe, if we were to use the currently most popular term, is the territory where, geographically speaking, the East meets the West. This is the space where two worlds amalgamate with each other. The first thing that comes to our mind when we talk about the Balkans is often quite stereotypical. We tend to think that this space is reactionary. This paper intends to show that different countries, which make up the Balkans, have more in common than we think. This statement will be supported by the example of a phenomenon which is being referred to as coffee. The culture of coffee drinking consists of an intertwining of two worlds. The differences of those worlds enrich our lives and the similarities bring us closer, especially when we have an open mind and are therefore able to learn from each other.

KEY WORDS

Coffee, coffeehouse, the Balkans, south-eastern part of Europe, Europe

INTRODUCTION

Why does the scent of coffee from the East differ from the scent from the West? Is there really a difference?

Why do people drink coffee in the first place? There is no simple answer to these questions. Are we dealing with an addiction or do people drink this beverage only to find pleasure in their habit? Some consider a cup of coffee to be an award. Others use it as an excuse in order to remain sitting for a while after their meal or to take a breather from their work. Some find it relaxing, while others consider it as means for social intercourse. But if we were to be honest, usually not even coffee drinkers themselves can provide us with an answer why they really drink coffee. Nevertheless, the culture of coffee drinking has left a big mark on our society throughout the centuries.

The social code of coffee drinking was often connected with culinary art and table rites; »One of the most tasteful cigarettes was the one which had been lit after a meal or a coffee break«.¹ This ritualism imparted a festive feeling to coffee drinking. That is the reason why people often drank coffee in cases of important events. In contrast to other nations, the Slovenes have far too few written memories and scientific debates on this topic, thus also a smaller amount of documented records that refer to the culture of coffee drinking. My professor Dr Božidar Jezernik was the only one who has investigated this topic more thoroughly within our space.² In other respects, the Slovene people have obviously liked coffee since the year dot. Quite a few Slovene artists have perceived and immortalised coffee consumption as a component of social- and private life in their artworks. Coffee inspired the painteress Ivana Kobilica to paint the famous *Woman Drinking Coffee* (Kofetarica), which can be admired in the permanent exhibition at the National Gallery of Slovenia, as well as the writer Ivan Cankar to write his famous short story *A Cup of Coffee* (Skodelica kave).³

THE MEETING OF TWO WORLDS

The Balkans or the south-eastern part of Europe, if we were to use the currently most popular term, is the territory where, geographically speaking, the East meets the West. This is the space where two worlds amalgamate with each other. The first thing that comes to our mind when we talk about the Balkans is often quite stereotypical.

In her book *Imagining the Balkans* Maria Todorova⁴ shows that the present image of Southeast Europe results from ideological constructs and prejudices which have been developing over centuries, and which were imported from the West and often integrated in specific nationalist ideologies of countries in the region.

¹ PRACONTAL, M. 1999, p. 152.

² JEZERNIK, B. 1999; JEZERNIK, B. 2011; JEZERNIK, B. 2012.

³ CANKAR, I. 1967.

⁴ TODOROVA, M. 1997.

She has shown that the image of the Balkans as a quasi-non-European province, which is steeped in hate, conflict between civilisations, and Eastern barbarism, actually results from the politics of international and financial predominance. Such views have always been present in international relations, but became particularly apparent in the 19th century when Europe came into contact with the Ottoman Empire, thus facing a completely different situation. By that time, Europe, which had been driven by the romantic spirit, had already experienced the Enlightenment and industrial revolution, and its economy and politics were in full bloom. The »Balkans« became the synonym for Southeast Europe, which the West usually conceives as a negative stereotype even though this perception has little to do with reality and is to be ascribed to pure imagination. Todorova believes that this stereotype is nothing but a feeble construct. That is also the reason why the present paper on coffee intends to present a balanced image of the Balkans, which is also in accordance with Todorova's thesis. Furthermore, I intend to indicate that different countries of the Balkans, the meeting point of two worlds, have more in common than we imagine and the phenomenon that we refer to as coffee reinforces this statement.

Throughout the history of time, the informations about the Balkans, which were coming to the West, were conditioned by the perceptions of European travellers and upper class investors. However, what had not been taken into account was the fact that similar situations also existed in other parts of Europe, even though they occurred in different time periods and with different intensity.

Therefore, when, for example a British traveller from the middle of the 19th century accuses the inhabitants of the Balkans of being dirty, poor, deceitful, rude, and brazen he is unaware of the fact that such adjectives could easily describe the neglected industrial suburbs of his own country. He also ignores the fact that his comparison is biased: even though the accused stem from lower social classes they are being judged according to social standards of the higher class, to which he himself belongs.

In general, it may be said that the economically »reactionary« Balkans are quite often accused of violence, authoritarianism, arbitrariness, etc., whereas the so called »advanced« countries of the accusers used to attribute such words to their own colonies; not to mention the barbarity that arose during both World Wars which can predominantly be regarded as the product of Western Europe. And what is even more important, the idea of nationalism, which the inhabitants of the Balkans are accused of, is also an ideological export of the Western world. Certainly, the examples that are being highlighted by Todorova do not depict the whole picture of all emerged situations, but they emphasise those stereotypes against which Southeast Europe is fighting up to the present day.

This pattern of thought is constantly recurring; the youngest example being the collapse of Yugoslavia. This process is often interpreted as the renewed outbreak of primary instincts without regard to the involvement of foreign countries that largely contributed to the collapse. The war itself is frequently generalised as the Balkan war and not as the Yugoslav war with emphasis on the allegedly innate barbaric character of the region; not to mention the current economic crisis and the caricatural images of the »southerners« which the media imposes on the economically stronger North European societies.

The negative image of the Balkans was widely integrated into the mentality of local inhabitants, who often consider themselves and their neighbours unworthy of being attributed a proper »European« identity. The generally widespread perception in the region is that someone who is travelling to one of the countries of Western Europe is going to Europe. This says a great deal about the mindset of the inhabitants.

THE CULTURE OF COFFEE DRINKING

The ritual of coffee drinking is widespread and unique at the same time, since it offers a first-hand experience of cultural diversity and gives inspiration. The habit of coffee drinking reinforces the feeling of affinity and serves excellently as an instigation for communication. People discuss politics and other topics over a cup of coffee. It was also believed that one should drink coffee in order to combat fatigue and stimulate the cognitive processes.

The »culture of coffee drinking«, which had developed among the ruling elite in the 18th century and then spread among the more and more numerous middle class in the course of the 19th century, represents an

important indicator of change within the society of that time: the expansion of public spaces, democratisation of personal time and space, and new models of sociability and socializing.

Arabic coffee consists of roasted coffee beans and cardamom that is usually roasted, grinded, prepared, and served in front of the guests. The beverage is being served with dates or candied fruit which are consumed after enjoying coffee in order to soften the bitter taste. One can also add milk, even though it is not according to custom. Coffee is often served in a very small amount, so it can cool down more quickly. That is why one pours just as much coffee into a cup to cover the bottom. When the guest empties the cup, he has to show, with a gesture, that he has had enough, otherwise the host will pour again. Usually only one cup of coffee is savoured, larger quantities are consumed only over long conversations.⁵

In Egypt coffee is being prepared in the Turkish way – the top of the beverage is covered with froth, which is also being referred to as *the face*. In cases of special social occasions, like for example engagement or death in the family, the face must not be absent from the surface of the coffee, otherwise no one is allowed to drink it. We encounter a different way of coffee drinking in Lebanon, where people prefer that their coffee is boiled only once and that it does not have a face. The Lebanese also drink larger amounts of this beverage. The Bedouins in Jordan enjoy conversations over coffee which start when a man invites everybody near his home to be his guests. The invitation is in the form of sounds that are produced when the host hits mortar with the pestle in order to grind the coffee beans. The first one to be served the coffee is the guest of honour. Then the remaining guests are served in clockwise direction. The first cup represents hospitality, the second cup creates the atmosphere, and the third cup signifies that there is no animosity present. Only after these three cups have been consumed, the social interactions and debates can start. If the guest of honour accepts the first cup and then immediately places it down, it means that he has a request for the host or that they have a problem. The guest will not continue drinking until the request has been voiced or the problem has been solved. If the guest was to leave the host's home without drinking the first cup, it would be considered as a serious insult, which could lead to independent judgements. The guest is allowed to say that the host's coffee is no good. If the rest of the guests do not argue the aforementioned statement, there are no problems. But there will be serious consequences, if the coffee is good and the guest was deliberately criticizing it. Coffee can also symbolise vengeance – the male gathers his neighbours around him and assigns one cup as the *bloody cup*. This means that the person to drink from this cup is taking up the task of purging the host's family honour. If the chosen one does not succeed in fulfilling the task, that is to take vengeance upon the family's enemy, he himself is faced with shame and exile. In this case, coffee signifies life or death.⁶

In Europe, especially in the Mediterranean region, coffee is being ascribed a rather nationalistic meaning. This is being supported by the fact that almost every country possesses its own designation for the preparation of coffee and is reluctant to accept any other. Thus, one must be careful when using the words »Turkish coffee«, »Greek coffee«, »Bosnian coffee«, »Macedonian coffee«, and »Serbian coffee« in those countries, because every one of them claims that the only right way of coffee preparation is their own.

Coffee is perceived as a symbol for hospitality and it is regarded as a big sin, if we do not offer it to every guest upon his arrival to our home. The refusal of coffee is also considered a big sin. The beverage is served in an *ibrik* (a type of ewer), from which it is poured into small cups while it is still hot. Coffee is always served with a glass of water. The water should be drunk before the coffee, thereby cleaning one's mouth in order to achieve a more intensive enjoyment of the coffee aroma. The serving of jam is also a part of the Arabic ritual of coffee drinking. The jam is spooned with small spoons so that the guests can indulge in something sweet while they enjoy their coffee. The first to be served are the distinguished people, who are then followed by the oldest guest, while the women are being served last. The Bedouins refill solely to the half of the cup, because a full cup signifies that the guest must drink up quickly and leave. Sometimes the ritual requires that the person who is pouring the coffee must pour a cup for himself at first and then it is the guest's turn; always regarding the applicable rules.⁷

⁵ ZAVOD NUR, 2014.

⁶ ROUGH GUIDES 2015.

⁷ JEZERNIK, B. 1999, p. 32.

In the area of the Balkans, a cup of coffee has always represented an essential element of hospitality. Jezernik believes that coffee was brought to the Balkans by the Ottomans during their conquests in the 16th century.⁸ There are different rules of courtesy which apply to the tradition of coffee drinking, the way the beverage is being served, or the way it should be prepared. That is why, up to this day, the Balkanite fill the small cups (*fildžani*) with hot coffee three times. The first cup is the so called *dočekuša* (welcoming cup) with which one welcomes the guest, the *razgovoruša* (conversational cup) ensures a pleasant atmosphere, and the *ispračuša* (farewell cup) will be served shortly before the guest leaves.

The culture of coffee drinking is not solely limited to the coffeehouses and »coffee shops« in terms of spaces intended for the consummation of coffee, but it also offers a unique view concerning the investigation of the bourgeoisie and its lifestyle. The cultural aspect of coffee drinking is intertwined with all lifestyles; be it in the East or in the West. That is why we can state that the culture of coffee drinking represents the meeting point of two worlds.

COFFEEHOUSES

When coffee made its move towards the West, the image of the coffeehouse as a respectable space, which was intended for intelligent conversations, had also spread. But the most important thing was that the coffeehouse offered a non-alcoholic alternative to guesthouses and lost its controversial connotation. Eventually every big city – in the East and West – got their coffeehouses.

Coffeehouses became a space where one could chat with friends, comfortably browse the newspapers, or read books, as well as debate on current topics. Because of the wide selection of reading material many people stemming from lower social classes also frequented the coffeehouses.

Throughout the rest of Europe coffeehouses also evolved into spaces where one could savour a cup of coffee, smoke a pipe or a cigarette, comfortably browse the newspapers, and enjoy in a variety of delicious desserts; often accompanied by the sounds of a piano or a violin. Coffeehouses - spaces intended for the consummation of coffee – represented a special type of institution, because they have been the gathering points of artists, intellectuals, as well as everybody else.

Nowadays, when we visit a coffee shop we are able to choose from various types of beverages which come from everywhere. Depending on our mood, we can decide to indulge in a western Viennese, Italian, French or even Irish coffee; or we can decide to enjoy the oriental atmosphere which is created with Turkish or Arabic coffee.

Coffeehouses were also a symbol of the bourgeoisie. That was the reason why they were gradually closed by the authorities during the socialism, thus changing the utilisation of those spaces. The decay of coffeehouse throughout the socialistic period had enabled the rise of a new form of space intended for coffee drinking – »coffee shops«. These spaces were not connected to the bourgeoisie, but to the urban space. In the 80's, »coffee shops« that were located in the cities became popular gathering spaces for all generations, mostly young people.⁹

THE COFFEEHOUSE OF THE EAST

In the Ottoman Empire, people gathered in coffeehouses and exchanged informations, often while smoking a nargile¹⁰ or chibouk¹¹, and drinking coffee or tea, listened to music and poems, read books, played chess, and maybe even listened to adventure stories of a storyteller. The coffee house represented the most important variety in the life of the Balkanite.

At the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, coffee had spread over the whole Islamic world. Coffeehouses attracted a lot of coffee lovers, who daily visited these establishments. They drank coffee, played parlour games, discussed news of the day, or amused themselves with singing, dancing or music,

⁸ JEZERNIK, B. 1999, p. 113.

⁹ ANTOŠ, Z. 2010, p. 6.

¹⁰ Nargile or in other words a water pipe is an instrument for smoking tobacco.

¹¹ Chibouk was a very common device for smoking tobacco. It was easy to carry, because it was dismountable. That is the reason why it had been used everywhere: at home, in the coffeehouse, at work, and on the road.

which however contravened the strict religious habits. It was already in the 16th century when civil servants, qadis, professors and many others were gathering in coffeehouses. *Kahvedžije* were servants who cooked coffee for the members of upper social classes. The *kahvedžibaşı* were special employees, who prepared the coffee for the sultan at his court. Sources also note the presence of the mentioned employees in Bosnia, where coffee emerged in the year 1592.¹²

The coffeehouses which one could find in European Turkey were located in beautiful and picturesque cities, on river banks, on hills, etc.; thus providing the visitors with the possibility to observe the beauty of nature, while savouring coffee and smoking chibouks. A typical »Turkish« coffeehouse was as plain as possible and under no circumstances appealing from the outside. The interior which had been characteristic for the 19th century had still been predominantly oriental. The coffeehouses of European Turkey were equipped with rush mats, small carpets, and pillows. The only existing furniture were benches which were arranged along the walls, where the guest would sit with their legs crossed and smoke. One corner of the space, which had been reserved for the local notability, was equipped with a somewhat nicer and thicker pillow. At night, the carpets or benches served as beds. This kind of accommodations were free until the 20th century, since the purchase of coffee was considered as the adequate payment.¹³

The photograph depicts a group of Ottomans dressed in typical traditional costumes. They are drinking coffee and smoking water pipes. The motive was photographed from an unknown publication.

All until the first half of the 20th century, the way in which the inhabitants of the Balkans consumed their coffee was different from that of the people who lived in Europe. The coffee, which had been prepared in the Turkish way, was boiling hot, thick, and without sugar or milk.¹⁴ Until the 20th century, the prevail-



Image 1: Photograph on glass: Istanbul – a group of Ottomans in front of a coffeehouse, 1st third of the 20th century, N 27880 the National Museum of Slovenia

ing opinion was that the consummation of coffee with milk is a mistake which causes leprosy. Coffee was cooked in smaller pots and poured into cups in which it was served immediately after it had been prepared and still hot. Antošova states that the cups for serving coffee were made of clay or porcelain, depending on the wealth of the owner. Normally, Turkish coffee was prepared in a *džezva* (coffee pot) and coked for each person individually so it was as fresh as possible. But we also encounter sources which state that coffee used to be prepared in large kettles, meaning that this coffee, if not quickly consumed, lost its flavour. A French merchant from Levant Dufour describes the typical coffee pot from the 17th century: »In Levant they use a coffee pot made of copper, which is galvanised from the inner- as well as the outer side.«

¹² JEZERNIK, B. 2011, p. 177.

