

## MILITARY CARTOGRAPHY OF SERBIAN LANDS DURING THE LAST AUSTRO-TURKISH WAR (1788–1791)

YEVHEN HORB

**ABSTRACT.** The Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791 has not yet been properly reflected in scientific literature despite the fact that in a certain way this last conflict between the Ottomans and the Holy Roman Empire “awakened the Balkans” and became a catalyst for the national liberation movement of the Serbs, which gained strength at the beginning of the 19th century. The territory of modern Serbia became a central theater of military actions in this difficult positional war, and those were the Serbs who ensured the success of many military operations of the Austrian troops. The war of 1788–1791 belonged to those conflicts, the history of which was written, so to speak, “in real time”, and this in many ways created certain stereotypes in the reproduction of the pattern of military actions. The one-sidedness and stereotyped nature of the narrative sources can be compensated by using large cartographic material — both published and stored in the archives of Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Ukraine, Russia, etc. Serbia as a theater of military actions is depicted on most of these maps and military topographical plans developed in the last quarter of the 18th century, but, with the exception of the Josephinian Land Survey, none of them have become the object of even cataloging and classification, not to mention its careful studying. Therefore, the proposed article is the first comprehensive attempt to summarize the information about cartographic sources regarding Serbian lands during the Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791. As additional sources, to verify historical and geographical information, military topographical descriptions of Serbian lands compiled by the Austrian administration and periodicals of the war period were used.

**Author:** Yevhen Horb, French Research Center in Humanities and Social Sciences in Prague, 3 Na Florenci st., 11000 Prague, The Czech Republic; Mariupol State University, 6 Preobrazhenska st., Kyiv 6, 03037, Ukraine, e-mail: e.gorb@mdu.in.ua, **ORCID:** <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9782-9194>

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The territory of modern Serbia was one of the fronts of the last Austro-Turkish war, which lasted from 1788 to 1791. The events of this armed conflict immediately attracted the attention of contemporaries and were reflected not only in the works of historians of the time, but also in the pieces created by writers, artists, composers, etc. Paradoxically, at the current stage of development of historical science, the issues of the last armed clash in the history of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict are virtually being uninvestigated,<sup>1</sup> although the war of 1788–1791 was a key stage, primarily in the process of restoration of Serbian statehood after the centuries of Ottoman rule. The need for a comprehensive history of the Austro-Turkish War requires a thorough study of the available source materials, among which cartographic resources are of particular importance. In this publication we will try to analyze the cartographic representation of the territory of modern Serbia during the war of 1788–1791.

It is important to emphasize the synthetic nature of our study, as the author deliberately limits it to the maps produced during the war and used to depict the course of hostilities. Of course, this does not mean, for example, that Austrian staff officers did not use the maps created in 1739 or 1786 — they did, as will be discussed later, but we are primarily interested in the visualization of the war by means of maps, as well as their variations, depending on the goals of cartographers or military topographers, and how the maps were used to illustrate the accounts of the Turkish war fronts.

The problem of the representation of Serbian lands on the maps of the late 18th century is a peculiar white spot in the history of cartography. It was only addressed in detail by Croatian researcher Mirela Altić, but she was more interested in the cartographic representation of the territory of modern Croatia and the general trends in the development of military cartography in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> Despite these limitations, M. Altić's research remains to this day the best and perhaps the only example of a comprehensive study of military cartography during the Austro-Turkish wars of the 16th–18th centuries. M. Altić also devoted a separate article to the totally unexplored issue of Ottoman cartography of the Balkans, although in this case the author focused more on the 19th century.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Despite the lack of a comprehensive study of the last Habsburg-Ottoman war, it is worth noting that the historiography of the individual problems of this armed conflict is quite extensive. A detailed review of the scholarly literature on this war can be found in my recent article: Y. Horb, *Inventing a War. In Search of the Concept of the Last Austro-Turkish War over Balkans (1788–1791)*, "Przegląd Humanistyczny" 2022, no. 4, p. 24–35. Of the works omitted from this review, the following are worth noting: B. Mugnai, *The Ottoman army of the Napoleonic wars 1784–1815: a struggle for survival from Egypt to the Balkans*, Warwick 2022, p. 203–234.

<sup>2</sup> M. Altić, *Defending Europe: Habsburg Military Cartography of the Croatian Borderland*, "Nuova Antologia Militare. Rivista interdisciplinare della Società Italiana di Storia Militare" 2022, no. 3/2, p. 9–50.

<sup>3</sup> Eadem, *Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Topographic Mapping of the Balkans*, "The Cartographic Journal" 2018, no. 55/4, p. 326–340.

