

**TEXT AND PICTURE IN HABSBURG DIPLOMACY AT THE SUBLIME PORTE
(16TH – 18TH CENTURIES)****Arno Strohmeyer*****Текст та зображення у габсбурзькій дипломатії у Високій Порті (XVI-XVIII ст.)***

Ця стаття присвячена аналізу ролі текстів та зображень у Габсбурзькій дипломатії в Блискучій Порті (XVI – XVIII ст.). Тексти і зображення – письмова та візуальна комунікація – були пов’язані у різні способи. Нашою метою є дослідити ці зв’язки на прикладі ранньомодерної Габсбурзької дипломатії у Константинополі. Стаття складається з таких змістових частин: у першій коротко окреслюються найбільш важливі характеристики дипломатичних зв’язків між Габсбургами та Оттоманами; таким чином, у ній аналізується політичний контекст; у другій частині висвітлюється візуальні та зображальні медіа, які використовувались у дипломатичній комунікації; у третій на конкретному прикладі детально аналізуються шляхи взаємодії між текстом та образом. Варто зазначити, що Габсбурзько-Оттоманська дипломатія характеризувалась використанням численних медіа, і тому можна знайти різні комбінації текстів та образів. Звичайно, існували тексти без ілюстрацій: наприклад, політична кореспонденція, але дуже рідко можна було зустріти зображення самі по собі, без підпису, заголовку, або пояснювального тексту. Ми виділили три основних типи взаємодії між текстом та образом: по-перше, зв’язок між ними міг бути дуже простим, коли короткі підписи під портретом слугували для ідентифікації зображуваної людини; по-друге, цей зв’язок міг бути більш складним, коли текст і образи були графічно та просторо відділеними; по-третє, зрештою, траплялось так, коли інформація в тексті значно перевершувала ту, яка передавалась образом. У такому випадку зображення ставало ілюстрацією підтеми тексту.

Ключові слова: габсбурзько-оттоманська дипломатія, Блискуча Порта, візуальні та зображальні засоби, взаємодія тексту й зображення.

About 20 years ago, a historical source which had been neglected for a long period of time, received special attention within historical science: pictures. By now, after the “pictorial turn”, the value of pictures as a historical source is generally accepted. Pictures are regarded as a special form of communication that differs, due to its medial peculiarities, from texts [24, 42]. They are perceived very quickly, they emotionalize and can convey complex information in fractions of seconds, and however, their message is sometimes vague and not easy to find out. Pictures tell their own stories and their analysis requires specific theories and methods, as the tools for critical analysis have been primarily developed for the analysis of texts and not so much for pictures. However, the juxtaposition of picture and text is not the starting point of this article. Rather, it is assumed, that

texts and pictures – written and pictorial communication – were connected in various ways. For this reason, it was pleaded for “verbal turn” in the image sciences [16]. The aim is to get an insight into these connections, regarding Early Modern Habsburg diplomacy in Constantinople, which – so far – has not been studied from this specific perspective.¹ That’s why this article is not more to understand than as a first move to this topic.² It is divided as follows: First, the most important characteristics of the diplomatic contacts between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans are shortly outlined (1.); hence this part of the essay provides the political context. The part is followed by an overview of the visual and pictorial media which were used in diplomatic communication (2.). In the third part a case study will be presented in which the interactions between texts and pictures will be analyzed more in detail (3.).

1. Characteristics of the Early Modern Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy

Since the early 16th century the relations between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire were characterized by a fundamental conflict structure, which dissolved not until the 18th century. The political cultures were deeply affected by imperial rivalry, by enemy stereotypes and two different religions that mutually claimed exclusive truth [44]. Constructions of alterity were also of significance, because Habsburgs and Ottomans perceived each other as something strange, as the other, thus consolidating their own identity [26, p. 93]. The fact that both sides were convinced that they were, in terms of civilization, superior to the other was, finally, another exacerbating factor. This opposition led to eight Turkish wars which were notorious for their cruelty [6]. Of course, over the past years research has shown that the bilateral relations should not solely be reduced to such conflicts, because both sides advanced intensive peace efforts and from the 18th century onwards, trade relations gained greater importance. Furthermore, trans-cultural overlap zones developed, in which cultural exchange processes took place; Christian and Muslim worlds were intertwined [12, 17, 33]. Therefore it is problematic to interpret these relations as an early “clash of civilizations” between two clearly differentiated and static cultural spaces, a “Western” and an “Islamic” one, as some historians still do [39]. However, as a matter of fact, the contrasts should not be underestimated as for the Habsburgs they were more fundamental than towards the European powers, such as to the arch-rival France.

The most important connection between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire was diplomacy. The first diplomatic contacts evolved at the end of the 15th century. In the early 16th century as a result of disputes over Hungary – the Habsburgs as well as the Ottomans wanted to incorporate the kingdom into their territory – regular diplomatic contacts developed [7]. From 1547 onwards the Habsburgs were finally represented in Constantinople by a permanent resident [11, 25]. The Ottomans, however, had no permanent representation at the imperial court in Vienna for a very long time. Only at the end of the 18th century did they start the implementation of persistent embassies at the European courts. Yet, time-limited special missions were delegated from both sides. Of particular importance were the grand embassies, very elaborate delegations on the highest diplomatic levels, limited in time and mostly established within the framework of peace efforts. They were not specific to Habsburg-Ottoman relations, as Poland-Lithuania, Russia and Venice also sent such delegations to Constantinople. Although they took place when the most important legal

¹ An exception is the art historian Ulrike Ilg [14].

² This article concentrates on the Austrian branch of the dynasty.

articles of the peace treaties had already been elaborated, they were by no means simple undertakings. Their most important purpose was the symbolic representation of the peace with a very delicate ceremonial [32, 33].