¹³ Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 175.

The most notable difference between different coffees is their taste. Coffee can be roasted in the traditional or industrial way. The production process of coffee consists of important steps. The final quality of coffee depends on the roasting process. The volume of the coffee beans can extend up to 60% in the course of the roasting process. The process lasts from 10 to 15 minutes, depending on the flavour we want to achieve or the region from which the coffee originates. These topic is addressed in a well-known Bosnian song with the title *Kavu mi draga ispeci* (Make me some coffee, my darling) which is being sung by numerous musicians. In my opinion, the interpretation of Halid Bešlić represents the best version of this song.

Hangi also agrees that good coffee depends on its roasting which is made apparent when he states: »...our *kahvedžije* pay attention that the coffee does not turn black completely, it is sufficient if it becomes light yellowish and the process is complete... when the *kahvedžija* finishes roasting the coffee, he adds it into a *stupa* - a small mortar made from a carved out trunk of a sour cherry- or lime tree, or stone – and beats it with a *čuskija* (pestle) until he crushes it completely. Then, he places it into a very fine sieve, whereby he grinds the rest into powder. He puts the grinded coffee into tin vessels and closes them tightly, so it does not lose its strength and scent... Even in the most exclusive European hotels or coffeehouses one cannot find such coffee like the one served in Bosnian-coffeehouse.¹⁵

Women did not visit coffeehouses, since this world had belonged exclusively to men. There was a short time period in the Ottoman Empire when a newlywed had to promise that he will never live his wife without coffee. The breach of this promise had been considered a legitimate base for a divorce.¹⁶

According to the Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda (Encyclopedia of the Lexicographical Institute) from Zagreb the first coffeehouse to open its doors in the Balkans was in Belgrade in the year 1522. Coffeehouses enjoyed great popularity among the Muslim population of the Balkans, which is being supported by the fact that there were, for example already seven coffeehouses in Bitola by the middle of the 17th century.¹⁷

THE COFFEEHOUSE OF THE WEST

Europe gradually took over the custom of coffee drinking from the East. At the same time Europe also took over the spaces where one could drink without interruption – coffeehouses. Nonetheless, one of the main topics that had been discussed in Western coffeehouses over a cup of coffee and a cigarette was politics.

Initially, coffee was considered as exceptionally precious in the West, due to its extremely long path, thus only being affordable for the rich. At the beginning, coffee was not consumed on a daily basis, but used as a medicine.¹⁸

Until the end of the 17th century, proper coffeehouses started to open their doors and in the course of the 18th and 19th century they were given an important role in the political, artistic, and economic lives of European cities.¹⁹

Coffee found its way to our territory or rather Austria in the year of 1683 after the Turkish siege of Vienna, when the Turks had left some bags of coffee behind as they were retreating. Some of those bags were given to the Pole Kolschitzky to award his bravery. Kolschitzky opened a coffeehouse in Vienna which he called the *Blue Bottle* (Blaue Flasche). The Viennese did not like the Turkish coffee, but Kolschitzky did not give up and added milk and honey to the beverage which resulted in the emergence of Viennese coffee. He served coffee with half-moon shaped biscuits and star shaped doughnuts covered with syrup. The biscuits reminded of the Turkish half-moon, and the doughnuts of the Turkish star.

In the territory of Austria coffeehouses started to open their doors in the course of the 19th century. As time passed, all big European cities got their coffeehouses and the renowned historical style with elements of the Secession– *the Viennese Coffeehouse* - had spread under the Viennese influence.²⁰ Coffeehouses were equipped with furniture which was characteristic for Viennese coffeehouses; tables and chairs made by Thonet.

¹⁵ HANGI, A. 1906, p. 76.

¹⁶ ANTOŠ, Z. 2010, p. 27.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁸ JEZERNIK, B. 1999, p. 133.

¹⁹ ANTOŠ, Z. 2010, p. 30.

²⁰ MAZARAKIS-AINIAN et al. 2013, pp. 19–25.

Since the year dot, Viennese coffeehouses were considered as very special institutions, because artists and intellectuals have chosen them as their gathering place. Viennese coffeehouses also served as spaces where one could chat with friends, or read books, as well as debate on current topics.

And what were people ordering in »Viennese coffeehouses«? Usually, the guests ordered various desserts, accompanied by cigarette smoke, and mostly white- and black coffee (but not »Turkish coffee«, since it had remained unknown until the First World War), tee, etc.

The choice was difficult in deed, due to the great variety of coffee – if people disapproved of the offered coffee drinks, they just made up a coffee speciality themselves. But if you ordered a *Kapuziner* - black coffee with a bit of whipped cream - you could not go wrong. It is most likely that the nowadays universally known word cappuccino has evolved from the word *Kapuziner*, when the Austrian soldiers were ordering it in Italy during the First World War, thus adjusting the German word into »cappuccino«.

The culture which took shape in these coffeehouses is of special kind, since the coffeehouses represented the first establishments where one was served a cup of coffee with a glass of water, and a newspaper at the same time; one could stay there as long as wanted, if the other guests were not disturbed. The coffeehouses were also the first establishments where smaller snacks and desserts, like strudels filled with various fruits and cakes.

Guests who spent a longer time in the coffeehouses were regularly served a glass of fresh water (even if they did not ask for it), because in this way the waiter expressed that the guest is worthy of attention. Each evening, the classic coffeehouses entertained their guests with live piano music as well as social events like readings of literature. The warmer months of the year were reserved for savouring coffee on the terrace. The consequence of the depictions of Viennese coffeehouses by Zweig was the fact that local inhabitants as well as foreigners started to visit these establishments, thus contributing to the cosmopolitan ambience which found its way into the city and the coffeehouses themselves.²¹

The Viennese coffee called the *Einspänner* - strong, black coffee with a dash of whipped cream typically served in a glass; whereby the sugar is being grounded into powder and served separately - is a speciality.²²

The Viennese coffeehouses are under the protection of the UNESCO since the year 2011. Professor Jezernik commented on this action, stating that when something is considered to be dead, it passes under protection. It is the speed of life which dictates that we must reduce the time intended for the enjoyment of things. The same goes for the coffeehouses. Because they are no longer filled with life, they are making losses and consequently closing their doors. Jezernik is convinced that coffee was initially consumed boiling hot with the intent to force people to take their time if they wanted to be able to drink it. This resulted in people connecting with one another and weaving acquaintanceships. Today, we altered the taste of coffee with sugar, and its colour with milk. We have forgotten to take our time and to drink it in our family circle and among our friends, because the today's communication via the media satisfies our information need, however we end up losing contact with the people who surround us.²³

In the second half of the 20th century, the comfortable furniture was ousted by bistros and »coffee shops« that were visited by guests who wanted to have a quick espresso. So it came to pass, that »coffee shops« became the symbol of urban culture and contemporary lifestyle.

COFFEEHOUSES AND THE SLOVENES

The life of the Slovenes in the first half of the 20th century was also marked by the habit of visiting guesthouses and coffeehouses, which had the biggest tradition in the city and played the most important role in the shaping of social life of all social classes. It seems as if the visiting of guesthouses, excessive alcohol

²¹ VIENNESE COFFEEHOUSE, 2015.

²² Ibid.

²³ JEZERNIK, B. 2012, p. 113.

consumption, smoking, drinking, all of the stated is written in the DNA of the Slovenes. Therefore, it is no coincidence that Slovene cities were always full of guesthouses. Everyone more or less was visiting coffeehouses. The guests usually ordered various desserts, accompanied by cigarette smoke, but mostly white- and black coffee (but not »Turkish coffee«, since it had remained unknown until the First World War), tee, kapucin (*Kapuziner*), etc.²⁴

The visiting of guesthouses and coffeehouses has enforced itself in practice among the Slovene citizens in the second half of the »long 19th century«. These establishments played an important role in the shaping of social life of all social classes. Visiting of guesthouses and coffeehouses, and the public display of alcohol consumption or smoking a cigarette while drinking coffee turned out to be much more than just a fad of the citizens. The same can be stated for the coffeehouse at the *Grand Hotel Union* in Ljubljana, which is still standing; just like the *Grand Coffeehouse* in Maribor.

The traditional Viennese coffeehouses, which have spread over all provinces of the monarchy in the course of the 19th century, have appeared in the Slovene territory at the same time. For this reason, we can say that the Slovene people have helped to shape the Viennese culture. Coffeehouses had a special meaning for the Slovenes as they represented the meeting points of social- and political life in the time of the national revival. So it came to pass, that in the course of the 19th and 20th century litterateurs and intellectuals gathered in coffeehouses; some of them even joked and stated a certain coffeehouse as their main residence.

While men visited coffeehouses in the city, women mostly entertained their guests in their homes. But at the beginning of the 20th century, a new trend emerged. Women, mostly stemming from the rows of well-respected citizens, started to visit city coffeehouses during workdays at a certain time, where they displayed their fashion sense and exchanged the latest news over a cup of coffee and a cigarette. Damjan Ovsec describes these happenings for the city of Ljubljana. It is needless to say that the respectable ladies visited only reputable establishments, where they socialised and entertained themselves at tables reserved for them. The elite Emona was the most visited coffeehouse. It is there where the so called »*National Ladies*« gathered every forenoon; each of them equipped with a lorgnette. This coffeehouse was the meeting point of old bourgeois families of Ljubljana. Every day some tables were reserved for the »coffeehouse ladies«.²⁵

The grand building, which was built in the Secession style, is located right next to the Old Bridge on the left bank of the river Drava and was constructed in the year 1913. The building, initially named *Terezijin dvor* (Terezienhof), was a popular gathering point of the mainly German speaking bourgeoisie of the time. Then, after the Second World War, it passed into state ownership and was renamed into the *Grand Coffee House* (Velika kavarna), but still remained one of the centres of social life in the city of Maribor. At the end of the 90's of the past century the coffeehouse was rebuilt into a casino that went bankrupt in the year 2009, thus closed its doors.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Viennese company Thonet was the first one to start manufacturing universal furniture for coffeehouses. The bent wood was cheap, comfortable, durable, elegant, and light. The production of such furniture in Slovenia began after the year 1870.

THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST

The »coffeehouse« represents a tradition which differs with regard to its origin; the East or the West: people stemming from regions which were ruled by the Ottoman Empire drank Turkish coffee, whereas Viennese coffee had been consumed in those regions that were under the influence of the Danube Monarchy. Here we encounter various documentation concerning coffeehouses, interior, different smoking devices, etc.

Due to the wide range of newspapers, coffeehouses also gained popularity amongst the lower social classes. Craftsmen and tradesmen drank a cup of coffee while reading the dailies which they could not afford to buy. Coffeehouses encouraged socialising both in the East and the West. Individuals discussed culture and poli-

²⁴ OVSEC, D. 1979, pp. 29–30.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 32–33.



Image 2: Photograph on glass, Grand Coffeehouse in Maribor (Velika kavarna v Mariboru), N 25756 the National Museum of Slovenia

tics. So it came to pass, that coffeehouses had become the centres of political-, social-, literary-, and business life of that time. From the 17th century onwards, coffeehouses gradually became meeting points of all social classes. Parlour games, amongst which chess proved to be the most popular of all, represented an important factor of coffeehouse life. One never played cards in an Oriental coffeehouse, because it was forbidden. The guests of many Coffeehouses were entertained by musicians. The one thing that both types of coffeehouses had in common was the main topic to be discussed - politics.



Image 3: Photograph, The interior of the Grand Coffeehouse in Maribor, K-2012 the National Museum of Slovenia

When the European community started to drink coffee in the 17th century people became passionate consumers of the beverage. Poorer classes had to satisfy themselves with chicory coffee as the substitute for the real thing. Initially, coffeehouses were associated with men and not women, who held the »monopoly« over tea. Some coffeehouses were owned by women or employed the fairer sex, despite the fact that coffeehouses were perceived as exclusive male domains. Although tea had been deemed to be the women's favourite, it was coffee that the Austrian women preferred and that is why »women's coffee circles« started to emerge in 19th century German speaking lands.²⁶

The stereotypical difference between both types of coffeehouses is described by Antun Hangi at the beginning of the 20th century. In Hangi's eyes the Bosnian coffeehouses are: »This are not coffeehouses like those in the West, but small rooms filled with smoke; where the kahveđija (person who makes the coffee) sits by the fireplace and »bakes« (roasts) the kahva (coffee). They arranged *sećije* (benches) along the

²⁶ NÜTZENDEL, A. in TRENTMANN, F. 2014, pp. 39–45.

walls, covered them with pillows and over which a blue or red *čoha* (a homespun stout peasant cloth) is spread out. Only one corner is endowed with one bigger pillow (*šiljte*) which is a little easier on the eyes. This space is intended for an Agha or Bey. The whole coffeehouse is strewn with *hasura-s* (rush mats); those with more prestige with *čilim-s* (carpets).

Jezernik also instances the Austrian travel writer Kurt Faber, who vividly (stereotypically) describes how he envisions the borders of the Balkan peninsula on his journey from Trieste across the Balkans in the year 1924. He writes: »The Balkans start where the elegant Austrian coffeehouse transforms into a coffeehouse filled with flies.«²⁷

The »culture of coffee drinking« took its shape with regard to the Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian influence on the region where the aforementioned culture was evolving. The Turks were the first ones to start drinking coffee in the region. Then the habit spread toward the West and gradually reshaped so that it meet the requirements of the arising modern urbanity in order to reflect it. When it came to coffee, Vienna and Constantinople, the centres of the centuries-long »clash of civilisations«, developed very refined habits and venues until the 19th century. Despite the fact that, on the face of it, the Western and Oriental culture seemed to be in conflict with each other, they actually intertwined, intermixed, and grew together. The culture of coffee drinking from both worlds became a very indicative element of social development of the East and West.

Coffee is that kind of beverage which took a long time in order for the people to get used to it and to except it into their everyday lives. Due to its high price, coffee had initially been the privilege of the richest. Later, it had been consumed by all social classes. The differences regarding the comprehension of coffee between the East and West consist in the fact that the West does not sufficiently value the social aspect which accompanies the phenomenon of coffee; while elsewhere coffee is still regarded as an active component of social life and can therefore signify death or life. The pace of life has buried the classical coffeehouses, since there is no more time to sit and discuss the topics concerning the newspapers, city, and life of the conversational partners. Instead, we quickly drink our coffee standing up or on the go. Slovenia is somewhere in the middle – we still manage to find the time to »go and have a coffee«, we enjoy this time with our conversational partners, and forget our obligations for a while. It is quite possible that this reflects the influence of the Balkan way of life or the melancholy that we feel regarding the times of our former joint state – Yugoslavia. But it is also possible that the reason lies elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

Coffee or with other words the culture of coffee drinking has left a big mark on the shaping and development of modern European nations, particularly in the course of the long 19th century. The history about the culture of coffee drinking relives common recollections which lead us to the recognition that the past did not occupy itself solely with dissensions. Coffee represents the connecting link where two worlds meet – the East and the West. The golden thread of my discussion about the »Meeting of Two Worlds« is being represented by coffee, since it is this beverage that connects both worlds in its unique way. The coffee culture phenomenon together with all accompanying activities of material and spiritual culture strengthens the intercultural dialogue and offers various experiences of cultural heritages originating from the territory of »both worlds«. The views concerning the culture of coffee drinking are very different and much alike at the same time. These differences can be misused to create conflicts, but they can also be embraced in order to build a common ground. The latter should be possible due to the fact that the stories revolving around the drinking coffee culture as well as the items connected to this topic depict stories of everyday life. Thus, we encounter the lives of renowned and anonymous people coming from »both worlds« that are somehow intertwined with the phenomenon of coffee enjoyment.