The works of the classic of Serbian cartographic history Mirko Grčić mainly dealt with Serbian maps of the late 18th century<sup>4</sup> and some issues of historical geography, such as the historical toponymy of the city of Šabac.<sup>5</sup> This publication does not include any examples of Serbian cartography, since Serbian military maps did not exist in the late 18th century, but the work of M. Grčić is irreplaceable in the context of forming one's own methodology of historical-geographical research and learning about the conditions for the development of cartography in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The article by the team of Serbian geographers Zlata Vuksanović-Macura, Stojanka Radulović and Vladimir Macura analyzes the changes in the landscape of the Belgrade area over the last three centuries, and the main source of their research is old maps, with the authors mentioning only three maps of the region from the period 1788–1789, and as we will see later, there are many more.<sup>6</sup> Several publications in recent years have focused on maps of Belgrade and Zemun,<sup>7</sup> as well as Serbia in general,<sup>8</sup> but the rich cartographic material from the Austro-Turkish War period has either been ignored or used very selectively. This article, therefore, is the first attempt at a comprehensive analysis of military maps of Serbian lands created between 1788 and 1791.

From a methodological point of view, the approach of British cartographic historian John Harley, who at one time proposed two main views on old maps as a historical source, according to which a map can be viewed as a text (the traditional view) and as a system of symbols (the postmodern view), remains crucial to our research. When it comes to the traditional view of the map as a text, we will be interested in the logic of its construction, its geographical language. In studying the symbolic side of the map, we propose to decode its graphic language and place it in the socio-political context that determined and influenced the process of creating the cartographic document.<sup>9</sup> Also, one should not overlook Jeremy Black's fundamental study of military cartography in general.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> M. Grčić, *Development of Serbian Cartography From the End of XVIII to the Beginning of the XX Century*, "Zbornik radova. Geografski fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu" 2019, no. 67/2, p. 21–52.

<sup>5</sup> M. Grčić, L. Grčić, *Genesis of the city Šabac and origin of its name*, "Journal of the Geographical Institute Jovan Cvijić" 2011, no. 61/1, p. 85–105.

<sup>6</sup> Z. Vuksanović-Macura, S. Radulović, V. Macura, *Land Cover Changes of the Belgrade Area over the Past Three Centuries*, "SPATIUM" 2018, no. 40, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> J. Ilić, *The Role of Central and Local Governments in Spatial Organization of the Military Community of Zemun in the Second Half of 18th Century* [in:] *Prostorno planiranje u Jugoistočnoj Evropi (do Drugog svetskog rata)*, Beograd 2011, p. 305–323; *Beograd u mapama i planovima od XVIII do XXI veka*, ed. M. Vukotić, Beograd 2008.

<sup>8</sup> J. Glišović, S. Gardašević, *Cartographic Collection of National Library of Serbia throughout History until the Digital Present*, "e-Perimetron" 2015, no. 10/2, p. 73–86.

<sup>9</sup> M. Grčić, op. cit., p. 23–24.

<sup>10</sup> J. Black, *Maps of War: Mapping conflict through the centuries*, London–Oxford–New York–New Delhi–Sydney 2016.

The issue of classifying cartographic sources related to the Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791 is quite complex, as there are a huge number of criteria that can be used to make such a classification — year, territory, nature of the map, country of origin, scale, author, etc. However, a discussion of classification in the context of the proposed publication would be superfluous, so we start from the fact that the maps are of interest to us as historical sources for the times of the last Austro-Turkish war in Serbian lands. Accordingly, we will analyze two main bodies of maps — printed and manuscript. Printed maps of the 1880s and 1890s were universal — they may have been secret maps used by staff officers to plan military operations or maps that were used to illustrate press reports on military events at the front. From this point of view, manuscript maps lost out because they could not be produced on a mass scale, so they were most often used for internal use by military officers.

Printed maps could range in scale from general maps that showed the Balkans and the Black Sea region in its entirety, to special maps that depicted only one fortress and which can be considered more like a plan. Manuscript maps were usually in the form of terrain plans, but not always. How and why manuscript maps were enlarged will be discussed further. Above we outlined the criteria for selecting cartographic material for the study — we were not interested in every general map of the Balkan Peninsula, but only those that could be used by the military, as reflected in the map's title or its specific symbolism.

The research is based on cartographic materials stored in Hungarian archives and libraries (National Archives of Hungary, Institute and Museum of Military History, Széchényi State Library), as well as maps and plans stored in the Cartographic Publications Section of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. The latter, in particular, contains rare variations and illegal reprints of maps known from Hungarian repositories. Of course, it is impossible to cover the entire spectrum of military cartography of Serbian lands in one publication, even for the period of three years of the war, but it is quite possible to form a comprehensive view of the main trends in military cartography of the period and the specifics of communicating the course of military operations through cartography.

