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Caspar von Abschatz's *Album Amicorum*: Collecting (in) the Ottoman World

Abstract: In the fall of 1584, the Silesian nobleman Caspar von Abschatz travelled along the Balkan diplomatic corridor from Vienna through Ottoman Buda, Belgrade, Sofia, and Plovdiv to Constantinople. He documented the journey with entries gathered in his *album amicorum*, an extraordinary artifact that he would dramatically expand over the rest of his life. This article uses codicological details, the texts of entries, and archival documents to examine how Abschatz compiled, used, and transformed his album with a focus on his years in Constantinople. I argue that both Abschatz's rare collection of papers and his documented social networks point to his intimate relationship with Ottoman decorative arts, the city of Constantinople, and the imperial context that brought him there. At the same time, the generic visual depictions of Ottoman figures and the small number of signatures by Ottoman Muslims reveals the distance Abschatz maintained from his environment.

On 3 September 1586, the Styrian nobleman Abraham Gablkover signed the *album amicorum* (also called a friendship album or *Stammbuch*) of a teenaged Silesian nobleman named Caspar von Abschatz in a garden on the Asian side of the Bosphorus belonging to a steward of the Ottoman court named Hüsrev (Fig. 1). Such *alba* were the preferred social media of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, gathering in a portable volume a series of entries which included any combination of the following elements: a signature, a date, a location, a motto, an image, a coat of arms, and a personal message. They were deeply personal objects that embodied the social communities of their owners, who carefully curated them, often over a lifetime.¹ Gablkover's entry appears on a rare specimen of decorated paper with patterned marbling arranged in a grid of circles outlined in gold. Highlighting the exoticism of the surface on which he wrote, the signature runs across one of the marbled circles, his poetic evocation in the name of good friendship and memories spilling out over the negative spaces of the design.

While it was common for young noblemen and women to form their collections as they travelled around Central Europe, the exchange between Abschatz and Gablkover in the distant heart of the Ottoman Empire took place beyond the

1 The standard work on the genre is Schnabel 2003.

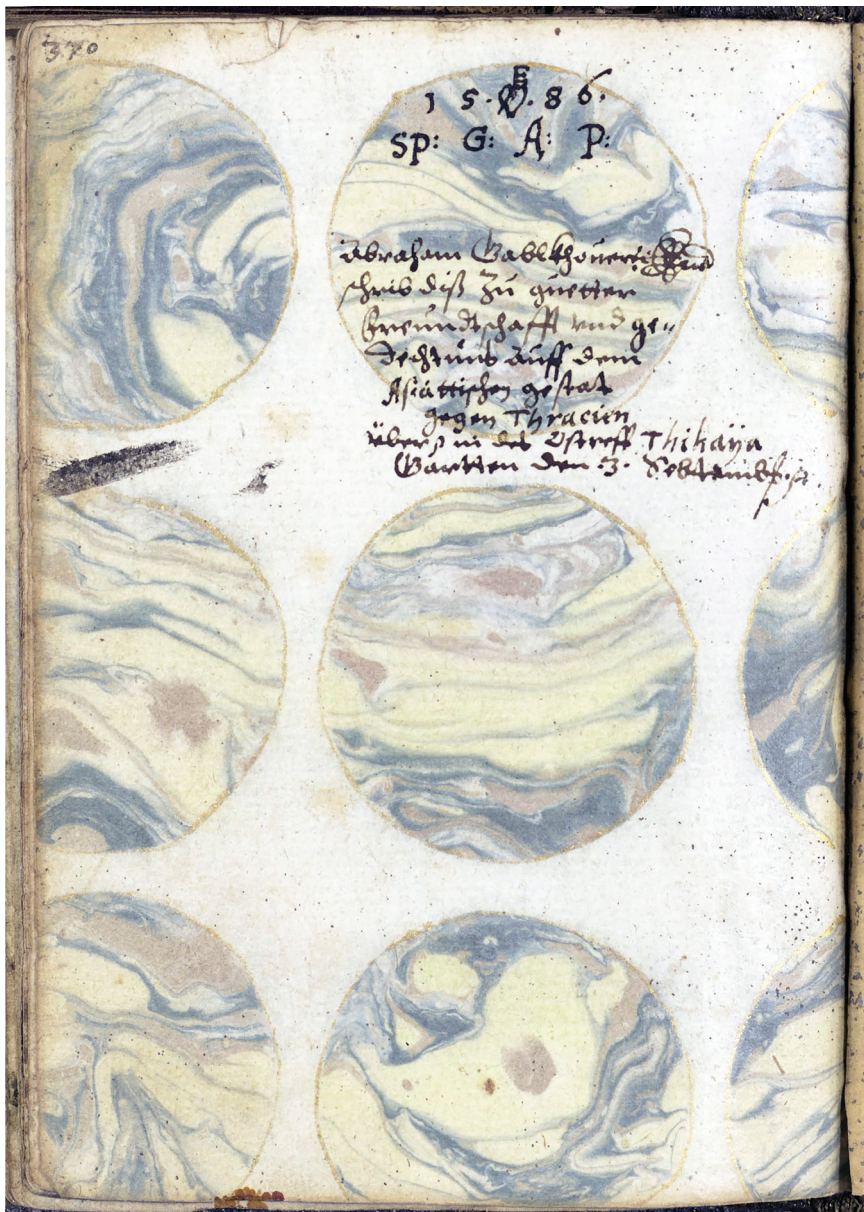


Fig. 1: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 370. Signature of Abraham Gablkoover in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, Constantino-ple, 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

usual geography of album collecting. Who were Gablkover and Abschatz and why did they gather around a manuscript on the shores of the Bosphorus in the late sixteenth century? What does the album reveal about the role of personal objects in social interactions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire? This essay seeks to answer these questions by offering the first close reading of Caspar von Abschatz's *album amicorum*, now held in Hamburg at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky (hereafter SUB) under the shelf mark Cod. in scrin. 198a. This close reading of codicological details and individual entries will be undertaken alongside other contemporary *alba* used in Constantinople, archival sources, and ego documents. The resulting picture sheds light on the remarkable collecting practices of a young nobleman from Central Europe during an extended stay in Constantinople. While collecting his album *in* the Ottoman world, Abschatz also collected *the Ottoman world itself*, incorporating selected elements of his exotic environment into his album in creative and meaningful ways. The album reveals Abschatz's intimate relationship with the Ottoman environment in which he lived between 1584 and 1587. This intimacy, expressed in both the content and physical materials of his manuscript, points to the level of engagement that ordinary central Europeans visiting Constantinople could have with their surroundings. At the same time, it also highlights the limits of this intimacy. Abschatz's engagement with the Ottoman world was always mediated through his position as a member of the Habsburg resident ambassador's household. Thus, none of Abschatz's documented social interactions were with Muslim-born men or women. In fact, the women of Ottoman Constantinople are reduced entirely to one torn image of a Sultana copied from another contemporary source. Abschatz's album is one of a group of roughly fifty contemporary examples used in the same transimperial context. Though it is far from unique, it is nevertheless an extraordinary record in terms of its size, variety, and the level of detail provided by the entries. This makes it one of the most important sources for understanding the layers of interaction between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the second half of the sixteenth century.

This essay begins with a brief overview of Abschatz's biography and the place of the album within it. It then looks at evidence of how he built up the album's layers over several decades by examining the paper, binding, and edits to the manuscript as a material object. This will turn into a focus on the album's formative years in Constantinople in which Abschatz cultivated an intimate relationship with Ottoman languages, the city of Constantinople, and the decorative book arts. By way of a conclusion, I place Abschatz's project within the *album amicorum* genre and within the history of Eurasian cross-cultural encounters more broadly.



Fig. 2: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scriin. 198a, p. 1. Frontispiece of Caspar von Abschatz's *Album Amicorum*, 1588. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scriin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

1 Caspar von Abschatz

Caspar von Abschatz (b. 1571) is largely an unknown figure and the only significant source about his life that is currently known is his *album amicorum*.² The title page (Fig. 2) is dated 1588, thus after his return from Constantinople, and includes his signature, coat of arms, and several mottos. This seemingly late addition likely reflects his desire to have a skilled artist paint his heraldic device: the head of a deer on a white background above a black field, which is surrounded by a classicizing frame with putti and allegorical figures. The folio also includes his signature with the estate of Kamin in Lower Silesia near Breslau. Here, as in several of his own signatures in contemporary *alba*, he includes charming mottos in three different languages.³ The abbreviation below the year, 'GB M LS VE', invokes the popular German adage 'Gott bescheere mir Leben, Sieg und Ehre' ('God, bestow upon me life, victory, and honour').⁴ This is followed each time by the Latin 'Mea Fortuna Dormit' ('My fortune sleeps'). Each signature also includes the French 'Pas à Pas' ('Step by step'). These mottos betray the intellectual ambitions of the teenager who wrote them by proudly displaying his familiarity with Latin and French alongside his native German. Abschatz further personalized his entries both in his own album and in the album of the English agent Henrik Frankelin which he signed while in Constantinople, when he added the couplet:

Auff menschen setz Dein Hofnung nicht
 Dann sie ihnen oft selber konen helfen nicht
 ('Do not place your hope in others
 since they often cannot even help themselves')⁵

Furthermore, in another signature written in Constantinople in the album of the messenger Leonhard Lang von Durach and again in his own album, he also wrote:

² Müller was the first to take note of the annotations on a set of archival sources and connect them to the person mentioned in a travel narrative. See Müller 2006, vol. 1, 46–47.

³ Album of Leonhard Lang von Durach (messenger), Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 107'; album of Hans Huenich of Antwerp (member of tribute-carrying delegation), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 18596, fol. 86'; and Henrik Frankelin (English agent), Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Y 52, fol. 116'.

⁴ Ragotzky 1899, 400, gives two variants of this: 'G. B. M. S. V. E.', 'Gott bescheere mir Sieg (Segen) und Ehre', and 'G. B. L. S. V. E.', 'Gott bescheere Leben, Sieg und Ehre'. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁵ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 1. The motto varies slightly in grammar and spelling as it appears in the album of Henrik Frankelin, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Y 52, fol. 116'.

Hertz leidt
 mundt schweigt
 ('The heart suffers,
 the mouth is silent')⁶

Together, these mottos reveal Abschatz's combination of cynicism and longing for intimacy. Such poetic expressions of teenage angst are ubiquitous across the genre, but what makes Abschatz's album extraordinary is that he came of age not in rural Silesia, a university town, or the court in Vienna or Prague. Instead, he spent his formative years in a diplomatic outpost in the heart of the Ottoman Empire.

