

Erik Fischer

with Ernst Jonas Bencard and Mikael Bøgh Rasmussen
and a Contribution by Marco Iuliano

Melchior Lorck

VOLUME 3:

Catalogue Raisonné

Part one: The Turkish Publication

Translation: Dan Marmorstein

The Royal Library

Vandkunsten Publishers, Copenhagen

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Credits

Today, Melchior Lorck's *Turkish Publication* designates a collection of 128 woodcuts with Turkish motives. It seems likely that the woodcuts were originally intended to illustrate a set of books that would represent – in words and pictures – the day's Turkish military, clothing, costumes and architecture, among other things. The motives were gathered on Lorck's trip to Turkey in 1555-59; the objective of the publication was clearly that of widening people's knowledge about Western Europe's formidable opponent of the day.

Unfortunately, Lorck himself did not live to see the ambitiously laid-out *Turkish Publication* set to print. It is true the earliest known leaf that has been conjectured to be the title page for the collection bears a date of 1575 (catalogue no. 1575,2). However, at that point in time only about twenty of *The Turkish Publication's* 128 woodcuts were fabricated and another half a century would elapse before the work would see the light of day. The premature dating of the title page was all too typical of Melchior Lorck's many incomplete projects, the quantity and breadth of which typically seemed to have a way of placing obstacles in the path of each others' finalization. Nevertheless, Lorck was working indefatigably on preparing his Turkish publication, supposedly in collaboration with professional woodcutters, as divulged by a number of signatures appearing on some of *The Turkish Publication's* woodcuts: see catalogue nos. 15, 26, 33, 34 and 49.

During the years following closely after 1575, the 128 known woodcuts were finished and ready. Chronologically, their dating indicates that they are allocated in the following way:

YEAR	CATALOGUE NUMBER(S)
1565	1
1570	2-14
1575	15-19
1576	22-31, 33-36, 38-54
1579	55-56
1581	57-77
1582	78-110, 112-117, 119-122, 124-125
1585	126
Undated	20 (1575?), 21 (1575?), 32 (1576?), 37 (1576?), 111 (1582?), 118 (1582), 123 (1582), 127 (?), 128 (?)

Even though we can accordingly observe that a large number of the woodcuts were ready for publication by the beginning of the 1580s, the project ran aground anyway, perhaps because neither text nor illustrations were thoroughly completed.¹

Beyond the fact that there are 128 woodcuts with Turkish themes emanating from Lorck's hand, we have no knowledge about precisely what form of publication the artist had in mind. When we take into consideration that he put out his book, *Soldan Soleyman ...*, in 1574, with a concise text about Turkey – a book that is illustrated with only four copper engravings – we can suppose that the copiously illustrated *Turkish Publication* was very likely conceived as Lorck's *magnum opus*, which would naturally be accompanied by informative commentaries. Today, the woodcuts exist without these explanatory texts and in the majority of cases, it only proves possible to determine indirectly what Lorck's Turkish woodcuts actually represent.

This problem is treated in a detailed way in a section of the present article, *Lorck's Texts for The Turkish Publication's Woodcuts*. But first, we present here a survey of the various editions (or planned editions, as the case might be) of *The*

1. There are extant drawings that are finished and prepared which clearly were meant as prototypes for woodcuts for *The Turkish Publication* that were never realized. See, for example, catalogue nos. 1571,1 and 1576,1.

Turkish Publication. In the course of the seventeenth century, Lorck's woodcuts with the Turkish themes were printed in four different publications, which are referred to over and over again in the present catalogue. In order to provide the reader with a sense of overview concerning this reference system, what follows here is a succinct enumeration of the various editions of *The Turkish Publication*:

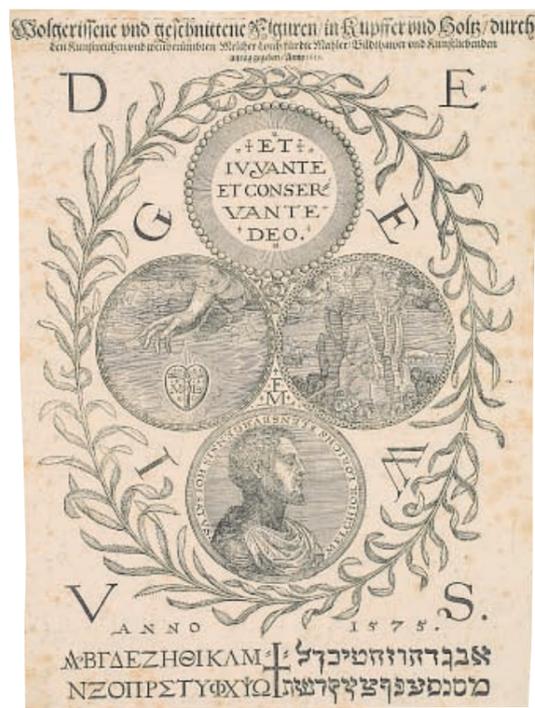
Planned edition of 1619

In 1619, woodcuts made by the late Melchior Lorck were evidently taken out from wherever they might have been previously stored, seeing as an edition of *The Turkish Publication* was envisaged for being printed during this same year. The presumed title page from 1575 was apparently going to be put to use again, now with a reprinted title, author's name and year of publication. For reasons that are unknown to us, however, this planned edition was also abandoned.² Evidently, nothing more than the title page, which is reproduced here, was realized. It contains, among other details, in the lowest of the four medallions, one of the two known portraits of Lorck. For more on the woodcut's other motives and texts, see also the discussion under the heading of catalogue no. 1575,2 in volume 5.

The inserted title was printed on the woodcut itself and is known in another and slightly divergent rendition. On the example reproduced here, the text reads:

Wolgerissene vnd geschnittene Figuren, in Kupffer vnd Holtz, durch den Kunstreichen vnd weitberühmten Melcher Lorch, für die Mahler, Bildthawer vnd Kunstliebenden an tag gegeben, Anno 1619.

This inserted text does not reveal the name of the prospective publisher of the edition or, for that matter, where the book was supposed to have



Title page, 1575, with supplemental revisions 1619, catalogue no. 1575,2. Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

been published. On the basis of the title's language, however, it is safe to surmise that the site of publication was German; and according to close studies, careful scrutiny of the typography of the inserted title things seem to point towards Frankfurt. For more on this, see the commentaries to catalogue no. 1575,2.

According to what we can glean from the provisional title, the 1619 publication was planned to be envisioned as containing not only woodcuts, but *also* engravings, which we can reasonably assume were the very same ones that appeared in Lorck's book, *Soldan Soleyman ...* from 1574, i.e. the portraits of Sultan Suleiman (catalogue nos. 1562,1 and 1574,1) and the portraits of the Persian envoy, Ismail (catalogue nos. 1562,2 and 1573,3). However, no engravings were included in the later editions of *The Turkish Publication*.

As can be seen, the inserted text of the 1619 title page is similar in so many ways to the title used in connection with the following 1626 edition that we simply have to consider the planned edition dating from 1619 as being an incipient preliminary effort at getting *The Turkish Publication* printed, a feat not achieved until seven years later in Hamburg.

1626 edition

The 1626 edition of *The Turkish Publication* was published by Michael Hering in Hamburg in 1626.

The publication's title page, which is reproduced here, makes use of *The Turkish Publication*'s catalogue no. 121 as the frontispiece.

The 1626 edition does not contain any text except for the words that appear on the title page, which in its entirety reads:

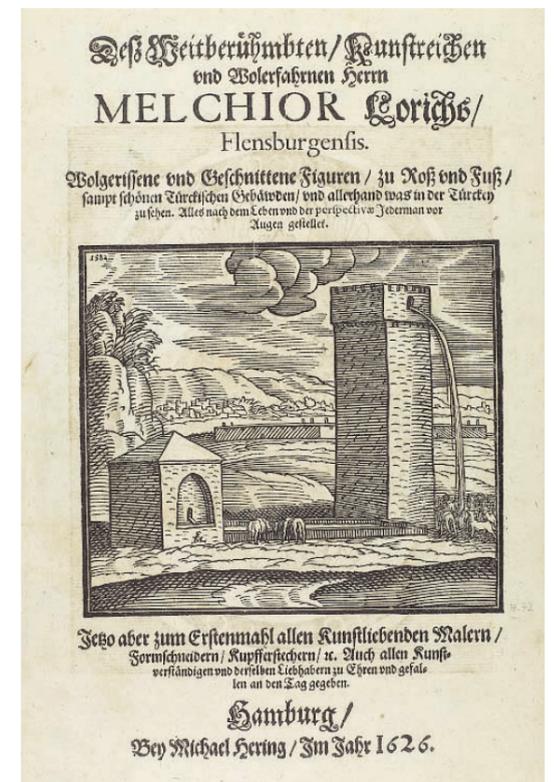
Dess Weitberühmbten, Kunstreichen vnd Wolerfahrenen Herrn MELCHIOR Lorichs, Flensburgensis.

Wolgerissene vnd Geschnittene Figuren, zu Ross vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türckischen Gebäuden, vnd allerhand was in der Türckey zusehen. Alles nach dem Leben vnd der perspective Jederman vor Augen gestellet.

Jetzo aber zum Erstenmahl allen Kunstliebenden Malern, Formschnidern, Kupfferstechern, etc. Auch allen Kunstverständigen vnd derselben Liebhabern zu Ehren vnd gefallen an den Tag gegeben.

Hamburg, Bey Michael Hering, Im Jahr 1626.

What is made evident here is that the woodcuts are being published "zum Erstenmahl" and there are no grounds for doubting the truth of this assertion. If it were so that an edition from 1619 actually existed, then Hering would have known about it, not only because he certainly must have been keeping abreast of new publications appearing on the market but also because he – in the event that the 1619 edition did come forth – would have had to acquire the wooden printing blocks from the publisher who had printed them only seven years earlier. Were this the genuine scenario, then Hering would have deliberately been suppressing this information on his edition's title page. This does not seem plausible, however, and we are accordingly forced to con-



Title page, 1626 edition, The Royal Library, Copenhagen

clude that the 1626 edition of *The Turkish Publication* is, in fact, the first edition of the woodcuts.

With respect to what has been mentioned above, another factor that lends credence to the supposition that no publication actually came forth in 1619 is that the text that was added in 1619 to the original title page created back in 1575 has so many points of similarity to the more thoroughly detailed title page text ushering in the 1626 edition that the former must, for all intents and purposes, be regarded as a preparatory sketch for the latter.

Nor do examinations of the individual woodcuts' states give rise to even the subtlest clues of the existence of any edition of *The Turkish Publication* prior to Hering's publication from 1626.

There are only a few extant copies of the 1626 edition. At The Royal Library in Copenhagen there are three, one of which has been preserved in excellent condition; it is bound in a vellum binding. This particular example of Melchior Lorck's opus, which contains 124 of *The Turkish Publication*'s 128 woodcuts, is reproduced in facsimile in volume 2 of the present publication of Lorck's oeuvre.

2. Robert Zijlma (ed.): *Johan Leipolt to Melchior Lorck* (Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, vol. 22), Amsterdam 1978, p. 224 erroneously mentions a 1619 edition of *The Turkish Publication* as having been printed and realized and makes reference to three different museums that are said to own one copy each of this edition. What has proven to be so, however, in all three instances is that these museums actually own copies of the later 1626 edition. The mistake could presumably be due to the fact that the title page prepared in 1619 has been found to be bound into known extant copies of the 1646 edition of *The Turkish Publication*, cf. Erik Fischer: 'Melchior Lorck. En dansk vagants levnedsløb i det 16. aarhundrede', in: *Fund og Forskning*, XI, København 1964, p. 64, (summary in German, pp. 176-80). Moreover, Hollstein's information about Lorck's oeuvre is largely incomplete and not free of quite a few flaws.