The last aspect worth mentioning in the introductory part of the article is the understanding of cartography as a vision of war. Simultaneously with the Austro-Turkish war there was the Russo-Turkish war, which began a year earlier and ended a year later. The Russian Empire and the Holy Roman Empire were allies in the confrontation with the Ottomans, which was also reflected in the maps of the time. Interestingly, Austrian publishers often published maps depicting two theaters of warfare simultaneously — the Balkans and the northern shore of the Black Sea. By contrast, we are not aware of any Russian maps illustrating events on the front lines of the Austro-Turkish confrontation, and in general, Russian cartography in the late 18th century was a closed military-oriented environment, so our study will not include Russian-language maps from the 1788–1791 period, as we will not see there the territory of modern Serbia or other areas along the so-called Military Frontier (*Vojna krajina*).

Here the cartography clearly illustrates the relationship between the allies — where war was seen as a common cause, and where it was just a tool to distract the enemy from other territories.

We do not need to analyze all aspects of the development of military cartography during the Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791. It is sufficient to outline only those moments that are fundamentally important for our study. Speaking of cartography in general, military campaigns have always been a catalyst for progress in the creation of various types of maps. During the war, there was a demand for both large-scale maps, which made it possible to plan and track the course of the war on all fronts simultaneously, and smaller-scale maps used during specific military operations. The so-called Military Frontier, the border line between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, was where military cartography developed most intensively.

The first large-scale demarcation of the borders between the two empires took place in 1699, after the end of the Great Turkish War. According to Mirela Altić, this was a turning point in the mapping of the Balkans, as large-scale topographic surveys were needed to determine the borders. Similar demarcations with the participation of military topographers were carried out in 1718 and 1739, but they were not as extensive. Conducting border surveying became a training of a certain kind for several generations of staff officers who served on the frontier. In 1786, 100% of Austrian staff officers had a cartographic background. The level of mastery of cartographic skills is evidenced by the fact that during the last Austro-Turkish war in 1788–1791, a particularly large number of thematic military maps appeared, prepared by local border guard officers.<sup>11</sup>

When it comes to Ottoman cartographic art of the 18th century, it should be noted that it did not develop as such. The mass production of Turkish maps for various purposes began after the end of the 1788–1791 war, and before that Ottoman military commanders mainly used European maps translated into Ottoman, and even used local residents as guides for military troops.<sup>12</sup> Translated Ottoman maps were even used for peace treaties and border demarcations.<sup>13</sup> Thus, while Europe was experiencing a boom in military cartography in the late 18th century, it had not even begun in the Ottoman Empire.

If we look at the development of cartography during the last Habsburg-Ottoman war in 1788–1791, the main attention of Austrian staff topographers was focused on Bosnia, since it was the region from where the largest number of Ottoman incursions was recorded.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Bosnia was the arena of constant border clashes from the first to the last days of the war. In this respect, the territory of modern Serbia looked

<sup>11</sup> M. Altić, *Defending Europe*, p. 9–41.

<sup>12</sup> Eadem, *Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Topographic Mapping of the Balkans*, p. 326–327.

<sup>13</sup> E. Korić, *An Ottoman Map of Ottoman-Austrian Demarcation in the Area of Eyalet of Bosnia After the Svishtov Peace Treaty (1791–1795)* [in:] *XVII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara, 1–5 Eylül 2018, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler XI. Cilt: Tarihi Coğrafya*, eds. S. Nurdan, M. Özler, Ankara 2022, p. 77–88.

<sup>14</sup> M. Altić, *Defending Europe*, p. 43.

like a periphery, which also affected the state of military mapping of Serbian lands. Why did this happen?

Recapturing Belgrade was one of the most important tasks for Emperor Joseph II in the upcoming war. It can even be said that the Emperor was too focused on capturing Belgrade. It often happened that Joseph II turned his attention to the most heated sections of the front very late in the war, while his main attention was focused on the place where the Danube and Sava rivers join. This was the case throughout 1788–1789, until Belgrade finally fell into Austrian hands. With the exception of the siege of Belgrade, no major military operations were planned or carried out in Serbia south of the Danube, except for brief raids by the Serbian Free Corps,<sup>15</sup> who still did not need maps, because they used local guides, in accordance with the Ottoman model. And the Free Corps itself was composed of local Serbs who knew the area well.<sup>16</sup> Thus, after 1789, Serbia disappeared from the sight of military surveyors until the end of the war. Even before that, it was not in the center of attention, except for the constant focus on Belgrade.

When analyzing the array of cartographic sources for the history of the Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791, one more important point must be taken into account. We have already mentioned above that in addition to maps used in military headquarters, there were cartographic publications intended for general use — as illustrations for military accounts published in Viennese and provincial newspapers. When the war broke out in February 1788, the attention of readers across Europe focused on the events at the front. Clever book publishers quickly realized that there was a lot of money to be made from visualizing the course of the war, so collections of excerpts from newspaper reports on the war, illustrated with maps, often even in color, appeared. Some owners of media empires simultaneously published several series of books devoted to the events at the front, such as the company of Johann Thomas Trattner, whose activities and publications we will return to repeatedly in this text.