The culture of coffee drinking spread from the East to the West. Coffee creates a line that runs from Istanbul to Vienna, thus connects the capital of the Ottoman Empire with the capital of the Habsburg Empire.

The present paper introduces the eastern notion of a coffeehouse and the western conception of the same space. This is also the place where one can find objects intended for the coking and drinking of coffee originat-

²⁷ JEZERNIK, B. 1999, p. 40.

ing from the East, as well as Viennese furniture from coffeehouses. The culture of coffee drinking enables us the insight that our images of the East and West are not completely deadlocked, but should rather be understood as an uninterrupted flow of images which travel from one end to the other. Coffee stands for the democratisation of society. With the emergence of the middle class, the urbanisation, and the formation of national structures, which were followed by countries, coffee has earned its place within the sphere of culture in general. At the same time, these occurrences represent the history of the Balkans or of this part of Europe in the 19th century.

Coffee, the invigorating beverage, found its way to Slovenian lands in the second half of the 18th century. It was brought by merchants and (Slovene) students who studied at foreign universities. These people have contributed a great deal to the fact that the Slovene people did not stay behind other nations when it came to the discovery of pleasures and joys offered by coffee. Due to its high price, coffee had initially been the privilege of aristocratic-, military-, ecclesiastical-, and bourgeoisie elites. After the fall of the trade- and customs monopolies in the 19th century as well as the price reduction, the use of coffee became a fad and witnessed an unstoppable spread among the bourgeoisie, and finally found its way into the countryside at the end of the century.

There are a lot of things which have connected the East and the West, but not a single one as strongly as tea and coffee. Despite the fact that tea has an older tradition, coffee is the beverage leaving a bigger mark on the Western part of the world. Most importantly, by examining the culture of coffee drinking we bring down stereotypes, like for example the lack of civilised behaviour and backwardness of the Balkans, and the advanced and civilised West.

The culture of coffee drinking consists of an intertwining of two worlds. The differences of those worlds enrich our lives and the similarities bring us closer, especially when we have an open mind and are therefore able to learn from each other. That is why we should continue to start our day as usual – with coffee – in the East and West, regardless of the scent.

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POVZETEK

Balkan – v novejšem času se bolj uporablja termin Jugovzhodna Evropa – je območje, kjer se geografsko srečata Vzhod in Zahod in kjer se ta dva sveta prepletata. Prva asociacija na Balkan nasploh je precej pogosto stereotipna, in sicer, da je Balkan nazadnjaški. Namen razprave o kavi je zato prikazati uravnoteženo podobo tega prostora in pokazati, da imajo različne države na Balkanu več skupnega, kot si mislimo, kar je ob fenomenu, ki ga imenujemo kava, več kot očitno. Kultura pitja kave je preplet dveh svetov, katerih razlike nas bogatijo, podobnosti zblizujejo, sploh kadar znamo biti dovolj odprti, da se lahko učimo drug od drugega. S proučevanjem kulture pitja kave pomagamo rušiti stereotipe, kot sta stereotipa o pomanjkanju civiliziranosti in zaostalosti Balkana ter o naprednem in civiliziranem Zahodu.

Kava oziroma kultura pitja kave je pustila močan pečat pri oblikovanju in razvoju modernih narodov Evrope, predvsem v dolgem 19. stoletju. Z zgodovino kulture pitja kave se oživljajo skupni spomini, ki nas vodijo do ugotovitve, da v zgodovini ne gre vedno za razhajanja. Kultura pitja kave se je z Vzhoda razširila na Zahod. Kava vzpostavlja linijo, ki teče od Istanbula do Dunaja in povezuje prestolnici osmanskega in habsburškega imperija. V razpravi sta predstavljeni vzhodnjaška in zahodnjaška ideja kavarne. V kulturi pitja kave vidimo, da naše podobe o Vzhodu in Zahodu niso tako zacementirane, ampak da potujejo z enega konca na drugega v neprekinjenem toku. Kava je znak demokratizacije družbe. Del splošne kulture je postala z nastankom srednjega razreda, urbanizacijo, nastankom nacionalnih struktur, iz katerih so potem nastale države, to pa je hkrati zgodovina 19. stoletja na Balkanu oziroma v tem delu Evrope.

Fenomen kave z vsemi spremljevalnimi dejavnostmi materialne in duhovne kulture krepi medkulturni dialog in ponuja različna doživetja kulturnih dediščin z območja »obeh svetov«. Pogledi na kulturo pitja kave so zelo različni in hkrati zelo podobni. V teh razlikah lahko iščemo konflikte, lahko pa gradimo skupne temelje, saj so zgodbe o kulturi pitja kave in predmetih, povezanih s to temo, pripovedi o vsakdanjem življenju znanih in neznanih ljudi v »obeh svetovih«, ki so kakor koli povezani s fenomenom uživanja kave.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WATER PIPE ON THE SHAPE OF THE SMOKING STANDS OF THE LATE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

At the end of the 16th century, the smoking of tobacco used to be a common habit all across Europe, while the Ottoman Empire had still been unaware of this new thing called tobacco. First, it found its way into Turkey at the beginning of the 18th century. After that, it spread to the Balkans and the Near East. The western world had indulged in tobacco with the help of clay pipes and in the form of cigars, and later cigarettes. But in the East, one preferred water pipes instead. The water pipe consists of a set which one requires for smoking. The concept of the Central European smoking stands dating from the 19th century models itself on water pipes. However, they do not arrive to great perfection in terms of their entirety, when compared to their role models.

KEY WORDS

Tobacco, smoking stand, 19th century, water pipe, Central Europe, Ottoman Empire

INTRODUCTION

The desire for smoking have varied from culture to culture and depended on the time periods. People smoked in order to remedy themselves, to indulge in this pleasure, and to pamper themselves. But the consequences of smoking were addiction, numerous diseases, and premature death. The smoking of tobacco and related dilemmas and problems have inspired many litterateurs. We will mention solely two authors who were active at the end of the 19th century and who have tackled the phenomenon of smoking in connection with the fair sex. But the mentioned authors have opposing standpoints. The English writer and poet *Rudyard Kipling*, also very known as the author of the *Jungle Book*, valued the smoking of cigars all the more as the company of a woman, which he made more than apparent in the poem *The Betrothed*¹ from the year 1886. He said: »And a woman is only a woman, but a good cigar is a smoke.« Ten years later, the Scottish writer and also the author of *Peter Pan*, *Sir James Matthew Barrie* wrote a short story with the title *My Lady Nicotine*², where he dealt with the struggle to stop smoking. A hypothesis in Barrie's own mind: »To get married might even be worth giving up nicotine.«

Coffeeshouses were the establishments which played a decisive role in connection to the spread of smoking. It was in the owners' interest that their guests would spend as much time as possible in their establishments. In the Ottoman Empire, coffeeshouses started to open their doors in the 16th century, whereas they did not see the light of day until the 17th century in the West. The coffeeshouse *Zur blauen Flasche* (The Blue Bottle), which had been established in Vienna by the Pole Georg Franz Kolschitzky in the year 1685, played an essential role in the development of the western coffeeshouse culture. Kolschitzky had been granted the privilege of serving coffee to reward him for his services regarding the victory over the Turkish army when it made their second unsuccessful attempt to capture the city of Vienna. So, in his coffeeshouse, Kolschitzky served coffee wearing traditional Turkish garments.³ At the end of the 17th century, coffeeshouses started to make their way from Vienna into Europe.⁴ They reached our lands at the end of the 18th century and then finally asserted themselves as popular gathering points for the citizens in the course of the 19th century.⁵ The Viennese coffeeshouses were also the loci where we witnessed the emergence of different portrayals of a Turk personifying the invitation to smoking. The image of a Turk sitting with his legs crossed, which used to be depicted over the entrance into a tobacco shop, at the today's square Trg revolucije in Maribor exists solely in the memories of the citizens. The writer Drago Jančar writes about the aforementioned depiction in his work with the title *Severni sij* (Northern Lights).⁶ It is unknown

¹ KIPLING, R. 1922, p. 105.

² BARRIE, J. M. 1896.

³ JEZERNIK, B. 2012, p. 154.

⁴ Ibid., p. 155.

⁵ Ibid., p. 208.

⁶ JANČAR, D. 2012, pp. 67, 68, 82.

at what point in time the image had been repainted. But we can claim that, just half a century ago, the depiction of the content Turk had without a doubt been more successful in soliciting smokers to enter the tobacco shop as the current unified illuminated advertising board. In the year 1912, one could even find advertisements for the *Orient Ottoman* cigarettes and the *Ottoman* cigarette rolling papers in the newspaper *Slovenski narod* (The Slovene Nation). The cigarette packs depicted a Turk wearing a turban with a half-moon on his head. The image of a bearded man wearing a keffiyeh, Arab headdress, adorned with an agal stands for the authenticity of the cigarette rolling papers.⁷ The saying »Smoking like a Turk« has prevailed in the space of Central Europe up to this day.⁸ The saying describes a person who smokes a lot and often, and is to be categorised into the category of true or attributed, mainly negative, characteristics of particular nations.⁹

TOBACCO AND SMOKING IN EUROPE

Tobacco was brought to Europe from America by none other than Christopher Columbus. A monk named Romano Pano reported on Columbus' second journey that had taken place in the year 1497. It was in America where he came across a plant which the locals called the *cohobba* or *cogioba*. He also wrote about a tubule around which the plant had been rolled and was called the *tabacco*. The tubule was lit on one side, and the smoke of the plant was inhaled on the other side.¹⁰ When the Spaniards returned to their home land, they also brought along tobacco, but initially they just grew it as a decorative plant. At the beginning of the second third of the 16th century, the plant is mentioned as a medicinal plant. The credit for the spread of tobacco throughout Europe belongs to the French ambassador to the Portuguese court *Jean Nicot de Villemain*.¹¹ So it came to pass, that in Spain and Portugal people started smoking cigars, whereas the Dutch, English, and Germans preferred to smoke cut tobacco leaves with the help of pipes. At the end of the century, smoking had become a common habit. The English helped to enforce this habit when they started to grow tobacco in their first colony Virginia, and with time they gained control over the whole European market.¹²

Austria planted its first tobacco plants in the year 1570, whereas it was not until the beginning of the 17th century when tobacco had been planted in our lands.¹³ During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) the habit of smoking tobacco widely expanded in accordance with the movements of the armies.

As one can imagine, there were advocates as well as opponents of tobacco. Since the year 1627, when the first tobacco monopoly had been introduced, tobacco became the means to fill the coffers. In the 19th century, the growing, processing, and selling of tobacco represented the monopolistic economy of the state.

The oldest way of smoking tobacco is represented by the cigar. The cigar consists of different types of tobacco which are rolled in a tobacco leaf. The first Austrian cigar factory was established in the year 1694 in the town of Fürstenfeld. The smoking of cigars reached its peak in the second half of the 19th century. In the year 1897, Austria recorded that in the course of that year, on average, a person smoked 50 cigars. The cigarette is of younger origin than the cigar and sustained its position among the soldiers during the Crimean War (1853–1856). The cigarette consists of finely cut tobacco which is rolled in a piece of paper. The first Austrian cigarette factory was established in the year 1870 in the town of Hainburg. The invention of a cigarettes manufacturing machine that could fill the cylinders of cigarettes, which had been exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1889, a world's fair, in Paris, represented a big turnaround in the tobacco industry.¹⁴ After that, the use of cigars, snuff tobacco or chewing tobacco decreased,¹⁵ while the use of cigarettes had increased.

⁷ SLOVENSKI NAROD 45, 1912, pp. 17, 18.

⁸ The saying is commonly known and used in Italy, Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Croatia.

⁹ KEBLER, J. 2011, pp. 999–1000.

¹⁰ ČEPIČ, T. 1991, p. 14.

¹¹ ROGERS, K. 2015.

¹² SALMON, E. J., SALMON, J. 2013.

¹³ ČEPIČ, T. 1991, pp. 14–16.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 18–23.

¹⁵ Snuff tobacco or chewing tobacco consists of a powder made of grinded tobacco leaves which had been exposed to multiple fermentations. The consumer absorbs the nicotine over his oral or olfactory mucosa.

TOBACCO AND SMOKING IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

At the beginning of the 17th century, tobacco also made its debut in Asia. In the year 1605, the English supposedly brought tobacco to Constantinople from where it then spread toward the Middle East.¹⁶ Tobacco had also been prohibited several times in the East, as it was the case in the West. But despite that, tobacco spread throughout the whole Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 18th century, where it had been consumed by men, women, and children. If women smoked, they were not frowned upon. Because social norms have prevented women from entering coffeehouses, they were served coffee and tobacco within the spaces of bathhouses. The inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire consumed tobacco with the help of chibouks – pipes with small bowls and long stems. The popularity of smoking had increased in the second half of the 18th century, when the water pipe,¹⁷ stemming from Persia, had been introduced. While the water pipe captured the hearts of the upper social class, the lower class continued to use pipes which were of traditional shapes.

The manufacturing and consumption of tobacco reached large-scale political dimensions in the second half of the 19th century. Due to its bankruptcy in the year 1875, the Ottoman Empire was forced to sell its monopoly over tobacco sales and the manufacture of cigarettes to French banks. These events caused the growth of the black market which partially settled down with the Young Turk Revolution in the year 1908.¹⁸

FURNITURE AND ACCESSORIES FOR THE SMOKING OF TOBACCO

During the first half of the 19th century, people of Central Europe also used to smoke in private parlours, where petty bourgeois had found their refuge from the public eye. These parlours were visited by men, who wore comfortable smoking jackets and smoking caps while they smoked and discussed public issues. The Viennese painter Leopold Fertbauer (1802–1875), the head of the gallery of the Prince of Lichtenstein, painted a miniature around the year 1830 with the title *Junger Herr im Rauchermantel* (Young Man in a smoking Jacket).¹⁹ The miniature de-



Image 1: Man in an armchair, second half of the 19th century, Regional Museum Maribor, Slovenia

¹⁶ ČEPIČ, T. 1991, p. 16.

¹⁷ ÁGOSTON, G., MASTERS B. 2009, p. 565.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 566.

¹⁹ FERTBAUER, L. around 1830.

picts an image of a man wearing a luxurious smoking jacket and a smoking cap in the shape of a blunt cone, which reminds of a fez. The Regional Museum Maribor preserves the work with the title *Mož v naslanjaču* (Man in an armchair)²⁰ that was painted by Gabriel Hackl (1842–1919) from the city of Maribor, who worked as a professor at the Art Academy in Munich.²¹ (Image 1) The painting depicts an older citizen of Maribor wearing a modest smoking jacket and a smoking cap that is of a different shape than the fez. This work is also an interesting data carrier of the living culture of our predecessors in the Biedermeier period. Beside the depicted armchair with ears and the contemporaneous table, we can also find a cuspidor intended for the users of chewing tobacco in the bottom left corner of the painting. This piece of furniture that was intended for the consumption of tobacco was also a common piece which was part of every bourgeois living space in the course of the 19th century. However, this paper will deal solely with those accessories which are intended for the smoking of tobacco.

In relation to the way in which tobacco is smoked, one can differentiate between the equipment intended for the smokers of pipes, equipment intended for the smokers of cigars, and combined equipment intended for the smokers of pipes as well as cigars.

The smokers of pipes used pipe stands. The museums that cover our cultural space and were also included in the present research preserve different shapes of these stands; in the form of a table stand, a stand, a cabinet, a small table, and a console table.