Caspar von Abschatz was born in 1571 into a small branch of a large Silesian aristocratic family with roots in the thirteenth century.⁷ Like many of his contemporaries, his family likely sought to secure him a position in the service of the Habsburg court. Thus, in 1584, at the age of thirteen, he departed first for Vienna and shortly thereafter he joined a delegation to Constantinople led by Heinrich von Liechtenstein.⁸ There he lived in what was called the German House, a two-storey inn located within a kilometre of the Topkapı Palace that housed Habsburg ambassadors and their large retinues over several decades.⁹ In a travel narrative covering the delegation, Abschatz is listed as one of thirteen 'young men of our master [the ambassador]' ('der Herrn Jungen') who assisted in the delivery of coins and valuable objects known euphemistically as the 'honourable present'.¹⁰ Unfortunately, this is the only mention of Abschatz in the diary and his name does not appear in other documentation related to Liechtenstein's embassy. Signatures in his album make it clear that rather than departing a few weeks later with the rest of Liechtenstein's retinue led by Hans Bernhard von Lembach on 5 December,¹¹ or joining his sick master when he departed for the healing waters of a hot spring onboard a Venetian ship on 20 March 1584,¹² Abschatz stayed on to join the retinue of resident ambassador Paul von Eytzing (ambassador between 1583 and 1587). This was likely a planned extension as Eytzing had

⁶ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 1 and the album of Leonhard Lang von Durach (messenger), Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 107^v.

⁷ Sinapius 1720, 230–234 (this Caspar von Abschatz is briefly mentioned on p. 233).

⁸ Documentation on this mission can be found in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (henceforth HHStA), Turcica I, Karton 52–54.

⁹ On the German House, see Eyice 1970.

¹⁰ Besolt 1595, 521. On the disputed nature of the 'present', see Petritsch 1993.

¹¹ Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 53, Konv. 1, fol. 61^r.

¹² Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 54, Konv. 2, fol. 66^r. Liechtenstein died near Gallipoli and never reached these curative waters.

arrived a year earlier himself as a tribute-carrying envoy and was unexpectedly named ambassador following the death of his predecessor. Abschatz remained as a junior member of the retinue until April 1587, when, at the age of sixteen, he briefly served as a courier.¹³ Abschatz left the Ottoman Empire for good together with Eytzing and his retinue in September 1587. Upon his return to central Europe, he remained in Vienna at least through April 1588, when he collected the signature of the soldier Hans Gall Fayg von Anhausen as his final dated entry from the city.¹⁴ It is unclear what, if any, formal role he filled in the years following his stay in Constantinople, but the social networks recorded in his album were increasingly confined to members of the Silesian nobility. In 1588 alone, he collected seventy-five entries, many of them consisting of no more than a name, an abbreviated motto, and a year. Prominent among them were members of the Silesian Falkenhayn, Glaubitz, Kittlitz, Kottwitz, Kreckwitz, Nostitz, Rothkirch, Rottwitz, Schweinitz, and Strachwitz families. This indicates Abschatz may have returned home. The brevity of these entries also highlights a trend that can be observed in many late sixteenth-century *alba*, a privileging of quantity over quality which resulted in far less intimate records of encounter. In several instances, the same person signed the album twice on different pages. Such careless collecting may have happened as albums were passed around during large social events. This trend continued until 1607, when the thirty-six-year-old Caspar laid his album aside for unknown reasons.

Like several members of his family and many of the men he travelled with, Caspar von Abschatz was probably a Protestant. A signature in Hebrew and Latin appears on the final page of the album written by the controversial Lutheran theologian serving as superintendent of the Church of Peter and Paul in Silesian Liegnitz (modern Legnica, Poland), Leonhard Krenzheim. Throughout the 1580s, Krenzheim had been warding off charges of Crypto-Calvinism. Shortly after his entry in Abschatz's album (13 July 1588), he lost his battle against his accusers and was ousted from this post.¹⁵

An unlabelled image of a moustached man on horseback bound near the end of the volume may be a representation of Abschatz himself (Fig. 3). He is dressed in a fine black cloak with wide sleeves, tightly fitted black hose, and large black gloves. In his right hand, he clasps a red satchel. He wears a crisp white ruff around his neck and a feathered cap with a decorative band and short brim. Behind him, a jumbled cityscape filled with towers topped by crosses stretches

¹³ Annotation on Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 2 (1587 IV), fol. 145^r.

¹⁴ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 549.

¹⁵ Pohlig 2007, 216–224.



Fig. 3: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scriin. 198a, p. 771. Caspar von Abschatz (?) on horseback with an imaginary cityscape, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scriin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

along an indistinct shoreline. Four large boats, two with sails raised, float in the body of water to his right. Closer to the foreground, two mills, several city gates, and a prominent building with a stepped gable complete the urban littoral. Behind the city, jagged mountains with a few scattered buildings give way to fiery skies and large grey storm clouds. The chaotic spread of domes, towers, mills, and Renaissance gables combined with the dramatic weather point to a landscape of the mind, rather than of a distinct location. Abschatz sits erect on his horse, riding serenely under the stormy skies that had set the stage for the collection in which the image is bound.

2 Caspar von Abschatz's *album amicorum*

The album itself measures 14 × 10.5 cm and includes 808 pages with over 300 folios of decorated paper. These folios set the background for 483 entries in various combinations of German, Latin, Italian, French, Czech, Dutch, Hungar-

ian, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. This makes it an extraordinarily large, precious, and complicated example from the genre. Closer examination reveals that it is a multi-layered object filled with additions, edits, and erasures. Abschatz began his collection on a set of white paper, some printed with blank escutcheons designed by Jost Amman.¹⁶ These were then irregularly interleaved with decorated papers and sewn together in a finely-tooled leather binding. In the early modern equivalent to unfriending someone on Facebook, a heavy editorial hand ripped at least thirty folios from the binding before the pages were numbered. Several folios are only partially torn, suggesting the album was also mishandled.

Based on the appearance of dated signatures on different types of paper in the collection, Abschatz acquired some of his decorated papers *prior to* his arrival in Constantinople, either in central Europe or in the Balkans. The first dated signature on paper sprinkled with brown paint (6 October 1584) comes from Plovdiv, where Abschatz and his company stopped on their journey. A few days later in Edirne, another member of his traveling party signed the album on a folio of yellow tinted paper sprinkled with gold leaf.¹⁷ Abschatz might have acquired the papers in Vienna, where a vibrant decorated paper trade was just beginning.¹⁸ Another possibility is that he acquired the collection in the Balkans on the road to Constantinople. This hypothesis is further supported by observing the pattern of signatures over time on an increasing variety of decorated papers, which would suggest Abschatz had purchased different types of paper gradually rather than all at once. As I will argue below, these extraordinarily fine folios represent an unprecedented range of decorative motifs and techniques. Thus, while many of the signatures he gathered immediately after arrival were still on plain white pages, others appear on an increasing variety of tinted, dusted, sprinkled, marbled, and silhouetted papers. Furthermore, a note on a tinted green folio in Abschatz's hand, 'Das Blatt ist auch mein' ('This leaf is also mine'),¹⁹ is a possible reference to the fierce competition for the finest specimens.

The album is further embellished with a handful of evocative gouache genre scenes, single costumed figures, and visual renderings of proverbs. These include

¹⁶ These had originally appeared in a collection of epigrams, Egenolpho 1579. None of the epigrams are included on the versos in Abschatz's album, indicating they were acquired as a set of stand-alone prints.

¹⁷ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 769 and 675 respectively.

¹⁸ Before his departure from Vienna, he met with and asked for signatures from Franz Khevenhüller (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 135) and Augustin Fleck zu Penckh (p. 565), both of whom had participated in the 1582 delegation to Constantinople.

¹⁹ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 21.



Fig. 4: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 385. Couple on a sleigh led by lobsters, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

remarkably playful images, like a couple riding a sleigh led by wandering lobsters (Fig. 4), an allusion to the irrationality of love that pulls in all directions. Also included are a charming nuptial ceremony between two rosy cheeked lovers, a witch and devil hunt, and a woman weighing her love interests on a scale. Several of the allegorical scenes appear to be modelled on emblems designed by Jost Amman (the same artist who designed the printed blank escutcheons).²⁰

It is impossible to determine when such stand-alone images were added onto blank pages of the album, yet as a collection of paper bound together, the album took its final form in Constantinople. Abschatz hired an Ottoman book-binder to sew the pages together and surround it in a decorative encasing. The brown leather binding is mounted on pasteboard and tooled with gold and pres-

²⁰ I wish to acknowledge Malcom Jones for his work in tracking down several of these images. An overview of Jones' connections can be found on in a collection entitled 'Album Amicorum' on Pinterest with accompanying notes. On the sleigh led by lobsters, see Jones 2022.

sure-moulded filigree arabesques. At the centre of the front cover is a large gold medallion with a small medallion above and below. Fine lines of gold connected these central motifs to tooled leather arabesques repeated in the cusped corners. This is then enclosed in a frame of acanthus scrollwork and knotwork, all embellished with gold. On the back cover, the same design appears in its negative form, with the cusped corners highlighted in gold against the brown leather surface. This binding closely resembles several contemporary *alba* used in the German House.²¹ The decorative motifs, technique, and materials confirm that Abschatz's album and others like it were transimperial objects, at once Central European and Ottoman. At some point after it was bound in this order, the folios were paginated in black ink on the upper outer corner of each page.

3 Collecting the German House and the road to and from it

Abschatz's album is one of fifty similar objects used in Ottoman Constantinople in the second half of the sixteenth century. Such artefacts were collected by a wide range of inhabitants, from cooks, messengers, and priests, to pages, apothecaries, and pilgrims passing through.²² These sources are invaluable for reconstructing the social and cultural worlds of the hundreds of central Europeans who passed through the rooms of the German House. Abschatz is no exception in this regard. The album includes ninety-nine signatures from Constantinople and its immediate environment as well as another nineteen entries collected on the road to the city. In total, 118 men lent Abschatz their names, mottos, and affectionate words of friendship during his stay in the Ottoman Empire. This makes Abschatz's album one of the most important examples of the genre, second in size only to that of Sebald Plan, long-time resident and master of the kitchens.²³ Most of the men who signed the album were retinue members of one of four ambassadorial missions: Paul von Eytzing's tribute-carrying turned resident ambassador mission (1583–1587); Heinrich von Liechtenstein's tribute carrying mission (1584); Hans

²¹ For example, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Oct. Lat. 451; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 206 Blank; and London, British Museum, 1986,0625,0.1. For very similar examples on Ottoman manuscripts, see Ontario, Aga Khan Museum, AKM389; Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett Yahuda 1439; and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.42.

²² On the albums of the German House, see Radway 2023.

²³ Prague, Strahov Library, DG IV 25.

Friedrich Hoffmann's tribute carrying mission (1585–1586); and Bartholomäus Pezzen's mission as incoming resident ambassador with a tribute payment (1587–1592). For such embassies, Abschatz's album is extraordinarily important for reconstructing a broader (but not full) extent of these retinues where archival sources fall silent. These have been reconstructed in the appendix where possible.