However, when any war drags on, interest in it gradually fades. Such was the case with the recent Austro-Turkish War. It was not until 1788 that booksellers and cartographers experienced a real publishing boom. From then on, reader interest only declined, as it is reflected in the number of titles reporting on the war effort. Many publishing houses ceased to exist by the end of 1788, although they initially positioned themselves as “exhaustive and impartial” accounts of the theater of operations, describing the step-by-step confrontation with the Ottomans. However, all publishing enthusiasm died out after the disastrous 1788 campaign, when the Austrians not only failed to retake Belgrade, but also did not succeed to stop the Ottoman invasion of

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<sup>15</sup> Serbian Free Corps (German name: *Serbische Freikorps*) — a volunteer Serbian militia created and supported by the Habsburgs from 1787 to wage guerrilla warfare on the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed review of military operations on Serbian territory during the 1788 campaign, see: E. Gorb, *Belgrad–Oczaków. Konfrontacja Imperium Osmańskiego z koalicją rosyjsko-austriacką w 1788 roku*, Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry 2021, p. 22–108.

Banat. We will not describe the course of the war in detail, but it affected the quantity and quality of the “popular” printed maps of the war, the circulation of which fell sharply after 1788. We are talking about a reduction from dozens of titles of mass cartographic products to just a few. This is especially true of Serbia, which after 1789 ceased to be of interest not only to readers of newspaper accounts, but also to the military command in Vienna.

We noted earlier that as of 1788, most Serbian lands were a part of the Ottoman Empire, and since the war began and continued as a series of continuous border clashes without significant progress on either side, the Austrian military command did not face the problem of reconquering all Serbian lands except Belgrade. This fact is also reflected in military cartography. Among the collection of maps we are analyzing, there is not a single map in which the territory of modern Serbia is the central object of cartography. We are dealing only with general maps, maps of border belts and plans of individual fortress cities, such as Belgrade, Šabac and Bela Crkva.

In the vast majority of cases it is impossible to determine the exact day and month of the creation of a particular map, and in some cases even the year, so it is worth considering the cartographic material according to the scale and nature of the map. A peculiarity of the warfare of the Austro-Turkish War from its very beginning in February 1788 was its simultaneous conduct over several sections of the vast frontier belt stretching from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. This led to the need for large-scale overview maps and even entire atlases, such as the *Military Atlas of the Austro-Russian-Turkish War*, published in Vienna in 1788.<sup>17</sup> The author of this series of 12 copper-engraved color maps was Maximilian Wenzel Schimek (1748–1798), a scholar with a wide range of interests and a very controversial reputation.

Max Schimek came from a Czech family settled in Styria, and it was his Czech roots that had a decisive influence on all of Schimek’s latter work. The latter author of the military atlas studied in Graz, where he learned Polish and Russian. According to some reports, Maximilian Wenzel Schimek lived in Ottoman Bosnia, but this information cannot be verified at present. An important milestone in Max’s life was his teaching at the Teresian Military Academy (1774–1780), where he devoted himself entirely to linguistics and the popularization of the Czech language, for which Schimek prepared a number of textbooks and dictionaries. Modern scholars note Max Schimek’s great contributions to Slavic and comparative linguistics, but at one time Maximilian Wenzel became famous for several scandals involving plagiarized linguistic research.

Numerous scandals and disputes over the authorship affected Schimek’s career and interests — linguists literally expelled Max from academia, and the researcher never fully rehabilitated himself. After unsuccessful linguistic experiments, Schimek turned to history — he planned to publish a history of Serbia and even began to work

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<sup>17</sup> HM *Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum*, Budapest [HM], *Oesterreichisch-russisch-türkischer Kriegsatlas*, sign. H III e 2852.

on the text, but never completed it. After failing to gain popularity as a historian, Max Schimek eventually devoted himself to cartography, compiling the aforementioned fundamental *Kriegsatlas*, which he gave to the Viennese cartographer and publisher Franz Anton Schraembl (1757–1803).<sup>18</sup> Franz Anton could not be called a successful businessman of his time either. In 1787 he founded his own company in partnership with Austrian Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly (1766–1820) and immediately began work on his *opus magna*, the *Allgemeiner Grosser Atlas*, to which he devoted 13 years of his life. The atlas was not published until 1800 in a small print run and cost a great deal of money. Due to the low sales of the atlas, the Schraembl/Reilly company went bankrupt, staying afloat only by publishing popular books and selling them.<sup>19</sup>

The military atlas prepared by Schimek and published by Schraembl was aimed directly at the current top military command, but like all other Schimek initiatives, it was received with little enthusiasm and did not live to see widespread distribution.<sup>20</sup> The author of the maps aimed to make his work as universal and popular as possible, which was reflected even in the extent of the atlas's scale, which was duplicated in six different types of miles (Polish, German, Italian, Hungarian, Greek, Turkish) and in Russian leagues.