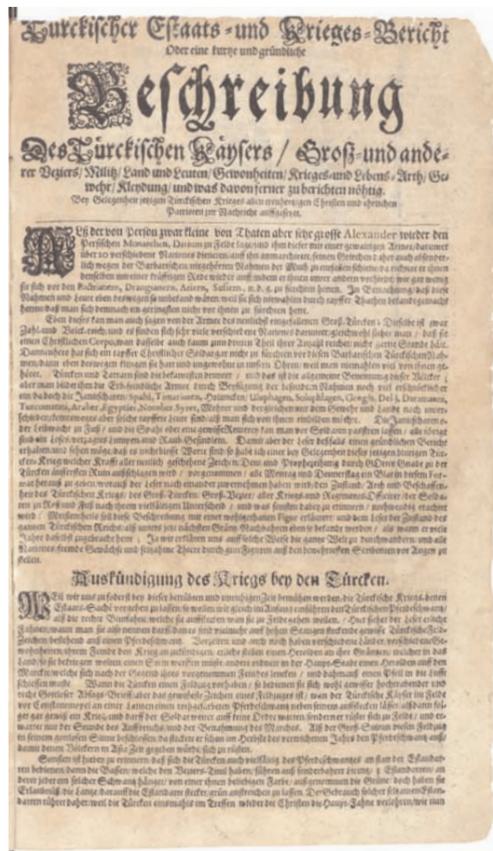
Title page, 1646 edition, Albertina, Vienna

1646 edition

The second known printing of *The Turkish Publication* was published in 1646 by Tobias Gundermann, again, in Hamburg.

The text on the publication’s title page, which is reprinted here, reads, in its entirety:

Dess Kunstreichen, Weitberühmbten vnd Wolerfahrnen Herrn, **MELCHIORIS LORICHHI Flensburgensis,** Wolgerissene vnd geschnittene Figuren, zu Rossz vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türckischen Gebäuden, vnd allerhand, was in der Türckey zusehen: Alles nach dem Leben vnd der *Perspectiva* jederman vor Augen gestellet, in Kupffer vnd Holz. Jetzo zum drittenmahl, mit einem Register vber die Figuren, auss dem *Original Manuscripto*, allen Kunstliebenden, Malern, Formschneidern, Kupfferstechern, auch allen Kunstverständigen vnd derselben Liebhabern, zu Ehren vnd Gefallen an den Tag gegeben. Hamburg, Bey Tobias Gundermann Buchhändlern. *M. DC. XXXVII.*



Title page, *Krieges-Bericht* no. 1, The Royal Library, Copenhagen

No edition of Melchior Lorck’s set of woodcuts is known to have appeared between 1626 and 1646, even though the title page here unambiguously informs the reader that *The Turkish Publication* is hereby being published “zum drittenmahl”. The explanation for this could be that the publisher was presumably led astray by the aforementioned title page prepared for the intended publication in 1619 and was accordingly inclined to believe that there were *two* previous editions of *The Turkish Publication* in existence.

What is also made clear is that this edition contains a register with illustrative explanations for the woodcuts – “einem Register vber die Figuren”. The register extends as far as number 128 but for inexplicable reasons, 30 of the entries are missing in the numerical sequence. The 1646 register, which is reprinted *in extenso* in the 1646 edition concordance on p. **XXXX**, builds on an “*Original Manuscripto*”, according to what the title page expressly states. The whereabouts of such a manuscript are no longer known to us, but we take the liberty of presuming that it must have issued from Lorck’s own hand, seeing as

the register’s descriptions of the woodcuts are, every now and then, so suitably detailed that only a first-hand knowledge of the motives being rendered could have been the basis for concocting such incisive vignettes. Accordingly, the register is a very important source in our attempts to understand what the woodcuts actually represent. This identification of the motives has been carried out to its fullest possible extent in the preparation of the present catalogue. More is said about these efforts in what follows in *Lorck’s Texts for The Turkish Publication’s Woodcuts*.

Krieges-Bericht 1683-84

Lorck’s printing blocks were taken out from wherever they had been stored and put to use once again during the war between the Turks and the Western allies in the 1680s. At the time, the printing blocks were still in Hamburg and the enterprising author and journalist, Eberhard Werner Happel (1647-1690), reprinted the majority of them, for what was now a third time, in a newspaper that he published in 1683-84 in Hamburg.

The very first issue of the newspaper, the front page of which is reproduced here, bears the title:

Türkischer Staats- und Krieges-Bericht Oder eine kurtze und gründliche Beschreibung Des Türkischen Käysers, Grosz- und anderer Veziers, Militz, Land und Leuten, Gewonheiten, Krieges- und Lebens-Arth, Gewehr, Kleydung, und was davon ferner zu berichten nöthig. Bey Gelegenheit jetzigen Türckischen Krieges allen treuhertzigen Christen und ehrlichen Patrioten zur Nachricht aufgesetzt.

The newspaper, which has been abridged here to *Krieges-Bericht* for the sake of convenience, appeared with a grand total of 137 issues. With *Krieges-Bericht* no. 76 and thenceforth, the indi-

vidual issues of the newspaper are dated, beginning May 26, 1684 (no. 76) to December 29, 1684 (no. 137) – which was the final appearance of *Krieges-Bericht*. Prior to issue no. 76, the newspaper bears no dating, aside from three occurrences of the year “1683”, but if we can presume that Happel simply maintained the same frequency of publication for the first seventy-six issues as we know he did for the ensuing issues, which appeared on the street two times a week, then it stands to reason that *Krieges-Bericht* no. 1 must have been published in 1683.

In the various issues of *Krieges-Bericht* there are 123 of *The Turkish Publication’s* 128 woodcuts that make an appearance. However, in *Krieges-Bericht* issue nos. 93-94, 119-121 and 134-136, the printing blocks for three of the woodcuts were divided into smaller fragments. Thus there were, all in all, 128 of the 137 issues of the newspaper that were illustrated with Lorck’s woodcuts, while other artists created the woodcuts in the remaining nine issues. See also the concordance between *Krieges-Bericht* and the present catalogue’s EF numbers on p. **XXX**.

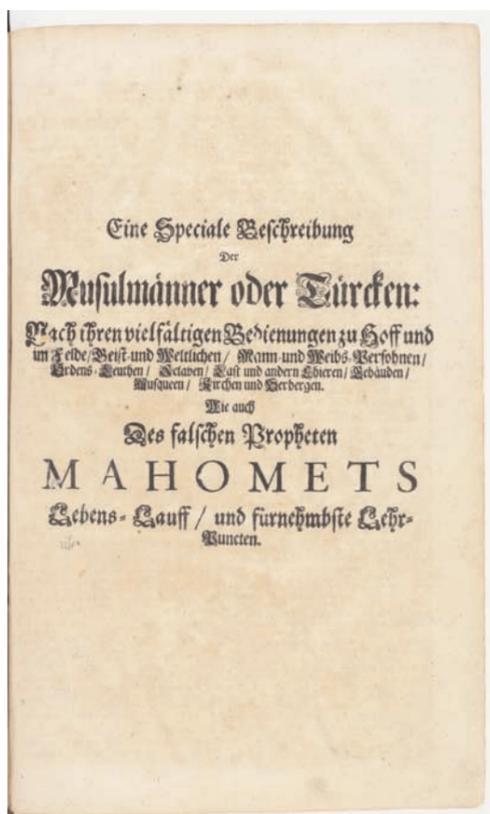
Because Lorck’s woodcuts all bore signatures and datings, Happel felt obliged to cut away the Flensburger’s century-old monogram and datings. The reprinting further discloses that after being used for the printing of the 1646 edition, the woodcuts had suffered cracks and damages that depreciated the quality of the impressions.

Krieges-Bericht reappears, unaltered, in a collected work that was issued by Thomas von Wiering in 1685, *Der Türckische Schau-Platz ...*, where the newspapers are bound together with other accounts about the Turks and the Turkish wars.⁵

Thesaurus 1688

Lorck’s woodcuts were put to use yet another time in Happel’s collected work, *Thesaurus Exo-*

5. *Der Türckische Schau-Platz Eröfnet und furgestellt in sehr vielen nach dem Leben gezeichneten Figuren, Wobey die Türcken und all ihnen unterthanige Nationen nach dem Unterscheid ihrer Sitten / Kleydung / Würde / Stand / von dem höchsten biß zum niedrigsten in genere beschrieben werden. Wie auch der itzige Turcken-Krieg / Von seinem Beginn und Fortgang biß auff das 1685-te Jahr / sampt der denckwürdigen Belagerung der Stadt Wien / Nebst einer neuen Landkarte und Beschreibung der berühmtesten Oerther von Wien biß nach Constantinopel / durchgehends mit denckwürdigen Exempeln / Türckischen Kern-Sprüchen / Geschichten / Lehren / u.d.gl. angefüllet und außgezieret*, Thomas von Wiering, Hamburg 1685. The sole copy of this work that is known to us is in the possession of Jorgen Jark in Farum; we hereby extend our gratitude to Mr. Jark for his help and for providing us with information about this publication.



Title page, third part of *Thesaurus Exoticorum*, The Royal Library, Copenhagen

ticorum,⁴ which was published in 1688 in Hamburg. The set of books, the title of which is abridged here to *Thesaurus 1688*, consists of a number of smaller books, each of which is furnished with its own independent title page and its own independent pagination; the books are interconnected by virtue of the fact that they all present “exotic” themes that chiefly revolve around Turkey.

The majority of *The Turkish Publication*’s woodcuts were reprinted in the third part of *Thesaurus*, the title page of which is reproduced here. In its entirety, the title reads thusly:

Eine speciale Beschreibung Der Musulmänner
oder Türcken: Nach ihren vielfältigen
Bedienungen zu Hoff und im Felde, Geist- und

Weltlichen, Mann- und Weibs-Persohnen,
Ordens-Leuthen, Slaven, Last und andern
Thieren, Gebäuden, Musqueen, Kirchen und
Herbergen. Wie auch Des falschen Propheten
MAHOMET'S Lebens-Lauff, und fürnehmste
Lehr-Puncten.

123 of Lorck’s 128 woodcuts for *The Turkish Publication* appear in this part of *Thesaurus*, which also contains nine woodcuts that do not stem from the hand of Lorck.

The woodcuts were printed onto better paper in *Thesaurus* than they were onto the flyleaves of *Krieges-Bericht*. Comparative examinations make it clear, moreover, that a large number of the printing blocks were used for the printing of *Thesaurus* before Happel re-used the blocks for *Krieges-Bericht*; see, for example, catalogue nos. 1 and 5. That is to say, that the printing of *Thesaurus* must have been initiated before *Krieges-Bericht* appeared on the street, although the complete set of books was not published until four years after the last appearance of the newspaper. However, this cannot be said about all the woodcuts; see, for example, catalogue no. 11, where it is clear to see that the version in *Krieges-Bericht* was printed earlier than was the impression in *Thesaurus*.

Lorck’s Texts for *The Turkish Publication*’s Woodcuts

One of the most important questions hovering around Lorck’s *Turkish Publication* is how the artist himself actually envisioned the presentation of his works in published form. We know of woodcuts for which he produced the printing blocks with his own hands and we know of a number of finished prototype drawings preliminary to woodcuts which, by the way, were not all realized as prints but which, by virtue of their themes and their inscriptions, appear to belong to the same larger situational context.⁵ However,

the plan for their originally intended sequence and connections has not been reconstructable so far. Between the point in time when we can be reasonably certain that Lorck himself was still busy making preparations for his book about the Turks and the date of the first edition of the work, which appeared in 1626, there is an interval of approximately 40 years about which we presently know *nothing* when it comes to what might have happened to Lorck’s material for the book. However, both the inscriptions that some of the prototype drawings are supplied with and the text materials that some of the later appearances of the woodcuts bring forth in order to illuminate and illustrate their contents support the supposition that there was indeed a coherent plan on Lorck’s part and also that there must have been a manuscript for a text that was meant to illuminate and supplement the woodcuts.