As Abschatz travelled to Constantinople, he recorded his movement through the Balkans in an uncommon manner, with the signatures of his fellow travellers in Buda (6–7 September 1584), Belgrade (17–22 September 1584), Sofia (1 October 1584), Plovdiv (5–7 October 1584), and Edirne (12 October 1584). Album entries were usually collected as parting gestures or to commemorate particularly festive occasions. Others who gathered signatures as they travelled across the Balkans with an ambassadorial retinue include Arnold Manlius (medical doctor) and Salomon Schweigger (theologian), both of whom collected professional contacts outside their traveling party.²⁴ Instead, cross-referencing the entries gathered on the road with other sources reveals that each belonged to a member of the ambassador's retinue. In Plovdiv, for example, Abschatz asked for signatures from several members of the envoy's staff: Martin Michel of Greifswald (the barber), Bartholomäus Gebhart (the apothecary), Johann Jacob Eggloff (the master of the stables), and Johann Purgleuttner (the master of the kitchens).²⁵ Also in Plovdiv, Abschatz gathered the signatures of two men presumably working for the envoy in an intellectual capacity: Melchior Besolt, who penned a travel narrative recording the journey, and Hans Löwenklaw, who later went on to edit several primary sources on the Ottoman Empire for publication.²⁶ Melchior Besolt's narrative reveals the circumstances surrounding the several days of signature-gathering in Plovdiv: the traveling party was held back because of Bayram celebrations and the sudden illness of the ambassador and several members of his retinue.²⁷ By collecting entries during their slow movement through the Balkans, Abschatz used the album to record the temporal and spatial nature of the act of travelling itself.

In 1587, Abschatz again packed his album and took it on the road, this time serving as a messenger who moved more quickly and with fewer companions.

²⁴ For Manlius, see Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 487. For Schweigger, now in a private collection, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, microfilm HS 2914 (formerly Cod. Ser. n. 2973).

²⁵ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 691, 769, 464, and 667 respectively.

²⁶ Ács 2011.

²⁷ Besolt 1595, 528.

On 23 February, he was still gathering signatures in Constantinople. A month later, he was gathering signatures in Prague. He remained there until 19 April, then returned to Vienna by 23 April. In May, he was again gathering signatures in Constantinople. The context for this journey can be reconstructed from annotations in the margins of archival sources. Abschatz, at the age of sixteen, was sent to Prague with an ambassadorial report and may have also relayed some sensitive information orally. This is indicated by the letters written to Rudolf II and Archduke Ernst in ambassador Eytzing's own hand that accompanied Abschatz, which insist that the courier be returned to Constantinople immediately upon discharging his duties.²⁸ The Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) complied.²⁹

What was he doing on these travels and how does it relate to the album? In Prague, he socialized with several fellow Silesians, including a member of his own family as well as a handful of others affiliated with the court. During his stay in Vienna, he met (and collected signatures from) several members of the Aulic War Council, including the former ambassador David Ungnad von Sonnegg and his assistant Andreas Raisinger. This is significant. Not only does it support the idea that Abschatz had things to discuss with the council, but such connections could have also come in handy as he sought employment at the Habsburg court upon his return.

4 Collecting the Ottoman world

Collecting the Habsburg world was not the only driving force behind his album project. He also cultivated an intimate relationship with certain elements of the Ottoman world, as is demonstrated by six entries in the album that include text in Arabic script or phonetically spelled-out Ottoman Turkish. Two of these were written by Muslim converts from central Europe serving as Ottoman dragomans

28 Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 59, Konv. 2 (1587 II), fol. 102. Another copy of this report was sent with the courier Wolf Martin Haydn, according to a note on the back of a cyphered original in the same folder, fols 36–42. A decoded copy of the report can be found in the same folder, fols 84–100.

29 He is recorded as a courier sent to Buda on 23 April, and again on 8 May. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 2 (1587 IV), fol. 145^v; Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 1 (1587 V), fols 7^v, 10^r. They then forwarded him from Vienna on 17 May. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 1 (1587 V), fol. 107^r. This would suggest that just ten days later he arrived in Constantinople, but it is more likely that either the documents or the album entries were dated according to the old calendar.

(interpreters and go-betweens)³⁰ in the German House: Ali Bey (born Melchior von Tierberg from Friedberg in der Wetterau) and his aged predecessor, Murad Bey (born Balázs Somlyai from Nagybánya, today Baia Mare, Romania).³¹ Murad's entry (Fig. 5) includes two distiches from Cato rendered in Latin, Ottoman Turkish, and phonetically spelled-out to simulate spoken Turkish. This adds a layer of Latinate scholarly posturing to their exchange.³² Murad used such distiches as part of the lessons he offered in the German House, which are recorded in expense reports.³³ At least one other signature of Murad in another contemporary album includes similar texts.³⁴ The other dragoman, Ali Bey, left an entry in German accompanied by a couplet in Ottoman Turkish cautioning against the impulses of a quick heart.³⁵

Though both dragomans are known, Murad and his numerous literary works and translations have received the most scholarly attention. Tijana Krstić has convincingly argued that Murad's translation of Cicero, which was commissioned by the Venetian bailo Marino di Cavalli in 1559, was an original work combining Sufism with stoic philosophy for an Ottoman audience.³⁶ His curious entry in another album from the 1570s has been examined in detail.³⁷ Murad's signature here in Abschatz's album highlights an important aspect of Murad's translation activities: he used Cato both as a teaching tool and to engage in a shared culture of *album amicorum* exchanges that brought the Ottoman and Central European worlds together. This interculturality had its limits. The two German-speaking Christian-born converts were the only Muslims to sign Abschatz's album. Though Abschatz had the opportunity to interact with a limited circle of other Muslims during his many years in Constantinople (such as the janissaries who served as guards and attendants at the House and the messenger-agents with whom he travelled), they did not leave any traces on the pages of his intimate collection.

Instead of collecting entries from Muslim Ottoman subjects, the remaining four entries incorporating Arabic script or spoken Ottoman Turkish were written by long-serving staff members of the House. The Christian dragoman Augerio Zeffi, who had been serving in the German House since the early 1570s, was the

³⁰ Rothman 2009 and Rothman 2021.

³¹ On Ali Bey, see Graf 2014, 141–145, 210. On Murad Bey, see Ács 2000; Krstić 2015.

³² Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 767.

³³ For example, see the payment from 28 February 1584, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 51, Konv. 1 (1584 V), fol. 262^v.

³⁴ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 487, fol. 30^v.

³⁵ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 314.

³⁶ Krstić 2011, 138–193.

³⁷ Ács and Petneházi 2016.

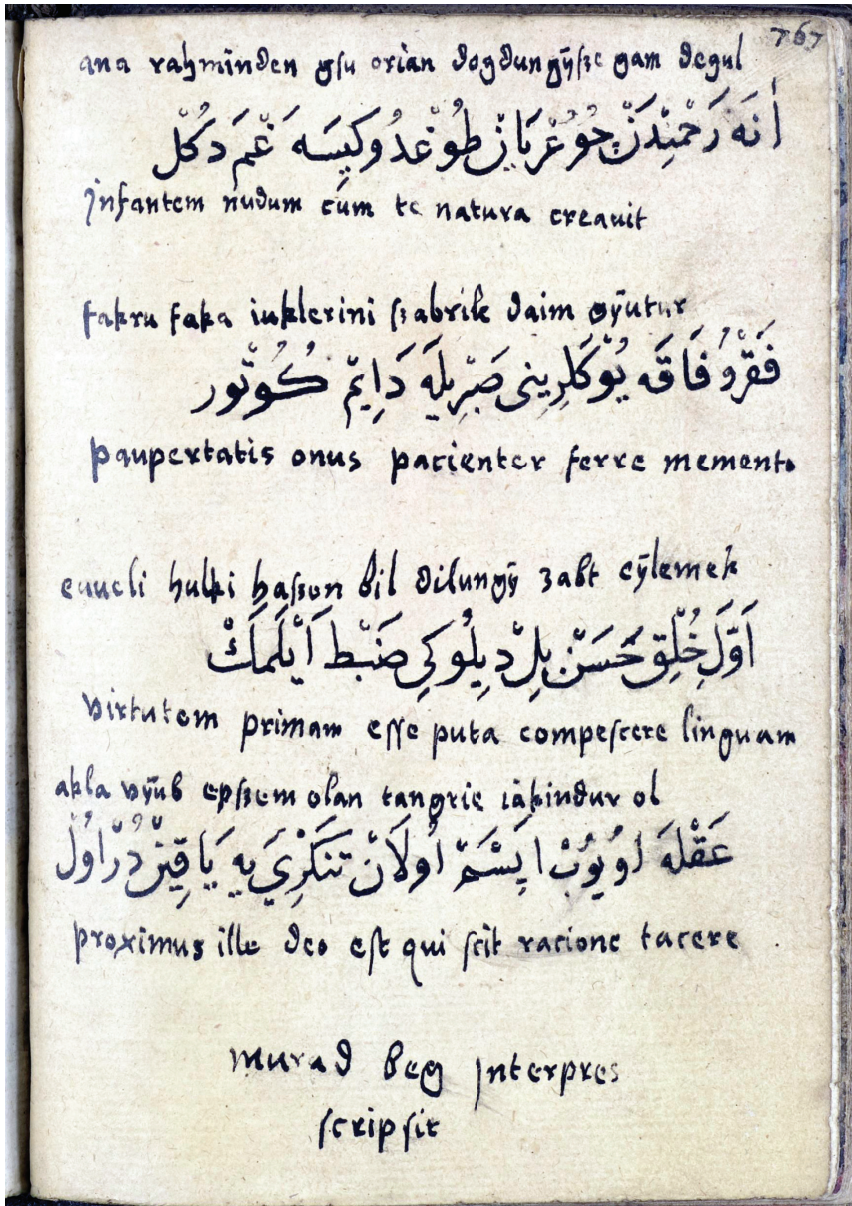


Fig. 5: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 767. Signature of Murad Bey (born Balázs Somlyai) in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, Constantinople, c. 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

son of a dragoman and regularly signed albums showing off his skills in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. In Abschatz's album, Zeffi inserted a Persian couplet from the prologue of Sa'di's *Gulistān*.³⁸ Pellegrino Castelino, another Christian dragoman in the House, signed with a mystical poem in Ottoman Turkish.³⁹ Castelino does not appear in any other album, which suggests that Abschatz made a concerted effort to gather entries from the entire dragoman corps. The final two entries record non-translators experimenting with spoken and written Turkish, indicating a broader interest in Ottoman languages by staff members working beyond the chancellery. Valentin Gadoczy, a member of Eytzing's retinue living in the German House between 1583 and 1587, includes a single line of unintelligible Arabic script between his Italian and German mottos.⁴⁰ Caspar Malik, a procurer and messenger who had been in the House on and off since 1577,⁴¹ on the other hand, included a line of phonetically spelled Turkish which can be read as: 'God is one, he is the light'.⁴² Both of these entries point to a broad (though not always successful) engagement with the Ottoman Turkish language in the late sixteenth-century German House.