We are convinced that Maximilian Wenzel Schimek had been working on his atlas for many years and that it was not originally prepared as a compendium of maps for the Austrian military command. Simply put, the war of 1788–1791 was a good time to publish the results of his cartographic experiments. Schimek's atlas was his own initiative, for which he had to find an interested bookseller, but large publishing companies also prepared the overview maps of the 1788 campaign, taking advantage of the high public interest in the events at the front from the first days of the war. An example of such a published map, which jumped the bandwagon of the popularity of this topic, is *Kriegstheater oder Graenzkarte Oesterreichs, Russlands und der Turkey...*, which was also issued in Vienna thanks to the efforts of *Artaria Compagnie*.<sup>21</sup> *Artaria* publishing company was founded in 1765 in Mainz and got its name from its founders, the Italian Artaria family. In 1770 the production moved to Vienna, where 4 years later a music publishing house was opened, which gained popularity and commercial success with the publication of works by Haydn, Gluck, Boccherini and, above all, Mozart. It wasn't until the second half of the 19th century that the company began actively publishing cartographic productions, so the 1788 map of the opera theater was one of the first attempts at commercial cartography for *Artaria Compagnie*.

The author of the map was an Austrian engraver Carl Schütz (1745–1800), and the publisher was Franz Müller. Schütz's map strongly resembles another popular

<sup>18</sup> S.M. Newerkla, *Maximilianus Venceslaus Schimek — magni vir ingenii, magnaegue industriae, homo eruditus et politicus*, "Letters philologickè (Folia philologica)" 2014, no. 137/1–2, p. 73–95.

<sup>19</sup> U. Kohlmaier, *Der Verlag Franz Anton Schrämbel*, Wien 2001, p. 29–44.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> HM, *Kriegstheater oder Graenzkarte Oesterreichs, Russlands und der Turkey...*, sign. B II c 120.



map of the theater of operations of the Austro-Turkish War, published in Bonn in 1788 — *Le theater de la guerre entre les deux puissans Empires l'Aautriche, la Russie et la Turquie, tant en Europe qu'en Asie, ... Seconde feuille du théâtre de la guerre entre l'Autriche, la Russie les Turcs...*,<sup>22</sup> but in the case of Schütz's map, we also observe a desire to make the scale grid as varied as possible, hence it is shown in German, Hungarian, Polish, Turkish and, interestingly, Ukrainian miles, as well as in Russian vectors. The French-language map of the theater of war printed in Bonn is clearly aimed at a wider audience, given its French language, although the scale is shown only in German miles. The French map was produced immediately after the outbreak of war and is essentially a minimally edited copy of an earlier 1770 map, which was also published at the apogee of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774.

*Le theatre de la guerre...* was the result of the work of military engineer and cartographer Johann Wilhelm Abraham Jaeger (1718–1790), who, in addition to serving as a military topographer, also became famous as a Frankfurt bookseller. The map was engraved on copper by Johann Gottlieb Facius (1748–1814), who became famous as an engraver in the 1770s and began working in cartography in 1769 in an attempt to improve his poor financial situation. Johann Gottlieb usually worked with his brother, but in the case of *Le theater de la guerre...* we do not see his brother's name in the caption to the map, which is labeled "I. I. Facius".<sup>23</sup>

The territory of modern Serbia is also represented on a latter overview map depicting the Banat of Temeshwar in 1789, and the map itself, as its title suggests, is intended "to serve as the information on the boundaries of the three empires or the theater of war of 1789". In other words, we are dealing with a typical commercial publication for a general use, which is evidenced by the lack of a geographic coordinate grid. Nevertheless, the map is drawn to scale, and in this particular case we can even more or less accurately determine the date of its creation, since Belgrade is still depicted on Turkish territory, meaning that the engraving was completed by October 1789. The author of the engraving is Benedicti Hieronymus (1756–1809), known for his collaboration with the Viennese publisher Franz Anton Schraembel.<sup>24</sup>

Continuing the theme of popular maps designed to illustrate the capital's periodicals' reports on the situation at the front, it is impossible to ignore the large series of

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<sup>22</sup> Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár [MNL], Budapest, *Le theatre de la guerre entre les deux puissans Empires l'Aautriche, la Russie et la Turquie, tant en Europe qu'en Asie, ... Seconde feuille du théâtre de la guerre entre l'Autriche, la Russie les Turcs...*, sign. S 68-XI. no. 81.