Lorck was not nearly as tardy about being sensitive to the potentials in the veritable gold mine of knowledge about Turkish society and in the vast reservoir of new visual material that illustrated what he had managed to amass during his three-and-a-half year long sojourn there as he was about getting the work published.

What the drawings’ inscriptions bear out is that during his sojourn, he must have been rather meticulous about making notes on his sketches related to what they might happen to represent.⁶ These inscriptions can be quite elaborately detailed and they offer testimony that the drawings’ *raison d’être* was *documentation*. They were, first and foremost, conceived as mnemonic aids, for his own use, for retaining material and impressions that he had no chance of re-checking when he came home. However, in their formulation as explanatory captions for the motives that had been rendered and in the fullness that they display every now and then, there can be no doubt that they were addressed to a prospective public. For this reason, it is possible and maybe even probable that already during his sojourn in Turkey, Lorck hatched the idea of an eventual publication. In his letters of 1563 to King Frederik II and Duke Hans, where he attempts to justify his hesitation at stepping into

their service, he does mention, in any event, plans for book publications, even though he does not specifically speak of a book about the Turkish circumstances but rather about a book presenting renderings of antique monuments and art works.⁷ A number of the thoroughly and carefully reworked drawings that date from Lorck’s years in Vienna after his return from Turkey illustrate antique motives from the Turkish region and might presumably have something to do with these envisaged publications. Judging from their characteristic style of rendering, these drawings appear to have been conceived as prototypes for copperplate engravings and accordingly intended for a more exclusive form of publication which, considering the theme, would consequently have been targeted toward a more discriminating audience. It is possible that in his letters addressed to the two members of the royal house, Lorck was calling attention to these antiques rather than to the modern Turkish themes simply because he would thereby profile himself as a cultivated and well-educated artist who had managed to administer antiquity’s artistic legacy and who, in this capacity, could lay a rightful claim to being duly respected as an artist on a pan-European level. In relation to this agenda, documentary-like woodcuts of the customs of barbarian heathens would supposedly make a substantially lesser impact on his prospective patrons: their value was of a completely different order.

The magnificent and enormous *Constantinople Prospect*, which has reposed in Leiden’s University Library ever since the end of the sixteenth century is apparently, similarly, the very advanced prototype for an envisioned but never completed publication, this one most likely being planned as a woodcut. This prospect was also executed in the years immediately after the artist’s return from Turkey and he worked on the piece all the way to the time that he sent the aforementioned letters to the members of the Danish royal house in the north; for more on *The Constantinople Prospect*, see the discussion in volume 4.

We can see, then, that the material shores up

effect a tracing over onto a new printing block that was unprepared as of yet; this is true of *The Turkish Publication*’s catalogue no. 18.

6. See, for example, catalogue no. 1571,1. The majority of the known drawings for *The Turkish Publication* were created after the artist’s homecoming, on the basis of sketches and drawings created on site.

7. Document no. 1563-January 1, sections 21 and 22; see also document no. 1563-January 10, section 7.

4. *THESAURUS EXOTICORUM Oder eine mit Ausländischen Raritäten und Geschichten Wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer Fürstellend Die ASIATISCHE AFRICANISCHE und AMERICANISCHE Nationes Der Perser, Indianer, Sinesen, Tartern, Egypter, Barbarn, Libyer, Nigriten, Guineer, Hottentotten, Abyssiner, Canadenser, Virginier, Floridaner, Mexicaner, Peruaner, Chilenser, Magellanier und Brasilianer etc. Nach ihren Königreichen Policeyen, Kleydungen, Sitten und Gottes-Dienst. Darauf folgt eine umständliche Beschreibung von Türckey: Der Türccken Ankuufft: aller Sultanen Lebens-Lauff und Bildnüß: Aller hohen Staats-Bedienten; Des Sultans Hoff, Regierung, Intraden, Macht und Vasallen; wie auch ihres Propheten Mahomets Lebens-Beschreibung, und sein Gesetz-Buch oder ALCORAN ... Von EVERHARDO GUERNERO HAPPELIO, Thomas von Wiering, Hamburg 1688.*

5. In one single instance, we find that the drawing’s backside has been dyed with red so that the block cutter could

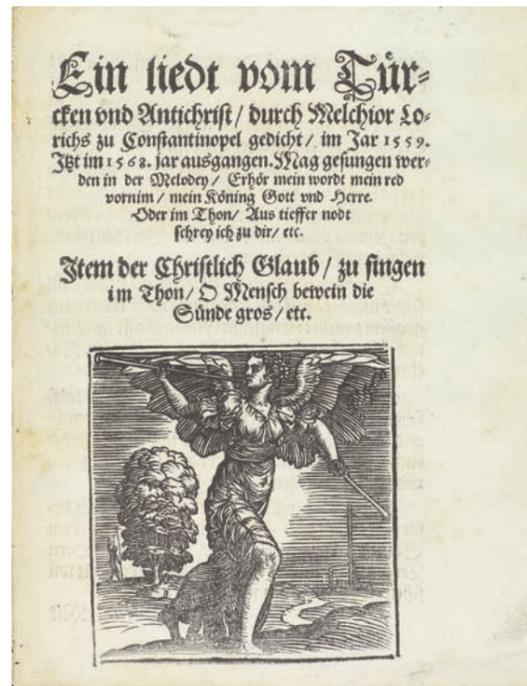
the letters' declaration that Lorck ostensibly had rather concrete and even partially realized plans for publications that would involve processing and manufacturing his picture material from Turkey. But alas, these plans appear to have capsized.

What cannot directly be deduced from what has been mentioned above is that the material that would come to comprise *The Turkish Publication* was already in the process of emerging at the beginning of the 1560s. The first woodcut for the work is dated 1565 while all the others date from the 1570s or later. Perhaps the notion of a publication of a more encyclopedic character was not hatched until after 1563/64, when it became all too clear that the more exclusive publications were simply not attracting any financial backing and were accordingly not going to come forth. However, there might also be other reasons for why Lorck, instead, threw his energy into the large and comprehensive work: the fresh outbreak of the Turkish Wars' and the accession of a new Emperor in the Holy Roman Empire, in the wake of Ferdinand I's death, could offer other feasible explanations.

In any event, we can ascertain that Lorck, after having entered into the service of the emperor as a *Hartschier* in 1564, chose less elitist re-workings of the Turkish themes than the antique monuments.

A clear hint about Lorck's ambitions as an author can be gleaned from a consideration of the fact that he actually did publish some of his Turkish material during his own lifetime. Nine years after his return from Constantinople, he authored a little pamphlet that was entitled *Ein liedt vom Türcken und Antichrist*, dating from 1568.⁸ In terms of its content, this work was a rather conventional contribution to the "Türkenbüchlein" genre, which had enjoyed an enormous degree of popularity since the 1520s, a genre that gave voice to the early Protestantism's Doomsday forecasts and which typically identified the pope and the Turk as Antichrist.⁹

On the title page, the poem, which was conceived and intended as a text that could be sung,



Title page, *Ein liedt vom Türcken und Antichrist ...*, catalogue no. 1568,3, The Royal Library, Copenhagen

purports to have been written in Constantinople in 1559, which very well might be a tidbit of information that is intended to incite the curiosity, to endow the pamphlet with a more distinct impression of authenticity and to consequently promote the marketing of the work. Similarly, the timing of the publication was carefully chosen, as befitting the typical *modus operandi* for the appearance of such a "Türkenbüchlein": Emperor Maximilian II was compelled in 1568 to enter into an agreement with the newly acceded sultan, Selim II, an agreement stipulating that the Holy Roman Empire would have to pay a tribute in exchange for a truce – this, of course, constituted a humiliation that once again threw the current status of the Turkish threat into relief.

Far more interesting in relation to *The Turkish Publication* is Lorck's book, *Soldan Soleyman Trkischen Khaysers, ... Whare vnd eigentliche contrafectung vnd bildtnuß ... dem Leben nach gemacht*, which was published in Antwerp on

April 21, 1574.¹⁰ The book was illustrated by the four splendid copper-engraved portraits of Sultan Suleiman (catalogue nos. 1562,1 and 1574,1) and the Persian envoy, Ismail (catalogue nos. 1562,2 and 1573,3). Moreover, the book contained a transcribed imprint of the (subsequently) otherwise vanished autobiographical letter that Lorck had written from Vienna to King Frederik II on New Year's Day 1563. What is especially important in this connection: the book provided an overview of the countries controlled by the sultan at the time as well as a description of the Turkish administrative and military hierarchy and an enumeration of how many soldiers and other functionaries each dignitary or official had under his command and a stipulation of how much each Turk with this kind of status received in pay. Unfortunately, *Soldan Soleyman ...*, which is briefly described and sporadically quoted in Hans Harbeck's monograph on Lorck, from 1911, is no longer extant today. The only known copy of the book was found in the Hamburg Stadtbibliothek and was obliterated in 1943 during the night between July 24th and 25th in one of the Second World War's fire storms during Operation Gomorrah.¹¹ However, the autobiography has survived in an unpublished transcript carried out by one of the eminent pioneers in the field of Lorck scholarship, Fritz Fuglsang. Our knowledge about *Soldan Soleyman ...* in other words, is tremendously important to our understanding about Lorck, inasmuch as it has not only provided us with the most important source for the events in Lorck's life previous to 1563 but also because it is here that we get a sense of the documentary-like thoroughness that Lorck displayed on the basis of what was evidently a meticulously assembled body of material that he collected during his period of residence in Constantinople. And because the book closes with a promise that

much more about Turkey will be appearing in the time to come. We can see, then, that Lorck had material for – and was in the process of making plans for – a work that would be treating of "der Turckhen whesen, maniere, gelegenheit, vnd gebreuche, so sie die Turckhen zu fried vnd kreigszeiten haben, halten, vnd sich gebrauchen, sol zu seiner zeit weiter, mehr vnd weitlauffiger der Christenheit, sonderlich Teudtscher Nation, vnd dan auch einen iden zum besten, nutz vnd guettem, geschriben, vnd (wil Gott) erstes tages an tag khommen vnd gedruckt werden ..."¹²

Seeing that Lorck, in 1574, was hobnobbing within the intellectual and inspiring artistic and humanistic circles, he must inevitably – with all this unique picture material that he had up his sleeve, as it were – have been prodded and encouraged to do something more with his Turkish material than putting out the rather succinct *Soldan Soleyman ...* In any event, the indisputable fact remains that while up until the year 1574 he had only produced 14 of the woodcuts that would eventually come to form part of *The Turkish Publication*, he managed in the next couple of years alone, 1575 and 1576, to complete almost one third of the 128 woodcuts for *The Turkish Publication* that are known to us today. It is not hard to imagine that alongside of this impetuous torrent of working with creating the prints, Lorck also took hold of writing the texts for a book that would fashion a proper frame around the woodcuts. But as time would come to reveal, the parenthetical aside "wil Gott" in the concluding sentence of *Soldan Soleyman ...* would prove to be a sensible and farsighted interpolation.