Smokers who did not solely smoke cigars, but liked to indulge in the pleasure of smoking pipes as well, were provided with smoking stands. These pieces of furniture are wieldy tables with smaller round or square tops. The simpler versions of smoking stands were designed in the forms of side tables. The tops of those side tables were covered with sheet metal in order to prevent their texture from damage, which would be caused by scorching. One could place the smoking tools on these tables while smoking. Trays which were attached to the tables or solely placed on their tops were the most common surfaces on which smoking tools were placed. The more complex versions of smoking stands were different since the smoking tools had been attached directly to their tops. A basic set of smoking tools consists of a box for the storage of cigars or tobacco, a guillotine cigar cutter (a mechanical device designed to cut off one end of the cigar so it can be properly smoked), an ashtray, and a candlestick.

At the end of the 19th century, smoking stands had retired from the smoking parlours of the homes of the bourgeoisie. But they still remained a part of the typical furniture-equipment. This fact is confirmed by the writing of Sl. Krmavner in the first female Slovene newspaper *Slovenka* (The Slovene woman) which had been published in the city of Trieste during the years 1897 and 1902. The writing above is a published literary adapted letter in which one friend complains to another that he, his wife, their five children, and their made had moved into a too small four-bedroom apartment. The apartment was »wrongly« organised in the past and therefore unfriendly, but now his wife had already rearranged it: »I am very pleased with the apartment ... If you are to marry one day, find yourself such a woman; she has arranged the apartment gorgeously ... I cannot express how welcoming that long entrance hall has become. When you enter, a wardrobe, a long curtain, and the door to the kitchen are the only things you see. When you pass this first curtain, you enter the middle part of the hall...where two cabinets, on which you always find a bundle of flowers, are placed on the left and right side of the door; the mentioned door is always closed, and two chairs and a smoking stand are placed in front of it – if the window is screened, it is so pleasantly cool out here in the summer! The back-end of the hall is yet again divided with a second curtain; where a wardrobe is placed.«²²

If we compare the number of various stands that have been preserved with the number of preserved smoking stands, we can conclude that only a small number of the latter mentioned had been preserved. The reason for that is the fact that the smoking tools used to be attached to the stand tops. With the removal of the smoking tools the surface of the stand top would be damaged and the utility value of the stand would be reduced. Several smoking tables, which originate from this period and onto which the smoking tools were

²⁰ Inventory book of the Regional Museum Maribor, Inv. No.: N. 44.

²¹ VRIŠER, S. 1992, p. 86.

²² SLOVENKA 16, 1898, p. 368.

not attached but were provided with stand tops covered with metal instead, were preserved. These were of greater utility in contemporary apartments and were used as stands for different objects or flowers.

SMOKING STANDS OF THE 19TH CENTURY

This part of the paper will deal solely with more complex versions of smoking stands. We are talking about pieces of furniture which were part of living spaces and assembled in a very interesting way. These stands were, without a doubt, representing the owner's status symbol of the late 19th century and bore witness to the values of the time in which they were designed, made, and used. We found five smoking stands in the museums which were included in the research: the Regional Museum Maribor, the Carinthian Regional Museum in Radlje, the Međimurje County Museum in Čakovec, the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, and the Šibenik City Museum.

The Smoking Stand from the Regional Museum Maribor, Slovenia

Inventory number: N. 10186, height (up to the edge of the stand top): 75,5 cm, total height: 91 cm; width: 39,5 cm, depth: 29 cm.²³ (Image 2)



Image 2: Smoking stand, second half of the 19th century, Regional Museum Maribor, Slovenia.

Description: The smoking stand with smoking tools originates from the second half of the 19th century. It is made of smoothed cherry wood, lathed beech wood, polished brass, and alpacca. The design of the stand top is dynamic in its concavo-convex line. The edge of the stand top is adorned with a simple ornament consisting of two grooves that follow the shape of the stand top. The edge of the stand top is straight. Four lathed vessels are attached to the stand top. The cylindrical cups of all four vessels are adorned with two grooves and a gradually rounded leg. The larger vessel has the shape of a chalice. It is positioned in the background of the smaller vessels and was intended to store dry cigars that were offered to the smoker. A brass inlay was inserted into the smaller vessel, which served as a receptacle for tobacco ashes and therefore served as an ashtray. The middle vessel probably served as a candlestick (candles were lit in order to get rid of the smoke). The vessel on the left probably served as a container for cedar spills which were used to light the cigars. A guillotine cigar cutter with an implemented spring and two round openings of different sizes for the cutting of cigar caps is attached on the plate in front of the vessels.

²³ Inventory book, Regional Museum Maribor.

A small fence made of hollow polished brass is attached at the sides of the stand top. On each side, the joints of the fence are hidden in four wooden plugs which are covered with sheet metal made from alpaca. The front two plugs are smaller than the two in the back.

A drawer for the storage of phosphorus matches and other smaller smoking tools is attached under the stand top. The stand top is supported by three small lathed pillars which are positioned on a small shelf. This shelf does not imitate the shape of the stand top but is designed in the shape of a triangle with bulged edges. The surface of the pillars is not completely smooth but is adorned with grooves and thickened nodes. The shelf is surrounded by three small brass fences. The shape of this fence is the same as the one which is to be found on the stand top. The edge of the shelf is adorned with two grooves which are equal to those which adorn the stand top.

The shelf is positioned on three legs that begin at the end of the columns. They run at an angle in order to provide the required stability for the stand.

The surface of the stand was treated with a final shellac polish. The stand was restored in Regional Museum Maribor by Danilo Rojko in the year 2015. After he had cleaned it, he attached the back end of the stand, which broke off, with bone glue. He made a new drawer that is attached under the stand top. He modelled the right drawer slide after the right slide, which had been preserved. He applied shellac polish on the damaged parts. The girdler Drago Tratnik Majk made the missing metal parts of the fence in accordance with predefined plans. All metal parts were cleaned, protected, waxed, and polished.

The smoking stand with smoking tools in the Secession style is made by hand and is lacking a mark. The museum received the stand as a gift in the year 1945.

The Smoking Stand from the Carinthian Regional Museum, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia

Inventory number: A 119/439, height (up to the edge of the stand top): 81 cm, total height: 102 cm, diameter: 34 cm.²⁴ (Image 5/right)

Description: The smoking stand with smoking tools originates from the time between the years 1890 and 1900. It is made of smoothed and lathed beech wood, polished brass, and alpaca. The round stand top ends with a profiled edge. Six dynamically shaped and lathed elements are attached to the stand top. A richly profiled vessel in the shape of a chalice with a lid, which ends in a lathed plug on the top, is attached in the middle. The vessel was used to store wet tobacco. A discus with five openings that are bordered with brass nodes is positioned in front of the vessel. The discus is placed on a small leg in the shape of a baluster. It was used as a stand for dry cigars and pipes. A wider vessel that is standing on a leg with an inserted brass inlay, which was used as an ashtray, is attached on the left side of the stand top. The highest element of the smoking tools is represented by a candlestick. The candlestick is positioned beside the aforementioned vessel. A brazen inlay is attached to the top of the candlestick in order to protect it from catching fire. The upper part of the candlestick is adorned with two nodes. The lower part is designed in the shape of a baluster that represents a smaller copy of the baluster which supports the discus. Two equally designed elements in the shape of a shallow vessel supported by a leg are positioned on the opposite side of the candle stick. A guillotine cigar cutter with an implemented spring and one round opening that is intended for the cutting of cigar caps is positioned on the front element. A lug with an abrasive surface on which one lighted matches is positioned on the element in the back.

The stand top is being supported by a richly adorned, lathed leg in the shape of a baluster that ends in a larger sphere with two nodes. Three legs branch out of the lower part of the sphere. All three legs begin and end in the shapes of small spheres. The legs are positioned in the shape of a tripod and run at an angle of 45° to provide the stability of the stand.

The surface of the stand was treated with a shellac finish. The table did not undergo any restoration work.

²⁴ Inventory book, Carinthian Regional Museum, Slovenj Gradec.

The smoking stand with smoking tools in the Old German Historic style is made by hand and is lacking a mark. The museum acquired it as a part of the estate from Bogdan Žolnir (1908–1997), the head of the District Museum of the National Liberation War in the city of Slovenj Gradec. Žolnir was the head of the museum since it had been established in the year 1951 and until the year 1974. He was married to Slavica Grmovšek who was a teacher from a genteel bourgeois family. Slavica's father Miloš Grmovšek was the district school inspector and a merited long-time chairman of the Alpine Club Slovenj Gradec. The alpine hut called the Grmovškov dom, which is located under the mountain peak Velika Kopa, was named after the former chairman. The smoking stand was probably the property of the Grmovšek family. Nowadays, it is a part of the permanent exhibition in the birth house of the composer Hugo Wolf (1860–1903) in Slovenj Gradec, Slovenia.

The Smoking Stand from the Međimurje County Museum, Čakovec, Croatia

Inventory number: MMČ 8081, total height: 102 cm, width: 42,8 cm, depth: 33 cm.²⁵ (Image 3)



Image 3: Smoking stand, second half of the 19th century, Međimurje County Museum, Čakovec.

Description: The smoking stand with smoking tools originates from the second half of the 19th century. It is made of smoothed, carved, and lathed wood, polished brass, alpaca, and glass. The rectangular stand top has concavo-convex sides, rounded corners, and profiled edges. The surface is adorned with engraved grooves that form a lattice design with the motif of a rhombus. The engraved bordure with a stylized oval ornament follows the shape of the stand top. A shallow rectangular box with a lid, which was used to store wet cigars, is positioned in the middle of the stand top. The design of the box follows the shape and bordure of the stand top. An oval lid made of glass is inserted into the lid of the box. Two lathed vessels in the shape of a chalice are placed at the flanks of the box. The design of the aforementioned engraved bordure is repeated in the middle and at the top of the chalices. The left vessel was probably used to store cedar spills which were used to light cigars. A guillotine cigar cutter with an implemented spring and two round openings for the cutting of cigar caps is attached on the top of the right vessel. The highest element of the composition is represented by a lathed and engraved candlestick which is positioned behind the rectangular box. The candlestick is composed of a brazen cylindrical socket, into which the candle was inserted, on the top, and a brazen bobeche that caught wax drippings which is situated beneath the socket. Two elements are positioned in front of the box with a lid. A hollow brazen match-box holder is attached to the left element. The right element is a

²⁵ Inventory book, Međimurje County Museum, Čakovec.

smaller version of the vessels which are positioned in the background. If we were to assume that the element is missing a brazen inlay, we could conclude that the vessel served as an ashtray.

The stand top is supported by a heavily lathed leg in the shape of a baluster. In its lower third, the leg branches out in the shape of a tripod into three flat legs in the shape of the letter »S«.

The surface of the table was treated with a shellac finish. The stand did not undergo any restoration work.

The smoking stand with smoking tools in the Old German Historic style is made by hand and is lacking a mark. The museum bought it in the year 2005 from Josip Flajšman from the village of Vidovec in Croatia.

The Smoking Stand from the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia

Inventory number: MUO 13026/1, height (up to the edge of the stand top): 75 cm, total height: 118 cm; width: 48 cm, depth: 38,5 cm.²⁶

Description: The smoking stand with smoking tools originates from the time around the year 1890. It is made of smoothed, carved, and lathed walnut wood, and high polished brass. The rectangular stand top has concavo-convex sides, rounded corners, and profiled edges. A richly engraved wall panel is positioned at the back edge of the stand top. The design of the wall panel is dynamic in its concavo-convex line; its edges are adorned with ornaments in the Rococo style, as well as flames, waves, openings, and volutes. Shallow grooves, which are engraved into the wall, create an asymmetrical ornamentation composed of a lattice design, volutes, and acanthus leaves. The engraved ornamentation represents the boarder of a cast brazen plate in the shape of a larger rocaille. A small shelf with six recesses with inserted brazen studs, where one could hang six pipes, are attached under the upper edge of the wall panel. Two supports in the shape of volutes connect the wall panel with the stand top. Six small cups, into which the bowls of the pipes are fitted, are positioned in front of the supports above. A rectangular box with a hinged lid (which opens on the left side) is attached to the front edge of the stand top. The lid is adorned with five cast brazen plates in the shapes of smaller rocailles. One rocaille is positioned in the centre of the lid, while the rest adorn its corners. The box was used to store tobacco. Two lathed pedestals with nodes in the middle, are placed at the flanks of the box. Both pedestals are carrying an ashtray.

The stand top is carried by a lathed leg in the shape of a baluster which ends in a larger sphere in the middle. Three small legs in the shape of a tripod branch out of the sphere. The legs are also in the shape of a baluster.

The table was restored in the year 1999 in the workshops of the restores of the Museum of Arts and Crafts for the purposes of the exhibition with the title *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj, 2000* (Historicism in Croatia, 2000).

The smoking stand in the Rococo Revival style is made by hand and is lacking a mark. The museum bought it in the year 1996 from the retail store *Posrednik* (Middleman), which is located on the street Jurišičeva ulica 5 in the city of Zagreb.

The Smoking Stand from the Šibenik City Museum, Croatia

Inventory number: KPO 3707, height (up to the edge of the stand top): 75 cm, total height: 89,5 cm; diameter: 39 cm.²⁷ (Image 4)

Description: The smoking stand with smoking tools originates from the second half of the 19th century. It is made of lathed beech wood, marble, and polished brass. The round marble stand top has a profiled edge. Six wooden lathed elements are attached to the stand top. The highest element of the smoking tools is represented by a candlestick in the shape of a baluster. A brazen inlay is placed on the top of the candlestick in order to protect the wood from catching fire. Four elements, which are positioned in a line, are placed in

²⁶ Inventory book, Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb.

²⁷ Inventory book, Šibenik City Museum, Šibenik.



Image 4: Smoking stand, second half of the 19th century, Šibenik City Museum, Croatia.

front of the candlestick. A large cylindrical vessel, which is intended to store cigars, is placed on the leftmost side of the candlestick. Right to it, there is a smaller vessel in the shape of a footed beaker with a brazen inlay which is intended to store matches and cedar spills that were used to light cigars. On its right side, we can find a low profiled pedestal. A brazen guillotine cigar cutter with an implemented spring in the shape of a round plate with two round openings of different sizes for the cutting of cigar caps is attached to the pedestal. The plate is adorned with engraved vegetal patterns. On the rightmost side of the series of the four elements, one can find a low profiled pedestal in the same shape as the aforementioned pedestal. The only difference is the larger diameter of this pedestal. An abrasive surface on which one lighted matches is inserted into a brazen frame that is positioned on the top of the pedestal. A vessel in the form of a shallow standing cup, which is positioned on a leg, is placed in front of the pedestal. A brazen inlay with a bar that runs across its middle is inserted into the vessel. The inlay served as an ashtray.

The stand top is supported by three high, lathed legs. Every leg is adorned with three larger and two smaller nodes. Both smaller nodes are bordered with two grooves. The legs cross each other in the upper third part. A wooden plug connects the legs to each other.

The wooden surfaces of the stand were treated with a shellac finish. The stand did not undergo any restoration work.

The smoking stand with smoking tools in the Old German Historic style is made by hand and is lacking a mark. It was part of the estate from the renowned lawyer from the city of Šibenik Dr Boris Novak. It was purchased as part of a furniture set in the year of 1999.

THE WATER PIPE

The water pipe / narghile / arghila / qalyān / hookah originates from India at dates back to the beginning of the 16th century. It was invented by Irfan Shaikh who was a doctor in the times when the Emperor Akbar the Great (reign 1556–1605) had ruled over the Mughal Empire.²⁸ The use of the water pipe spread from India

²⁸ ÁGOSTON, G., MASTERS B. 2009, p. 565.

to Persia²⁹, where the form of the water pipe had been completed, then to Egypt, and finally to the territory of the Mediterranean Basin. The popularity of the water pipe grew due to the fact that it reduced the smoke and scent of the smouldering tobacco. The belief that the water pipe supposedly reduced the harmful impact of smoke on one's health was considered to be its greatest advantage. This was ascribed to the fact that the smoke was transferred through a small water container where it cooled down before it reached the smoker's mouth. It is needless to mention that the assumption concerning the innocuousness is completely false.³⁰ The roots of the word *narghile* come from the Indian word for *coconut tree*. This does not come as a surprise since the water container of primal pipes consisted of coconut shells. Today, the water containers are made of porcelain, glass, and metal. The smoke that passes through the water causes bubbles.³¹ It is precisely for this reason that the advocates of smoking attribute a calming effect to the smoking of water pipes.