<sup>23</sup> O. Baird (Yatsenko), *British engravers — brothers Johann Gottlieb (1748–1814) and George Sigmund (1750–1819) Facius and their brother Septimus: new materials*; [https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Olga-Baird-yatsenko/publication/323253742\\_British\\_engravers\\_-\\_brothers\\_Johann\\_Gottlieb\\_1748-1814\\_and\\_George\\_Sigmund\\_1750-1819\\_Facius\\_and\\_their\\_brother\\_Septimus\\_new\\_materials/links/5c5aa24c299bf1d14caf4588/British-engravers-brothers-Johann-Gottlieb-1748-1814-and-George-Sigmund-1750-1819-Facius-and-their-brother-Septimus-new-materials](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Olga-Baird-yatsenko/publication/323253742_British_engravers_-_brothers_Johann_Gottlieb_1748-1814_and_George_Sigmund_1750-1819_Facius_and_their_brother_Septimus_new_materials/links/5c5aa24c299bf1d14caf4588/British-engravers-brothers-Johann-Gottlieb-1748-1814-and-George-Sigmund-1750-1819-Facius-and-their-brother-Septimus-new-materials) [accessed: 24.7.2023].

<sup>24</sup> MNL, *Le Bannat de temeshear d'apres les nouvelles indications, pour servir de renseignement a la carte des limites des trois empires, ou theatre de la guerre presente 1789*, sign. S 68-X. no. 99.

maps by Austrian bookseller Johann Thomas von Trattner (1717–1798) and related cartographic studies. The future owner of a powerful media empire was not an aristocrat by birth and was born in Hungary. Thanks to his persistence and ability to master new skills quickly, Trattner became the most famous bookseller in Vienna of the second half of the 18th century. His contemporaries envied him and claimed that Trattner had the best house, the most beautiful wife and the largest bookstore in Europe.

The center of Johann von Trattner's operations was Vienna, where he owned a printing plant with 34 printing presses, a bookbinding workshop, a foundry where type was produced, and a paper factory. In other words, Trattner owned the entire production cycle and was virtually independent from outside suppliers. During his lifetime Johann Thomas opened bookstores in Brno, Graz, Innsbruck, Budapest, Prague, Trieste, Warsaw and Zagreb. Trattner's printers operated in Innsbruck, Linz, Budapest, Trieste and Zagreb, and depots were located in Bratislava, Frankfurt am Main, Graz, Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Klagenfurt, Lviv, Ljubljana, Timisoara and Opava.<sup>25</sup>

Between 1788 and 1790, Trattner produced a series of colored situational maps illustrating the various military operations of the Austrian army on the front lines of the war against the Ottomans. The maps were usually bright and somewhat simplified, as their main task was not to accurately depict the geographic location, but to demonstrate the successes of the imperial arms, so we are dealing with a propaganda material of a certain kind. Trattner's job was to accurately visualize press reports and news material about war events, which was also a part of Trattner's business.

The first in the series were 4 small situational maps, which were placed on one page and depicted the military operations of the imperial army in the first days of the war. The territories of modern Serbia are present on two of these small maps, but as far as the main plot is concerned, we can only speak of the plan to capture Ottoman ships near the settlement of Ram, which was located opposite Banatska Palanka, on the border between modern Romania and Serbia.<sup>26</sup> Generally speaking, border scenes dominate Trattner's series due to the nature of warfare. Trattner's maps were printed in color, had a wind rose and a scale grid, but still resembled drawings in their style. Each map was accompanied by a textual explanation (legend), which was often placed below the drawing. There was no specific system of symbols — everything depended on the specific action depicted on the map, and the key to the legend was the letters of the German alphabet.

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<sup>25</sup> A. Dular, *Johann Thomas Edlen von Trattner (1719–1798) and the Slovene Book Market of the 18th Century*, in *Kommunikation und Information im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Beispiel der Habsburgermonarchie*, eds. J. Frimmel, M. Wögerbauer, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 45–54.

<sup>26</sup> HM, 1. *Angriff des Obersten Peharnick den 10. Febr. 1788. auf Dresnik 2. Attaque der Obersten Grau und Qasdanovich in Gradisca auf die Festung Berbir oder Türkisch Gradisca den 13. Febr. 1788. 3. Wegnahme der türkischen Schiffe bei Rama 4. Plan von Orsowa den 12. Febr. 1788*, sign. H III e 3182/1.