One of the most significant characteristics of the Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy was its intercultural character. The envoys were confronted with profound cultural differences. Apart from religious, political, mental and linguistic differences the diplomatic representatives were confronted with a completely different social order, a different structure of the court and an unfamiliar ceremonial. The legal status of their stays and the eating habits were different as well. As there were relatively few bilateral contacts, due to strained political relationships, a vast majority of the knowledge held about the Ottomans in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in the Habsburg Monarchy had, up until the 18th century, its source in diplomacy [13, p. 151-161, 174-178]. The meaning of diplomatic communications thus goes far beyond foreign relations in the stricter sense of the word, as it led to an eminently sustainable transfer of information and knowledge.

2. Media of Communication in Habsburg-Ottoman Diplomacy: An Overview

Which media of communication were used between the diplomats and the Viennese Court? Communication happened, at first, by diplomatic correspondence; the diplomats had to send regular reports, approximately every two to three weeks, and sometimes more frequently than that. In addition to this, there were letters to the Hofkriegsrat, the Hofkammer, relatives, scholars, friends, and patrons. As the recipients normally replied (though at a lower frequency) a regular exchange of letters developed. This was a typical feature of diplomatic communication in general, as the running reporting was a main task of diplomats. The authors dealt in their writing with political negotiations, problems with securing peace, everyday and religious life in Constantinople, the Ottoman court and the ceremonies at Topkapı-Serail. They gave detailed insights into transcultural exchanges, discourses on difference and sameness, the construction of networks, as well as into the gathering of information and the relations between Christians and Muslims. Of course, the letters were written texts without pictures, they were a monomodal form of communication.

In addition to the correspondence, there were also instructions (sometimes supplemented by side instructions and rescripts), secret and final reports (written either of the author's own volition or in response to an order) as well as diaries and publicistic media (broadsheets, pamphlets, newspapers). As some of them were imaged, they are of special importance for this article. The same applies for the travel reports. They are a characteristic feature of Habsburg diplomacy at the Sublime Porte. In total, more than half of the literature dealing with the Ottoman Empire which was in circulation in the Holy Roman Empire in the 16th and 17th century was written in the context of diplomatic missions [45, p. 124-440; 13, p. 161; 9, p. 110-143]. They arose from a risen need on information about the Ottomans. Between 1480 and 1609 were printed in Europe more than twice as many books about the Ottoman Empire like about the discoveries on the American continent [14, p. 55]. Some were reprinted frequently and translated into other languages, and were thus widely received. Often they contain long historical digressions, ethnographic observations, or references to ancient and biblical knowledge. The writers were the envoys, their servants, clerics or fellow travelers. The recipients included not only the Imperial Court but also relatives and, if the reports went to print, the wider public, which had specific expectations. In this context, very influential texts such as the letters of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592) and the travel report of Salomon

Schweigger (1551–1622) were written, shaping, for a long period of time the image of the Ottomans that was prevalent in Central Europe [3; 29].

The situation of the Ottoman diplomacy is, in contrast to the Habsburg one, quite different; the absence of permanent diplomatic representations in foreign countries prevented the formation of a similar variety of media. Moreover, the Islamic aniconism that was certainly not rigorously respected, as well as the delayed reception of the printing press – the printing press spread in the Ottoman Empire not until the 18th century – are responsible for the medial constriction. However, the reports of Ottoman special missions, so called Sefâretnâme (“book of embassy”), have to be mentioned. These reports are a mixture between oriental travel literature and an official report. The texts were written at the end of a mission either by the envoy himself or by a participant of the mission. Most originated in the 18th century, when the interest of the Ottomans in Europe increased [15, p. 121-137]. Of course, there also exist some travel reports, for instance Evliya Çelebi’s Seyahatnâme (“Book of Travel”) as one of the most important sources for the Ottomans view of the Habsburg Monarchy and Vienna in general [9, p. 133-135].

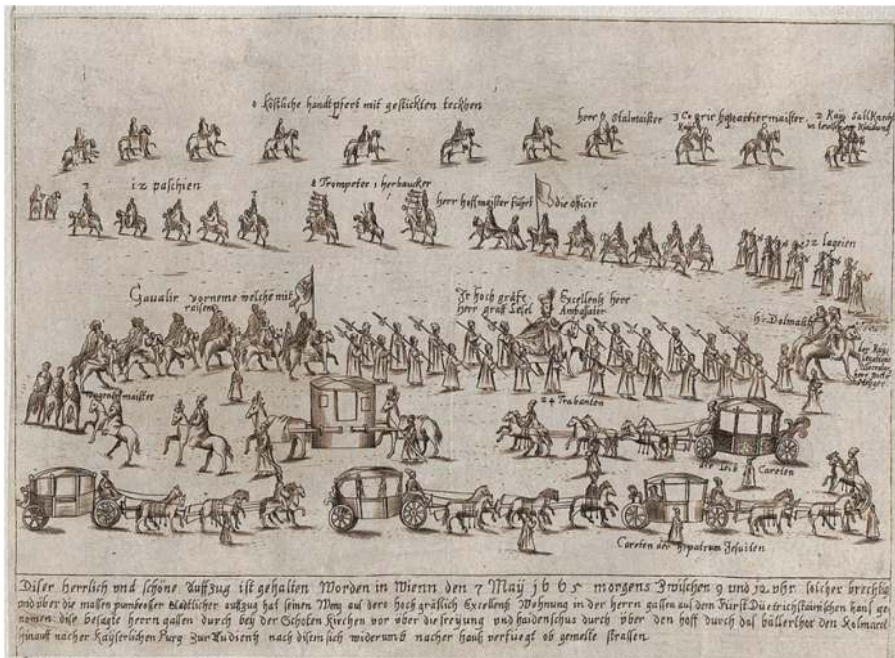


Figure 1: Exit of Count Walter Leslie from Vienna, 07/05/1665; University Library Heidelberg (Germany), Fürstlich Waldecksche Hofbibliothek, Klebeband, 15, copyright: University Library Heidelberg (Germany), http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/fwhb/kl_ebeband15 (27/11/2015).