In addition to this familiarity with local languages, several signatures reveal that Abschatz had an unusually intimate knowledge of the city beyond the walls of the German House. The album contains a handful of entries inscribed in gardens scattered along the Bosphorus, on boats docked at a harbor of the Golden Horn, in a prison, and in an infrequently visited neighbourhood of Constantinople. For example, Caspar Malik signed the album in the Ayvansaray neighborhood of

³⁸ I would like to thank Ali Ramin Shaghaghi for identifying the quotation. On the use of the *Gulistān* by seventeenth-century Orientalists, see Babinski 2020.

³⁹ I would like to thank Fatih Yücel for his assistance with the poem, which deserves further attention. It is written with a practiced hand, though it includes some mistakes. I was unable to track Castelino's source for this poem.

⁴⁰ The text, sandwiched between an Italian and a German motto both referring to the art of being content with God's will, can be read as *تَانْغَر بَر شَر دَغْشَر* or *خَانْغَر بَر شَدَغْش* (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 683).

⁴¹ Müller 2006, vol. 5, 348–349.

⁴² 'Tengrÿ bir ischi chÿ' (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 601). I would like to thank Pál Fodor for his help with this interpretation. Malik was a messenger and translator active between 1586 and 1593. It is likely that Malik began his career with the support of David Ungnad, president of the Aulic War Council and former resident ambassador to the Ottoman court. In July of 1586, Malik sent Ungnad a letter from Ottoman Pest reporting on troop movements and the procurement of several items at the local market together with a man named János Diák. The letter includes several lines of spoken Ottoman Turkish rendered in Latin script. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 57, Konv. 4 (1586 VII–VIII), fols 31, 33.

Constantinople.⁴³ A man named Hans Hofman signed in the sultan's prisons.⁴⁴ Sigmund Ostrochovský and the Carinthian nobleman Hector von Ernau signed the album while on the galleon of 'Capitan Bassa' on 21 and 24 February 1586 respectively, just before the ship's departure for Alexandria.⁴⁵ Ostrochovský likely accompanied Ernau and the Bohemian nobleman Heinrich Matthias von Thurn on their tour of the Eastern Mediterranean before briefly serving as a courier for the resident ambassador in 1587.⁴⁶

Abschatz's garden entries fall into two categories, those visited for pleasure and those visited out of necessity. Valentin Gadoczy signed in a 'beautiful garden next to the Black Sea near Constantinople', likely visited for pleasure.⁴⁷ The messenger Franz Arconat also signed in a garden near the Black Sea.⁴⁸ Christoph Unelsio, otherwise undocumented, also signed along or perhaps even from the deck of a boat on the Bosphorus.⁴⁹ Georg Eder, also undocumented beyond his album entries, signed in 'the Grotto'⁵⁰ which may have been a reference to the cisterns⁵¹ or the holy springs (*Hagiasma*) connected with orthodox churches. This article began with yet another entry from September 1586 in a garden in Üsküdar that belonged to the steward Hüsrev (*Kethüda*, corrupted to *Tihaya* in the signature). Two further members of the embassy also signed in the same garden: Gabriel Guelrat (5 September 1586) and the secretary who later returned as a resident ambassador, Bartholomäus Pezzen (15 August 1586).⁵² Hüsrev had been a member of the Sokollu family network and once served grand vizier

⁴³ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 601.

⁴⁴ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 676.

⁴⁵ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 461, 607.

⁴⁶ He also signed the album of Johannes Huenich shortly before his departure on 9 February 1586 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Latin 18596, fol. 87^v). On Thurn, whose later travels in the Ottoman empire are more well-known, see Schunka 2010. On Ostrochovský's activities as a courier, see the note on his departure from Constantinople with the post on 19 March 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 1 (1587 III), fol. 189. Last mention of him is made noting his return to Constantinople with the post on 22 June 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 2 (1587 VI), fol. 201^r. He signed the album of Leonhard Lang von Durach, another messenger from the German House, on 12 August 1587 (Doha, Qatar National Library: HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 187^r). On Ernau, see Hanß 2021, 15.

⁴⁷ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 683.

⁴⁸ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 724.

⁴⁹ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 747.

⁵⁰ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 723. For another entry by him, see the Album of Johannes Huenich of Antwerp, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 18596, fol. 92^r.

⁵¹ Shopov 2021, 293.

⁵² Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 302, 370, and 627.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Occasionally mentioned in ambassadorial reports as a go-between and informant for the German House, he had died on the battlefield near Tauris in December 1585.⁵³ So why were these men frequenting his gardens nine months after his death? The answer can be found in an ambassadorial report from 17 September 1586, which explains that several diseases were ripping through Constantinople (the plague, fevers, and *male di malzuco*) and the ambassador had moved to a 'garden' together with his retinue.⁵⁴ The fact that this belonged to the recently deceased Hüsrev suggests that the move was organized and paid for by the Ottoman court.

Such broad familiarity with Constantinople and its environs was unusual. Most albums containing signatures gathered outside the German House reference Kadıköy, Üsküdar, or the Columna Pompeii on the mouth of the Bosphorus where it meets the Black Sea.⁵⁵ Abschatz's album also includes these more common destinations. For example, Georg Hartman von Liechtenstein, brother of the 1584 tribute-carrying delegate, and the Galata-born Christian dragoman Augerio Zeffi both signed in Kadıköy on separate occasions.⁵⁶ Nicolo Perria, the son of a dragoman who moved into the house as a youth and served the court in several capacities while attempting to master the Ottoman language, signed at the Columna Pompeii.⁵⁷

Contemporary *alba amicorum* from the German House are usually packed with costumed figures, genre scenes, and city views related to their stays.⁵⁸ Considering the variety of visual materials available at Abschatz's fingertips, it is rather surprising that his album includes only four images inspired by its Ottoman surroundings: a duel (Fig. 6), a damaged image of a standing sultana (Fig. 7), and two Ottoman seafaring vessels (Fig. 9).⁵⁹ The duel appears on the back of a folio decorated with stencilled marbled circles. An uneven black frame sets off the image from the bottom of the page, which may have been left empty for a signature that was never added. Two figures on horseback charge at one another in meadow along a river, their horses standing on their hind legs. Behind them, a bridge connects two towns, one with a hilltop fortress. On the left, a tur-

⁵³ See Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 30, Konv. 3 (1574 VI–VII), fol. 69^v; Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 56, Konv. 2 (1585 XI–XII), fol. 144^v.

⁵⁴ Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 58, Konv. 1 (1586 IX–X), fols 55^v–56^r.

⁵⁵ Stichel 1999.

⁵⁶ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 230, 534. On Zeffi, see Stoyanova 2017, 99–100.

⁵⁷ On Perria (also Perio, Peria), see Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 68, Konv. 2 (1588 XI), fols 109^r–109^v.

⁵⁸ Radway 2023.

⁵⁹ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 530, 470, 607, and 613 respectively.



Fig. 6: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 530. Duel in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

baned Muslim wears an ankle length red kaftan and clutches a lance, clearly meant to evoke a ‘Turk’. On the right, an armoured knight shoots a wheellock gun. A bright red bullet is suspended in mid-air between the two figures. Such duels were common in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderlands even though they were officially forbidden by central authorities.⁶⁰ More evenly matched opponents appear in other contemporary albums from the German House with nuanced costumes reflecting the complicated mixtures of armour, weapons, and sartorial traditions that characterized the borderlands.⁶¹ Here, in this crude rendering of a duel that highlights the difference between the Muslim Ottoman and his Christian opponent, the unequally matched weapons imply that the knight with the firearm will emerge victorious.

The damaged figure of a standing sultana with a jewelled dagger tucked into her belt is copied directly from contemporary costume books associated with the German House. This figure with an elaborate headdress and richly patterned and

⁶⁰ Takáts 1913.

⁶¹ *Album amicorum* of Johann Joachim Prack von Asch, Los Angeles, Calif., Getty Research Institute, 2013.M.24, fol. 120^v; and *album amicorum* of Johann Reichart von Steinbach, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. B 1039, fol. 154^r.

layered garments, is usually found flanked by a black eunuch and an attendant (Fig. 8).⁶² Here, she is shown alone holding an incomplete coat of arms and is labelled in Latin.

One of the galleon images accompanies the signature of Ostrochovský as he boarded a ship to depart for the Eastern Mediterranean. The image embellished with gold details appears on a slightly smaller piece of paper that was pasted onto a larger decorated folio (Fig. 9). A few pages later, another similar ship labelled a 'Karmissal' appears without an accompanying signature. Both resemble ships floating in the waters of contemporary portolan charts and seascapes.⁶³ It is possible an Ottoman artist may have created these two small images. Nevertheless, the images of the Ottoman world gathered in Abschatz's album are derivative and impersonal.

Abschatz's greatest intimacy with Ottoman material culture was embodied in the extraordinary variety of silhouetted, tinted, and marbled papers. Many of these papers are watermarked, which means that before they were smoothed and decorated, they had arrived in Constantinople from Central Europe and Italy as part of a broader trade in paper.⁶⁴ The watermarks vary, but include: an anchor encircled (on tinted papers and papers sprinkled with gold and silver leaf),⁶⁵ an angel encircled (silhouette, tinted, sprinkled, and single-sided marbled papers), an angel encircled above the letter 'A' (sprinkled paper), an angel encircled topped by a six-pointed star (silhouette papers), an angel encircled topped by a trefoil (sprinkled papers), an angel encircled topped by a pointed quatrefoil (silhouette papers),⁶⁶ an *agnus dei* encircled topped by a Greek cross (silhouette and sprinkled papers),⁶⁷ a bull's head topped with a pointed trefoil (tinted papers),⁶⁸ and

⁶² Other identical images appear in an album now held in Jerusalem, The Museum for Islamic Art, RH 86.443 (587), unpag., and Oxford, All Souls College Library, Ms. 314, fol. 24^r (numbered 29, 30, 31) and an album used from the 1590s as an *album amicorum* by Kurfürst Friedrich IV. von der Pfalz held by the Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 601, fol. 7^r.

⁶³ See examples in Taşkın 2013.

⁶⁴ On the paper trade, see Babinger 1931.

⁶⁵ This is one of the most common watermarks found on Ottoman documents of the sixteenth century. See Velkov 2005, 3–4, 78–84; Mošin 1973.

⁶⁶ Angel watermarks appear to be much less common on Ottoman documents. All those surveyed by Velkov are from the 1630s and take a very different form. Velkov 2005, 24, 360–361. Instead, these watermarks are all variations of Briquet 1907, 642–668, though not one is an exact match.

⁶⁷ Similar examples appear in Velkov 2005, 1–2, 55–62.

⁶⁸ Velkov 2005, 38, 403–408.



Fig. 7: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 470. Sultana in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).



Fig. 8: Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Hz. 12, fol. 21'. Sultana with the chief black eunuch and an attendant, 1584–1607.