No, Lorck did not manage to get *The Turkish Publication* published in his lifetime and it appears obvious that he also left the work un-

10. The full title of the works reads like this: *Soldan Soleyman Trckhischen Khaysers, vnd auch Furst Ismaelis auß Persien, Whare vnd eigentliche contrafectung vnd bildtnuß. Sampt anzeigung, vermeldung auff's khurzeit, doch warhafflich vñ grundligisten bericht, welche Lande vnd Khunigreiche der Welt, der Turckh besitz vñ vnder ihm habe: wie viel Jarlichs intraden oder eynkhommendes, ihme, dem Turcken falle, von denselben: Sein vnd seins Reichs Embter vnd Glieder, wir vñ was die jedes besonder, auch mit selbst eigenem namen sein vñ heyssen: wie viel derselben, auch wieviel ein ides Ampt, vñ ein ider Turckhischer Herr, vom höchsten zum nidrigisten, Kriegsvolckh, Reutter vñnd knechte, oder Pferde vñnd fuëßvolckh vnder ihm habe. Durch den Erbaren vnd Ehrnuesten Melichiorn Lorichs von Flensburg beschriben, Gecontrafect, in rechter Statur vnd Khleydung, der zeit zu Constantinopel dem Leben nach gemacht.* The text of the title above is quoted from Harbeck (1911), p. 105.

11. Klaus Garber: 'Der Untergang der alten Hamburger Stadtbibliothek im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Auf immer verlorene Barock- und Hamburgensien-Schätze nebst einer Rekonstruktion der Sammlungen Hamburger Gelegenheitsgedichte', in: Harald Weigel (ed.): *Festschrift für Horst Gronemeyer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Bautz: Herzberg 1993, pp. 801-859.

12. Quoted from Harbeck (1911), p. 107.

8. *Ein liedt vom Türcken vnd Antichrist, durch Melchior Lorichs zu Constantinopel gedicht, im Jar 1559. Itzt im 1568. Jar ausgangen. Mag gesungen werden in der Melodey; Erhör mein wordt ...*, [no indication of place of publication], 1568. Catalogue no. 1568,3.

9. A detailed treatment of this theme up until 1543 can be found in John W. Bohnstedt: 'The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era', in: *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New. Ser., Vol. 58, No. 9, 1968, pp. 1-58.

finished.¹⁵ The one extant drawing that may be considered a prototype for *The Turkish Publication*'s woodcut for which no print has either been registered or preserved could indeed serve to indicate that Lorck was never finished with the planned work and/or that one or more of the printing blocks got lost during the period between Lorck's death and the first publication of the work. It appears plausible that *The Turkish Publication*, with its many woodcuts, was supposed to have been Lorck's *magnum opus*, which naturally would have been accompanied by a suitable quantity of informative textual material that would be considerably more expansive than the concise notes inscribed on the edited drawings.

Lorck's original manuscript

Above and beyond the texts that we know from the drawings, though, what can we really say about what was intended with respect to the textual aspect of the large work and what can we say about its envisaged disposition?

When the existing woodcuts were published for the first time in 1626, the book contained no text other than that which appeared on the title page.¹⁴ The second edition, from 1646, however, is prefaced with a three-page register,¹⁵ which, according to the title page, emanates from "dem *Original Manuscripto*". The burning question, of course, is whether this "original manuscript" could, in fact, have been Lorck's own.

In certain instances, the register presents items of information about the particular woodcut's theme that prove to be so correct and accurate that it is almost impossible to imagine that such information could be straightforward descriptions of what anybody, proceeding in an unqualified and unprepared manner, could discover simply by examining the image on the wood-

cut. By way of example, consider the 1646 register's number 114, where the description of the woodcut reads: "Anderer Abriss der Kirchen¹⁶ Hali Bassa, wie selbige gegen Auffgang¹⁷ der Sonnen, vnnd Mitternacht¹⁸ ausswendig anzusehen ist." Hali Bassa's mosque is known today as Atik Ali Pasha mosque and is situated just outside the site of the caravanserai (Elçi Hanı), where the entourage of the imperial embassy, including Lorck, resided. In one of his most beautiful and most unconventional woodcuts,¹⁹ Lorck delineates the mosque. In consummate accordance with what it says in the register's text, the mosque is being viewed here from a standpoint looking in a northeasterly direction. The Atik Ali Pasha mosque did not happen to be one of Constantinople's best-known landmarks of interest. For this reason it is highly implausible – and almost inconceivable – that the editor behind the compilation of the 1646 edition (whose name we do not know) would immediately have been able to recognize the mosque as Ali Pasha's simply by looking at the woodcut and then composing, on this basis, the register's astutely correct text.

Another one of the woodcuts made in a large format brings forth an exceedingly precise rendering of the Süleymaniye mosque,²⁰ which was designed by the gifted and innovative architect, Sinan,²¹ for the sultan, Suleiman the Great and consecrated during Lorck's period of residence in Constantinople. At different spots on the surface of the woodcut, Lorck has – as points of reference – inserted the letters A, D, L, N, S and V – and only these. As number 119 in the sequence, the 1646 register presents altogether correct explanations for these six particular elements appearing on the woodcut depicting the mosque. Generally, the texts' precision is of such a carat that these illustrative explanations can only have been built on information offered by somebody who had experienced the mosque firsthand.

That is to say, the source that lies as the basis

for the register's texts must have been authentic. Consequently, it can reasonably be conjectured that the *original manuscript* that the register is built upon, in accordance with what the title page declares, was – in fact – Lorck's own.

Moreover, it is quite conceivable that the register's texts were actually drawn heavily on inscriptions made on preparatory drawings for the woodcuts that are no longer extant. For example, there is one of Lorck's extant drawings,²² which was finished and made ready for serving as a prototype for a woodcut, that bears an inscribed text with a length that corresponds roughly to that of the register's texts.

Unfortunately, the publisher of the 1646 edition did not transpose all of the manuscript's information to the register. The register begins with number 1 and ends with number 128, but it is not complete: 30 entries are missing in the numerical sequence. Furthermore, certain items of information that have transposed into the 1646 register are incomplete. For example, as the register's number 120, what is presented is a group of elaborately detailed explanations about particular details in the large woodcut with the modified Kaaba picture.²³ Everywhere on the surface of the print, we find numerals and letters – as a matter of fact, the entire Latin alphabet and parts of the Greek alphabet – ostensibly as reference marks for corresponding illustrative explanations. However, the register brings forth only the clarifications for those particular details that are marked on the woodcut with the letters A, B, C and D, after which the text states explicitly that the explanations for the rest of the markings in the woodcut "kan man ferner auß dem Original extrahiren"²⁴. Here, once again, reference is being made – as on the title page – to the original manuscript, which apparently contained more items of information than what was being presented in the 1646 register.²⁵

The register has yet another deplorable flaw.

One would be inclined to take it as a matter of course that the register's numerical sequence corresponds to the sequence delineated by the woodcuts as they were bound into the 1646 edition. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The woodcuts do *not* follow along with the register's numbers! For example, the Kaaba picture appears as leaf number 116 while its explanatory descriptive text is found under the register's number 120. The woodcut of Atik Ali Pasha is situated in the 1646 edition as leaf number 109, but its illustrative explanation figures in the register as number 114. Meanwhile, the woodcut of the Süleymaniye mosque is situated in the sequence of images as leaf number 114 in the 1646 edition; presumably, this could be due to the publisher's error in misidentifying the motive as the Atik Ali Pasha mosque which, as has just been mentioned, appears as number 114 in the register. However, it is under the rubric of number 119 that the 1646 register presents illustrative explanations of selected particulars appearing on the woodcut depicting the Süleymaniye mosque. Seeing that the register's list of signs, in this case, is minutely detailed and can *only* be understood as treating of the Süleymaniye woodcut, what we have here is an all too flagrant example evincing that no wholehearted attempt was made whatsoever to bring the illustrative explanations set forth by the 1646 edition's register and the woodcuts' actual sequence in the bound volume into accordance. These disparities in the correspondence between the two sequences serve to demonstrate how little the 1646 edition's editor and/or printer knew or cared about the texts. Even the unequivocally identifiable motives like the modified Kaaba picture and the Süleymaniye mosque are not situated in their correct places in the sequence. Apparently, sometime early along in the process, the 1646 editor or -printer abandoned the idea of even trying to get the sequence of illustrations and the register to match. The up-

15. There are extant drawings that have been finished and readied in a way that quite clearly suggests that they were prototypes for never-realized woodcuts to be included in *The Turkish Publication*; see, for example, catalogue nos. 1571,1 and 1576,1.

14. See the reproduction of the title page earlier on in the present article.

15. The register is re-quoted in fragments as pertain to each and every one of the relevant catalogue numbers and is reprinted *in extenso* in the concordance between the 1646 register and the present catalogue's EF-numbers, p. XXXX.

16. That is to say, mosque.

17. That is to say, east.

18. That is to say, north.

19. *The Turkish Publication*, catalogue no. 54.

20. *The Turkish Publication*, catalogue no. 5.

21. Sinan Abdülmennan Aga (ca. 1500-1588).

22. See catalogue no. 1571,1.

23. *The Turkish Publication*, catalogue no. 14.

24. The 1646 register's last page, under the rubric of number 120.

25. Cand.mag. Karsten Christensen has called attention to the fact that the register's somewhat singular and peculiar reference to the *original manuscript* – from which the register's reader is not offered much chance to benefit – can be apprehended as a misunderstood directive from the 1646 edition's anonymous editor to the printer. The scenario could very well have been that the editor did not feel up to the task of copying out the long explanatory text from the original manuscript and simply jotted down the four initial explanations in his own manuscript, which was delivered to the printer along with the original manuscript, where we would be able to find the remaining explanations. Perhaps the printer did not understand what he was supposed to do in this case or perhaps he just didn't feel like bothering to do so.

shot of this is that, still today, this problem of sloppiness in method continues to obstruct and greatly muddle our efforts to reconstruct which of the register's texts harmonizes with which of the 1646 edition's woodcuts.

Notwithstanding these difficulties with linking the texts and the pictures, what we can deduce and conclude on the basis of the 1646 edition and its prefatory register are: that there was, in fact, a manuscript containing illustrative explanations for, in any event, a considerable portion of Lorck's woodcuts; that it is very probable that this manuscript was issued from Lorck's own hand; and that the manuscript contained a more elaborately detailed text than that which was brought forth in the register.

Happel's use of Lorck

As it appears, the 1646 register's publisher and/or printer did not always reproduce the original manuscript's text in an altogether precise manner. Instead, the text was edited or abridged. As has been mentioned, the woodcut with the Süleymaniye mosque contained only six reference marks, clearly marked with the letters A, D, L, N, S and V. Why, exactly, *these* non-sequential letters, which were apparently chosen haphazardly among the alphabet's many others? The explanation can be found in a perusal of the two aforementioned publications put out by the popular German author, Eberhard Werner Happel, occasioned by the onset of the 1680s' Turkish wars, where Happel re-used Lorck's Turkish woodcuts. One of the two, with the more coherent use of the artworks is *Thesaurus Exoticorum*, appearing in 1688,²⁶ while the other was the serial publication of a newspaper that appeared in 1683-84, *Türkischer Staats- und Krieger-Bericht*.²⁷

In the foreword to the very rare collected re-printing in one volume of *Krieger-Bericht*, which was published by Thomas von Wiering in Hamburg in 1685, Happel mentions how costly it was to acquire the picture material – and this means to say the printing blocks for Lorck's *Turkish Publication* – but unfortunately, Happel says absolutely nothing about where he acquired them.²⁸ In his preface to *Thesaurus*, where he also rattles off a large number of sources for his ambitious publication, Happel writes that, as far as the Turkish material is concerned, he is making use of Michael [sic!] Lorichio as his source, even though he disagrees with much of what stands asserted in the source material!²⁹ The text that is reproduced in Happel, which is considerably more elaborate than the corresponding text in the 1646 register, presents explanatory comments on the same six particulars in the Süleymaniye mosque woodcut as the 1646 register did. However, Happel's explanations are unfolded in a different sequence than the explanations in the 1646 register: not alphabetically as A, D, L, N, S, V,³⁰ but rather in the following way – S, V, L, D, A, N. That is to say, this is no matter of randomly selected letters serving as the reference keys. They now appear to have been ingeniously selected so that, for the attentive reader, they come to form an acrostic: SVLDAN = Sultan. An occidental *antiquitatis studiosissimus's* discreet homage to the magnificent infidel building owner?