The territory of Serbia as a borderland is present in the cartographic depiction of the attack on Old Orşova on February 12, 1788<sup>27</sup> and in the cartographic visualization of the Ottoman invasion of Banat in August 1788. The latter map is particularly interesting because it is not signed with Trattner's name, but very skillfully copies his style. In general, illegal copying was a serious problem for the publishing industry of the time, although it showed the recognition and popularity of the copied motifs. The author of the map of the Ottoman invasion of Banat was Kilian Ponheimer (the elder) (1757–1828), who became famous as an illustrator of anatomical atlases in addition to maps. Ponheimer's map is more accurate than Trattner's "children's cartography", maintained in black and white, with a drawing illustrating the main theme, in this case the siege and attack on the Veterani cave on the modern Serbian-Romanian border.<sup>28</sup>

The only significant military success of the Austrian army on the Serbian front during the 1788 campaign was the storming of the Šabac fortress in April 1788, which is reflected in Trattner's series of colored engraved maps, in three versions at the same time, only one of which is signed by Trattner,<sup>29</sup> and the others are most likely latter illegal copies.<sup>30</sup> An interesting version of this series is kept in the Section of Cartographic Publications of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. Here the viewer's attention is focused not on the town of Šabac itself, but on the fortified camp of the Austrian army under the walls of the fortress.<sup>31</sup> The events of the 1788 campaign around Belgrade are also depicted on the so-called maps No. 6<sup>32</sup> and 23 of the Johann Thomas Trattner series, and in the case of map No. 23, which depicts military actions in the fall of 1788, we even know the name of the engraver, J.C. Weinrauch, who worked on at least one other map in the Trattner series, and perhaps even on a whole collection of maps.<sup>33</sup>

The Hungarian-language map of the siege of Belgrade in 1789 is also worth mentioning. It reproduces Johann Thomas Trattner's cartographic style with meticulous accuracy, but its author was a Hungarian polymath Görög Demeter (1760–1833), one of the pioneers of Hungarian cartography, who once assembled a team of topographers at his own expense to create an atlas of Hungarian maps and other cartographic products exclusively in Hungarian. The style of Trattner's popular maps was used

<sup>27</sup> MNL, no. 5. *Einmarsche der K.K. Truppen in Alt-Orsova den 12-ten Febr. 1788*, sign. S 43 — no. 10/7:2.

<sup>28</sup> MNL, no. 18. *carte der feindlichen Überfalls bei Orsova Scharmützel bei Dubova u. die Veteran. Höhle*, sign. S 43 — no. 10/7:6.

<sup>29</sup> HM, *Plan der am 24ten April 1788. eroberten Vestung Schabatz, türkisch Bukiurtelen*, sign. H III e 3182/2.

<sup>30</sup> HM, *Plan der eroberten Vestung Schabatz am 24. April 1788*, sign. H III e 2539.

<sup>31</sup> Національна бібліотека України імені В.І. Вернадського, Київ [VNLU], *Plan des Oesterreichischen Lagers vor Sabatz*, sign. 5085.

<sup>32</sup> MNL, *Carte von Belgrad, Semlin, Panczova und der umliegenden Gegend*, sign. S 43 — no. 10/7:3.

<sup>33</sup> MNL, *Carte der Scharmützel bei Alibonar, Orlavat, Panschova u. beim beschanier Damm*, sign. S 43 — no. 10/7:7.

by the Hungarian patriot to promote his own language.<sup>34</sup> The map was also published as a supplement to the periodical *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek* (War Time and Other Remarkable Stories), which was published between 1789 and 1791 and was the Hungarian-language equivalent of the popular collections of frontline accounts published in German.<sup>35</sup>

The review of printed maps from the period of the Austro-Turkish War of 1788–1791 closes with a map of Belgrade and its environs by I.C. von Lackner, engraved in 1790 and published through the efforts of Viennese bookseller Sebastian Hartl.<sup>36</sup> Hartl's publication, like Trattner's, is a glaring example of the creation of several media products to illustrate the course of the war — the same Hartl published a hugely popular collection of accounts *Vollständige Geschichte des itzigen Krieges zwischen Oesterreich, Russland und der ottomanischen Pforte von 1788* (The Complete History of the Modern War between Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Porte of 1788), which served as the textual basis for many maps, including Trattner's.<sup>37</sup>

Much of the cartographic material produced between 1788 and 1791 was handwritten and therefore not intended for a general use and distribution. In our opinion, there were two main purposes for such maps and plans: planning military operations and supplementing the cartographic collections of those in power who could afford to order such an expensive item as manuscript maps. If we limit the analysis to Serbian subjects only, we can conclude that there are only two geographical motifs (with a few exceptions) — the Belgrade area and the aforementioned Veterani cave, where Serbian lands are represented only marginally.

Among the staff plans and maps that served only military needs there are cartographic images of Belgrade and the fortified camp near Zemun, which are kept at the Szechenyi State Library (Budapest). The map known as TK 2152 is of particular interest, and it shows the outskirts of Belgrade and the fortified camp of Zemun during the 1788 campaign. This handwritten map in ink was probably used for planning ongoing military operations, as it does not have a scale on it, and was therefore intended for people who were more or less familiar with the area. The map shows a relief with elevation lines, rivers, islands, roads and fortifications. All objects are accompanied by names in German.<sup>38</sup> A hand-drawn plan of a fortified camp near Zemun from 1788, which was drawn in ink and watercolor, also lacks a scale grid and only identifies the troops and names of commanders.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> MNL, *Nándorfejérvára és az azt ostromló tábor fekvése 1789*, sign. S 68-XIV. — no. 8.