Fig. 9: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 607. Galleon with entry by Sigmund Ostrochovský in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 21 February 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

three hills topped by a bird encircled (single-sided marbled papers).⁶⁹ While some of these watermarks appear widely on Ottoman documents of the period (like the anchor encircled) and were likely part of the Italian-Ottoman paper trade, others are uncommon for an Ottoman context. The variety of angels encircled are particularly noteworthy as they appear frequently on ambassadorial reports sent from the German House beginning around 1577 under David Ungnad.⁷⁰ The Ottoman paper decorators and the chancellery inside the German House seem to have sourced raw paper from the same stationers.

Silhouette papers had been used in *alba amicorum* in the German House since the early 1570s.⁷¹ The earliest designs were intended for Ottoman manuscripts and included large single-color blocks for text framed by stylized floral patterns, such as those found in several sixteenth-century collections of poetry.⁷² The central blocks could also be used for painted and pasted images in cut-and-paste albums, called *muraqqa'*.⁷³ In the 1580s, the *alba amicorum* of the German House begin to include silhouette papers with more dramatic full-page designs including vases, pavilions, elaborate frames, and gardens. Some of these were utilized as frames for coats of arms and signatures (Fig. 10). Many of the floral and pavilion motifs relate to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century *kati'*, or cut-paper arts.⁷⁴ Abschatz's album is one of the earliest to include these new designs.

One silhouette folio in the album even includes the initials 'HF' in the gable above a pavilion with several trees and shrubs embellished in gold outlines (Fig. 11). Papers produced for the Ottoman market sometimes had short textual

⁶⁹ This watermark appears on several reports and personal letters sent by ambassador Eytzing in 1585–1587, such as the note letter to Rudolf II written in his own hand from 21 January 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 59, Konv. 1, fols 194–195.

⁷⁰ See, for example, the angels encircled topped by six-pointed stars in the original cyphered report from 27 November 1577 in Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 36, Konv. 1, fols 169–179. These are countermarked with '3M' topped by a trefoil. Since the folios in the Abschatz are cut to a smaller size than the archival documents, the countermarks are not visible. The latest examples of a similar watermark I have encountered in the documents from the German House are the early reports of ambassador Eytzing, such as that from 6 May 1584 (above an 'S' and countermarked with a 'CC'-trefoil) in Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 51, Konv. 1, fols 60–64. See also the explanation of the bird encircled watermark above.

⁷¹ Sönmez 2016.

⁷² For some examples, see Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, TSK R. 738 mük; Amasya, Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, BA 02134; and several manuscripts in Paris, BnF: Turc 302; Turc 288; Turc 289; Turc 1144.

⁷³ For example, see London, British Library, Or 2709. On the genre, see Fetvacı 2019.

⁷⁴ Çağman 2014, 107–112, 183–201.

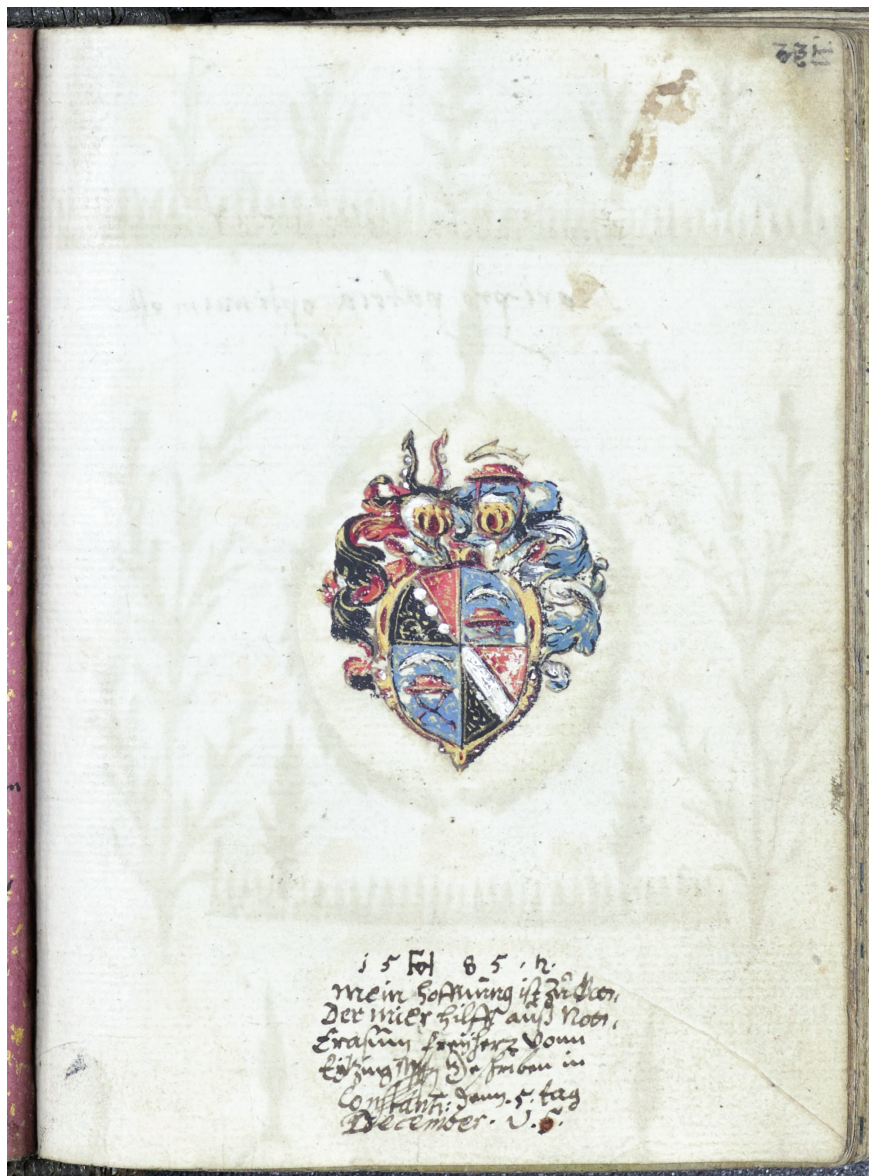


Fig. 10: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrip. 198a, p. 231. Silhouette paper with decorative frame around a coat of arms, signature of Erasmus von Eytzing in Constantinople, signature from 5 December 1585. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrip. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).



Fig. 11: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 165. Silhouette paper with the initials 'HF', 1584–1587. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, <https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370> (CC BY-SA 4.0 [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.de>]).

excerpts written in Persian or Arabic, however Latin letters are unknown. This indicates that the silhouette paper in question was designed for a European consumer.

As with the silhouette papers, the marbled papers in Abschatz's album also display cutting-edge developments in decorated paper designs. The highly prized art of paper marbling had been only recently introduced to Constantinople by Persian artists.⁷⁵ In the 1580s, artists in Constantinople began to experiment with new pigment combinations and stencilled patterns. The first signature to appear on the verso of a single-sided folio of marbled paper in Abschatz's album (dated 26 November 1584) just weeks after their arrival in Constantinople is by Johann Purgleutner (also Burckleitner), the master of the kitchens for the tribute-carrying delegate von Liechtenstein.⁷⁶

The extraordinary stencilled marbled paper with which this essay began shows a cutting-edge experimental design. Its negative spaces are better suited to serve as backdrops for *alba amicorum* signatures. These innovations appeared in marbled papers around 1586 and both show up for the first time in Abschatz's album. It is tempting to speculate that either Abschatz or the Styrian nobleman Abraham Gablkhöver, was involved in transmitting the innovation to the residents, if not in the innovation itself. Gablkhöver's name appears on the earliest folios of stencilled marbled paper in three other contemporary albums.⁷⁷ Based on his signatures alone, Gablkhöver seems to have joined the retinue of ambassador Eytzing around 1586 and departed with him in August 1587. Until more documents are uncovered, we cannot know with certainty what, if any, role he played in the decorated paper trade. With these new designs, marbled folios could retain their exotic decorative programs while still functioning as signature backdrops. Importantly, neither these stencilled circles and crescents nor the large negative spaces in marbling designs can be seen in Ottoman manuscripts. Instead, these experimental folios quickly spread in Europe, where, in the early seventeenth-century stencilling techniques were used to dramatic effect.

⁷⁵ Benson 2023.

⁷⁶ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 670. He is listed as the master of the kitchens in Besolt 1595, 521. Purgleutner had also signed in Plovdiv a few weeks and pages earlier in the album (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 667).

⁷⁷ The album of Leonhard Lang von Durach, Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 59^r (dated 9 August 1587); and the album of Hans Schumacher, private collection, fol. 73^r (dated 14 August 1587). The latter album was sold at auction on 17 November 2010, at Tajan in Paris. The folio with the signature of Gablkhöver was published in Breslauer 1979, 84–85 and color plate VI.

Conclusion

What does this curated collection of a Silesian teenager reveal about early modern Eurasian cross-cultural encounters? Abschatz's *album amicorum* displays a remarkable familiarity with his surroundings. It is filled with textual excerpts in the languages of the Ottoman court, Ottoman decorated papers, and references to gardens, grottos, waterways, and neighbourhoods around the city. At the same time, this deeply personal artifact also embodies the distance Abschatz kept from his environment. It contains few signatures from Ottoman Muslims and a limited repertoire of generic images of costumed figures. This complicated artifact encompassing his experiences remained with Abschatz for the rest of his life. The excerpts of written and spoken Ottoman Turkish and the bright decorated papers were all packed into a small object which could fit inside his pocket. The presence of these visual and textual elements meant that he, and those hundreds of acquaintances viewing and signing his album after his return to Europe, had repeated opportunities to engage with the Ottoman world. Abschatz's *album amicorum* shows how an Ottoman sojourn could be interwoven and embedded within a Central European nobleman's world.

Several recent studies in intellectual history have broadened their scope to include a wider cast of characters in the history of philology, the study of Islam, and European scholarly engagement with the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁸ Interestingly, Hans Löwenklaw, who has long been considered to be one of the most important orientalist with direct experience of the Ottoman Empire, signed only one *album amicorum* during his two-month stay in Ottoman territory: Abschatz's album while in Plovdiv. Stefan Hanß has recently argued that many central Europeans engaged with the Ottoman Turkish language as amateurs in the seventeenth century.⁷⁹ Such practices included individuals like the Carinthian nobleman Hector von Ernau, whose scholarly activities are virtually unknown, but who may have been the ghost author of the first printed Ottoman Turkish grammar book from 1612. Ernau coincidentally, also signed Abschatz's album.⁸⁰ Abschatz's album records how central Europeans had casual and at times semi-scholarly engagement with the languages of the Ottoman Empire at earlier dates as well.

Abschatz was not an early modern orientalist. Unlike the many travel writers and scholars before and after him, he never went on to publish a treatise or travel narrative based on his experiences. His engagement with the Ottoman world was

⁷⁸ Ghobrial 2013; Bevilacqua 2018; Babinski 2020.

⁷⁹ Hanß 2021.