Happel's more elaborate explanations cannot have been derived solely from the 1646 register but they are sufficiently in accordance with what the register tells that we can safely draw the conclusion that Happel's explanations share a primary source with the 1646 register's compiler. The primary source (primary sources, if there were more than one) must be the original manuscript that is referred to on the 1646 edition's title

page and which must have been authored by Lorck himself.

However, the question about primary sources is not altogether simple when it comes to the texts authored by Happel. Some of the texts that are found in Happel's publications unquestionably relate to Lorck's woodcuts *and only to them*. This can be said about the descriptive and explanatory texts that refer directly to markings on the pictures and which therefore presuppose that the reader is looking at a particular picture. Among the best examples of this correspondence and clarity are the Kaaba and the Süleymaniye mosque woodcuts (respectively, catalogue nos. 14 and 5).

Other texts for Lorck's woodcuts in Happel's publications are accompanied by concise descriptive texts that have been supplemented, on the other hand, by statistical, economic and geographic information – especially in those instances where the woodcuts happen to show persons who happen to hold official positions within the military or the administrative hierarchy, etc. Here, for example, we learn how many people are subsumed in one particular category of official post, how much remuneration they receive in salary, etc. When we turn our attention to this aspect of the commentary, it appears plausible that Happel might have been making use of texts taken from Lorck's *Soldan Soleyman ...* from 1574. However, since all we have before us today are the title page and the concluding words of this volume,³¹ it is impossible to conduct a further verification. What the title page of *Soldan Soleyman ...* informs us is that the book, in a succinct yet thorough manner, will – among other things – describe all categories of Turkey's officials and of the military personnel, including how many people there are within each category and how large each person's salary happens to be. All of these are items of information that one frequently encounters in Happel's captions. For this reason, it appears reasonable to guess that Happel knew of – and had access to – Lorck's book. However, the question about the authenticity of the texts that are found in Happel and that are not explicitly specified as being quotations from or accounts from other explicitly named authors – in several instances, authors who were living and working after Lorck's lifetime – is only

further complicated when we ruminate again on Lorck's concluding words in *Soldan Soleyman ...*,³² where he explains that it is his intention to write a far more elaborate book about the very same themes with which he has been working so concisely in the book that now stands before the reader.

With this in mind, it appears reasonable to assume that both the 1646 register's compiler and Happel might have made use of *Soldan Soleyman ...* as well as of a more elaborately detailed manuscript issued from Lorck's hand. However, seeing as, in relation to the question of whether Happel actually made use of *Soldan Soleyman ...* there is good cause to wonder about why he could have failed to give Lorck the correct first name (“Melichiorn” is the genitive form appearing on the title page of *Soldan Soleyman ...*) it might be more plausible to surmise that, in any event, Happel “only” knew or made use of a manuscript from Lorck's own hand, which in such a case might very well have been designated as being written by “M. Lorck / Lorichs”.

Nevertheless, these shrouds of uncertainty do not detract from the essential contention in this connection: namely, the argument that Lorck himself is the source for a significant portion of the texts alongside of which the woodcuts later came to be published and that, in principle, it is possible, and to a great extent, to link the woodcuts with what stands in even the very smallest fragments of their originally intended text.

Considering the close connections that Lorck demonstrably had to the city of Hamburg, it is highly conceivable that both the printing blocks for his woodcuts and his literary remains would have wound up being situated in Hamburg at some point in time; it was here, after all, that the two posthumous editions of the woodcuts were published and it was here, 100 years after Lorck's evanescence from history, that Eberhard Werner Happel was able to get hold of the artist's material and utilize it for his own purposes.

The woodcuts' appurtenant texts

Lorck's own texts that treat of his Turkish woodcuts were thusly reused, whether directly or indirectly, in three of the four seventeenth century

26. For the full title of *Thesaurus*, see the present article's footnote no. 4. For a closer inspection of the Süleymaniye Mosque, see the quoted text in *The Turkish Publication's* catalogue no. 5.

27. See the title page for *Krieger-Bericht* reproduced earlier in the present article.

28. *Der Türkische Schau-Platz ...*, for the full title of this volume, see the present article's footnote no. 3.

29. P. 5: “... Hierauff folget eine particuliere Beschreibung von dem Unterschied der Türkischen Völcker nach ihren Bedienungen, Trachten, vomm Sultan, von ihrem Propheten Mahomet mit schönen Figuren, welcher Beschreibung ich aber mich nicht rühme, noch mich vor dem Autorem ausbe, weil sie von einem andern schon vor meiner Zeit entworffen und gedruckt, auch, die Wahrheit zu bekennen, gar nicht mit meiner Meynung überein kommet, aber pagina 105 in demselben Numero beginnet meine Arbeit wieder, und handelt die Türkische Materie vollends gebührlich ab, biss zum Ende, darinnen die meisten Figuren von dem kunsterfahrnen Michael Lorichio aus Flenssburg, der in der Turkey alles nach dem Leben gezeichnet, selber in sothane Form gebracht, die übrigen aber aus andern Authoribus entlehnet sind. ...” (italics here are made by the author of the present article).

30. Happel, who generally does *not* distinguish himself by virtue of meticulous scrupulousness when it comes to scholarship, has apparently forgotten to insert the letter ‘V’ before the relevant explanation.

31. Re-printed in Harbeck (1911), p. 105f.

32. Harbeck (1911), p. 107.

appearances of *The Turkish Publication*: in the 1646 edition's register and in both of Happel's publications. On this background, the reader who happens to be perusing the present catalogue can, with any given catalogue number in mind, find his/her way to the texts that are thought, with greater or lesser degrees of certainty, to pertain to the woodcut in question. These texts have been reprinted – in excerpts or *in extenso* – from the 1646 register, *Krieges-Bericht* and *Thesaurus*. The description(s) that can likely be linked to a given woodcut – and which in certain instances can even be surrounded with a high degree of certainty that it/they stem(s) from Lorck's original manuscript – is/are accordingly reproduced with each catalogue number.

The aim of this collocation of text and picture is twofold. In the first place, what looms forth in

a way that has never been glimpsed before is the feasibility of reconstructing a contour of Lorck's lost manuscript about his Turkish woodcuts; in the second place, what is established is a greater degree of certainty with respect to the identification of the individual motives.

However, as has been mentioned above, this attempt to link the pictures and the texts together does run into a wall of difficulties, not only when it comes to the 1646 register's texts but also when we turn our attention to Happel's rather "creative" use of other writers. This tendency encumbers the authenticity of his picture descriptions with a certain shroud of uncertainty. In other words, the present catalogue's proposed couplings of texts and woodcuts must be taken with some degree of reservation.

The structure of the catalogue

The catalogue of *The Turkish Publication*'s 128 woodcuts has been built up systematically in such a way that the information pertinent to each and every catalogue number is presented in point-by-point form in an unvaried sequence.

What is presented here is an explanation of the set-up of the point-by-point systematics that follows the sequence in which each of the points appears in each and every catalogue entry:

NUMBERING

The Turkish Publication's woodcuts are numbered in chronological order. In 119 of the 128 instances, the dating appears on the woodcut itself.

The present catalogue's construction differs in two respects from the most complete catalogue to date, namely the one that Hans Harbeck published in 1911 in his dissertation: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*: 1) On the basis of stylistic criteria, there has been an attempt to incorporate the nine undated woodcuts into the chronological sequence; 2) within each individual year of creation, there has been an attempt to group the woodcuts according to their themes.

DATING

All of the datings that appear on the woodcut in question are written without parentheses. Other datings are written in parentheses.

FIGURE REFERENCES

With respect to each and every reproduction of the present catalogue's 128 woodcuts, reference is made to the place that serves as the source of the photograph.

123 of the 128 woodcuts have been reproduced from the vellum bound copy of the 1626 edition presently found at The Royal Library in Copen-

hagen; see the facsimile in volume 2. Reference is made to the figure number that any given woodcut has in the 1626 edition and in the facsimile reproduction.

The reproductions of five of the woodcuts – namely, catalogue nos. 1, 19, 125, 127 and 128 – have been made from other source materials and this is made evident in the figure reference.

TITLE

Every one of the woodcuts has been supplied with a neutrally descriptive title in order to secure an unambiguous identification since there is no unequivocally reliable description of the motives that has issued from Lorck's own hand.

In those relatively few instances where the woodcut can be identified with certainty in the 1646 edition's *Register* or where the motive lends itself to being verified in one way or another, a more succinct title has been appended to the descriptive title as is the case, for example, with catalogue no. 17: *The Sultan's chef*.

These newly endowed titles differentiate themselves from the titles that the majority of *The Turkish Publication*'s woodcuts were supplied with when they were reprinted in Eberhard Werner Happel's two publications, *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84* and *Thesaurus 1688*. In many instances, the woodcuts make their appearance in Happel's publications with titles that differ from one appearance to another of the same work and these titles differ again from the titles in the 1646 register. Some of the titles with which Harbeck supplies the woodcuts seem to have been borrowed from either of Happel's publications but, then again, there is no guarantee that Happel's titles reflect Lorck's original ones. For this very reason, a new titling of the woodcuts has been implemented here.

The titles describe the figures with indications of left and right, *as seen from the vantage point of the viewer* – unless otherwise noted.

SIGNATURE

Under this rubric, Lorck's signature and dating of the woodcut are indicated. As far as it is possible to do so, the signature is reproduced as it appears on the woodcut.

INSCRIPTIONS

Under this rubric, any other inscriptions above and beyond the signature and dating are indicated.

SIZE

All measurements are indicated in millimeters, height × width or, as the case might be, diameter.

TECHNIQUE

All 128 catalogue entries are woodcuts.

STATES

Each and every one of the various states of the woodcut is described here in terms of its essential characteristics, under rubrics 1, 2, 3 etc. In the context of describing each state, mention is made about which one of the four seventeenth century publications the specific state of the particular woodcut happens to appear.

- ☞ What is illuminated first of all is whether the woodcut appears in the vellum-bound copy of the 1626 edition in the collection of The Royal Library, Copenhagen.
- ☞ Secondly, reference is made to the 1646 edition, with the corresponding leaf number that the woodcut has in the copy of this edition that can be found in the Grafische Sammlung, Albertina, in Vienna.
- ☞ Thirdly, reference is made to the page upon which the woodcut is printed in *Thesaurus 1688*, with an indication of the caption for the corresponding chapter.
- ☞ Finally, reference is made to the issue of *Krieges-Bericht*, where the woodcut is reprinted, with an indication of the caption for the issue in question.

In a few instances, the description of the state is ushered in with a reference to an *epreuve d'artiste* of the woodcut.

As can be seen, reference is made to the woodcut in the state it has in *Thesaurus*, before reference is made to its state in *Krieges-Bericht*. Although *Thesaurus* was published in 1688 after Happel's publication of *Krieges-Bericht* in 1683-84, the descriptions of the states make it clear that a large number of the woodcuts were printed in *Thesaurus* before Happel used them again in *Krieges-Bericht*: see, for example, catalogue nos. 1 and 3. That is to say, the printing of *Thesaurus* must have been initiated before *Krieges-Bericht* was in circulation, even if the set of books was not published until four years after the newspaper's last issue appeared. However, it is not the case that all the woodcuts were made ready for print in *Thesaurus* prior to their appearance in *Krieges-Bericht*; see, for example, catalogue no. 11. Even so, for the sake of clarity and comprehensibility in the layout, the state of a woodcut in *Thesaurus* is always described before the description of the state in *Krieges-Bericht*.