Diplomatic communication was not only carried out in written but also in visual form by using pictures. For instance, the painter and engraver Melchior Lorck accompanied Busbecq on his mission to the Ottoman Empire in the 1550's. The pictures that he created depict scenes of everyday life, unknown oriental people and historical figures [14, p. 58-60, 68f]. Karel Rijm who represented the Emperor from 1569 to 1573 at the Sublime Porte let the painter Lambert de Vos make an album with views of Constantinople [4]. His follower David Ungnad of Sonnegg also ordered such an album [14, p. 62].

In this context the mission of baron Hans Ludwig Kuefstein (1582/83–1657), who travelled in 1628/29 as grand ambassador to the Sublime Porte, has to be mentioned in particular. During this mission Kuefstein was accompanied, amongst others, by two painters. Afterwards, between 1630 and 1640, several oil paintings emerged which depicted portraits, scenes from the journey and from the life as a diplomat; moreover, for instance a funeral and the obelisks in front of the Sultan Ahmet

Mosque in Istanbul are depicted. Some pictures do not even have captions; hence it is unclear which person is being portrayed [39, p. 11-40; 40, p. 248-251]. Also to mention are eleven gouaches on parchment, which also document the course of the mission and the life of the Ottomans. Most likely more of these gouaches had been produced, but some must have gone missing. All preserved gouaches have texts that explain what is being represented [38].

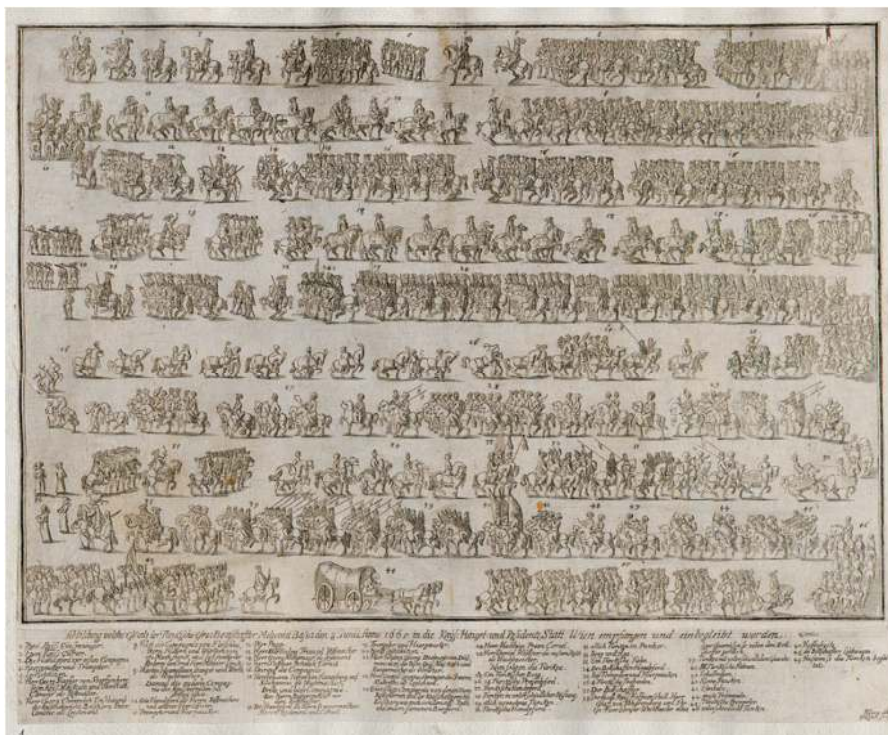


Figure 2: Entry of the Ottoman Grand Ambassador Mehmed Pascha in Vienna, 05/06/1665; University Library Heidelberg (Germany), Fürstlich Waldecksche Hofbibliothek, Klebeband, 15, copyright: University Library Heidelberg (Germany), <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/fwhb/klebeband15> (27/11/2015).

Such picture series also emerged on the occasion of other missions. For instance, about 47 pictures have been passed down from Count Walter Leslie's grand embassy in 1665. They show intensively portraits of important members of the legation as well as Ottoman dignitaries. So far it remains uncertain where these pictures were exhibited. However, an important purpose of use may have been the presentation in the palaces and castles of the nobles [40, p. 247f].

Numerous pictures can be found in printed sources, especially in broadsheets and pamphlets, as well as in the contemporary historiography; as a matter of fact, some missions were very effective media events. In this regard the already mentioned grand embassy of Count Walter Leslie is a good example. Leslie originated from an important Scottish aristocratic family. During the Thirty Years War he fought for the Habsburgs and worked his way up to the post of a Field Marshal. He played a leading role in the assassination of Albrecht von Wallenstein 1634. His mission to the Sublime Porte took place after the Fourth Austro-Turkish war, which had ended in 1664 with the Peace of

