# Landscape of identities in shared spaces of the borderlands

Fuerst-Bjeliš, Borna; Vukosav, Branimir

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

# Landscapes of identities in shared spaces of the borderlands

**Borna Fuerst-Bjeliš, Branimir Vukosav**

***Abstract***

The Early Modern Croatian borderlands area reflects many social and cultural divides, shared spaces and intersecting identities. It represents an area of multiple contacts of three different imperial traditions in the Early Modern period; Ottoman, Habsburg and Venetian. That was a meeting place of East and West, Christianity and Islam and maritime and continental traditions. Frequent border changes throughout several centuries were followed by migrations and introduction of new (other) social and cultural communities, building and rebuilding the landscapes of multiple identities. Research into past spatial perceptions and images from historical maps is of particular interest in contact and shared spaces, where diverse cultures, religious systems and complex ethnic structures meet. Investigating regional identities in the contact spaces of the borderlands was based primarily on deconstructing maps of the time; tracing a map rhetoric and its symbolic meaning. The westernmost border of the Ottoman Empire with the Habsburg Monarchy was primarily a border between Islam and Christianity. That fact notwithstanding, the Orthodox Christians were also perceived as *Others* among the dominant population of Roman Catholic affiliation in (Habsburgian) Croatia. The borderlands were more likely a shared space and not so much a divide of different intersecting cultural (religious) identities, that were appreciated and recognized. Landscapes of diverse identities were analyzed and discussed through a number of historical regional examples i.e. Morlacca, Minor Wallachia and Turkish Croatia.

*Borderlands; identities; Croatia; historical cartography; Christianity; Islam; Early Modern period*

***Zusammenfassung***

**Identitätslandschaften in gemeinsamen Räumen von Grenzgebieten**

Das frühneuzeitliche kroatische Grenzgebiet weist zahlreiche soziale und kulturelle Trennlinien, gemeinsam genutzte Räume und sich überschneidende Identitäten auf. Es ist ein Gebiet vielfältiger Kontakte dreier verschiedener imperialer Traditionen der frühen Neuzeit: des Osmanischen Reichs, der Habsburger Monarchie und Venedigs. Es war ein Treffpunkt von Ost und West, Christentum und Islam und maritimen und kontinentalen Traditionen. Häufige Grenzverschiebungen waren über mehrere Jahrhunderte hinweg begleitet von Migration und der Einführung neuer (anderer) sozialer und kultureller Gemeinschaften sowie der Entstehung und Veränderung von Landschaften vielfältiger Identitäten. Die Erforschung von früheren Raumwahrnehmungen und von Bildern historischer Karten ist von besonderem Interesse in angrenzenden und gemeinsamen Gebieten, in denen verschiedene Kulturen, religiöse Systeme und komplexe ethnische Strukturen aufeinandertreffen. Die Erforschung regionaler Identitäten in den Kontakträumen von Grenzgebieten wurde vor allem auf der Dekonstruktion zeitgenössischer Landkarten sowie der Analyse der Aussagen von Landkarten und ihrer symbolischen Bedeutung aufgebaut. Die westlichste Grenze zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und der Habsburger Monarchie war vor allem eine Grenze zwischen Islam und Christentum. Gleichwohl wurden die orthodoxen Christen ebenfalls als *Andere* innerhalb der dominanten römisch-katholischen (Habsburgischen) Bevölkerung in Kroatien betrachtet. Die Grenzgebiete waren wahrscheinlich eher ein gemeinsam genutzter Raum als eine Trennlinie zwischen verschiedenen einander überlagernden kulturellen (religiösen) Identitäten, die geschätzt und anerkannt wurden. Landschaften unterschiedlicher Identitäten wurden anhand einer Reihe historischer Beispiele analysiert und diskutiert, z.B. Morlacca, Walachia Minor und Türkisch-Kroatien.