All of the quotations from the seventeenth century editions of *The Turkish Publication* are rendered in Indian red-colored letters, Gothic characters in regular font and Roman letters in italics.

This principle is carried out everywhere in the catalogue wherever material is quoted from these sources.

REFERENCES

Here, references are generally limited to Nagler's and Harbeck's respective catalogues of Lorck's oeuvre:

G. K. Nagler (ed.): *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen ...*, vol. 4, München 1871.

Hans Harbeck: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1911.

APPURTENANT TEXTS

In three of the seventeenth century's editions of *The Turkish Publication* – the 1646 edition, *Thesaurus* and *Krieges-Bericht* – the woodcuts were accompanied by explanatory texts. These appurtenant texts are reprinted under this head-

ing – first, the text from the 1646 edition's register, then from Happel's two publications.

These sources are cited because they can be said to reflect, more or less, Lorck's own descriptions of the woodcuts. For comments on the relationship between Lorck's original manuscript and the re-use of this text in, respectively, the 1646 register, *Thesaurus* and *Krieges-Bericht*, see also *Lorck's texts on The Turkish Publication's woodcuts*, p. XXXX.

All quotations from the accompanying texts that appear in the various seventeenth century publications of *The Turkish Publication* are rendered in Indian red-colored letters, Gothic characters in regular font and Roman letters in italics.

COMMENTARY

The commentaries are numbered and touch upon diverse kinds of circumstances and relations in the woodcut that are otherwise not directly treated in the appurtenant captions.

FOOTNOTES

Reference is made to the literary sources used according to the customary procedure, with full indication of author, title and year of publication.

A complete bibliography can be found in volume 1.

Abbreviations employed in the catalogue of

The Turkish Publication

Catalogue

1626 edition:

Melchior Lorck: *Wolgerissene vnd Geschnittene Figuren, zu Ross vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türkischen Gebäuden, vnd allerhand was in der Türecey zusehen ...*, Hamburg 1626.

Example found at The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

1646 edition / 1646 register:

Melchior Lorck: *Wolgerissene vnd geschnittene Figuren, zu Rossz vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türkischen Gebäwen, vnd allerhand, was in der Türecey zusehen ...*, Hamburg 1646.

Example found at Grafische Sammlung, Albertina, Vienna.

Document no.:

This designation refers to the catalogue of Lorck-related sources that can be found in volume 1.

Evelyn-turc. no.:

This designation refers to the drawings by Lorck and drawings that were created by others from Lorck's work which were originally included in the Evelyn Collection in Surrey in England. The drawings are catalogued in volume 5, along with the rest of the works by Lorck. See also the miniature reproduction of this part of the oeuvre catalogue in volume 1.

Harbeck (1911):

Hans Harbeck: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1911.

Catalogue no.:

This designation refers to the present oeuvre's register numbers.

Reference is made to *The Turkish Publication's* catalogue numbers in the following manner:

catalogue no. 5
catalogue no. 56
etc.

Reference is made to the catalogue of Lorck's other works in volume 5 in the following manner:

catalogue no. 1574,1
catalogue no. 1555-59,1
etc.

See also the miniature reproduction of all of Lorck's works in volume 1.

Krieges-Bericht 1683-84:

Eberhard Werner Happel: *Türkischer Staats- und Krieges-Bericht ...*, Hamburg 1683-84.

Nagler (1871):

G. K. Nagler (ed.): *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen ...*, vol. 4, München 1871.

Thesaurus 1688:

Eberhard Werner Happel: Third part of *Thesaurus Exoticorum: Eine speciale Beschreibung Der Musulmänner oder Türcken ...*, Hamburg 1688.

rectly, in three of the four seventeenth century appearances of *The Turkish Publication*: in the 1646 edition's register and in both of Happel's publications. On this background, the reader who happens to be perusing the present catalogue can, with any given catalogue number in mind, find his/her way to the texts that are thought, with greater or lesser degrees of certainty, to pertain to the woodcut in question. These texts have been reprinted – in excerpts or *in extenso* – from the 1646 register, *Krieges-Bericht* and *Thesaurus*. The description(s) that can likely be linked to a given woodcut – and which in certain instances can even be surrounded with a high degree of certainty that it/they stem(s) from Lorck's original manuscript – is/are accordingly reproduced with each catalogue number.

The aim of this collocation of text and picture

is twofold. In the first place, what looms forth in a way that has never been glimpsed before is the feasibility of reconstructing a contour of Lorck's lost manuscript about his Turkish woodcuts; in the second place, what is established is a greater degree of certainty with respect to the identification of the individual motives.

However, as has been mentioned above, this attempt to link the pictures and the texts together does run into a wall of difficulties, not only when it comes to the 1646 register's texts but also when we turn our attention to Happel's rather "creative" use of other writers. This tendency encumbers the authenticity of his picture descriptions with a certain shroud of uncertainty. In other words, the present catalogue's proposed couplings of texts and woodcuts must be taken with some degree of reservation.

The structure of the catalogue

The catalogue of *The Turkish Publication's* 128 woodcuts has been built up systematically in such a way that the information pertinent to each and every catalogue number is presented in point-by-point form in an unvaried sequence.

What is presented here is an explanation of the set-up of the point-by-point systematics that follows the sequence in which each of the points appears in each and every catalogue entry:

NUMBERING

The Turkish Publication's woodcuts are numbered in chronological order. In 119 of the 128 instances, the dating appears on the woodcut itself.

The present catalogue's construction differs in two respects from the most complete catalogue to date, namely the one that Hans Harbeck published in 1911 in his dissertation: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*: 1) On the basis of stylistic criteria, there has been an attempt to incorporate the nine undated woodcuts into the chronological sequence; 2) within each individual year of creation, there has been an attempt to group the woodcuts according to their themes.

DATING

All of the datings that appear on the woodcut in question are written without parentheses. Other datings are written in parentheses.

FIGURE REFERENCES

With respect to each and every reproduction of the present catalogue's 128 woodcuts, reference is made to the place that serves as the source of the photograph.

123 of the 128 woodcuts have been reproduced from the vellum bound copy of the 1626 edition presently found at The Royal Library in Copen-

hagen; see the facsimile in volume 2. Reference is made to the figure number that any given woodcut has in the 1626 edition and in the facsimile reproduction.

The reproductions of five of the woodcuts – namely, catalogue nos. 1, 19, 125, 127 and 128 – have been made from other source materials and this is made evident in the figure reference.

TITLE

Every one of the woodcuts has been supplied with a neutrally descriptive title in order to secure an unambiguous identification since there is no unequivocally reliable description of the motives that has issued from Lorck's own hand.

In those relatively few instances where the woodcut can be identified with certainty in the 1646 edition's *Register* or where the motive lends itself to being verified in one way or another, a more succinct title has been appended to the descriptive title as is the case, for example, with catalogue no. 17: *The Sultan's chef*.

These newly endowed titles differentiate themselves from the titles that the majority of *The Turkish Publication's* woodcuts were supplied with when they were reprinted in Eberhard Werner Happel's two publications, *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84* and *Thesaurus 1688*. In many instances, the woodcuts make their appearance in Happel's publications with titles that differ from one appearance to another of the same work and these titles differ again from the titles in the 1646 register. Some of the titles with which Harbeck supplies the woodcuts seem to have been borrowed from either of Happel's publications but, then again, there is no guarantee that Happel's titles reflect Lorck's original ones. For this very reason, a new titling of the woodcuts has been implemented here.

The titles describe the figures with indications of left and right, *as seen from the vantage point of the viewer* – unless otherwise noted.

SIGNATURE

Under this rubric, Lorck's signature and dating of the woodcut are indicated. As far as it is possible to do so, the signature is reproduced as it appears on the woodcut.

INSCRIPTIONS

Under this rubric, any other inscriptions above and beyond the signature and dating are indicated.

SIZE

All measurements are indicated in millimeters, height × width or, as the case might be, diameter.

TECHNIQUE

All 128 catalogue entries are woodcuts.

STATES

Each and every one of the various states of the woodcut is described here in terms of its essential characteristics, under rubrics 1, 2, 3 etc. In the context of describing each state, mention is made about which one of the four seventeenth century publications the specific state of the particular woodcut happens to appear.

- ∞ What is illuminated first of all is whether the woodcut appears in the vellum-bound copy of the 1626 edition in the collection of The Royal Library, Copenhagen.
- ∞ Secondly, reference is made to the 1646 edition, with the corresponding leaf number that the woodcut has in the copy of this edition that can be found in the Grafische Sammlung, Albertina, in Vienna.
- ∞ Thirdly, reference is made to the page upon which the woodcut is printed in *Thesaurus 1688*, with an indication of the caption for the corresponding chapter.
- ∞ Finally, reference is made to the issue of *Krieges-Bericht*, where the woodcut is reprinted, with an indication of the caption for the issue in question.

In a few instances, the description of the state is ushered in with a reference to an *epreuve d'artiste* of the woodcut.

As can be seen, reference is made to the woodcut in the state it has in *Thesaurus*, before reference is made to its state in *Krieges-Bericht*. Although *Thesaurus* was published in 1688 after Happel's publication of *Krieges-Bericht* in 1685-84, the descriptions of the states make it clear that a large number of the woodcuts were printed in *Thesaurus* before Happel used them again in *Krieges-Bericht*: see, for example, catalogue nos. 1 and 3. That is to say, the printing of *Thesaurus* must have been initiated before *Krieges-Bericht* was in circulation, even if the set of books was not published until four years after the newspaper's last issue appeared. However, it is not the case that all the woodcuts were made ready for print in *Thesaurus* prior to their appearance in *Krieges-Bericht*; see, for example, catalogue no. 11. Even so, for the sake of clarity and comprehensibility in the layout, the state of a woodcut in *Thesaurus* is always described before the description of the state in *Krieges-Bericht*.

All of the quotations from the seventeenth century editions of *The Turkish Publication* are rendered in Indian red-colored letters, Gothic characters in regular font and Roman letters in italics.

This principle is carried out everywhere in the catalogue wherever material is quoted from these sources.

REFERENCES

Here, references are generally limited to Nagler's and Harbeck's respective catalogues of Lorck's oeuvre:

G. K. Nagler (ed.): *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen ...*, vol. 4, München 1871.

Hans Harbeck: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1911.

APPURTENANT TEXTS

In three of the seventeenth century's editions of *The Turkish Publication* – the 1646 edition, *Thesaurus* and *Krieges-Bericht* – the woodcuts were accompanied by explanatory texts. These appurtenant texts are reprinted under this head-

ing – first, the text from the 1646 edition's register, then from Happel's two publications.

These sources are cited because they can be said to reflect, more or less, Lorck's own descriptions of the woodcuts. For comments on the relationship between Lorck's original manuscript and the re-use of this text in, respectively, the 1646 register, *Thesaurus* and *Krieges-Bericht*, see also *Lorck's texts for The Turkish Publication's woodcuts*, p. 12-20.

All quotations from the accompanying texts that appear in the various seventeenth century publications of *The Turkish Publication* are rendered in Indian red-colored letters, Gothic characters in regular font and Roman letters in italics.

COMMENTARY

The commentaries are numbered and touch upon diverse kinds of circumstances and relations in the woodcut that are otherwise not directly treated in the appurtenant captions.

FOOTNOTES

Reference is made to the literary sources used according to the customary procedure, with full indication of author, title and year of publication.

A complete bibliography can be found in volume 1.

Abbreviations employed in the catalogue of

The Turkish Publication

Catalogue

1626 edition:

Melchior Lorck: *Wolgerissene vnd Geschnittene Figuren, zu Ross vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türckischen Gebäuden, vnd allerhand was in der Türckey zusehen ...*, Hamburg 1626.

Example found at The Royal Library, Copenhagen.