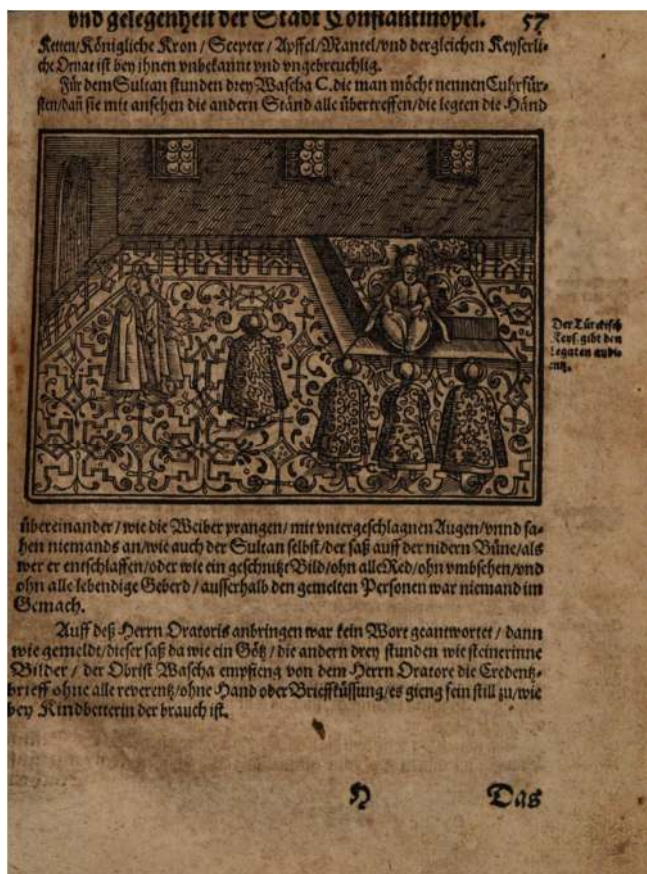


Figure 3: Welcome audience at the Topkapı Serail, in: Salomon Schweigger, *Neue Reysßbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem [...]*, Nürnberg 1608, p. 57, copyright: Austrian National Library, Vienna.

Vasvár. During the peace negotiations it was agreed on that a Habsburg diplomat should travel to Constantinople and an Ottoman diplomat should travel to Vienna in return [30; 43].

On May 7 1665 Emperor Leopold I granted Leslie a farewell audience. This audience was visualized in an engraving (picture 1): Leslie and his entourage are located in the center of the picture. The text, written below, lists the date and the place of the event. Furthermore, the importance and the ostentatious character of the event are highlighted. The inscription within

explains the function of the depicted persons. A similar function is fulfilled by the text of the engraving that shows the Ottoman grand ambassadors, Mehmed Pascha, entry into Vienna on June 5 1665 (picture 2). Again, the text primarily serves as explanation of what is depicted in the picture; in particular the participating people are specified.

Furthermore, a strong connection between text and picture can be found in some travel reports [14, p. 55-75]; however, one has to consider that only a small percentage of them are illustrated. A good example is Salomon Schweigger's travel report. In 1578 he had arrived at Constantinople, as he accompanied a diplomatic mission as a preacher. Schweigger – theologian and author of the first German translation of the Koran – recorded his personal experiences in detail and published a travel report in 1608 titled “Ein neue Reiss Beschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem” (New Travelogue from Germany to Constantinople and Jerusalem) [29]. Numerous new editions and facsimile prints followed, the last one published in 2013 [28]. Due to its wide reception, Schweigger's travelogue gained great influence. It gives an insight into the diplomatic everyday life at the Sublime Porte. Moreover, the living environment of the Ottomans is a central theme, for instance clothing, bathhouses, food and drinks, music, religious practice, buildings, and the weather. Due to the Christian-theological origin of the author, it is not surprising that the report is negatively stained especially with regard to Islam. The 341-page book contains nearly 100 woodcuts (first edition): for instance travel episodes, city maps, negotiations with Ottoman dignitaries, population and landscape, mosques, palaces, and grave stones etc. are illustrated and embedded into the text (picture 3). Many of these pictures are based on pictures in older travel reports [14, 62f].



Figure 4: Count Wolfgang IV of Oettingen-Wallerstein (1626-1708) as Imperial grand ambassador (1699-1701), Copper engraving, Engelhard Nunzer / Frans van Stampart, ca. 1699/1700, Vienna, Austrian National Library.

To sum up, it can be held on that Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy was characterized by a heterogeneous and manifold media landscape. Texts dominated, but numerous paintings and graphic reproductions were produced as well. The pictures could be either singular or belong to larger series. Moreover, they could be embedded in written communication; multimodality, the combination of different sign systems, was a current practice in the political communication in context of diplomacy [31]. Which combinations were used to connect texts and pictures will be outlined in the following case study.

3. The Grand Embassy of Count Wolfgang IV of Oettingen-Wallerstein (1699-1701)

The grand embassy of Count Wolfgang IV of Oettingen-Wallerstein started in 1699 and ended in 1701 with his return to Vienna. It was one of the most important and elaborate mission of a Habsburg diplomat to Constantinople and led to an extensive picture production. In 1699 during the peace negotiations of Sremski Karlovci (today in Serbia), Emperor Leopold I and Sultan Mustafa II mutually had committed themselves to such a mission [18, p. 172-184, art. 16]. The peace ended the “Great Turkish War” which had begun with the Second Turkish Siege of Vienna in 1683. The peace marked a turning point for the Habsburg-Ottoman relations, as it initiated the rise of

the Habsburg Monarchy to a great power and definitely the end of Ottoman supremacy; in addition it also marked a turning point for European history as the oppressive military superiority of the Ottomans in Eastern and South Eastern Europe was irrevocably over. Significantly, the Sultan had, for the first time, agreed on two Christian powers (Britain and the Netherlands) as mediators [20].