The water pipe is represented by a set of parts which are required for smoking. It is composed of a head, body, base (water container), and flexible hose. The openings at the bottom of the head make it possible that the smoke passes into the central shaft, which is located in the body of the pipe. The bottom part of the central shaft (the down-stem) is immersed in water (which fills the half of the water container). The flexible hose, which is not immersed in water, is attached to the lid of the water container and ends in a mouthpiece from which the smoker inhales the smoke.

The tobacco is placed on a plate which is attached to the head of the water pipe. The tobacco, which should be very moist if we do not want that it would burn too fast, is often sweetened or flavoured. Charcoal is placed on top of the tobacco. A perforated aluminium foil is often placed between the tobacco and charcoal. Once the head is filled and the charcoal is lit, the smoker inhales through the hose creating a vacuum in the water container (over the water surface). A warm smoke passes through the tobacco and charcoal into the body of the water pipe. The smoke creates bubbles in the water container and from there it passes through the flexible hose to the smoker. The smoker adds charcoal periodically throughout the whole smoking ritual. That is why a bundle of lit charcoal is always kept at hand in a nearby fireplace.

We encounter regional and cultural differences regarding the shape of water pipes, like for example the size of the heads, water containers, amounts of mouthpieces, etc. But all of them are filled with water through which the smoke passes until it reaches the smoker.

The water pipe is a perfected device for the smoking of tobacco. In the first half of the 19th century, the Europeans who were living in India enjoyed its use. This fact is supported by the quote: »The *hookah* represented the last course of a meal... Ardent smokers had them delivered into their parlours.«³² Water pipes also represented a challenge for the designers, who paid special attention to the design of the body and the water container of the pipe.

THE WATER PIPE AND SMOKING STAND

The Muslims adapted the nomadic habit of sitting on the floor. They sit with one leg tucked under their body; they kneel, or they cross their legs. They assume the same positions while smoking water pipes as well. The sitting on low stools (often tripods) at small low-lying round tables – *sinija-s*³³ also originates from the nomadic tradition. In order to satisfy the requirements of the present research, it is necessary to name two light and mobile interior pieces which are used by the Muslims. The first is called the *demirlija*³⁴ – a big round copper tray, which is placed on a metal socket when it is being used for serving different things, like for example food. The second

²⁹ SHECHTER, R. 2006, p. 172. In the explanatory notes the author points out that in the book *Tobacco: Its History & Associations* (London, 1876), p. 204, F. W. Fairholt wrote that the Persian water pipe (*nargile*) was first described in the western source with the title *Tabacologia* (1622). This fact is not completely true, since the *Tabacologia*, written by Johannes Neander, had been published by the publishing house Ex Officina Izaaci Elzevirii in the year 1626.

³⁰ WHO, 2013, pp. 9–10.

³¹ ONLINE ENCYCLOPÆDIA, 2008.

³² VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, 2015.

³³ Bosnian term (from the Turkish word *sini*).

³⁴ Bosnian term (from the Turkish word *demir*, *demirli*).



Image 5: The comparison of the water pipe, today, Turkey and the smoking stand, during the years 1890 and 1900, Carinthian Regional Museum, Slovenia.

piece is called the *peshkun*³⁵ – a low-lying hexagonal, octagonal or nonagonal small table (which was also used as a stool). The table top and the side edges of the table are richly adorned with carvings.³⁶ The aforementioned objects are also used as a table, on which one places the water pipe when the smoker is not sitting on the floor.

The establishment and development of permanent dwellings are also connected to the use of the chair. In the course of the 16th century, the chair became a standard part of the furniture, whereby the sitting on a chair represented a comfortable position for the performance of everyday activities. The smoking stand was developed in the late 19th century as well. The idea behind the design of the smoking stand was that it should provide the smoker with everything that was required for smoking, so one could enjoy smoking to the full. The logic of the water pipe served as a basic concept, whereby the stand had been positioned on legs (Image 5), just like a Muslim smoker would place a water pipe on a *demirlija* or *peshkun* (a small carved stand).

CONCLUSION

Only a small amount of smoking stands has been preserved within the museum collections. They were a part of the bourgeois interior of the second half of the 19th century. The majority of smoking stands were designed in a Historic style. We can establish a connection to the Orientalism trend which had taken place in Central Europe in the course of the 19th century. The art and interior design of homes of this time were characterised by depictions or imitations of cultural elements which stemmed from East- and South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

The predisposition, which we perceive in connection with the smoking stand, is that it had been designed as an instrument intended for the facilitation of an undisturbed smoking session of the smoker. Thus, we are talking about an object of utility that had been destined for pleasure. The aesthetic pleasure represents an essential part of the pleasure itself.

We cannot confirm the connection between the shape of the pipe stand and the water pipe itself since the objects differ regarding their function. When one talks about objects of utility, it is the practical function of the objects which determines and defines their shape. It is characteristic of the respective period that the aesthetic function of objects had been subjected to their utility.

³⁵ Bosnian term (from the Persian words *pis* and *kun*).

³⁶ MULIĆ, Š. 1985, pp. 1–28.

The water pipe is an aesthetically perfected object of utility which had been conceived at the beginning of the 16th century. We know as a fact that the Europeans, who lived in India in the first half of the 19th century, were enthusiastic about its use. Even though the water pipe did not catch on in the course of the 19th century, it did have an influence on the mode of thought concerning the design of smoking stands. Because the water pipe had been designed in the 16th century and the Orientalism trend of the 19th century within the scope of applied arts also modelled itself after the Ottoman tradition, we can only conclude that the influence on the design of smoking stands came from the East. The smoking stands which date from the late 19th century model themselves on water pipes. However, they do not arrive to great perfection in terms of their entireness, when compared to their role models.

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VPLIV VODNE PIPE NA OBLIKOVANJE KADILNIH MIZIC POZNEGA 19. STOLETJA

Mirjana Koren, Pokrajinski muzej Maribor

POVZETEK

Tobak je prišel v Evropo iz Amerike s Krištofom Kolumbom. V Aziji se je pojavil v začetku 17. stoletja. Leta 1605 naj bi ga Angleži prinesli v Carigrad, od koder se je hitro razširil po bližnjem vzhodu. V času prve polovice 19. stoletja so v srednji Evropi kadili tudi v zasebnih salonih, kamor se je malomeščanstvo umikalo iz javnosti. V njih so kadili moške, oblečeni v udobne kadilne plašče in s kadilnimi čepicami na glavi.

Glede na način kajenja tobaka ločimo opremo za kadilce pip, opremo za kadilce cigar in kombinirano opremo za kadilce pip in cigar. Prav za slednje so bile izdelane kadilne mizice. Preprostejše različice kadilnih mizic so oblikovane kot odlagalne mizice, ki so imele zaradi zaščite pred ožigi mizne plošče prevlečene s pločevino. Ob kajenju se je nanje odložil kadilni pribor. Pri kompleksnejših različicah kadilnih mizic je kadilni pribor pritrjen na mizno ploščo. Osnovni pribor sestavljajo posoda za shranjevanje cigar oz. tobaka, mehanizem za rezanje vrhov cigar oz. giljotina, pepelnik in svečnik.

Vodna pipa / narghila / arghila / shisha / galyan / huqqa izvira iz začetka 16. stoletja iz Indije. Njena uporaba se je od tam razširila v Perzijo, kjer je bila izpopolnjena, nato pa v Egipt in vzhodni Mediteran. Postala je priljubljena, ker je reducirala dim in vonj tlečega tobaka. Vodno pipo sestavlja komplet, ki je potreben za kajenje tobaka.

V muzejskih zbirkah se je ohranilo malo kadilnih mizic. V prispevku bodo obdelane kadilne mizice iz Pokrajinskega muzeja Maribor, Koroškega pokrajinskega muzeja, Muzeja Međimurja Čakovec, Muzeja za umetnost in obrt Zagreb ter Muzeja mesta Šibenik. Bile so del meščanskih interierjev druge polovice 19. stoletja in so v glavnem oblikovane v historičnih slogih. Lahko jih povežemo s trendom orientalizma 19. stoletja v Srednji Evropi, ko so se v umetnosti in opremi bivališč pojavile upodobitve oz. posnemanja elementov kulture vzhodne in južne Azije, Afrike in Bližnjega Vzhoda. Čeprav se vodna pipa v srednji Evropi takrat ni uveljavila, je zagotovo vplivala na razmišljanja o oblikovanju kadilnih mizic. Ker je bila vodna pipa zasnovana v začetku 16. stoletja in je orientalizem v uporabni umetnosti 19. stoletja jemal vzore tudi iz osmanske tradicije, je vpliv možen samo iz smeri vzhoda. Kadilne mizice iz poznega 19. stoletja se v svojem konceptu zgledujejo po vodnih pipah, vendar so v svoji celosti od njih dosti manj izpopolnjene.

ISLAMIC- AND POHORJE GLAS. KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE AND TRADE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The paper will present the beginnings of the glazier's craft, the development and characteristics of Islamic glass, and the role of Venetian glass, which had been supplied to the lands of the Near East. Special attention will be devoted towards the glazier's craft on the mountain range of Pohorje that flourished in the middle of the 19th century, as the majority of the objects had been exported abroad. Preserved written sources attest that the glass workshops had also exported huge amounts of glass to the Near East and Egypt. They even customized the shapes and decorations of their products in accordance with the demands of this specific market. The glassmakers from Pohorje reached such a high status that even a member of the Egyptian royal family underwent an apprenticeship under master glassmaker Benedikt Vivat.

KEY WORDS

Islamic glass, glass from the Pohorje region, Ottoman Empire, Orientalism, Historicism

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GLAZIER'S CRAFT

The beginnings of the glazier's craft date back to the third millennium B.C. when the first objects of glass were made in the territories of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Only the highest social classes were able to afford such glassware since the glass represented a substitute for precious gemstones. In antiquity, the Romans had taken over the technology for the manufacturing of glassware from the Orient.¹ They upgraded the technology with the invention of the glass-blowing pipe and introduction of the glassblowing process. The glass production was spread over the entire Roman Empire. The centres of the glazier's craft were located in Syria, Egypt (Alexandria), Italy (Aquileia was the nearest locus to the Slovene territory), the territory of present-day France, Germany, Britain, and Scandinavia, and in many other territories.²

In the times of prehistory and antiquity, the glassware came into our lands from different centres of the glazier's craft and over different trade routes. Numerous ornamental glass objects and glass beads discovered in the south-eastern territory of the Alps, and particularly the various glass beads found in the tumuli in the area of Kapiteljska njiva in the city of Novo Mesto allow us to assume that a local glass workshop had been operating in the times of the Early Iron Age.³ The remains of glass-blowing furnaces, which date back to the Roman era, have been preserved in the cities of Ljubljana, Kranj, Ptuj, and Celje.⁴

In the times of the Early Middle Ages, after the downfall of the Roman Empire, the centres of the glazier's craft mostly remained at their locations. In Europe, the Roman technology had preserved itself to a certain extent, but the shapes and decorations changed.⁵ Glass workshops which were located in forests have predominated until the end of the Middle Ages. These workshops, which have mainly asserted themselves in German lands, manufactured green forest glass and used potash as flux. New drinking vessels have developed which were adorned with fused glass decorations as glass trails, droplets and prunts.⁶ Straight glass, which had been used to equip Gothic churches (vitraille), was manufactured during this period as well. The Crusades have also played an important role in the development of the glazier's craft in Europe, due to the direct contact between the East and West, which enabled the flow of objects and knowledge. The connection between the cities of Constantinople and Venice was of utmost importance. Venice developed into an important centre of the glazier's craft in the course of the 13th century⁷ and maintained this central position until the 17th century.

¹ SCHMIDTCHEN, V. 1999, p. 466.

² SCHACK, C. 1976, p. 35.

³ KRIŽ, B. 1997, pp. 20, 37; see: LAZAR, I. 2004, pp. 10–14.

⁴ LAZAR, I. 2003, pp. 214–218; see: LAZAR, I. 2004, pp. 42–46.

⁵ SCHACK, C. 1976, pp. 45–48.

⁶ TAIT, H. 1999, pp. 153, 154.

⁷ SCHMIDTCHEN, V. 1995, p. 466.

We still lack evidence which would prove the existence of medieval glazier's craft in our lands. Written mentions of glassmakers and glassware are very sparse. The rarely preserved inventories of castles list different glass objects and glazed windows. The first mention of a glassmaker comes from Maribor and dates back to the year 1462. The finds mainly originate from the excavations in the territories in Ljubljana and Koper.⁸

In the course of the 16th and 17th century, the so-called *City Glass Workshops* operated in the city of Ljubljana, where glass panes and hollow glass in the Venetian style had been manufactured.⁹

ISLAMIC GLASS

Just like in the West, the existing centres of the glazier's craft in the territory of the Middle East also survived the downfall of the Roman Empire. We could even witness the formation of new centres. The latter fact is connected to the emergence and dispersal of Islam in the course of the 7th century. That is the time when the Arabic tribes took control over the territories of Syria, Egypt, and the Iranian Empire, making their way deep into Central Asia, continuing towards Spain over North Africa in the middle of the 8th century. We witness the emergence of great new cities like Baghdad and Al Fustat (the precursor of present-day Cairo) and the additional development of old cities like Damascus. The bazaars of these cities offered a wide variety of luxury goods. Glassware, which was manufactured all over the empire, was also considered as part of the goods above.¹⁰ It was mainly used for lighting, for storing and serving foods, and for keeping perfumes.¹¹ Islamic glass had not been traded solely in the Islamic world, but also in the territories of the whole Mediterranean, Scandinavia, Russia, East Africa, on the shores of East India, and even in China.¹²

We divide Islamic glass into three larger groups. The first group comprises objects manufactured in the period between the 8th and 11th century (Early Islamic glass). The second group comprises objects manufactured in the period between the 12th and 15th century (Islamic glass). The third and last group comprises objects manufactured in the period between the 16th and 19th century (Later Islamic glass).¹³ The glassware which had been manufactured at the time of the first two periods was mainly intended for everyday use. The majority of these objects is represented by tableware (plates, bowls, bottles, and drinking glasses), but we also encounter objects for medicinal use, weights and measures, perfume bottles, vessels for cosmetics, etc. The main centres of the glazier's craft were located in Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Mesopotamia.¹⁴ The glassware was manufactured with the help of the free-blowing technique and the mold-blowing technique (hot glass is blown into a relief-like mould). After it had been manufactured it had been decorated with hot worked decorations, engraved linear- and geometric patterns, and painted with lustred decorations.¹⁵

The centres of the glazier's craft, which were operating in the aforementioned second period, were mainly located in Egypt and Syria. In the course of the 12th century, we witness the enforcement of decorations in the form of gilded decorations and paintings with *burned-in* enamel colours. Such objects were classified as luxury glass. If we take a look at the objects for domestic use (bottles, drinking glasses, vessels, etc.), we can even come across figural decorations and inscriptions while the sacral objects (like, for example, mosque lamps) were adorned solely with geometric decorations.¹⁶ The major centres for the glass production with this kind of decoration were Damascus and Aleppo. They produced large quantities of mosque lamps, beakers, and goblets for the Muslim market.¹⁷ The most interesting and precious Islamic glass objects are represented by mosque lamps decorated with enamel paintings and gilding. These lamps were preserved due to their use within sacral spaces. The oldest mosque lamp originates from a madrasah in Cairo and dates back to the 13th century. These lamps have a typical three-part shape, which means that they comply of a leg, a

⁸ KOS, M. 1994, pp. 187–201.