*Grenzgebiete; Identitäten; Kroatien; historische Kartographie; Christentum; Islam; frühe Neuzeit*

## Introduction

Borderlands may generally be considered as areas of divides, traditionally between states, empires and similar political units. However, they are more often the areas of contacts, sometimes conflicts, but certainly places of interconnections, interchange and multiplicity of peoples, traditions, beliefs, lifestyles and cultures.

In recent studies borders have been viewed as social processes of division (Nail 2016; Murphy et al. 2015) rather than territorial divides. In such terms border(land)s are social processes, practices, discourses, forms of knowledge, narratives, symbols and institutions and all these are constitutive of regional identity building (Murphy et al. 2015, p. 9-10). Rumford (2006) points out that borders are, among others, the key to understand the questions of identity and belonging. Borders are not static, they are constantly built and rebuilt, produced and reproduced and above all, lived, involving people and their everyday lives (Nail 2016).

We may look at the borderlands as shared places of multiple communities, often religious ones. But, as Hayden and Walker (2013) argue, sharing of sites does not mean sharing of identity. In their research of the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman spaces, they have introduced concepts of "antagonistic tolerance" of two populations i.e. religions (Muslim and Orthodox Christian) with shared space, and the intersected "religioscapes" as social spaces with changing physical icons of dominance.

The Early Modern Croatian borderlands area reflects many social and cultural divides, shared spaces and intersecting identities. It represents an area of multiple contacts of three different imperial traditions of the Early Modern period; Ottoman, Habsburg and Venetian. It was a meeting place of the East and the West, Christianity and Islam and maritime and continental traditions. Frequent border changes throughout several centuries were followed by migrations and introductions of new (other) social and cultural communities, building and rebuilding the landscapes of multiple identities. However, it has to be mentioned here that there are also quite different developments in some other areas e.g. region of Istria. Regardless of the historical border between Venetian Republic and Habsburg Monarchy in the Istrian peninsula, and besides the ethnic diversities, i.e. Croatian majority and a number of ethnic minorities like Italian and Slovenian, a strong overarching Istrian identity exists in that area. When we compare the findings from our research of the Habsburg-Venetian-Ottoman borderlands with the development of landscape of multiple identities based primarily on religious/cultural differences, it seems that religious affiliation and practices together with overall cultural tradition have the strongest impact on the forming of the (regional) identity. Regardless of language differences of the ethnic groups in Istria, the homogeneity in terms of Christian and western cultural environment and tradition appears to be the strongest and the unifying element that has enabled the development of a single Istrian overarching regional identity. On the contrary, in Habsburg-Venetian-Ottoman borderlands there is a very prominent religious and cultural contact of the East and the West, as well as of Christianity and Islam that must have directed the social and regional identity developments in diverse ways.

## Theoretical framework and methodology

Along with the change of discourse in border theory and studies, there is also a shift in the approach to historical map analysis. Since the end of the 20th century, the studies have been replacing the traditional positivist approach with the one grounded in iconological and semiotic theory of maps. Maps have always represented much more than merely physical nature of space. Understood as social construction of reality, maps have a number of layers with symbolic meaning (Harley 1989, 2001; Panofsky 1983). The older the map is, its symbolism gets more prominent. The symbolic meaning and/or symbolic strata of historical maps guide us through the process of uncovering images and conceptions of the past, and open up the richness of various perceptions of contact spaces in the borderlands region (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014b). Understood as images, on the one hand maps can be used as a medium in constructing identities, and on the other as a source in analysing perceptions of past places, societies and landscapes of identities. That was also the aim of our analysis.

Research into former spatial perceptions and images from historical maps is of particular interest in contact spaces where diverse cultures, religious systems and complex ethnic structures meet. Borderlands are typical areas where the multiplicity of such contacts reflects and produces a multitude of perceptions, images and identities.

Researching regional identities in contact spaces of the borderlands was based primarily on deconstructing the maps of the time; tracing the map rhetoric and its symbolic meaning. According to Harley (1989), as a discourse analysis, deconstruction demands a closer and deeper reading of a cartographic text and may be regarded as a search for alternative meaning. It means, as Harley (1989) puts it, reading between the lines of the map – "in the margins of the text" and a search for metaphor and rhetoric in the textuality of the map.