Count Wolfgang was born at Wallerstein Castle in Bavaria in 1626. Little is known about his childhood and youth. In 1653, Leopold I appointed him Aulic Councillor and later on entrusted him with diplomatic missions to different Imperial Estates and to Poland. During the peace conference at Sremski Karlovci, Oettingen-Wallerstein had the mandate of the Emperor. He was well-known for his excellent diplomatic skills, which are regarded as one of the main reasons for the quick and

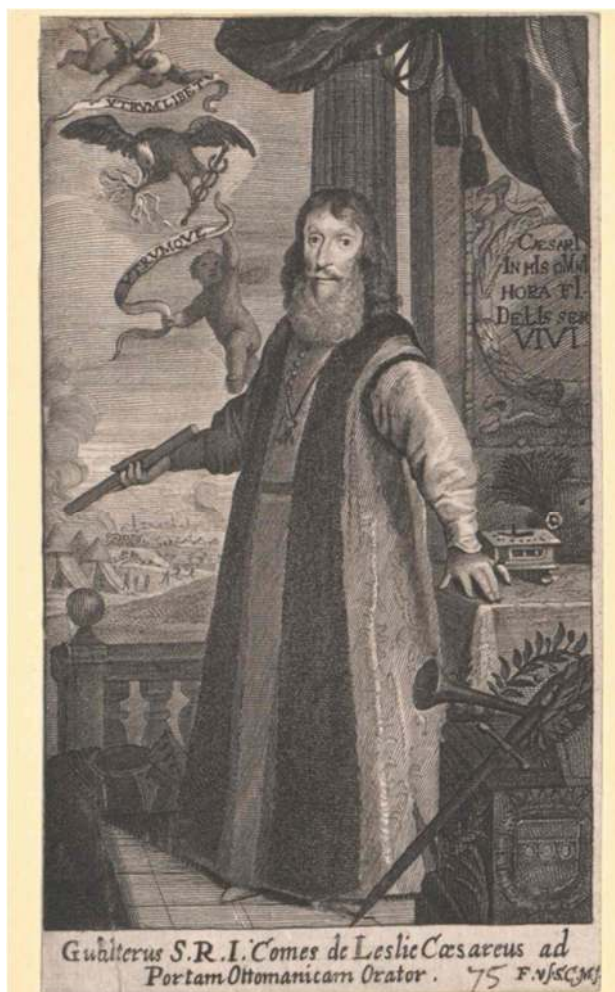


Figure 5: Count Walter Leslie (1607-1667), as Imperial Grand Ambassador 1665/66, Paul Tafferner, Caesarea legatio quam mandante Augustissimo Rom. Imperatore Leopoldo I. ad portam Ottomanicam suscepit, perfecitque [...]. Wien 1668, frontispiz.

successful completion of the negotiations. Thus it is not surprising that the Emperor put him – despite his advanced age of 73 years – in charge of the grand embassy [2; 41].

The peace-keeping character of the mission can be seen in this engraving (picture 4). The text below the picture says that Count Oettingen-Wallerstein is being depicted as the imperial grand ambassador. The nobleman stands beside a table. He holds a mace in his right hand which symbolizes his leading function. Allegories of Pax and Justitia as well as the imperial eagle hover above him. Pax holds a map of Hungary in its hand, the land which the Habsburg army had just conquered. Shields with slogans of ancient poets surround the figure and highlight diplomatic virtues such as loyalty, justice, and incorruptibility. Text and symbol are inseparably connected. The second shield on the left shows a magnet with the slogan: “Non flectitur Auro” (Gold does not influence him); the slogan gives an indication of the incorruptibility Oettingen-Wallerstein’s. The third shield at the right shows a plate with an arrow: “Mittentis Vota secundat” (Aligns everything in an excellent way), which means that he always hits the mark. On the first shield below the goddess of peace one can see a dove with an olive branch in its beak. A saying of Ovid can be read at the bottom: “You have advised the whole world to keep peace and calm, the rise and the fall is full of your deeds.” Summarized: Picture and text present the grand ambassador as “peacemaker” [40, p. 261-263; 19, p. 11-40].

Due to the numerous symbols, the picture is quite complex and its statement is difficult to understand for the viewer. For this reason, an explanation with the translation of the ancient slogans was published. These linguistic amendments served to clarify the statement and should prevent misinterpretations [40, p. 263].

A portrait of the previous grand ambassador, the already mentioned Count Walter Leslie, has probably been used as template by the engraver (picture 5). The engraving is the frontispiece of a travel report which was published after Leslie’s completion of the mission [36]. Paul Tafferner, the author, was a Jesuit, Count Walter Leslie’s confessor and had travelled to Constantinople as mission



Figure 6: Count Wolfgang IV of Oettingen-Wallerstein ((1626-1708) as Imperial grand ambassador (1699-1701), Simpert Niggel, *Diarium, Oder: Außführliche curiose Reißbeschreibung von Wien nach Constantinopel [...], Wien 1701,*

chaplain. The report first appeared in Latin in 1668, shortly afterwards it was translated into German. Several editions have been handed down, the last one from 1700 [30]. The title of the last edition promises to deal with Oettingen-Wallerstein's mission, however, it is only described on a few pages. The majority of the publication is just a reprint of Tafferner's travelogue. Obviously an enterprising publisher wanted to deceive the reader [37].

The portrait shows count Leslie beside a table. He holds a baton in the right hand which identifies him as a military leader. With the baton he points at the picture in the background, in which a landscape with Ottoman tents is visible [40, p. 263]. Thus the picture gets a warlike character. The portrait served as an illustration of the travelogue in which no other pictures are included. The short text allows the identification of the depicted person. The same applies to the travelogue of Simpert Niggel. The Benedictine abbot had accompanied Oettingen-Wallerstein's mission as chaplain and published his experiences afterwards. The edition from 1701 shows as frontispiece a portrait of Count Oettingen-Wallerstein (picture 6). The portrait is similar to the one of Count Leslie mentioned above [22; 23]. However, the background of Count Oettingen-Wallerstein's portrait is less warlike than Leslie's as it shows a garden.