⁹ KOS, M., ŽVANUT, M. 1994, pp. 16, 17; see: KOS, M. 2007.

¹⁰ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 27, 28.

¹¹ BLOOM, J., BLAIR, S. 1977, p. 101.

¹² PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, p. 112.

¹³ Ibid., p. 114–136.

¹⁴ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, p. 28; PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, p. 112.

¹⁵ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 29, 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁷ HILLENBRANDT, R. 1999, pp. 136, 137.

convex body, and a conical neck. The body was usually decorated with fused decorations in the shape of vines or equipped with numerous fused loops for hanging. The decorations of these lamps are composed of sacred texts, inscriptions about patrons, and geometric patterns. These decorations do not only decorate the lamps, but they also reduce the light, which the lamps ought to emit. The prevailing opinion regarding this matter is that the function of these lamps had primarily not been that of utility, but rather symbolic and decorative. It is quite common that the lamps are decorated with a quote from the Quran.¹⁸ The most frequently used are quotations from Quran 9:18: »Only they shall enter God's sanctuaries who observe the poor due.«¹⁹ Bottles with long necks made of cobalt blue glass are the objects which are characteristic of this period too. The shape of those bottles was preserved all until the 19th century. Nevertheless, we also encounter opaque white- and turquoise glass.²⁰

Because of the highly branched trade routes and the migrations of the master glassmakers, we encounter glassware of very similar shapes with very similar decorations throughout the entire Islamic Empire. The trade routes even lead all the way to Europe and China, where these objects were sold as well. Islamic glass dominated the market until the beginning of the 15th century when the production had nearly come to a complete standstill.²¹ Venice seized the opportunity, took over the place of Islamic glass, and went on to dominate the market until the 17th century.

The late or third period of Islamic glass is marked by a decline in domestic production, which has yet to be completely explained, and an intensive import of glass stemming from Europe; initially coming from Venice and Spain, and later also Bohemia. These European lands manufactured products in the *Islamic style* to satisfy the needs of the market.²² The domestic production had developed solely on a small scale and was mainly concentrated in Turkey and Iran, where everyday objects were manufactured. The time between the 17th and 19th century is characterised by typical small bottles made of coloured glass, with convex bodies and long necks which had been used to store fragrances. In some places, the bottles were manufactured of recycled glass. They were especially popular with European collectors.²³ The shape of the bottles was copied by Bohemian glass workshops when they manufactured bottles around the year 1900. The only difference was the decoration.²⁴ In the late 18th century, we come across a glass workshop that had been located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus in Baykoz and manufactured Venetian- and Bohemian inspired glass.²⁵

VENETIAN GLASS AND THE MARKET OF THE EASTERN WORLD

After the demise of the important centres of the glazier's craft within the borders of the Islamic world at the end of the 14th century, Venice and its glass manufacturing came to the fore. It was already in the 13th century when the glassmakers of Venice were associated in a guild with very strict rules. It is important to state that even in this early period Venetian glass had also been exported all to Europe and the East. According to written sources, Venetian glass which was manufactured in the *Byzantine style* had been exported to Constantinople in the year 1280. In the following years, large amounts of luminaries intended for mosques were exported to Turkey, Syria, as well as Egypt.²⁶ Venetian glass enjoyed its gratest glory in the course of the 15th century when Angelo Barovier developed clear glass referred to as *cristallo*. A special kind of soda had been used as a flux to lower the melting point of the glass formers which had been imported from Syria and Egypt.²⁷ In the course of the 15th century, the markets of the Middle- and Near East were provided with different kinds of Venetian glass (*cristallo*, *lattimo*, coloured glass). The shapes and decorations of the products were adapted to the taste of the Islamic world.

¹⁸ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 30, 34, 35.

¹⁹ HILLENBRANDT, R. 1999, p. 156.

²⁰ PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, pp. 130, 131.

²¹ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 29, 30.

²² LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, p. 33; PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, p. 136.

²³ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, p. 33.

²⁴ DAS BOHMISCHE GLAS, 1995b, catalogue unit IV.12.

²⁵ PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, p. 137.

²⁶ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, pp. 48, 49.

²⁷ LIEFKES, R. (ed.) 1997, p. 43; TAIT, H. 1999, p. 149.

After the Ottoman occupation of Syria and Egypt (1516), the trade between Venice and the countries above intensified. The glassmakers of Venice even supplied the royal palace in Constantinople with their luxury glass. Large amounts of traditionally shaped mosque lamps were manufactured on the Murano Island in the course of the 16th century. The lamps were decorated with Venetian decorations (*latticino*) and were exported to the Near East. The Venetian glassmakers also created a new lamp design for mosques (*casendello*). The lamps were of a cylindrical shape and equipped with chains for hanging.²⁸ The glass beads, which were a characteristic product of the Venetian glassmakers, were also exported to the Persian Gulf and all the way to China.²⁹

THE ORIENTALISM IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

The second half of the 19th century is particularly marked by the emergence of glassware bearing elements of Historicism, a period that comprises past artistic styles. That is why we encounter shapes and motifs that were inspired by the Arabic or Islamic world. The imitation and re-interpretation of decorative shapes originating from the Near- and Far East or simply Islamic world, is characteristic for the second half of the 19th century. Important European glass workshops, mainly those in France, Bohemia, and Austria, manufactured glassware in the so-called orientalizing style.³⁰ This style is characterised by very finely manufactured geometric patterns in the *Moorish* or *Arabic* style. Such glassware had already been manufactured by some Bohemian glass workshops (Harrach, Novi Svet) in the middle of the 19th century. The style started to flourish in the 60's of the 19th century.³¹ World's Fairs, which reflected trends within applied arts of that time and influenced the development of individual crafts, played an important role in regard to the expansion of this new style. The European glassmakers were strongly influenced by the glassware manufactured in the Near- and Far East, which had been exhibited at the World's Fair in London 1851³² and at other World's Fairs that followed. Jakob Falke reports that the glassware exhibited in the Oriental Pavilion generated great excitement in Paris in the year 1867. Within just a few days after the opening of the exhibition, almost all objects were sold, despite their high prices, to different museums, collectors, antiquarians, glass makers, etc.³³ European glass workshops were also driven by the wish to re-interpret and imitate Oriental art and therefore started to manufacture and decorate glass in the so called orientalizing style.³⁴ France had contributed decisively to this process by issuing comprehensive publications dedicated to Oriental art. Philippe-Josephe Brocard exhibited various series of objects in the orientalizing style at the World's Fair in Paris in the year 1867. The series consisted of vessels, bottles, and mosque lamps painted with enamel colours. Brocard influenced many glass manufacturers, among those also the famous Viennese company Josef & Ludwig Lobmeyr.³⁵ Lobmeyr introduced its first series in the orientalizing style at the World's Fair in Vienna in the year 1873 and was crowned with great success. These series were manufactured especially for the aforementioned exhibition. The *Aquamarine* series had been manufactured according to the models made by Girard and Rehlander.³⁶ Lobmeyr and its products in the Arabic style were also very successful at the World's Fair in Paris in the year 1878. The company concerned manufactured and perfected its products in the *Arabic*, *Persian*, and *Indian* style all until the end of the 19th century.³⁷ The glass workshop Meyrs Neffe from Adolf near Winterberg in Bohemia also manufactured products of sheer perfection.³⁸

THE GLAZIER'S CRAFT FROM THE MOUNTAIN RANGE OF POHORJE AND THE EXPORT TO THE NEAR EAST

The first glass workshops located in the territory of present-day Slovenian Styria operated in the middle of

²⁸ PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, pp. 136; TAIT, H. 1999, p. 161.

²⁹ SCHMIDTCHEN, V. 1999, p. 466.

³⁰ MERGL, J. 1995, p. 108.

³¹ SCHMIDTCHEN, V. 1999, p. 466.

³² FALKE, J. 1981, p. 357.

³³ Ibid., p. 351.

³⁴ DAS BÖHMISCHE GLAS, 1995a, catalogue units: III.8, p. 25; III.25, p. 33; III.53, p. 55, III.54, p. 55; MERGL, J. 1995, p. 108.

³⁵ MERGL, J. 1995, p. 108; DAS BÖHMISCHE GLAS, 1995a, catalogue units III.128–III.148, pp. 110–119. Josef Lobmeyr senior founded the company Josef and Ludwig Lobmeyr in the year 1823. After his death, his son Josef took over the company (1855) and in the year 1859 his brother Ludwig joined him as his partner. The company was in the possession of a very known shop in Vienna, which provided quality tableware and chandeliers for the court and exclusive customers (NEUWIRTH, W. 1981, p. 17, 20). After Ludwig's death in the year 1917, the company became the ownership of his nephew, Stefan Rath. To this day, the company stayed in the property of the family.

³⁶ NEUWIRTH, W. 1981, images 1–4.

³⁷ NEUWIRTH, W. 1981, images 9–31.

³⁸ MERGL, J. 1995, p. 108; DAS BÖHMISCHE GLAS, 1995a, catalogue units III.128–III.148, pp. 110–119.

the 17th century. The glass workshop was set up in the Žiče Charterhouse, which had been established in the year 1165. The craft developed in the Pohorje region and its immediate proximity in the times during the 18th- and 19th century. Two important centres of the glazier's craft have also developed in Kozjansko (Slovenia) and West Styria (Austria).

The products that were manufactured in the glass workshops from Pohorje which were established in the 18th century and witnessed their downfall in the same century, have not been preserved. The glass workshops which operated in the course of the 19th century are ascribed a greater meaning regarding the extent of manufacture as well as the quality of their products that also prevailed within the wider territory of Europe. All glass workshops witnessed their downfall in the 19th century. The only exception was the glass workshop from Josipdol, the last one to close its doors in the year 1909. The glazier's craft from the mountain range of Pohorje reached its zenith in the first half- and the middle of the 19th century.

If we are to regard the preserved written sources and glassware, we cannot conclude that the glazier's craft from Pohorje had been influenced by the fashion of Orientalism. In the times of the 19th century, the fascination with the foreign, different, exotic, etc. within the scope of the historical styles had also reflected itself in the shapes and decorations of glassware intended for demanding customers. Meanwhile, the glass workshops from Pohorje had concentrated on the serial production of everyday use products. In the second half of the 19th century the artistic value of the objects above diminished slowly, but persistently. Regardless of this fact, seven glass workshops from Pohorje were closely connected to the Ottoman Empire, because they exported great amounts of everyday use products into the Empire. These glass workshops were Rakovec pri Vitanju, Gornji Limbuš, Josipdol, Lovrenc na Pohorju, Oplotnica, as well as the glass workshops Langersvald and Benediktov dol.

THE GLASS WORKSHOP RAKOVEC PRI VITANJU

The glass workshop Rakovec pri Vitanju, which was founded in the year 1781.³⁹ After the year 1783, the workshop changed hands several times. Since the year 1796, the workshop remained in the possession of the Novak family, which most probably originated from Bohemia, over fifty years.⁴⁰ The glass workshop experienced the greatest heyday of its history and was even privileged in the year 1817 in those years. In the year 1850, Raimund Novak Jr. sold the Rakovec estate and the appertaining glass workshop to Matija Wokaun. Wokaun sold the glass workshop in the year 1874 due to high timber prices.⁴¹

According to the data from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Graz (*Handels- und gewerbekammer Graz*), the glass workshop in Rakovec pri Vitanju manufactured hollow glass in the middle of the 19th century. These glass products were exported to Italy, Greece, and Turkey.⁴² In the 60's of the 19th century, the manufacture had been expanded to decoloured grinded, engraved, and painted glass.⁴³ The glass workshop did not solely employ glaziers, but also glass cutters and glass grinders. This fact is supported by the entries, which are to be found in the civil registers. The 70's of the 19th century mark the time when a third grinding shop was set up and when 36 glass grinders were working simultaneously.⁴⁴ This fact proves that the glass workshop Rakovec manufactured large quantities of grinded glass.

Sadly, only a small number of products from the glass workshop Rakovec had been preserved. We find paperweights, as well as engraved, grinded, and painted bottles, and a (flat) iron among the preserved items.⁴⁵ Local inhabitants found numerous glass fragments and well preserved small apothecary bottles on the site, where the glass workshop and the settlements of the glassmakers once stood. These finds prove that the glass workshop had also manufactured apothecary glass.⁴⁶

³⁹ BERICHT ... 1871–1874, p. 152; HILTL, C. 1893, pp. 188, 189; MINAŘIK, F. 1966, p. 153.

⁴⁰ STLA, FOND NACHLASS GUSS, box 1, volume 2.

⁴¹ MINAŘIK, F. 1966, pp. 153–163.

⁴² BERICHT ... 1852, p. 90; BERICHT ... 1853, p. 42; BERICHT ... 1855, p. 35; BERICHT ... 1857, pp. 194, 195; BERICHT ... 1857–1859, p. 109; BERICHT ... 1863–1865, pp. 108, 109.

⁴³ BERICHT ... 1866–1868, p. 183.

⁴⁴ MINAŘIK, F. pp. 153, 154, 160; JANISCH, A. 1878, p. 635.

⁴⁵ They are being preserved in the Celje Regional Museum and in the National Museum of Slovenia.

⁴⁶ VARL, V. 2004, p. 50.

THE GLASS WORKSHOP GORNJI LIMBUŠ

The privileged glass workshop Gornji Limbuš operated 120 years (1760–1886), which is the longest time, if we compare it with the rest of the glass workshops from Pohorje. The most important owners were Hieronim Gürtler (owner of the glass workshop during the years 1793 and 1808), who had also been the owner of the glass workshop under the Šumik (*Steklarna pod Šumikom*), Pavel Kindelsdorfer (1815–1843), and the brothers Anton and Vinzenz Zinke (1843–1870). The latter mentioned owner sold the glass workshop to Herman, Jurij and Ludvik Prosinagg in the year 1870. The glass workshop was in the hands of its last owner, Avguštin Baribaux, during the years 1879 and 1889, who abandoned it in the year 1889.⁴⁷

Despite its long-time of operation, we know only a few glass products originating from the workshop Gornji Limbuš. A beer mug made of green glass with an imprinted relief of the glass workshop that is located in a fused, round medallion, a goblet with painted floral decorations, as well as grinded and engraved glass objects are to be found among the known objects. Small apothecary bottles and numerous fragments of decoloured- and coloured glass were found on the site, where the glass workshop once stood. This fact proves that the glass workshop had also manufactured apothecary glass.⁴⁸

Interesting data regarding the manufacture and export of glass can be found in the reports of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Graz (*Handels- und gewerbekammer Graz*). The reports state that in the times between the years 1863 and 1865 the Glass workshop of Mister Vinzenz Zinke in Gornji Limbuš used timber to heat the glass furnaces and manufactured ordinary glass which had been exported to Turkey.⁴⁹

The family *Lannegger* appears among the glass makers who had worked in the glass workshop Gornji Limbuš. The members of this family, which probably originated from Bohemia, worked in different Styrian and Austrian glass workshops. According to J. Guß, we also find them as far as in the area near Bosphorus (Istanbul) in Beykoz, where at the end of the 19th century mainly Styrian glass specialists used to work.⁵⁰

THE GLASS WORKSHOPS LANGERSVALD AND BENEDIKTOV DOL

Anton Langer had established the glass workshop Langersvald in the 18th century. In the year 1815, Rajmund Karel Novak (Nouack) took over the glass workshop, which had been privileged in the year 1804.⁵¹ Novak was also the owner of the glass workshop Rakovec pri Vitanju.⁵² During the years 1825 and 1864, the glass workshop Langersvald had been in the possession of Benedikt Vivat.