⁸⁰ Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 461.

personal. Until very recently, few scholars accidentally encountered his album's brilliant pages, marvelling at its complexity under florescent lighting. Its recent digitization under a creative commons licence has made it possible for a new generation of scholars to encounter it in the most unlikely places. I first saw a scan from the album floating around on Pinterest while researching for my book on fifty other similar albums. By the time I visited the album in person in the summer of 2021, I had nearly memorized its contents. What struck me most as I held the small volume in my hands was its intimate size, its weight in the hand, and its loose and worn binding. Abschatz's cherished album was well-used and frequently revisited by Abschatz himself and by subsequent owners. It was a single man's pocket-sized social and material biography: both central European and Ottoman at its core.

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Appendix: Entries in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz⁸¹

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
1		1588-05-27	Caspar von Abschatz	coat of arms, title page
3		1589	D. von Schwemm	
3		1589	G. von Sack	
3		1589	H. Bunsch, called Ratzbar	
4		1589	Caspar von Kreckwitz auf Joppendorff	later went to Constantinople in 1591 with the retinue of Friedrich von Kreckwitz < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1136754911 >
4		1589	Caspar Koppett	
4		1589	C. von Sack	
4		1589	Friedrich von Motschelnitz	
5		1589	Christoph Hocke	
5		1589	Opitz von Falckenhayn	
5		1589	M. Raußendorff	
13		1588	Johann von Hardegg	
13		1588	Moritz von Brunn	
14		1588	Johann Kfeller von Langgrün	
14		1589	L. G. von Sack, the younger	
17		1588	H. von Falckenhayn	

⁸¹ The names in the following list have been standardized. For transcriptions of the original versions as they appear in the album, see <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammuebchern.html?permaLink=1587_abschatz>.

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
17		1588	F. von Ramnitz	
18		1589	Ernst von Schweidiger	
20		1591	G. von Rumnitz	
25		1588	W. D. von Rohnaur	
39		1588	Johann von Bock	
43		1589	Otto von Zietwietz	
45		1588	N. von Kalckreuth	
49	[Constantinople]	1587	Lorenzo Bernardo	Venetian Bailo, coat of arms < https://d-nb.info/gnd/1236030435 >
63	Vienna	1587-05-09	David Ungnad, Freiherr zu Sonnegk	president of the Aulic War Council and former resident ambassador, met during Abschatz's trip as a courier back to central Europe < http://d-nb.info/gnd/12025509X >
73	Constantinople	1587-08-07	Paul von Eytzing	resident ambassador
89		1589	Nikolas von Zedlitz	
89		1589	H. von Ktlmn [?]	
89		1589	Georg von Pogerell	(† 1617)
89		1589	Balthasar von Mutschelnitz	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1164204491 >
96	Constantinople	1587-06-22	Krzysztof Dzierżek	Polish ambassador to the Ottoman court
113		1590	G. von Rumnitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
117		1588	K. von Thaer	
117		1588	S. von Glaubitz	
120		1588	Friedrich von Dhona	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/130869325 >
128		1589	Nikolas von Leonberg	
128		1589	Georg von Biber	
128		1589	Nikolas von Loss	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/121988813 >
128		1589	Caspar von Borlitz	
131	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Carl Rainer	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing
132				coat of arms
134	Constantinople	1586	Johann Friedrich Hoffmann, the younger	tribute-carrying ambassador < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1089351348 >
135		1584	Franz Khevenhüller	coat of arms
141		[1584]	Nikolas von Zrínyi	coat of arms
148	Vienna	1587	Landeus Angsel	
155		1589	H. von Popschütz	
155		1589	B. von Nostitz	
155		1589	L. von Salisch	
155		1589	Heinrich von Haugwitz	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1050383818 >
155		1589	G. von Lemberg	
155		1589	L. von Bunsch	
155		1589	H. von Kutschin	
157		1589	George von Stusche	
157		1589	Johann von Nibschitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
157		1589	F. H. von Schlichtig	
172				landscape scene
173	Vienna	1584-05-17	Maximilian von Salm	coat of arms < https://d-nb.info/gnd/1156326214 >
175	Constantinople	1586-02-18	Heinrich Matthias von Thurn	Bohemian nobleman on a pilgrimage, later one of the chief instigators of the defenestration of Prague, returned to Constantinople during the Thirty Year's War < http://d-nb.info/gnd/12132141X >
176		1590	Johann von [?] auf [?]	coat of arms
177		1584	Judit von Thurn	
178				coat of arms
179	[Vienna]	1583	Wolfgang Heinrich Strein zu Schwarzenau	later led a tribute-carrying delegation in 1590 < http://d-nb.info/gnd/119841738 >
179	[Vienna]	1583	Johann Christoph von Tschernembl	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/119852861 >
179		1584	Johann Gotthard Strein zu Schwarzenau	
179		1584	Franz Khevenhüller	in Constantinople in 1582, traveled and then returned to work for Archduke Maximilian
179	Constantinople	1584	Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1041725590 >
180	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Johann Löwenklau	intellectual in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, in the German House between 1584-11-15 and 1585-01-19, later became a famous orientalist < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1089470711 >

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
180	Constantinople	1584-11-13	Wolfgang Ungnad zu Sonnegk	(† 1594) relative of former resident ambassador
181		1584	Balthasar von Danwitz	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1140877186 >
181		1584	Johann Haiden	
182		1584	Georg Achatius Matseber	
182		1584	Braxelis Matseber, née Kirchenberger	
182		1584	K. G. von O.	
182		1584	M. G. von O.	
182		1584	S. G. von O.	
182		1584	Anna Maria Manning, née von Thurn	
183		1584	Kasper von Bischofsheim	
184		1584	Johann Wilhelm Geyer von Osterberg, the younger	
185		1584	Anton Trautson	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1171230818 >
186	Constantinople	1584-11-11	Georg Andreas von Behaim	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
187	Constantinople	1584-11-12	Carl von Dietrichstein	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
190	[Vienna]	1584-03-07	Carl von Lathem	
193		1588	Friedrich von Stange	
194		1588	H. von Brauchitsch	
194		1588	G. von Schweinichen	
194		1588	M. von Kottwitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
197				landscape scene with two women and five angels
205				coat of arms
208		1588	Johann Ohm, the elder	
208		1588	Hermann Prämnitz	
208		1588	David Borschnitz zu Obernick	
208		1588	Johann Ohm, the younger	
209		1588	Albrecht Luck	
209		1588	Wolfgang Schweidiger zu Poltschin	
209		1588	Sebald von Neßwitz	
210		1588	Balthasar Proennitz [?]	
210		1588	Georg von Löben	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/119740206 >
210		1588	M. von Kottwitz	
211		1589	A. von Schellendorff	
211		1589	Reichard von Krogke	
211		1589	O. von Schellendorff	
212		1589	M. von Lüttwitz	
212		1589	Leopold von Petersdorff	
215	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Wolfgang Sebastian Hoffmann	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure, otherwise undocumented, signed the album twice
217		1589	Otto von Schellendorff	
217		1589	H. von Loße	
217		1589	A. von Falkenhayn	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
219		1589	V. von Abschatz	
220		1593	Johann von Mülheim	
221		1593	Friedrich von Schlichtig	
222		1593	Balthasar von Kreischelwitz	
222		1593	M. E. von Kopisch	
226		1601	M. von H.	
226		1601	H. E. v. H.	
226		1601	S. E. v. Ce.	
226		1601	Georg von Tetwen [?]	
229		1587	Johann Septimius von Liechtenstein	former member of resident ambassador Sinzendorff's retinue, went on a pilgrimage afterwards < http://d-nb.info/gnd/136698654 >
230	Kadıköy	1584-10-23	Georg Hartmann von Liechtenstein	retinue member (and brother) of the tribute-carrying ambassador Heinrich von Liechtenstein, died on 1585-01-09 in Constantinople
231	Constantinople	1585-12-05	Erasmus von Eytzing	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, coat of arms
232		1587	Maximilian von Breuner	< https://d-nb.info/gnd/116493577 >
235	Constantinople	1587-05-24	Vespasiano Casteletto del Nomi	retinue member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen
244		1595	H. von Spiller	duck
244		1595	Christoph von Schellendorff	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
244		1595	F. von Moll zu Mulrednitz, the younger	
245		1595	Johann von Warnsdorf	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1078073929 >
247	Constantinople	1586[-02]	Wolfgang Sebastian Hoffmann	see 215
249	Constantinople	1586-02-08	Peter Prajma von Bilkow, the younger	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure, otherwise undocumented
263		1588	Adam von Abschatz	
267		1607	Wilhelm von Eck	
267		1607	He. von Elbel	
267		1607	N. von Borwitz	
268		1607	Friedrich Faust von Sturm	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1014334144 >
270	Prague	1587-04-08	Ullman von Nostitz	
270		1588	Albrecht von Rottkirch	
270		1588	Friedrich von Scheindl	
271		1588	A. von Abschatz	
272		1589	Heinrich von Polckenhain, the younger	
273		1587	Sigmund von Abschatz	signed the same folio twice
273		1588	Sigmund von Sommerfeld	
273	Prague	1587-04-19	Sigmund von Abschatz	signed the same folio twice
275		1588	I. von Hase	
276			Salomon von Eicke	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
278		1588	David von Eicke	
280		1588	Sebastian von Falckenhayn	
280		1588	Joachim von Reibnitz	nude figure
283		1588	C. von Hoschatz	
283		1588	Adam von Rothkirch	
283		1588	Johann Albrecht von Rothkirch	
284		1590	G. von Loss	coat of arms
286	Javor	1590-06-06	W. G. von Eicke	
287	Javor	1590-06-06	Conrad von Schwabsdorf	
288	Javor	1590-06-06	A. B. von Abschatz	
289		1588	L. von Salisch	
290		1588	Oswald von Tschammer, the younger	coat of arms
291				wedding scene
293		1588	H. van der Knomi [?]	
294		1588	D. von Brauchitsch	
299	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Wolfgang Powisch	on a pilgrimage < http://d-nb.info/gnd/119793407 >
300		1590	Adam von Schliewitz	
300		1590	Christoph von Sommerfeld	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
302	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hüstre Kethüda	1586	Bartholomäus Pezzen	secretary, returned in 1587 as resident ambassador <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1136981179>
303		1587		incomplete entry
304		1590	Walter von Redern zu Probsthain	coat of arms
306	Constantinople	1587-02-21	Georg Christoph Fernberger von Eggenberg	secretary, messenger, went on a tour of the eastern Mediterranean <http://d-nb.info/gnd/121173194>
306	Vienna	1587	Johann Baumgartner	
308	[Constantinople] Columna Pompeii	1586	Nikolas Peria	retinue member of resident ambassador Breuner (arrived in 1581), his father had been a dragoman, he was training to become a translator as well but could not master Ottoman Turkish and stayed on as a servant
310		1590	Friedrich von Polwitz auf Liebenthal	
313		1590	Christoph Unchur von Hindern [?]	coat of arms
314	Constantinople	1587-02-23	Ali Bey, né Melchior von Tierberg	convert to Islam, House dragoman
316		1588	Franz von Busch zu Großstein	
317		1588	Friedrich von Rothkirch	
319		1588	Heinrich von Landskron	
320		1588	David Schaffgotsch	sketch of a hat
320		1588	H. A. von Diekitschitz [?]	
320		1588	A. B. von Lessotha	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
320		1588	G. von Lutkirch	
320		1588	W. E. von Schellendorff	
320		1588	Wolfgang von Ott	
323		1584	E. G. Z. O.	
323		1584	I. G. Z. O.	
323		1584	E. F. S.	
323		1588	H. B. v. Kuhl	
323		1589	Sigmund von Keckwitz	
323		1589	B. von Schichig	
324	[Vienna]	1583	E. M. F. Z. L. v. B.	
324		1583	Am. G. F. Z. A.	
324		1584	Katharina Ott	
324		1584	Maria Pastern	
324		1584	Elisabeth Hagging	
324		1584	Anna Magdalena von Thurm zu Hohenburg	
327		1588	Sigmund von Mausberg	
329	Constantinople	1584	Stephan von Réva, Graf von Turócszent-márton	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
330	Constantinople	1584	Franz Georg Oberndorfer	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023505150>
332	[Vienna]	1583	M. von Reideburg	
335	Vienna	1584	Augustin Glück	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
336	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Johann Basilius von Hohenwart	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein (servant), coat of arms
341	Vienna	1583	Johann von Seidersdorff	coat of arms
342	Vienna	1583-11-24	Georg Zawisch	coat of arms
345	Constantinople	1584-11-09	Anton von Štampach	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
346		1584	Johann Wilhelm von Rombach	coat of arms
350		1590	G. von Eichholtz	
351		1587	H. von Rohn zu Dirschwitz	
352		1588	G. von Ronau	
359	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Christoph von Zettlitz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, otherwise undocumented
361	Vienna	1583-08-16	Adam Saurma von Schlantz	coat of arms
362	Vienna	1583-10-02	Leonhard von Wolff	coat of arms
364		1590	H. von Sack	
365		1598	Bartholomäus von Sack	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/11981305X >
370	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hüsrev Kethüda	1586-09-03	Abraham Gabelkover	joined retinue of resident ambassador Eytzing, possibly active with decorated paper trade