Both grand ambassadors are portrayed with oriental clothes, the clothing of the enemy. Respect is enforced on the viewer and warlike masculinity is staged [40, p. 271]. Habsburg diplomats who traveled to the Sublime Porte in the later 17th century often wore oriental clothes. Hence, the portrayal of diplomats wearing such clothes was no artistic fiction;

it had a real basis. For instance three Turkish dressmakers had come to Vienna, to sew the necessary clothes for Count Walter Leslie and his entourage. Oettingen-Wallerstein's headgear, however, seems to have been a Hungarian fur cap with egrets; an allusion to the territorial claims of the Habsburgs to authority over Hungary [40, p. 251].



Figure 7: Abbildung der Cavalcade / welche der Käyserl: Groß-Pottscaffter / nach der Ottomannischen Porten [...] bey seiner Abschids-Audienz in Wienn / den 26. September / Anno [...] 1699 gehalten [...], Wien, 1699.

who used this undertaking as their grand tour, clergy, translators, secretaries, barbers, a watch maker and musicians. Accompanied by music, the party then adjourned to the Hofburg, where Leopold I granted them a farewell audience [27, p. 44]. Oettingen-Wallerstein was given the accreditation letter which he had to hand over to the Sultan during the initial audience [41, p. 18].

The parade was a media event. As early as ten days later, reports were spread about the event [10] and a pamphlet informed the public of the gifts that would be given to the Sultan and his court [8]. Even an illustrated broadsheet visualized the parade (picture 7) [1]: On the left, horse-mounted men, caroches, and the rank and file emerge from the city gate. They meander through the picture. Count Wolfgang can be found in the middle. The accompanying text in the lower half of the engraving explains the position of the most important people, for instance the grand ambassador in the middle (number 14). The spectacle recalls a triumphal procession and is to understand as an allusion to the victories of the Habsburg armies in the Great Turkish War. Count Wolfgang did not

Even before the actual start of Oettingen-Wallerstein's mission, the first pictures were painted. The series of pictures of this mission resembles the series that had been produced in the context of Count Walter Leslie's grand embassy in 1665; so one can assume that older picture series had influence on the ones that were produced later on. Among the 26 pictures which have been preserved – originally the series consisted at least of 32 – there are the portraits of the grand ambassador and several companions [40, p. 238, 246]. Furthermore, also Ottomans like e. g. the grand ambassador Ibrahim Pascha and Sultan Mustafa II are portrayed. The pictures were probably produced later on. In order to identify the portrayed persons the pictures are inscribed (Niggel's portrait is an exception) [40, p. 238].

The official part of the mission began on 26th September 1699, when Count Wolfgang gathered all of the participants in his garden palace in Vienna. Among the nearly 300 people were his son, young aristocrats

only act as the representative of the Emperor, but he also represented himself. His self-expression was a central theme and stood out throughout the whole mission. We find it in many pictures.

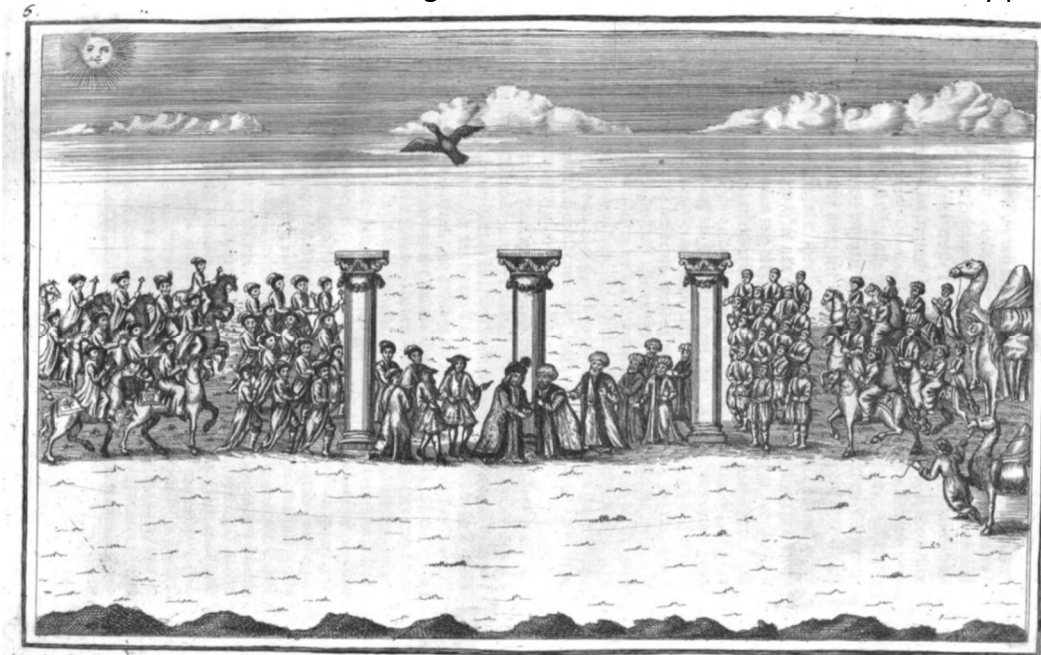


Figure 8: Border crossing of the Habsburg and Ottoman Grand Ambassador, Slankamen (Serbia), 07/12/1699, Johann Baptist Schönwetter, Grund- und Umständlicher Bericht von denen Römisch-Kayserlichen wie auch Ottomannischen Groß-Bothschafften [...], Vienna 1702, [48/49].