1646 edition / 1646 register:

Melchior Lorck: *Wolgerissene vnd geschnittene Figuren, zu Rossz vnd Fuss, sampt schönen Türckischen Gebäuden, vnd allerhand, was in der Türckey zusehen ...*, Hamburg 1646.

Example found at Grafische Sammlung, Albertina, Vienna.

Document no.:

This designation refers to the catalogue of Lorck-related sources that can be found in volume 1, pp. 140ff.

Evelyn-turc. no.:

This designation refers to the drawings by Lorck and drawings that were created by others from Lorck's work which were originally included in the Evelyn Collection in Surrey in England. The drawings are catalogued in volume 5, along with the rest of the works by Lorck. See also the comprehensive survey of Lorck's oeuvre in volume 1.

Harbeck (1911):

Hans Harbeck: *Melchior Lorichs. Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg 1911.

Catalogue no.:

This designation refers to numbers of the present oeuvre catalogue.

Reference is made to *The Turkish Publication's* catalogue numbers in the following manner:

catalogue no. 5

catalogue no. 56

etc.

Reference is made to the catalogue of Lorck's other works in volume 5 in the following manner:

catalogue no. 1574,1

catalogue no. 1555-59,1

etc.

See also the comprehensive survey of Lorck's oeuvre in volume 1.

Krieges-Bericht 1683-84:

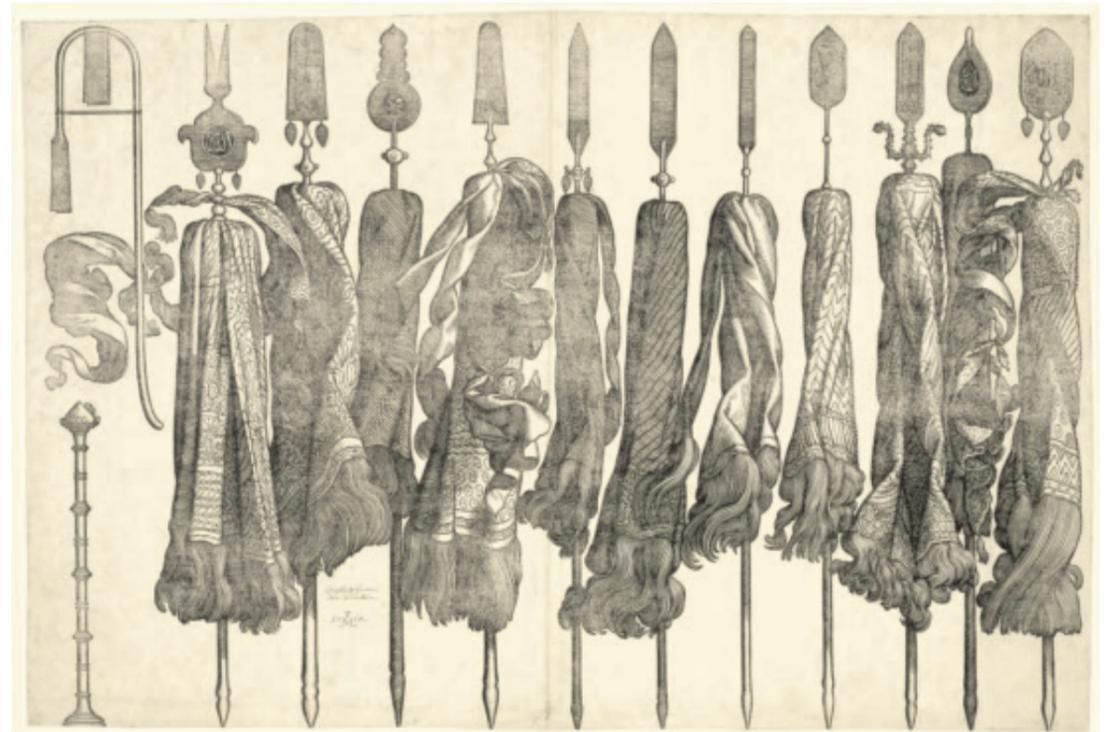
Eberhard Werner Happel: *Türkischer Staats- und Krieges-Bericht ...*, Hamburg 1683-84.

Nagler (1871):

G. K. Nagler (ed.): *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen ...*, vol. 4, München 1871.

Thesaurus 1688:

Eberhard Werner Happel: Third part of *Thesaurus Exoticorum: Eine speciale Beschreibung Der Musulmänner oder Türcken ...*, Hamburg 1688.



Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

TITLE	Eleven religious standards and two metal objects
SIGNATURE	15 ^F _{ML} 65 (autographed inscription, bottom left)
INSCRIPTIONS	on the specimen proof: <i>Geistliche Fanen / der Türcken</i> (autograph, bottom left – above the signature)
SIZE	ca. 325 × ca. 474
TECHNIQUE	Woodcut
STATES	<p>1. with monogram and year (autograph inscription)</p> <p>a: the unique specimen proof in the Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen</p> <p>Does not appear in the 1626 edition</p> <p>2. without monogram and year</p> <p>a: 1646 edition, leaf no. 123, pasted in</p> <p>b: <i>Thesaurus 1688</i>, pasted in between pp. 64-65, in the paragraph beginning on p. 60: <i>Eines Türckischen Auffzugs- oder Triumph Beschreibung</i> with imprinted typography: <i>Unterschiedliche Arthen Türkische Standarten und</i></p>

Fahnen. And before the chapter on p. 65: **Von des Türckischen Käysers Standarten, so er im Triumphff vor sich führen lässet**

3. three sections have been cut from the printing block and re-printed individually in *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84*

a: the four banners that are furthest to the right (ca. 286 × ca. 171/181) in *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84* no. 134, with the caption: **Die Türckische Fahnen.**; verso: text, at the bottom in two columns

b: the four banners that are furthest to the left, partially cropped (ca. 286 × ca. 131/148), in *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84* no. 135, with the caption: **Noch andere Türckische Fahnen.**; verso: text, at the bottom in two columns

c: the three banners in the middle (ca. 286 × ca. 103/119), in *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84* no. 136, with the caption: **Der Beschluss von den Türckischen Fahnen.**; verso: text, at the bottom in two columns. There are no prints of the fragment all the way on the left with the two objects that are presumably musical instruments

REFERENCES Not listed in Nagler (1871); Harbeck (1911) no. 125

APPURTENANT TEXTS **1646 register:** 1646 register no. 122: **Vnterschiedliche Fahnen, welche etliche Secten vnnd Ordensleuthen bey dem Anno 1558 zu Constantinopel gehaltenem Fest, in dero Procession seynd fürgetragen worden.**

Seeing as ML's inscription on the specimen proof denotes the banners as *geistliche* and taking into account that he was in Constantinople in 1558, it would seem reasonable to assume that the text in the 1646 register is built upon ML's own description.

Thesaurus 1688: The text in *Thesaurus* on p. 65 mentions the Sultan's procession and tells, among other things, about: **Der überauss köstlichen Standarten, so er im general-Ausszug durch seine vornehmste Bassen zu Pferde vor ihm herführen lässet, sind gemeinlich 11. an der Zahl, und wann solche kommen, ist dabey abzunehmen, dass der Kayser selbst Persönlich zugegen ist; Dieser Standarten Gestalt und Ansehen hat mir beliebt abzureissen und am diesem Ohrte hinzubringen ...**

The text in *Thesaurus* on p. 59 is ostensibly borrowed from Pietro della Valle (see the comments on catalogue no. 48).

Krieges-Bericht 1683-84: The text in *Krieges-Bericht* is not relevant.

COMMENTARY 1. According to Professor Claus-Peter Haase the eleven banners with their various metal attachments (*alem*) attribute them to certain orders of *dervishes*. A bronze stand with a vessel for sweetmeats and a metal stand for spreading a flag are represented to the left; according to the *Sur-name* of Vehbi, both are typical of the Sufi Bayramiye order.¹



THE TURKISH PUBLICATION
NO. 2 DATING 1570

1626 edition, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, fig. no. 3

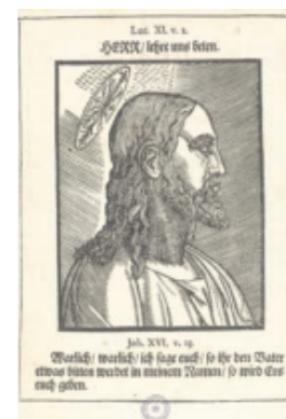
TITLE Christ, half-length portrait, seen in profile toward the right

SIGNATURE **F ML** (lower right) and **1570** (upper right)

SIZE 142 × 139

TECHNIQUE Woodcut

STATES 1. with monogram and year
a: 1626 edition, opposite to ML's coat of arms (catalogue no. 128)
b: 1646 edition, leaf no. 122
2. the printing block has been cropped at the right hand side, with the result that the monogram and the year are missing; the resulting size of the printing block is thus: 142 × 108
a: as an illustration in *Ausserlesene Geistliche Lieder* (Schleswig, 1676, gedruckt auf Veranstaltung der Herzogin-Witwe Maria-Elisabeth von Gottorf), Anhang: *Gebete*,¹ with letterpress-printed caption: **HERR, lehre uns beten** (Luke 11, 1), at the bottom, a quote from John 16, 23.



The woodcut does not appear in either *Thesaurus 1688* or *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84*.

1. Nurhan Atasoy: *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582), Istanbul 1997, fol. 250a, print p. 124.

1. The author was referred to this work by the late Dr. Ernst Schlee, Schloss Gottorf. Modern version of the book: *Das Husumer Hofgesangbuch*, Schleswig 1676, hrsg. von der Stiftung Nordfriesland, Nachwort von Ada Kadelbach, Husum 1986.

1646 register: The 1646 register, at the end: *Das Bildnus Christi pag. 430. 3. libri.*, which accordingly alludes to a completely different publication. But which one?

Thesaurus 1688 and *Krieges-Bericht 1683-84*: Seeing as the woodcut does not appear in either of Happel's two publications, both of which were printed in Hamburg, the explanation might be that as far back as 1676, when *Ausserlesene Geistliche Lieder* was published, the printing block was located in Schleswig.

1. Very likely a mirrored copy made after Hans Burgkmair's woodcut (Bartsch 21,¹ Hollstein 53²):



2. An oval woodcut in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, signed ^F_{ML}, could very well be a mirrored version of catalogue no. 2:



This is possibly the same work as found in Nagler (under the heading of no. 3³) mentioned thusly: "In Verlagswerken des Gerwin Calenius und Johann Quentels kommt ebenfalls ein Brustbild des Heilandes in Oval vor. Mit Monogramm und 1570. Höhe 3 1/2 Z. Br. 2 5/8 Z." The sizes (given in inches) correspond roughly to the sizes indicated by Nagler.

1. Tilman Falk (ed.): *The illustrated Bartsch 11. Sixteenth century German artists Hans Burgkmair, the Elder, Hans Schüpflein, Lucas Cranach, the Elder*; New York 1980.
2. Robert Zijlma: *Johan Leipolt to Melchior Lorck* (Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcut), vol. 22, Amsterdam 1978.
3. G. K. Nagler (ed.): *Die Monogrammistin und diejenigen unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen ...*, vol. 4, München 1871, p. 614.