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
371	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Johann von Schneckenhaus	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1142028577 >
372	Constantinople	1586	Rudolf Gall zum Rudolphseck und Lichteneck	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn (as his servant)
373	Constantinople	1586-02-14	Ambrosius Tesmer zu Kolberg	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn
375	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Christoph Simon von Heudorf	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, later went on a pilgrimage
376		1589	A. von Lenberg	
376		1589	G. von Lest	
376		1589	G. von Ecke	
379		1584	Georg Ehrenreich Grueber von Grueb	
380	Vienna	1584-06-12	Wolfgang von Mengersreiter	coat of arms
385				pair of lovers on a sleigh led by wandering lobsters
386	[Vienna]	1584-08	Georg von Sitsch	coat of arms
389	Constantinople	1586-02-18	Carl Nützel von Sündersbühl	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn < http://d-nb.info/gnd/120101211 >
390		1588	A. von Glaubitz	
390		1588	Sebastian von Luck	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
390		1588	Johann von Braun	
394		1588	Georg Rottwitz	
396	Constantinople	1585-08-07	Jacques Bongars	(1554–1612), from Orléans, diplomat and intellectual < http://d-nb.info/gnd/117618349 >
397	Constantinople	1585	Glonciellius [?]	
399	Vienna	1584-08-24	Friedrich von Gallenberg zu Gallenstein	knight on horseback
400				woman with scales weighing an old man with money versus a young man with books
401			Moritz von Miltitz	coat of arms
402		1588	G. von Rothkirch	
403		1588	Wolfram von Rothkirch	
404		1588	W. von Haugwitz	
405	[Prague]	1587-04-16	Otto von Raschau	
406		1588	G. von Schweinitz, the younger	
409	Prague	1587-04-12	Wilhelm Walter von Orßoy	Transylvanian chamberlain and treasurer of the Prince of Transylvania, coat of arms
411	Prague	1587-04-10	Christoph von Zischwitz	
413		1588	Sigmund von Panwitz	
413		1588	Andreas von Brantfewe [?]	
413		1588	G. von Borwitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
414		1584	Wolfgang Dietrich Rauch von Weneda	coat of arms
416		1588	O. von Lücke	
416		1588	Adam von Kittlitz	
416		1588	Fabian von Kittlitz	
417	Constantinople	1585-01-19	Johann von Salaza	Silesian pilgrim
418	Constantinople	1585-01-17	Sebastian von Haimsberg	Transylvanian pilgrim
427	Küçükçekmece	1585-05-22	Georg Gartman	servant (<i>Tafeldecker</i>) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, stayed in Constantinople, presumably returned with Hoffmann
429		1588-07-02	Georg von Redern zu Groß-Strehlitz	
431		1584	Johann von Zweifel	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, likely returned immediately with the tribute-carrying carriages, coat of arms
436	[Vienna]	1583-09-07	G. W. K. Z. R.	coat of arms
437	[Vienna]	1583	Simon de Lamoullerie	
437	[Vienna]	1583	Jacob van Voorde	
437	[Vienna]	1583	Wilhelm von T'Serclaes	
437		1584	Gilbert von Saint-Hilaire	
438		1584	Johann Jacob von Seidlitz	
438	[Vienna]	1583	Ernst Rechenberg	
438	[Vienna]	1583	Johann von Romnitz	
441		1588	Johann von Rothkirch auf Taschendorf	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
441		1588	H. v. Rumttele [?]	
441		1588	Ga. von Hundt	
442		1588	G. von Bock	
443		1588	D. von Dak	
444		1588	G. von Waldau	
445		1588	W. von Kotwitz	
446		1588	A. von Rothkirch	
446		1588	E. von Haugwitz	
446		1588	A. von Schweinitz	
447		1596	Johann Georg von Zedlitz	
448		1592	Heinrich von Schweinitz	
449		1592	T. von Rohnan	
457	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Jacob Fürer von Haimendorff	likely a member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
459	Vienna	1583-08-22	Georg Wilhelm Braun von Warttenberg	
459	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Stephan Wolfgang von Mechau	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
461	Constantinople	1586-02-24	Hector von Ernau	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, stayed in the German House and eventually served as a messenger, last recorded there in 1590-10

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
463	Belgrade	1584-09-22	Christoph Sigmund von Pranck	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, coat of arms
464	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Johann Jacob Eggelhof	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein as master of the stables
465	Constantinople	1585-12-29	Alexander von Polentz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann < http://d-nb.info/gnd/116397241X >
469		158*		torn folio
470				sultana with empty coat of arms
471	Constantinople	1587-08-08	Leonhard Lang von Durach	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, served as a messenger
472		1588	Caspar von Wulfensdorf	
473	Constantinople	1584-11-27	Hector von Ölszen	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, recorded in the German House through 1584-11
474	Constantinople	1585-04-19	Hieronymus Arconat	secretary in training, arrived with messenger on 1584-05-12 and was supposed to return with Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/119608561 >
474	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Hieronymus Biedermann	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure
476		1589	G. von Falkenhayn	
479	[Vienna]	1584-08-24	Joachim Schmelzing von Wernstein	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
482		1588	M. H. von Kittlitz	
483	Vienna	1587-11-24	Georg von Schlieben	
484		1587	Jürgen von Abschatz	
486	Constantinople	1586-02-08	Baptist van der Mühlen	pilgrim
488		1588	Christoph Brockt	
489		1587	M. R. von Lang [?]	
490	Constantinople	1585-08-25	Dionysus Knotzer	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, worked as a messenger and remained on until 1588-11 < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1035608065 >
493	[Vienna]	1583	Cornelius de Bael	
493	[Vienna]	1583	I. von Reibniz	
493			Luis de Valente	
497	Vienna	1587-05-06	Andreas Raisinger	coat of arms, secretary of David Ungnad, president of the Aulic War Council
501		1588	C. von Prose	
502		1584	Bernhard Marschalk von Ostheim	coat of arms < http://d-nb.info/gnd/120174901 >
503				dragon and witches
504	[Vienna]	1584-05-31	Bernhard Izwiński	
506	Vienna	1587-10-21	Heinrich Dutschaut [?]	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
507	Constantinople	1586	Jindřich Tučap von Tučapy	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
509	[Vienna]	1583	Sa. von Sack	
511	Constantinople	1584-10-21	Philip Hanniwald von Eckersdorf	retinue member (<i>Mundschenk</i> and <i>Hofmeister</i>) of resident ambassador Sinzendorff
512		1588	B. von Dier, the younger	
512		1588	B. von Steinhaller	
512		1588	A. von Lest	
516		1588	Sigmund von Glauwitz	
516		1590	C. A. von Braun	
518		1588	Walter von Seidlitz	
521		1589	Hertwig Seidlitz	
522		1589	N. von Eichenß	
523		1589	A. von Debschitz	
523		1589	F. von Lücke	
523		1589	G. von Kottwitz	
523		1589	B. von Kottwitz	
525	[Vienna]	1583	Ferdinandus von Oyenbrug	
525	Vienna	1584-07-22	Wolfhart Rothkirch	
526	Vienna	1584-07-13	Johann Schmaltzing	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
527	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Wilhelm von Brumsee	
528		1584	Moritz von Miltitz	
528		1584	Wolfgang Georg von Mengesreitter	
528		1584	Hartman von Lengfeld	
530				duel on horseback
531		1587	Christoph Landegg von Traunstein	coat of arms
532		1598	Bernhard von Schlichtig	
533		1595	W. L. von Prein	
534	Kadıköy	1585-05-10	Augerio Zeffi	translator-in-training of the German House, born in Galata as the son of an earlier dragoman, learning the language since the mid-1570s, named dragoman himself in 1586
539		1592	Johann von Romnitz, the younger	
540-541	Constantinople	1587-07-14	Johann Nostitz von Schochau	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, coat of arms < http://d-nb.info/gnd/121890872 >
543	Constantinople	1587-07-14	Leonhard von Brauchitsch	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
544		1587	H. von Beck	
544		1589	Maximilian von Zeteritz	
545	Vienna	1587-05-08	Heinrich von Dachröden auf Westgreussen	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023508389 >