It is quite clear that the text and the pictorial representation are closely connected. The text, referring to the name and the function of the participating people, completes the content of the picture. The content receives a specific statement; the motif of the meandering cavalcade can be found in visualizations of previous extracts, therefore it was exchangeable. However, also the text receives substance by the pictorial representation. All in all, the combination of text and picture results in an integrative overall understanding of the representation. This is stimulated by the spatial proximity which makes it possible to quickly switch between looking at the text and looking at the picture.

A good month later, the final preparations had been made, and the delegation set out on their journey. First, they took the ship down the Danube to Petrovaradin near Sremski Karlovci, where they arrived at the immediate vicinity of the border on 29th November. The border crossing, at which the exchange with the corresponding Ottoman ambassador, Ibrahim Pascha, took place, was one of the symbolically most highly charged parts of the mission. It was an act of drama, which had been specified by the missions which had taken place since the Peace of Zsitvatorok in 1606. Therefore, three pillars were built: a middle one exactly on the border line that had been negotiated at the peace conference, and the equal number of steps away from it each of the outer pillars.

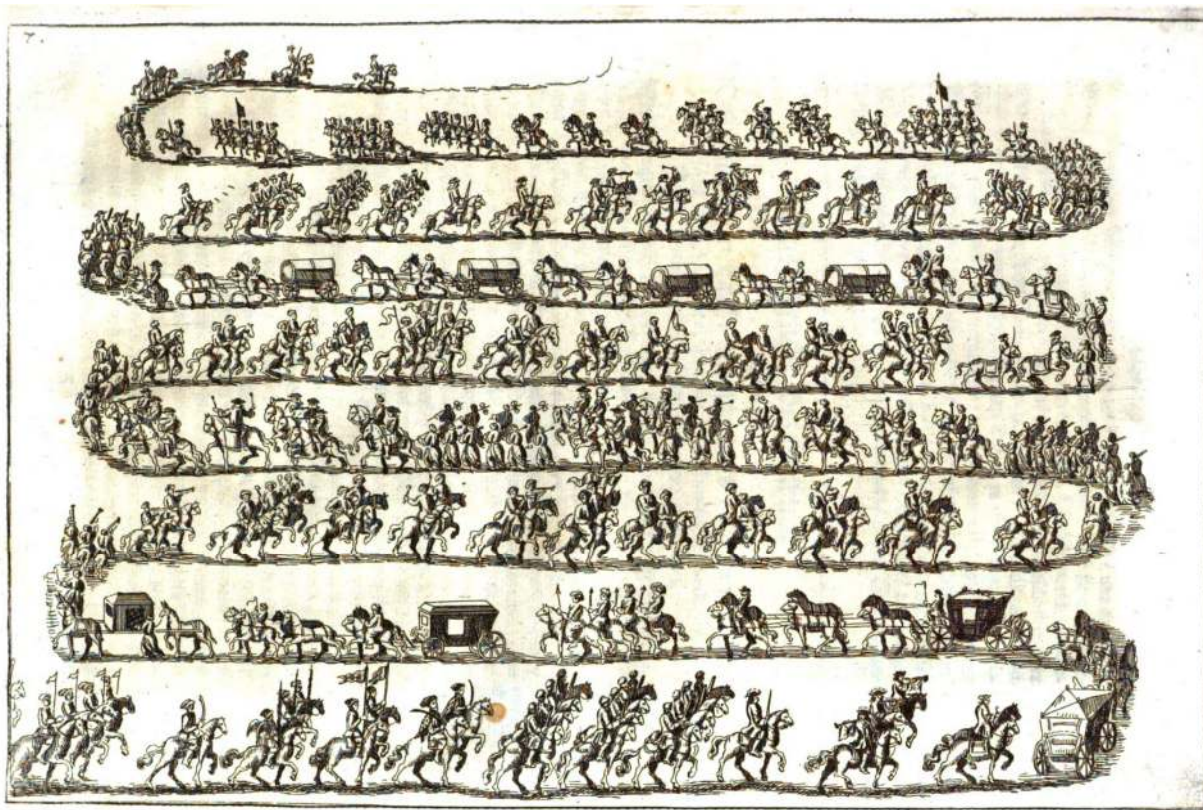


Figure 9: Entry of the Ottoman Grand Ambassador Ibrahim Pascha in Vienna, 30/01/1700, Johann Baptist Schönwetter, Grund- und Umständlicher Bericht von denen Römisch-Kayserlichen wie auch Ottomannischen Groß-Bothschafften [...], Vienna 1702, [50/51].

A copper engraving visualizes the meeting (picture 8) [27, p. 48-49]. In the middle one can see Oettingen-Wallerstein and Ibrahim Pasha. They are greeting each other at the middle column. An eagle hovers above them. At the left and the right side one can see the entourage of the two grand ambassadors [34]. The picture was integrated into the report of the imperial court publicist Johannes Baptist Schönwetter, who published his work in 1702. The detailed account of the mission consists of 131 pages and twelve pictures [27]. The picture is closely interlinked with the accompanying text, which describes the picture but clearly goes beyond the information that is being conveyed by it. Hence, the text is the primary information carrier. It informs us that the meeting took place on December 7, 1699. Early in the morning the two delegations assembled, both about 2,000 men strong, and marched to the meadow near Slankamen. 80 steps in front of the outer columns the soldiers stopped. The military high commanders then went to the middle column with an accompanying person. They sat down in chairs, which had been placed near the column. A friendly conversation, a sort of small talk, followed during which they were served with coffee and cake [27, p. 48].