On the basis of the iconographic studies of E. Panofsky (1983) it is possible to define several semantic layers in maps, among which the symbolic stratum often contain ideological connotations. Identifying the existing distinction of the social groups and systems of belief as *Others* has been of particular significance in the context of this research. Thus, the map uncovers images that reflect social / religious identification and territorialization as comprehensions of dissimilarity, uniqueness and otherness. These concepts, built into maps, finally lead to the construction of spatial (regional) notion and identity (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2011).

The research is based on the cartographic originals of the time from the map collections of the Croatian State Archives, the National and University Library and

the Museum of Croatian History, as well as on the abundant collection of published facsimiles from the monumental cartographic monographs (Marković 1993, 1998; Kozličić 1995; Maleković 1992).

## Cultural and historical environment of the borderlands

The Early Modern period in the history of Croatia was characterized by frequent changes of the borders between three imperial systems, and by diverse religious and cultural traditions. During the three centuries (from the 16th to the 19th) the border areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic defined most of the territory. Consequently, the borderlands area was highly significant in both political and sociocultural sense. The triple border region conditioned the emergence of an authentic cultural environment. It was the site of encounter between the Western and the Eastern world, between Christianity and Islam, and between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic traditions (Fig. 1). Frequent border changes were accompanied by migrations and the introduction of new (other) social and cultural groups. Thus, the borderlands became a space of multiple ethnic and religious contacts, traditions and lifestyles (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014a).

Generally, political insecurity does not suit a sedentary lifestyle, and the farming population largely leaves, moving to safer areas. The borderlands, thus, became a destination of mobile semi-nomadic pastoral communities from the Dinaric mountain area (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014b). Those social groups are usually called Vlachs, Wallachians or, as Fortis (1984) termed them, Morlachs and/or Morovlachs according to the Venetian tradition. The Wallachians /Morlachs primarily represented a socio-economic category of the population from Dinaric (or in a wider sense also from Carphatian) hinterland (Rogić 1976), defined by their lifestyle that included semi-nomadic mobile herding and transhumance, often combined with military service. Mirdita (2009) pointed out that the Wallachians were not organised either territorially/administratively or ecclesiastically; they were a people without a state, moving across and along the borderlands. Croatian Medieval sources record different forms of their name: *Morovlasi*, *Morablachi*, *Morolacchi*, *Morolakorum.*

Given that before the nation-state building in the 19th century the societies were distinguished primarily by religion or religious traditions rather than by a national determinant, those borderlands communities were also considered as *Others* due to their religious affiliation with Orthodox Christianity – in relation to the dominant and the prevailing Roman Catholic population of the Croatian lands. It was, thus, a shared space; a space of cultural contact/divide and intersecting identities determined by a distinct lifestyle and the religious affiliation of the borderlands communities. As already pointed before, sharing of sites/spaces does not necessarily mean sharing of identity in the context of antagonistic tolerance (Hayden and Walker 2013).

On the other hand, the borderlands as a site of encounter between the Western and the Eastern world, between Christianity and Islam also experienced the contact/divide of Christian and Muslim communities through the process of othering the *Turkish* Croatia.

Awareness and recognition of intersecting, but not shared identities in the borderlands maintained the perceptions of the uniqueness and otherness of individual border social groups and built diverse landscapes of identities, eventually constructing regional identities.


*Fig. 1: Study area: Territory of the Croatian borderlands in the Early Modern period*

## Deconstruction of map textuality: Wallachian and Islamic landscapes of identities

Images of cultural and social spaces that derive from iconography of cultural

landscape or "religioscape" are also possible to trace from the symbolic sign system of historical maps. The material basis for the deconstruction of map textuality were place names, the most important element of the map. The deconstruction of the map textuality is more of a subtle and sophisticated research strategy than a set of a precise techniques, because we are dealing with symbolism, hidden meanings or messages conveyed through the medium of cartography, all embedded in a certain historical "moment" and the spirit of the time. The concept of text does not imply the presence of linguistic elements, but the act of construction: a map as a construction employs a conventional sign system becomes a text. Understood as such, maps enable a number of interpretative possibilities.