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
547	Constantinople	1587-07-07	Leonhard Lang von Durach	messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen, owner of a large album of decorated paper
548	Constantinople	1587-07-19	Adam Grapler	messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen
549	Vienna	1588-04-13	Johann Gall Fayg von Anhausen	owner of a large album of decorated paper, coat of arms < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023632292 >
559		1586	Albrecht Balduin de Capris	
561	Constantinople	1586-03-05	Georg Kitzmegl	former captive
561	Constantinople	1586	Hieronymus Griemiller z Trebska	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1103519220 >
563	Constantinople	1586-02-06	Alexander Schmölder	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
565	Vienna	1584-06-13	Augustin Fleck zu Penckh	earlier in Constantinople, likely as a member of the 1582 Habsburg delegation to Prince Mehmed's circumcision festival led by Nyáry
566	Danube	1587	Georg von Zedlitz von der Maur	
571		1584	Carl Under Weitmill	
573		1587	Johann Sebastian Indersner zu Indersen	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/113688310X >
576			Hermann von der Becke	coat of arms < http://d-nb.info/gnd/103466882X >
577–578	Prague	1587-03-30	Johann Adolph	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
581	[Vienna]	1587-11-25	Christoph von Waldau	
583	Prague	1587-04-18	Johann Adam Indinger	
584-585	Prague	1587-04-13	Franz Prigge	coat of arms
588		1589	Albrecht von Khull	
592	Constantinople	1587	Johann Ludwig Sauer	
593	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Steno Bilde	Danish traveler < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1128742861 >
594	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Esaias von Brandenstein (1567-1623)	pilgrim < http://d-nb.info/gnd/121654427 >
596	Constantinople	1584-11-15	Leopold Kellhammer	retinue member (<i>Edeljung</i>) of resident ambassador Eytzing
597		1584	Christoph von der Sachssen, the younger	
597		1584	Sigmund von Gersdorff	
599		1588	S. von Niebelschütz	
599		1588	Heinrich von Nibelschütz	
600	Vienna	1587-04-23	Jacob Treutler von der Schweid	
601	Ayansaray [Constantinople]	1586-02-08	Caspar Malik	translator, messenger, and agent of the Aulic War Council
603	Constantinople	1586-02-11	Johann Urmiller von Leutstetten	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, coat of arms
605	Constantinople	1587-07-21	Johann Gabor	secretary and messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzén

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
607	Constantinople	1586-02-21	Sigmund Ostrochovský	images of a ship and island
612	Vienna	1587-05-05	Jacob Türk, the younger	
613				ship (Karmissal)
615	Vienna	1584-02-20	S. von Paradeiser	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, coat of arms
616		1584	I. D. von R. von Medzilbor	
617				coat of arms
620	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Adam Kottwitz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann < http://d-nb.info/gnd/120524120 >
622		1589	Bartholomäus von Studnitz	
625	Constantinople	1584-10-22	Georg Poschinger	
626		1584	Johann Georg Haikel	coat of arms
627	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hücrev Kethüda	1586-09-05	Gabriel Guetrath	
630	[Vienna]	1583	Oswald von Tschammer, the younger	
630	[Vienna]	1583	N. von Rockenburg	
630	[Vienna]	1583	G. von Patschitzke	
632		1595	Albrecht von Rechenberg zu Panthenau	
633	Rigell [?]	1595	Heinrich von Schellendorff	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
635	[Vienna]	1583	Johann von Ratzbar	
635	[Vienna]	1583	Wentzel von Mevahl	
635	[Vienna]	1583	Christoph von Reichenberg	
635	[Vienna]	1583	Johann von Schwanitz	
639	Constantinople	1584-11-12	Wilhelm von Dietrichstein	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
639	Sofia	1584-10-01	Maximilian Mager von Fuchsstadt	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
639-640		1588	...und zu [Kelsburg]	
643	Prague	1587-04-19	Johann Hoffmann von Neukirchen	
645		1589-07-12	Georg Borwitz	
646	[Vienna]	1583	He. von Zedlitz	
646	[Vienna]	1583	Georg von Sitsch	
646			Caspar von Leiben	
646	Vienna	1584-06-01	Christoph von Gersdorff	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/120465973 >
648		1588	A. von Reibnitz	
650		1588	Leonhard von Schkopp	
651		1588	Friedrich von Mohl	
653	Constantinople	1584-11-07	Sebastian Bischoff	servant of deceased resident ambassador Breuner
654		1588	He. von Strachwitz	
654		1588	Johann von Strachwitz	
655		1590	Georg Rohr von Gallwitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
660	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Johann Huenich	from Antwerp, met with several rival ambassadors and eventually departed separately via Transylvania
662		1587	Johann Haunold	
664		1584	Adolf von Grosse Wansleben	
665	Constantinople	1586-11	Pelegriano Castolino	training to be a dragoman, from Galata, served several ambassadors but never managed to learn the language to the point of being able to serve as a translator
667	Plovdiv	1584-10-05	Johann Purgleutner	in the retinue (<i>Kuchelmeister</i>) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
668	Plovdiv	1584-10-05	Melchior Besolt	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/119619873 >
670	Constantinople	1584-11-26	Johann Purgleutner	see 667
671	Constantinople	1584-11-28	Carl Hayden	in the retinue (<i>Kellermeister</i>) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
673	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Bartholomäus Wagner	(1560–1629), member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue < http://d-nb.info/gnd/124580874 >
675	Edirne	1584-10-12	Wolfgang Leimböck von Riet	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
676	Constantinople	1585-04-19	Johann Hoffmann	captive in the Sultan's prisons
677	[Constantinople]	1586	Johann Baptist Pezzen	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/1139220837 >

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
678			Georg von Zrin	
681	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Victor Rechlinger	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1137283327 >
682	Belgrade	1584-09-18	Carl Hayden	in the retinue (<i>Kellermeister</i>) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
682	Belgrade	1584-09-18	Melchior von Zedlitz	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
683	Constantinople	1585-05-05	Valentin Gadoczy	
685	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Georg Rauch	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
685	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Wolfgang Martin Hayden	chamberlain in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
686	Belgrade	1584-09-17	Joachim von Buchta	chamberlain in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1012751074 >
688		1588	A. von Luck	
688		1588	Christoph von Ketwitz	
689	Vienna	1587	Wolfgang Haiden zu Inzersdorf	
691	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Martin Michel	barber in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
695		1588	H. von Moll	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
696		1588	Friedrich von Pogrell	
699		1588	Christoph von Reibnitz	
701		1589	S. Keltsch von Riemberg	
701		1589	G. von Poltz	
701		1589	F. von Falckenhayn	
701		1589	Balthasar von Guttina	
702	Vienna	1587	Nikolas Rosa	coat of arms
704	Constantinople	1584-12-02	Andreas Weiß	
705		1584	Dzierżek Hamza	
706	Constantinople	1584-11-04	Georg Ehrenreich Bayer	
709	Constantinople	1587-07-13	Georg Bernhard Kirchberger zu Seysenburg und Viehofen	
711	Constantinople	1587	Paul Sczuplinski	servant of the Polish ambassador Krzysztof Dzierżek
711		1584	Philip Cotereau	
711	Vienna	1584-06-30	Johann Christoph Rorer	
712		1589	C. von Seidlitz	
712		1589	Friedrich von Stosch	
712		1590	H. F. von Horn	
713	Constantinople	1586[-02]	Jan Lorenz Sseliha	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
715	Constantinople	1587-07-23	Simeon Hayek von Hayek	coat of arms
718		1587	H. G. N.	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
718		1588	Adam Schweinichen	
718		1588	Christoph von Borwitz	
719		1588	Balthasar von Schweinitz	
720		1589	F. von Schlichting	
720		1589	Johann von Eck	
721		1584	N. von Gunderadt	
721	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-07	Jacob Müelich	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1137283777 >
721		1589	Friedrich von Selndorff	
722		1590	Friedrich von Schellendorff	
723	[Constantinople] in the grotto	1585-03-21	Georg Eder	
724	[Constantinople] in Garten am Bosphorus	1586-08-10	Franz Arconat	messenger between 1584 and 1587
726	Sofia	1584-10-01	Georg Rothut	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
734	Constantinople	1587-07-31	Eustachius Löbl von Lewental	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzén's retinue < http://d-nb.info/gnd/1141923084 >
739		1584	Wolfgang im Tall	
739	Constantinople	1584-11-16	Martin Schönauer	messenger between 1583 and 1586, died in Belgrade 1586-07

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
740	Vienna	1584	Anton Klem	
741	Constantinople	1586-02-10	Jan Lorenz Sseliha	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed here a second time
742	Constantinople	1586-03-03	Johann Gattmair, the younger	
743		1584	Carl von Taberzhoven zu Egging	
745	Vienna	1587-11-24	Edechiel [?] Porn	
746	[Vienna]	1587-11-24	Johann Martin Pfeffer	
747	Constantinople	1586-02-10	Christoph Friedrich von Halberstadt	spoke Hungarian and German, lived in the German House between 1586 and 1589, possibly arrived as a member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
749	Vienna	1587-10-10	Nikolas von Steinbach	(† 8.8.1589)
750		1595	E. O. von Schliwitz	
752	[Constantinople] Bosphorus	1585-07-09	Christoph Unelsio [?]	
754	Vienna	1583-10-24	Jacob Buchner, the elder	coat of arms < http://d-nb.info/gnd/104172509 >
755	[Constantinople]	1586-02-08	Tobias Kerlaus	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
758		1588	A. von Glaubitz	
759		1584	Moritz von Zetteritz und Adessa	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
760	Constantinople	1586-02-13	Konrad Pall von Biberach	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
763		1588	Christoph von Löben	
767	Constantinople	[1584/1587]	Murad Bey, né Balázs Somlyai	convert to Islam and former House Dragoman, taught Ottoman Turkish in the German House
769	Plovdiv	1584-10-06	Bartholomäus Gebhardt	apothecary of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
771				man on horseback with city view (portrait of owner?)
773		1584	Berthold Stein	
774		1588	Leonhard von Panwitz	
774		1588	Heinrich von Panwitz	
779	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Johann Kokorß von Camentz	master of the stables for resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen, later went on a pilgrimage
783	Constantinople	1587-07-13	Johann Blo	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
784	[Constantinople]	1585-12-29	Johann Bave	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann from Nuremberg
785		1588	Friedrich von Brauchitsch	
785		1589	Georg von Glaubitz	
787	Vienna	1587-05-03	Bartholomäus Langenheim	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
789	Constantinople	1587-08-20	Johann Joachim Prack von Asch zu Luttach	messenger between 1587 and 1591, owner of a large collection of decorated paper < http://d-nb.info/gnd/113693586X >
793	Vienna	1587-11-24	Wolfhart Hauser	
795	Huelm	1607-05-17	Johann von Rothkirch	
796		159*	Johann Haunoldt	hat
797		1589	Christoph von Mülheim	coat of arms
798		1589	Georg von Hobergk und Kauder	
799	Constantinople	1587-07-24	Stephan von Hausen	servant and musician working for resident ambassador Friedrich Breuner between 1581 and 1583, recorded traveling in the Eastern Mediterranean in May 1583, this signature indicates he returned to Constantinople with the retinue of ambassador Pezzen
800		1589	Georg von Sommerfeld	
803		1588	Christoph von Landskron und Opsendorff	
804		1588-07-13	Leonhard Krentzheim	< http://d-nb.info/gnd/119734362 >
807		1588	C. von Proffo, the elder	