When both grand ambassadors arrived, Count Wolfgang broke with the rules of the ceremonial. After he had passed the outer column, he did not dismount his horse at the same time as Ibrahim Pasha. Instead he rose from the saddle and allowed himself to fall back. When the Ottoman grand ambassador noticed this, he had already dismounted his horse. When his entourage

saw this, they rushed to catch him to prevent him from touching the ground, because that signified submission. However, they were too late [27, p. 48-49]. Nevertheless, the ceremonial faux pas did not prevent the subsequent greeting of the two grand ambassadors. They shook hands, hugged each other, and exchanged kisses. Handshakes, hugs, and kisses were considered in both cultures as those cultural practices, which express peace, reconciliation, and friendship [34, p. 22-23]. The interpretation of the eagle which hovered over the two diplomats shows that the accompanying text could give the picture – under certain circumstances – an ambiguous meaning. According to Schönwetter, it was a good omen, following Niggel, it was nothing out of the ordinary, as eagles were common in this area [27, p. 49; 23, p. 40].

After crossing the border, the journey led to Belgrade and from there onwards via Nikopolis to Swischtow. On 3rd February 1700, the delegation reached the Sea of Marmara, and five days later Constantinople. The journey had taken almost four months in total.

The next ceremonial highlight was the formal entry into the city. Both in Constantinople and in Vienna, the entries of grand embassies were great spectacles that were attended by numerous inhabitants, high-ranking dignitaries and diplomats of other powers [35]. For the participating diplomats, the entry constituted a highlight of their careers and a splendid opportunity to gain symbolic capital. According to the sources, Count Wolfgang's entry took about two hours. There exists a picture of the analogue entry of Ibrahim Pascha in Vienna; it was printed in the above mentioned report of Schönwetter (picture 9). The written explanation of the event comprises six pages and is therefore rather detailed [27, p. 50-51]. The statement of the text clearly goes beyond the pictures's message, similarly to the representation of the border crossing.

The next glamorous event was the initial audience with Sultan Mustafa II at the Topkapi Serail. It followed the standard diplomatic ceremonial for such occasions and lasted seven hours. Of particular importance were the hosting and the payment of the Janissaries, court proceedings which were being held in the divan, a banquet, and the dressing of the delegation in caftans, as well as the delivery of the gifts [21]. There exists no picture of Oettingen-Wallerstein's initial audience. However, a draft of the Topkapi Serail with the Diwan, where the festivities of the initial audience took place, is included in Schönwetter's report. Once again, the explanation in the text exceeds the information conveyed by the picture, similar to the depiction of the crossing of the border and the entry of the Ottoman grand ambassador in Vienna.

The following months were filled with everyday tasks of diplomacy: negotiations with Ottoman dignitaries, meetings with representatives of other sovereigns, ceremonial occasions and sightseeing. Count Wolfgang was particularly successful when it came to the talks on the release of prisoners of war.¹

The return journey began on 11th October 1700, the crossing of the border took place on 4th December, and the mission ended with the ceremonial entry into Vienna on 30th January 1701. Oettingen-Wallerstein, now at the age of 74, seemed to have coped very well with the strains of the journey as an eye witness attested him "good fat shape" [41, p. 29]. Unfortunately, we have no picture which illustrates that.

¹ See the lists of names in Family Archive Oettingen-Wallerstein, Harburg Castle, Germany, VII.7.11b and 12a.

Conclusion

In accordance with the pluralistic media landscape which characterized the Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy, numerous combinations of text and picture can be found. Of course, there existed texts without illustration, e.g. the political correspondence, but only rarely were pictures on its own, without a title, caption or explanatory text. Three types of text-picture interactions can be differentiated:

1. The connection could be rather simple e. g. when short captions of a portrait served to identify the depicted person. In this case, the text served to complete information gaps of the pictures; see e. g. the illustrated broadsheet which was produced on the occasion of the departure of Count Oettingen-Wallerstein from Vienna in 1699 (picture 7). The text which was added at the bottom of the picture explains the names or the function of the persons involved. Only in this way the picture was given its special meaning; picture and text were linked to an overall message.

2. However, the connection could be more complex. One example is the copper engraving of Count Oettingen-Wallerstein (picture 4), which contained text statements. Additionally, more information was given in a separate engraving. In this rare case text and images were spatially-graphically separated.

3. It was also possible that the content of the text clearly exceeded the information conveyed by the picture. In this case, the picture illustrates a sub-theme of the text. One example can be found in Schönwetter's report, namely the representation of the crossing of the border of the grand ambassadors (picture 8). The report outlines the event in detail and ascribes meaning to individual picture details, like e. g. the eagle, which hovered over the two grand ambassadors.

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Text and Picture in Habsburg Diplomacy at the Sublime Porte (16th – 18th centuries)

In this article we intend to analyze the role of text and picture in Habsburg Diplomacy at the Sublime Porte (16th – 18th centuries). Texts and pictures – objects of written and pictorial communication – were connected in various ways. The aim is to get an insight into these connections, especially with regard to the Early Modern Habsburg diplomatic mission in Constantinople, which, so far, has not been studied from this specific perspective. The article is divided as follows: firstly, the most important characteristics of the diplomatic contacts between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans are shortly outlined; hence this part of the essay provides the political context. Secondly, the first part is followed by an overview of the visual and pictorial media which were used in diplomatic communication. In the third part a case study will be presented in which the interactions between texts and pictures will be analyzed in more detail.

We will conclude that in accordance with the pluralistic media landscape which characterized the Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy, numerous combinations of text and picture can be found. Of course, one can recall texts without illustration, e.g. the political correspondence, but only rarely pictures were used on their own, without a title, caption or explanatory text. Three types of text-picture interactions can be differentiated: firstly, the connection could be rather simple e.g. when short captions of a portrait served to identify the depicted person; secondly, the connection could be more complex when text and images were spatially and/or graphically separated; finally, it was also possible that the content of the text clearly exceeded the information conveyed by the picture. In this case, the picture illustrates a sub-theme of the text.

Key words: Habsburg-Ottoman diplomacy, Sublime Porte, visual and pictorial media, text-picture interactions.