The fact that glass cutters and glass grinders are mentioned in civil registers proves that the glass workshop manufactured decorated glass.⁵³

In the middle of the 19th century Langersvald manufactured »finely grinded glass, ordinary cretaceous glass, glass coloured with metallic colours, ruby- and crystal glass.«⁵⁴ Eight glass grinders, two glass painters, and one gilder were also among the employees of the glass workshop.⁵⁵

Benedikt Vivat, who had been the most important master glassmaker from Pohorje, was also the owner of the glass workshop Benediktov dol, which he established in the year 1835. He ran the workshop until the year 1865 when he had passed it to his son Edvard. After Edvard's death in the year 1872, the glass workshop became the possession of the seignior of Fala and was then owned by Giovanni Zabeo⁵⁶ in the year 1875. The glass workshop was abandoned on the 7th of May 1892.

⁴⁷ VARL, V. 2006, pp. 35–38.

⁴⁸ The mentioned objects and fragments are being preserved in the Regional Museum Maribor.

⁴⁹ BERICHT ... 1863–1865, pp. 107, 108.

⁵⁰ GUSS, J. 1988, pp. 135, 136; PINDER-WILSON, R. 1999, p. 137.

⁵¹ BERICHT ... 1857–1859, p. 107.

⁵² MINAŘIK, F. 1966, pp. 169, 170.

⁵³ MINAŘIK, F. 1966, p. 170, 171; BLAU, 1954, p. 249.

⁵⁴ BERICHT ..., 1855, tables referring to the pages 35 ff.

⁵⁵ BERICHT ... 1857, p. 194, 195.

⁵⁶ MINAŘIK, F. 1966, p. 230.

In the middle of the 19th century, the glass workshops Langersvald and Benediktov dol employed two clerks, 242 workers, and 51 children under the age of 14. During the years 1853 and 1854, the glass workshop in Benediktov dol manufactured hollow glass, window glass, and finely grinded glass. These products were sold within the borders of today's Slovenian Styria and in Italy, Levant, Egypt, and Greece.⁵⁷

Only a few specimens of glassware have been preserved; that is why written- and pictorial sources are ascribed such a value. The information, which can be obtained from the description of the glass workshop made by Puff in the year 1847, is particularly valuable regarding the reconstruction of the Vivat's glass manufacture for the Eastern market. Puff states »... It is highly recommended to witness the manufacture of grinded drinking glasses, hemispheres made of massive, opaque glass for oriental water pipes, Turkish narghiles, that are intended for the smoking of tobacco...«⁵⁸

Vivat exhibited the products stemming from his glass workshops at the World's Fair in London (1851) and Paris (1855). He also took part at numerous other national- and local craft fairs. Vivat received numerous commendations and awards for his products. The report from the Trade and Industry Fair in Vienna (1839) provides us with some interesting information stating that Vivat did not only exhibit numerous luxury pieces but »ordinary Turkish bottles with stubbles made of pressed glass.«⁵⁹

The fact that even a member of the Egyptian royal family underwent an apprenticeship under Vivat also testifies about the importance and recognisability of the glass workshops owned by Vivat, as well as his willingness to the exchange of experiences and knowledge.⁶⁰ Mustafa Salomini (Salamony), supposedly a member of the Egyptian royal family, underwent a 3-year-apprenticeship under Vivat.⁶¹ Two preserved manuscripts from the Styrian Provincial Archives in Graz, which were signed by Mustafa Mustafa Salamony, testify that Salamony had been in the service of the Egyptian government, a member of the Inner Austrian Industrial Association, a member of the Musical Society in Maribor, and an honorary member of the Styrian Musical Society.⁶² Minařik, who also gathered oral tradition concerning the life of the glass workshop Benediktov dol, notes that Salomini had been more interested in music and native girls than the glazier's craft.⁶³

THE GLASS WORKSHOP IN LOVRENC NA POHORJU

According to the reports of Puff, the glass workshop in Lovrenc na Pohorju had been established during the years 1833 and 1834 by Maksimilijan Andree (Andre), who was a Doctor of Laws from the city of Celje.⁶⁴ The glass workshop operated until the year 1888 and was granted the Imperial-Royal privilege.⁶⁵

During the years 1843 and 1853, the glass workshop had been in the possession of Andrej Tappeiner, a citizen of Maribor. Tappeiner had not been a glass expert.⁶⁶ In these times, the glass workshop manufactured ordinary white- and grinded glass, which had been supplied to the domestic market as well as exported to Italy and Levant.⁶⁷ During the 1860's, the glass workshop manufactured white, grinded- and crystal glass, blown- and pressed glass, which had been exported to Italy, Levant, and Egypt.⁶⁸

The civil records from the parish Lovrenc na Pohorju mention more than a hundred glassmakers during the years 1841 and 1888. Among the aforementioned glassmakers, we find seven glass cutters, eighteen glass

⁵⁷ BERICHT ... 1853, p. 42, BERICHT ... 1854, p. 79.

⁵⁸ PUFF, G. R. 1999, p. 116.

⁵⁹ BERICHT ... WIEN, 1839, p. 44.

⁶⁰ An article from a newspaper without specification, StLA, Archivfond H. Guss, signed F. M.; MINAŘIK, F. 1953, p. 193; MINAŘIK, F. 1966, p. 225.

⁶¹ MINAŘIK, F. 1953, p. 193.

⁶² STLA, HS 879, Mustafa Mustafa Salamony, Erinnerungen an Steiermark; StLA, HS 860, Mustafa Salamony Letzter Gruß aus Steiermark.

⁶³ MINAŘIK, F. 1953, p. 193.

⁶⁴ PUFF, G. R. 1854, pp. 116, 117; JANISCH, A. 1878, p. 133, states the year dates 1834–1835 as the date of foundation.

⁶⁵ SCHMUTZ, C. 1878, p. 133.

⁶⁶ MINAŘIK, F. 1966, p. 205.

⁶⁷ BERICHT ... 1853, p. 35.

⁶⁸ BERICHT ... 1860–1862, p. 99, BERICHT ... 1863–1865, p. 106, BERICHT ... 1866–1868, p. 183.

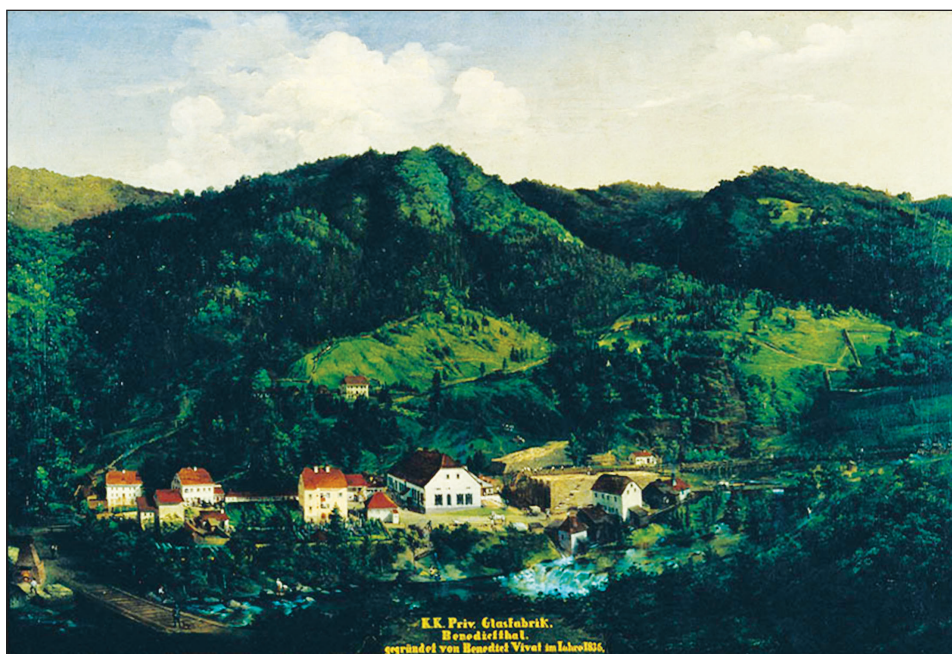


Image 1: Eduard Lind, Glass workshop Benediktov dol, oil on canvas, second half of the 19th century, Regional Museum Maribor (photograph by Tomaž Lauko)

grinders, two engravers, and one glass painter.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, only a small number of objects were preserved from this glass workshop. The preserved objects are ordinary utility glass, apothecary glass, grinded objects, and objects made of coated coloured- and de-coloured glass.⁷⁰

THE GLASS WORKSHOP IN OPLOTNICA

The glass workshop in Oplotnica was established by the count Windischgrätz in the territory of his seigniority during the years 1869 and 1870. The glass workshop had been abandoned in the year 1892, due to the lack of timber and the consequential decline in production.⁷¹

This glass workshop manufactured large amounts of grinded glass because it had been provided with a glass grinding shop since its very foundation. In the year 1874, the glass workshop employed four glass grinders and fourteen sub workers.⁷² The civil records of the parish Oplotnica mention glass cutters, glass grinders, and engravers.⁷³ Janisch writes that the glass workshop manufactured white glass of high quality and exported it to all Austrian lands, except Bohemia. Large amounts of glassware were also exported over Trieste to the Orient.⁷⁴

THE GLASS WORKSHOP JOSIPDOL

The glass workshop Josipdol, which is located near the settlement Ribnica na Pohorju, was founded by Josef Schnek in the year 1797.⁷⁵

In the year 1804, Anton Langer purchased the glass workshop. During the years 1815 and 1838, Jožef Langer, the brother of Anton Langer, who sold it to Heinrich and Cäcilia Gasteiger in the year 1838, had owned it. Then, after 14 years, the Gasteigers sold the glass workshop to the company *Themistokles Stratti und Petri*.⁷⁶ In the year 1858, the workshop went into the ownership of Johann Wohak. In the year 1864, it came back into the property of Heinrich von Gasteiger.⁷⁷ In the year 1905, it became the possession of the English company

⁶⁹ MINAŘIK, F. 1966, pp. 206, 207.

⁷⁰ BERICHT ... 1860–1862, p. 99, BERICHT ... 1863–1865, p. 106, BERICHT ... 1866–1868, p. 183.

⁷¹ VARL, V. 2006, p. 45.

⁷² BERICHT... 1871–1874, p. 153.

⁷³ MINAŘIK, F. p. 168.

⁷⁴ JANISCH, A. 1878, pp. 406–407.

⁷⁵ BERICHT 1863–1865, p. 108.

⁷⁶ SCHLOSSER, P. 1925, p. 99.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

*The Kellner Partington Paper Pulp Co. Limited Manchester.*⁷⁸ After two years had passed, Josip Lenarčič, who abandoned it in the year 1909, bought it.⁷⁹ In the year 1812, the glass workshop is mentioned as privileged.⁸⁰

In the first half of the 19th century, the glass workshop in Josipdol manufactured ordinary greenish glass, decoloured, clear hollow glass adorned with different decorations, and glass panes. The glassware was exported to Sicily, Venice, Lombardy, and Constantinople.⁸¹ The archive documents, which were preserved by the Regional Archive Maribor, reveal that in the last years of its operation, the glass workshop Josipdol had mainly manufactured ordinary container glass and hollow table-glassware adorned by grinding, engraving, and etching.⁸² At the beginning of the 20th century, the glass workshop Josipdol disposed of a wide sales network. The products were sold all over Central Europe. The glass workshop also supplied more distant lands with the help of sales agents. The company *Hollosy & Constantinidis* helped to distribute the glassware to Constantinople, *Harari Freres & Co.* to Cairo and Alexandria, *Jeroma Petra Ciudicija* to Smyrn and Bombay, and the company *Rich. G. Krüger* to Crete.⁸³

Among the preserved glassware which had been produced in the glass workshop Josipdol, only one object bears witness regarding the form and decorations which were typical for the goods exported into the Ottoman Empire. It is a small goblet, made of decoloured and green glass, decorated with cut motives of a six-pointed star and a crescent – both symbols of the Ottoman Empire. We can conclude with certainty, that the above mentioned kinds of objects were exported in big amounts to the Empire. They were probably of everyday



Image 2: Eduard Lind (?), Glass workshop Josipdol, oil on canvas, second half of the 19th century, Regional Museum Maribor (photograph by Tomaž Lauko)

use, but according to the high quality of the glass and the decorations itself the clients were probably from the upper social class. Beside the goblets, decorated with the symbols of the Ottoman Empire, glass bowls for water pipes (narghiles) were also such typical objects.

CONCLUSION

The exchange of raw materials, knowledge, shapes, and decorations between the East and West, which took place in the field of the glazier's craft, had always been present, with greater or lesser intensity, throughout the whole history of this art-handicraft.

⁷⁸ MARBURGER ZEITUNG, 20. 9. 1906, p. 5, Von der Josefsthäl Glasfabrik.

⁷⁹ MINAŘIK, 1966, p. 178–192.

⁸⁰ BLAU, J. 1954, pp. 227, 228.

⁸¹ VARL, V. 2006, p. 43.

⁸² PAM, archival fond Glass Workshop Julius Gasteiger Josipdol, 1886–1905, boxes 1–11.

⁸³ PAM, archival fond Glass Workshop Julius Gasteiger Josipdol, 1886–1905, box 9.

Glass had been manufactured by different civilisations, some larger than others, in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Ancient Rome. With the dispersal of Islam, the trade with Islamic glass had also experienced dispersal and dominated the market all until the 15th century. This era also marks the time, when the Venetian glass that was typical for Europe found its way into the East and held its priority until the 17th century. The Murano glass workshops have adapted the shapes and decorations of glassware in order to meet the requirements of the Islamic world. The majority of preserved objects, which were stemming from Venice and were intended for the Islamic market, is represented by mosque lamps. In the course of the 19th century, a large number of European glass workshops exported their goods to the East. At first, the Spanish glass workshops dominated the Islamic market and later Bohemian- and Austrian glass workshops. The glass workshops from Pohorje are to be counted among the later mentioned and experienced their heyday in the middle of the 19th century. The majority of their products were exported abroad. The preserved written sources testify about large amounts of glassware that was exported to the Near East and Egypt. Just like the glass workshops from Venice, the glass workshops from Pohorje also adapted their manufacturing programme in order to meet the



Image 3: Stemmed drinking glass (chalice), decoloured, clear and green glass; the bowl is decorated with ground motifs of a star and crescent – the symbol of the Ottoman Empire, end of 19th century, Glass Workshop Josipdol. Regional Museum Maribor (photograph by Marjan Laznik)

requirements of this specific market. According to the preserved written sources and glassware, we cannot conclude that the glazier's craft from Pohorje had been influenced by the fashion of Orientalism. In the times of the 19th century, when the fascination with the foreign, different, exotic, etc. within the scope of the historic styles had also reflected itself in the shapes and decorations of glassware meant for demanding customers, the glass workshops from Pohorje had concentrated on serial production of everyday use products. The artistic value of the aforementioned objects diminished slowly, but persistently. Regardless of this fact, the glass workshops were closely connected to the Ottoman Empire, because they exported great amounts of everyday use products into the Empire. This fact is supported mainly by written sources, since the preserved glassware intended for the Eastern market are rare.

The fact is that the 19th-century glass workshops from Pohorje did not only manufacture products for the domestic- and Eastern market, but also specific objects which were meant exclusively for the export to the Near East. Beside the goblets, decorated with the symbols of the Ottoman Empire, glass bowls for water pipes (narghiles) were also such typical objects. We can claim with certainty that they have been manufactured in the glass workshops

Benediktov dol and Josipdol, but it is quite possible that other glass workshops from Pohorje did the same. A drawing of a glass bowl for the water pipe was preserved in the sales catalogue of the glass workshop from Voitsberg in Austrian Styria, which offered this type of products until the beginning of the 20th century.⁸⁴

The detriment of glassware is that they usually lack the signatures of the workshops in which they have been manufactured. The most serious problem concerns the ordinary objects of utility, due to the very similar shapes of tableware. That is why we find it difficult to assign these objects to a certain glass workshop. Based on probable written sources from Ottoman Empire, we could discover which kind of Pohorje glass had been imported and used in the territory of the Ottoman Empire in the course of the second half of the 19th century.