<sup>35</sup> *Jegyzések, „Hadi és más nevezetes történetek” 1789*, no. 17, p. 397–400.

<sup>36</sup> MNL, *Plan von Belgrad Semlin und den umliegenden Gegenden*, sign. S 41 — no. 8/27.

<sup>37</sup> *Vollständige Geschichte des itzigen Krieges zwischen Oesterreich, Russland und der ottomanischen Pforte von 1788*, vol. 1–2, Wien 1789.

<sup>38</sup> Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár [OSZK], Budapest, Térképtár, *Belgrád és Zimony térségének térképvázlata*, sign. TK 2152.

<sup>39</sup> OSZK, Térképtár, *Lager bei Semlin*, sign. TK 570.

An analogous plan of the fortified camp of Zemun was made for Count Ferenc Széchenyi, who did not participate in the war, but wanted to have in his collection the mapped episodes of the famous history of imperial arms.<sup>40</sup> Most likely, a map of the outskirts of the modern Serbian town of Bela Crkva, which was then called Weißkirchen in German, was also made for a private collection in 1789. The map is currently kept at the Institute and Museum of Military History (Budapest).<sup>41</sup> There is also one of the few handwritten maps of the Belgrade fortress that allows us to clearly determine the date of the drawing — it is a map devoid of inscriptions made on March 26, 1789 in Petrovaradina, which, among other things, includes a diagram of the trench layout and planned directions of artillery fire.<sup>42</sup> This map is directly linked to a handwritten map of the operation to capture the city dated October 8, 1789, which contains the same diagram of the trenches.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the handwritten map *Situs Belgradensis* is larger in scale and more popular in nature. It was most likely made for a private collection and includes a note at the bottom about the loss of Belgrade in 1739 and its recovery half a century later.<sup>44</sup>

The most dramatic episode of the 1788 campaign for the Imperial Army is depicted on a series of handwritten maps, which show the course of the clashes at the Veterani cave in August 1788. All of the maps in the series are distinguished by their high artistic level, as pencil, ink and watercolor were used to create them. The landforms and vegetation are depicted in great detail. On these maps from the private collection of Counts Festetić, Serbia can only be seen as a strip of the Danube bank.<sup>45</sup> The plot itself has gained popularity due to the heroic story of the defense of the Veterani cave against repeatedly outnumbered Ottoman forces under the command of Grand Vizier Koca Yusuf Pasha.<sup>46</sup>

Undoubtedly, in terms of information content, cartographic sources on the history of Serbian lands during the last Austro-Turkish war give way to other written sources. However, the importance of maps and military plans as indicators of public perception of war events is underestimated. Maps were one of the tools used to create a heroic image of the Austro-Turkish confrontation in the Military Frontier that had little to do with reality. Cartographic materials, especially the mass printed ones, have great potential as sources for studying the history of government war propaganda and the

<sup>40</sup> OSZK, Térképtár, *Fortificirtes Lager bei Szemlin Anno 1788*, sign. TA 188 (7).

<sup>41</sup> HM, *Plan der Gegend um Weisskirchen nebst der Schanze bei Uipalanka*, sign. G I h 168/1.

<sup>42</sup> HM, *A belgrádi erőd átépítése*, sign. G I h 3767.

<sup>43</sup> HM, *Carte der eroberten Festung Belgrad den 8. October 1789*, sign. H III e 3156.

<sup>44</sup> OSZK, Térképtár, *Situs Belgradensis*, sign. TK 400.

<sup>45</sup> OSZK, Térképtár, *A Veterani-barlang környékén 1788. augusztus 11-én lezajlott ütközet*, sign. TK 90; VNLU, Section of Cartographic Publications, *Plan der berühmten sogenannten Veteranischen Höhle nebst der umliegenden Gegend im Bannat, welche mit einer heroischen Tapferkeit von einer kleinen Österreichischen Befatzung gegen mehrals 7 000 Türcken vom 10 bis den 30 August 1788...*, sign. 5073; HM, *Situation der Wederanischen Höhle*, sign. B IX a 1218; OSZK, Térképtár, *Situations Plan von der sogenannten Veteranischen Höhle*, sign. TK 718.

<sup>46</sup> A critical review of events in: E. Gorb, op. cit. p. 96–98.

imperial vision of the past and future of Serbian lands. There is a need for a detailed study of individual maps of Serbia from the late 18th century, locating and compiling place names, and publishing a corpus of the most important cartographic sources on the history of Ottoman-Serbian relations with appropriate scholarly commentary and attribution.

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