1626 edition, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, fig. no. 118

TITLE	The Süleymaniye-mosque, as seen from the northeast
SIGNATURE	15 ^F _{ML} 70 (at the bottom, in the center)
INSCRIPTIONS	printed reference letters: A, D, L, N, S and V.
SIZE	184 × 525
TECHNIQUE	Woodcut
STATES	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. with monogram and year <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a: 1626 edition, pasted in b: 1646 edition, leaf no. 114, pasted in 2. monogram and year have been removed – can still barely be made out, nonetheless: wormholes and minor blemishes in the area depicting the sky <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a: <i>Thesaurus 1688</i>, pasted in between pp. 234-35, in the chapter beginning on p. 234: Von <i>SOLIMANS MOSQUE</i>, with letterpress-printed text at the top: Die überausprächtige <i>MOSQUE</i> des Turckischen Käysers <i>SOLIMANS</i> in <i>CONSTANTINOPEL</i> 3. the printing block has been cut into three pieces and these are reprinted individually in <i>Krieges-Bericht 1683-84</i>: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a: middle third section (192 × 181) in <i>Krieges-Bericht 1683-84</i> no. 119, with letterpress-printed caption: <i>Sultan Solimans Mosque</i>.; verso: text, at the bottom, in two columns b: left third section (188 × 173) in <i>Krieges-Bericht 1683-84</i> no. 120, with letterpress-printed caption: <i>Solimans Mosque</i>.; verso: text, at the bottom, in two columns c: right third section (186 × 172) in <i>Krieges-Bericht 1683-84</i> no. 121, with letterpress-printed caption: <i>Solimans Mosque</i>.; verso: text, at the bottom, in two columns.

- REFERENCES Not listed in Nagler (1871); Harbeck (1911) no. 6; Fischer between pp. 64-65¹
- APPURTENANT TEXTS **1646 register:** The 1646 register, no. 119: Die schönste vnd herrlichste Kirche zu Constantinopel mitten in der Statt, so von dem Sultan Solymanno innerhalb zehen Jahren von Grund auff neu erbawet, vnd nach Verfertigung derselben von jhme Anno 1557. den 8. Octobris beneben sehr vielen Pfaffen vnd Hoffgesinde, eingeweyhet worden, darbey auch etliche andere Gebäwe mit sonderlichen Literis gezeichnet, so folgende Bedeutung haben.
- A. Seynd vnderschiedliche Gewölb, in welchen die Mahometischen Studenten, so der Kirchen dienen müssen, wohnen.
- D. Jst der Pfaffen vnd Studenten der Kirchen Bade-Hauss, darin sie sich von Sünden eusserlich abwaschen, ganz rein werden, vnd also jhrem Abgott Mahomet wolgefällig seyn mögen.
- L. Seynd 7. Treppen oder Stiegen mit Bley bedeckt, auff welchen man rund vmb die Kirche gehen, biss an die höchste Fenster komen, vnd daselbst die ganze Statt Constantinopel, wie auch Galata oder Pera, vnd andere mehr Oerter vbersehen kan.
- N. Seynd etliche kleine Gewölblein mit Caminen oder Schornsteinen, darinnen viel Mahometsiche Pfaffen wohnen.
- S. Jst die Capellen, darinnen der Türckische Sultan Solymannus begraben ligt.²
- V. Jst bemeltes Sultans Solymanni Gemahls Russia⁵ Begräbnuss.

Thesaurus 1688: Excerpt of the text in *Thesaurus* pp. 234-235: Nechst der überauss prächtigen *Sophien* Kirche ist *Sultans Solimanni* seine Mosque wohl die allerschönste in gantz *Constantinopel*. ...

Sie hat überauss hohe Thürne, deren jeder von den beyden höchsten mit 3 Umbgängen oder Krohnen gezieret ist.

Die kleine Thürne aber haben jeder nur 2 solcher Umbgänge. ...

Hinter dieser *Mosque* über stehen 2 *Capellen*: Jn der ersten, so mit S. gezeichnet und 4erckicht ist, lieget *Soliman* selber, in der andern [here, there ought to have been an explicit indication of the reference letter “V”] aber ruhet der Körper seiner allerliebste Gemahlin der *Sultanin Russie* oder *Raxolane*, und kombt diese *Capelle* mit der vorigen im Gebäude fast überein.⁴ Man findet sonsten bey keiner Kirchen oder *Mosque* eine dergleichen *Capelle* oder Begräbnüss, darinnen ein Weibs-Bild oder *Sultanin* begraben seyn solte, ohne diese allein, worin die Weltberuffene *Roxolane*, deren Lebens-Lauff anderweit beschrieben worden,⁵ ihre Ruh-Stätte hat. Welches dann sonderlich Denckwürdig ist; zur rechten dieser *Capelle* siehet man ein klein Gebäu, wie ein Hauss, etwas lang und

1. Erik Fischer: ‘Melchior Lorck. En dansk vagants levnedsløb i det 16. aarhundrede’, in: *Fund og Forskning*, XI, Copenhagen 1964, (summary in German, pp. 176-180).
2. ML left Turkey in 1559. Süleyman died in 1566. The woodcut bears the date of 1570. ML’s text was thus penned after his return to native soil.
3. = Roxolane. See also catalogue no. 59.
4. ML’s alphabetical-letter markings are quite correct: the largest and most remotely situated is Süleyman’s while the narrower and more proximally situated is Roxolane’s. In the woodcut, it appears that ML’s point of view is basically from the southwest. In reality, this would entail that Roxolane’s *türbe* would have fully or partially covered Süleyman’s. It is supposedly for the sake of surveyability that ML has moved the *türbes* away from each other. A different kind of precise registration of the *türbes*’ mutual placement can be found in *The Constantinople Prospect*’s leaf 10.
5. *Thesaurus* p. 121f.

mit 2 *Caminen*, dessen Dach oben spitzig zugehet, Es ist aber kein Hauss, sondern nur ein Thor, dadurch man hinein auff den Kirchhoff gehet.¹... Nachdem sie nun im zehenden Jahre² fertig worden, hat sich dieser grosse *Sultan* selber den 8 *October*. Anno 1557³ mit seinen Pfaffen und gantzem Hoff dahin verfüget, die *Mosque* eingeweihet, und etliche Hundert tausend *Aspers*, deren 60 einen *Ducaten* machen, auf der Gassen unter das Volck ausswerffen lassen.

Sonsten liegt dieser Tempel in *Constantinopel* auf einem Berg, und siehet man daran diese Überschrift: *TPLM . CONSTIT . SOLEIM*.⁴ Das in der Figur bezeichnete L. bedeutet die 7 Stufen, welche man steigen muss, wann man oben rund omb diese Kirche hergehen will.⁵ Sonsten ist sie gleich den andern *Mosquen* mit Bley gedecket. Von dem obersten Platz dieser Stufen kan man biss vor die höchste Fenster hinauff treten, und daselbst vor den Fenstern rings umb die Kirche herumgehen; warlich einen überauss schönen *Prospect* kan man auss diesem Tempel und dessen Umbgang haben, weil man die ganze Stadt *Constantinopel* sampt *Pera* un[d] *Scutari*, und vielen andern umb die Stadt her gelegenen Orthen, Stätten, Schlössern, Insuln, Dörffern, Bergen und Wassern gar anmüthig daselbst ins Auge fassen kann. Bey dem Buchstaben *D*. wird man finden das Baderhauss der Pfaffen und *Studenten*, so zu dieser Kirche gehören, darin pflegen sie sich vor dem Gebeth, nach Türkischer Gewohnheit zu reinigen, umb ihren falschen Propheten zu gefallen.⁶ Vor diesem Bad-Hauss ist noch einander sehr langes Gebäu: darin man allerhand köstlichen Kirchenschmuck verwahret und auffhebet. Der Buchstabe *A* zeigt die *Mahometanischen Studenten* Wohnhauss, welche dieser Kirchen dienen, und dieselbe sauber und rein halten müssen.⁷ Bey *Lit. N* werden unterschiedliche kleine Gewölbe bedeutet, mit vielen *Caminen* oder Schorsteinen, darinnen viele *Mahometanische* Pfaffen wohnen. Jn der mitten dieses Gewölbes ist der Pfaffen oder *Studenten* Küche, daraus alle geistliche Herren ihre Pfründe und *Victualien* bekommen. ...

Krieges-Bericht 1683-84: Practically speaking, *Krieges-Bericht* nos. 119-21 are accompanied by the same text as in *Thesaurus*; also here, the reference letter “V” is missing from the text.

COMMENTARY

1. The printing block is still all in one piece in *Thesaurus*, the title page of which indicates 1688 as the year of publication, whereas the printing block has

1. Today there is a somewhat dilapidated house lying on the site; the entrance to the cemetery, however, is situated on the south side, concealed by Roxolane’s *türbe*.
2. The information is correct: the preparations for the construction were initiated around the turn of the year 1547-48 and the cornerstone was laid on June 13, 1550 (Stéphane Yerasimos: *Istanbul. La mosquée de Soliman*, Paris 1997, p. 125).
3. Yerasimos: *op.cit.*, 1997, mentions, on p. 110f., an inaugural ceremony on October 4, 1557 and an official opening on October 15, 1557. Moreover, on the basis of the account records that are preserved, he documents that the work on the mosque itself was not brought to a definitive conclusion until the middle of April 1558.
4. This rather curious interpolation must be credited to Happel himself: the explanation must be that on ML’s copperplate portrait of Süleyman standing in front of Süleymaniye’s back side, one finds the following text positioned in the sky above the mosque: *TPLM COSTIT: À SVLT: SOLEIM*.
5. On the woodcut, only five steps can be seen. The correct number, then, would be five, plus a platform.
6. On *The Constantinople Prospect*’s leaf 10, the building is designated as *Pfaffen Bade*.
7. The 1646 register’s text reads ... *so der Kirchen dienen müssen* ..., which could hardly be said to be synonymous with cleaning. On *The Constantinople Prospect*’s leaf 10, the building is designated as *der Pfaffen zu der Kirchen wonungen*.

been divided into three parts in *Krieges-Bericht*, the three individual issues of which were all published in October 1684. The explanation for this is that the individual sections of *Thesaurus* were published separately and it was not until 1688 that they appeared as an aggregate publication. Lorck's woodcuts appear in *Thesaurus* in an independently paginated section that bears the title, *Die andere Abtheilung: Ist eine mit vielen Figuren gezierte Beschreibung der Türcken*, which must consequently have been printed prior to 1684.

2. In the 1646 register, the appurtenant explanations for the reference letters are ordered alphabetically according to the letters in question: A, D, L, N, S and V, whereas the explanations in Happel's two almost identically-worded texts are ordered in the following way: S, (V), L, D, A and N, with the consequence that they come to form an acrostic: SVLTAN. This would suggest that the 1646 register must have been edited in a less than scrupulous fashion, while Happel appears to have had at his disposal – whether directly or indirectly – a version of ML's original text. However, the question remains: Can it not be said, then, that one part of the rest of Happel's occasionally very elaborately detailed explanations accompanying the woodcuts might actually be based on Lorck's own texts? See more on this topic in *Happel's use of Lorck*, pp. 18-19.

3. Süleymaniye, as seen from the north in *The Constantinople Prospect*.



The Constantinople Prospect, leaf 10



The back of the Süleymaniye mosque, as it appears in ML's full-figure copperplate portrait of Süleyman from 1574:

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where the following inscription can be seen above the mosque: TE[M]PL[V]M / CO[N]STITIT: [VTVM] / A / SVLT:[ANO] / SOLEIM:[AN], (*A temple erected by Sultan Süleyman*) which is virtually identical with what Happel mentions in both *Thesaurus* and *Krieges-Bericht*: ... und siehet man daran diese Überschrift: *TPLM . CONSTIT . SOLEIM* .

A photograph taken by Erik Fischer in September 1996 of Süleymaniye, as seen from the marble terrace in Topkapi Seraglio's Fourth (innermost) courtyard:



which re-adopts Lorck's vantage point to some extent. Lorck's actual vantage point, however, must have been closer to Süleymaniye. But it is hard to identify this closer point of view in Istanbul's topography, on account of the large expanse of vacant terrain that presently stands between the Seraglio's marble terrace, standing on high ground, and the even more highly elevated Süleymaniye, which stands detached on its own grounds. A third solution could be a vantage point at the fortification walls of the city, now more or less demolished, running along the Golden Horn.