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ISLAMSKO IN POHORSKO STEKLO. IZMENJAVA ZNANJA IN TRGOVANJE V 19. STOLETJU

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POVZETEK

Na področju steklarske stroke je izmenjava surovin, znanja, oblik in dekoracij med Vzhodom in Zahodom bolj ali manj intenzivno potekala skozi celotno zgodovino te umetnoobrtne dejavnosti. Steklo so izdelovale različne velike kulture v Mezopotamiji, Egiptu in starem Rimu. Z razmahom islama se je razcvetela tudi trgovina z islamskim steklom, ki je na trgu prevladovalo vse do nenadnega zatona v 15. stoletju. To je obdobje, ko je tudi na Vzhod prodrlo za Evropo značilno beneško steklo, ki je svoj primat obdržalo vse do 17. stoletja. Za izvoz v islamski svet so muranske steklarne prilagodile oblike in dekoracije steklenih izdelkov. Največ se je ohranilo svetil za mošeje. V 19. stoletju so steklene izdelke na Vzhod izvažale številne evropske steklarne. Najprej so prevladovale španske, kasneje pa češke in avstrijske. Mednje sodijo tudi steklarne na Pohorju, ki so svoj razcvet doživele sredi 19. stoletja in večino svojih izdelkov izvažale v tujino. Steklarstva na Pohorju se moda orientalizma, ki se je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja razširila po Evropi, glede na ohranjene pisne vire in steklene predmete ni dotaknila. Steklarne na Pohorju so se v tem času usmerjale bolj v serijsko proizvodnjo za vsakdanjo rabo. Umetniška vrednost steklenih izdelkov je počasi, a vztrajno ugašala. Kljub temu so bile steklarne na Pohorju v 19. stoletju z Osmanskim imperijem tesno povezane, o čemer pričajo ohranjeni pisni viri. V Osmanski imperij in na Bližnji vzhod so izvažale velike količine steklenih izdelkov za vsakdanjo rabo, pa tudi steklene predmete, izdelane izključno za potrebe vzhodnjaškega trga. Mednje sodijo steklene posode za vodne pipe (nargile), ki so jih z gotovostjo izdelovali v steklarni Benediktov dol, najverjetneje pa tudi v drugih pohorskih steklarnah. V zbirki Pokrajinskega muzeja Maribor pa se je ohranil kelih z brušenim motivom lune in zvezde – simboloma Osmanskega imperija; kelih so izdelali v steklarni Josipdol. Na ta način dekorirani stekleni izdelki so bili zagotovo izdelani za izvoz v Osmanski imperij. Na šolanje k steklarskemu mojstru Benediktu Vivatu je prišel celo član egiptovske kraljeve družine Mustafa Mustafa Salomini, kar priča o raznolikosti stikov z Vzhodom na področju steklarske stroke.

THE REFLECTIONS OF THE JUXTAPOSITION OF TWO CULTURES IN THE SLOVENE DANCE TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

In the present paper, the author emphasises those elements of the Slovene folk dance heritage which result from the Ottoman conquests of this part of Europe. These elements are particularly evident regarding the enrichment of the dance tradition of Bela krajina region with the tradition of the Uskoks, as well as the stage presentations of folk dance. The intertwinement of two dance cultures is also reflected in the Slovene song tradition which shows a very distinct image of Turkish dance.

KEY WORDS

Folk dance, Uskoks, Slovenes, Bela krajina, kolo (circle dance), Turks, King Matjaž

INTRODUCTION

Slovenia is often described as a territory of transitional character since it is representing the transition between the North and South, the Alpine world and the Dinaric world, and the like. Equally, the dance tradition of the Slovene space had also enriched itself with foreign dance elements. If we were to regard which characteristic traits of Slovenian folk dance are predominantly accentuated, it would be the common features with the Middle-Europe or so-called »Western world«; where couple dances have gained prevalence. The common choreological characteristics, as well as the names of particular dances (*zibenšrit*, *štajeriš*, *nojkatoliš*, *špicpolka*, etc.), testify eloquently to the fact that the contact with the German-speaking area had also been rich and productive in the choreological sense. Nevertheless, the characteristics which are considered as the consequence of Ottoman conquests of the West were not overlooked in the presentations of Slovene dance tradition. In fact, from today's viewpoint the incorporation, mentioned above, of characteristics bearing Ottoman features has contributed considerably to the variety of the forms of Slovene dance tradition, but most of all to the variety of stage presentations of this tradition.

The direct influences of dance traditions originating from the Ottoman Empire are not reflected in the Slovene folk dance since they were directly connected solely to a part of the Slovene territory. In the course of the 15th and 16th century, the Slovene territory witnessed a great number of alternating Ottoman incursions. The Ottomans had devastated villages and reduced the population. To protect the lands from the Ottomans, the *Uskoki* (Uskoks) – fugitives fleeing from the Ottomans over Bosnia and Croatia – were enticed into settling in the borderland of Carniola of that time (the outskirts of the highland Gorjanci and in the Bela krajina region) since the year 1526.

These arrivals, named the *Uskoks* or *Vlahi* (Wallachians), *Morlaki* (Morlachs), Serbs, *Prebegi*, *Pribegi* (Defectors), etc., have then mixed with the local population and established some of their settlements (Bojanci, Marindol, Miliči, Paunoviči), from which some have been preserved up to the present day.¹

At this point, I would like to make mention of an interesting event. In the year of 1908, we witnessed the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the reign of Emperor Franz Joseph I in Vienna. Some groups of local inhabitants from Carniola have also attended the ceremony. Nowadays, particularly some folkdance groups stemming from Bela krajina see the beginnings of organised activities within the scope of societies in the aforementioned event. The locals were not the only ones to participate in the parade organised for this special event; a group of female and male Wallachians, thus Uskoks, had also taken part. But accessible data reveal the fact that they have introduced themselves from within – meaning as a part of a group from Bela krajina.²

¹ TERSEGLAV, M., SIMONITI, V. 2000, pp. 101–103.

² KUNEJ, R. 2004, p. 38.

To this day, the entire image of the dance tradition of Bela krajina reflects diversity, which is also a consequence of a turbulent history of the land. According to Ramovš³, the dance tradition of Bela krajina is characterised by the multiple layer in the choreological-, musical-, and textological sense, which is closely connected to the age of the dance tradition. A small number of rituals represents the first and oldest layer of dance tradition. The dances of Uskoks origin represent the second layer. Dances originating from Central Europe from the 18th and 19th century represent the third layer. Dances that have established themselves in the villages at the river Kolpa at the end of the 19th- and the beginning of the 20th century and where the tamburitza players and their orchestras were of great importance represent the youngest – fourth – layer.

We can also find the confirmations regarding the fact that the defectors, Uskoks, came to Bela krajina region from the Dinaric territory can also in the related dance tradition. The Dinaric territory is characterised by *kolanje*. *Kolanje* is a slow dance in a circle (*kolo*). The dance pattern of *kolo* dance consists of three steps forward and one step back. A characteristic of *kolanje* is that the dance was danced only by sung songs. The bouncy mute *kolo* dance, which is carried out without instrumental- or vocal accompaniment, followed the *kolanje*. Hence, the acoustic pattern of the dance is being created solely by the rhythmic stamping of the feet. According to accounts from the 19th century and field researches, which were carried out in the second half of the 20th century, we can claim with certainty that this kind of dancing had also been carried out in the valley Poljanska dolina and the settlement Vinica. These are the territories where the Uskoks have mixed with the Slovene population and in villages inhabited solely by Uskoks. The tradition of »mute« dancing; the dance is called *mutasto kolo* (silent *kolo*), has been preserved up to the present day in the settlement Bojanci. A part of the merit for this preservation must be ascribed to the local folkdance group. The same dance is called *na trumf* in the valley Poljanska dolina. The only difference to the former dance is that this one is now accompanied by music. Only one song from many, which accompanies the *kolanje*, has been preserved in the settlement Predgrad. The song bears the title *Pobeledo pole* and it is the only known example of a ballad used as dance song.⁴

The people in Bela krajina also adopted other types of the *kolo* dance at a later date in time, which is partly connected with the fact that people stemming from this territory were not completely unfamiliar with this dance form. And so it came to pass that the youngest layer of the dance tradition of Bela Krajina is linked with the *kolo* dance. The commonly well-known types of the *kolo* dance like the *Lepa Anka*, *Hruške jabuke*, *slive*, and *Sirota sam ja* spring from this very layer of tradition (originating from the end of the 19th- and the beginning of the 20th century). Several factors have contributed to the good acceptance and adaptability of these dances in the given territory. The following factors are perhaps the most important of them all:

- The *kolo* dance form was not completely unfamiliar in the space of Bela krajina (in contrast to the rest of the Slovene territory).
- The tamburitza orchestras have played an important role in the acceptance and adaptability – these groups have become very popular in Bela krajina after the 1st World War.
- The descendants of the Uskoks contributed a great deal as well. The Uskoks have often educated themselves and also worked in Croatia, where the tradition of the *kolo* dance is much more present.
- The presentations of dance tradition to others have also contributed its share.

In the context of the presentation of dance tradition to others, it has often been the case that the promoted dance forms of folk dance were those which the audience had considered as »typical«, »genuine«, »originally« for Bela Krajina, thus special, specific. Because the Uskoks in Bela krajina had cultivated the tradition of the *kolo* dance, which was not an accustomed dance in other Slovene regions, this dance form had been emphasised under the influences of folklorism and folklorisation.⁵ This was especially the case with folkdance groups after the 2nd World War when their programme orientation also expressed the inclination to the idea of »brotherhood and unity in Yugoslavia«. It was in this way that the represented dance tradition acted as the link that connected the Slovenes with the prevalent type of dance tradition of other Yugoslav republics. But it often happened that the types or versions of dances which were commonly known – especially couple dances – had taken a back seat within the presentations of dance tradition of Bela krajina. An important dis-

³ RAMOVŠ, M. 1995, pp. 9–13.

⁴ RAMOVŠ, M. 1995; RAMOVŠ, M., 1989.

⁵ KUNEJ, R. 2006, p. 124.

sociation from stage presentations had taken place after the year 1991 when the aspiration of the folkdance groups from Bela krajina to give priority to couple dances before the kolo dance became visible. Janez Pezdirec from the village Slamna vas pri Metliki is one of the loudest exponents of this idea: »*The general opinion of the Slovenes regarding the folk songs of Bela krajina is that they consist of songs like Lepa Anka, Hruške, jabuke, slive, and suchlike. It is also believed that the inhabitants of Bela krajina only dance the kolo and have always played the tamburitzas, which is far from the truth.*«⁶

The image of the Uskok dance tradition set on stage, which is intended for the presentation to others, shares a similar fate as other folk dances. It seems as though the original performance including all 18 strophes of kolanje or the dance *Pobeledo pole* became boring and uninteresting. The latter can be concluded based on the fact that we hear only some of the most characteristic strophes of this long song when the dance is performed on stage. At the same time, the stage performances also contributed to changes in tempo, the speed of the performance. The consequence of these changes was the change of the simple dance step. Similarly, the performances of the mute kolo dance also became more attractive by an increase of tempo or with its alternating.⁷

Even though we are to thank the Uskoks for the introduction with the dance form of the kolo, which has been particularly emphasised by the dance folklorism, we lack a sufficient amount of kolo forms for performances. This fact was the main reason for the »inventions« of new kolo forms⁸, which resulted from the requirements of performances and differentiation between different performing groups that came to pass in the fourth phase – already after the 2nd World War.

Topics connected with Turks are much more present in the oral tradition – in folk tales and folk songs⁹ – than it is in the dance tradition. The narratives of Turks were even inevitable in fiction and written word, starting with Primož Trubar. Many writers who have worked in the following centuries could not completely avoid this topic and frequently included the Turks in their stories.¹⁰

As already mentioned, some folk songs also include narratives of Turks. Even more, the Slovene folk song of the type »the husband rescues his abducted wife at the ball« which is known as the *Kralj Matjaž reši Alenčico* (King Matjaž rescues Alenčica) imparts the image of a Turkish dance event.¹¹ The content of the song tells the tale of how Matjaž searches and wants to rescue his abducted wife, Alenčica. He spots her among the entourage of the Pasha. He pays with gold coins for the dance and asks for it. Alenčica recognises Matjaž during the dance. While they are spinning as fast as they can, he swings her onto his horse and they flee. Despite the fact that the entire happening is set in a Turkish camp, the environment described in the song is completely Slovene, since the dancers are dancing couple dances under a lime tree. Strictly speaking, the song describes the whole scene of Alenčica's rescue from captivity as if King Matjaž would come to a parish fair in some Slovene village and not to Turkey.

It was precisely the song about King Matjaž, which inspired Mirko Ramovš, the art director of Students Folkdance Group France Marolt from Ljubljana to prepare four dance stories, which have tied in with narrative songs connected to dance, in the scope of one of groups year concerts. The concerts were held at the culture and congress centre Cankarjev dom in April of 1998. One of the themes for a dance narrative was the ballad mentioned above of King Matjaž.

Based on everything which was stated in the present paper, we can conclude that, except the direct contact regarding the Uskoks, there were no larger influences between the Slovene dance tradition and the dance tradition of the Ottomans. This fact is also supported by the song of King Matjaž, where the image of a dance party in the middle of Turkey bears all resemblances with Slovene dance customs and the dance tradition. The reason for that is that the Slovenes were solely familiar to their dance tradition and had vague knowledge of Turkish dance tradition.

⁶ KUNEJ, R. 2006, p. 124.

⁷ KUNEJ, R. 2004, pp. 76–80.

⁸ For more details see KUNEJ, R. 2004, pp. 97–109.

⁹ Compare KUMER, Z. 1996, pp. 147–151.

¹⁰ For more details see JAKLITSCH JAKŠE, K. 2011.

¹¹ For lyrics see SLOVENSKE LJUDSKE PESMI, 1997 (1970), pp. 18–26.

The juxtaposition of two worlds offers a range of possibilities of expression. These are far from being exhausted. Therefore, we hope that they will remain future sources of creativity for individuals as well as groups, which will bear the message of beauty and uniqueness of both cultures.

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ODSEVI SOOČAČNJA DVEH KULTUR V SLOVENSKEM PLESNEM IZROČILU

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POVZETEK

Slovenijo večkrat označujemo kot območje, ki ima karakteristike prehoda med severom in jugom, alpskim in dinarskim svetom itd. Podobno se je tudi plesno izročilo tega prostora skozi stoletja oplajalo s kulturnimi prvinami od drugod. Pri značilnostih slovenskega ljudskega plesa se prvenstveno poudarjajo skupne značilnosti s srednjeevropskim, t. i. zahodnim svetom, v katerem je prevladoval parni ples, vendar pa niso spregledane niti tiste karakteristike izročila, ki so posledica osmanskih osvajanj Zahoda. Del beguncev, ki so se pred Turki umikali prek Bosne in Hrvaške, se je v 15. in zlasti v 16. stoletju naselil tudi v Beli krajini, robnem območju tedanje Kranjske. Posledica tega je bila obogatitev plesnega izročila Bele krajine z uskoško dediščino. To se je odražalo v nadaljnjem razvoju plesne kulture tega območja in tudi v predstavah ljudskega plesa na odru.

V preteklosti je bila predstava Slovencev o plesni dediščini Turkov zelo samosvoja. Odsev tega je mogoče najti tudi v ljudski pesmi, ki je v prispevku predstavljena z ljudsko pesmijo Kralj Matjaž reši svojo ugrabljeno ženo. Pesem namreč govori o tem, kako je kralj Matjaž rešil Alenčičo iz turškega ujetništva, pri tem pa je imel pomembno vlogo prav ples, ki – glede na podobo v ljudski pesmi – bolj kot na turško plesno izročilo spominja na slovensko.

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