The particular political, social and cultural context of the time are of crucial importance for understanding symbolism of a map and for the ability for its deconstruction and interpretation. Harley (2001) defines three key aspects of map context. The context of cartographer is important because, like any other pieces of art, historical maps are not only merely copies or reflections of the material world, but a particular human way of looking at the world. So, maps reflect personal views, attitudes and local knowledge of a cartographer at one hand, but also a wider socio-cultural environment that impact and shape the cartographer's views at the other hand. The context of society points out to the importance of positioning the map within the specific historical, social and political conditions from which it cannot be extracted. The context of other maps bears the importance of a comparative approach and multiplicity of perspectives.

Deconstruction of the sign system from place names of a map employs reading "between the lines". That means reading the meaning hidden behind the presence of a place-name itself, or perhaps behind its omitting or inserting different one(s); to read the significance and message expressed by typography, the size and color of the place name(s). These are the basic cartographic tools of expression and none of these elements are used without intention to express a vision or perception of the "realities" of space and time. This is the line where a cartographer as a direct executive meets his own views, highly dependent on the general socio-political environment and the spirit of the time and particular cartographic traditions or provenance to which he belongs.

Besides pointing to the material world, place names also reflect an invisible world. The fact of presence of a particular place name is already a positive attitude toward the phenomenon and represents the act of appreciation. On the other hand, omitting place names that existed on earlier maps from different time and socio-political background sends a different message – it suggests that the particular phenomenon in question is not appreciated any more. The map therefore tends to re-make and represent a different picture of the world/ "reality". The similar situation is in case of replacing existing place names with some other that are more suitable to the desired picture of the world/"reality". The typography, the size and the color of inscriptions and place names are also important in the process of deconstruction and reading the textuality of a map. Cardinal colors and bigger font sizes point to a perceived major importance of a phenomenon. The comparison between typography of place names may clearly point to a perception of importance of a certain phenomenon in a particular time and its place in the hierarchy of the time. Likewise, the position and the extension (most often in terms of exaggerating) of a place name may clearly point to the common perception, but possibly also to the deliberate message of the official cartography of the spatial concept and importance of a spatial/social/political phenomenon.

The comparative aspect reveals two different levels of interpretation. At the first level cartography is used as a medium of deliberate dissemination of political message of power and control and/or a medium of communicating the political programme. In this sense, the above mentioned particular tools of using, omitting and inserting place names are found on official maps with a determined political and cartographical background. The other level, when place names are equally recorded on maps produced by all relevant European cartographies, reflects the prevailing perception of socio-cultural realities of the time regardless of the political or cartographic provenance. This particular level points to the fact of overall appreciatiation and acceptance of a particular phenomenon.

The image of the westernmost borderlands of the Ottoman Empire with the Venetian Republic and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Early Modern period was linked to the comprehension of the Wallachian/Morlach community as *Others.* The perception of the difference of *Others* in such contact space of the borderlands was recorded on the contemporary historical maps that belonged equally to all relevant European cartographic traditions.

One finds the toponyms *Morlacca, Morlaccha* or *Morlacchia,* along with their numerous forms such as *Morlacha, Murlacha, Morlaquie* and *Morlakia* as early as on the 16th century maps (Fuerst-Bjeliš, 2000), depicting the area of northern Dalmatia and Croatian littoral, i.e. the triple border area. Due to the significance given to it in typography, it was a very important regional concept at the time. On Bonifačić's map1[1] the typography points to the same semantic rank as the regions of Licha and Corbavia that are the key regional concepts of Croatian territory up to the present time. On Coronelli's and Nolin's map[2] (1690) *La Morlaquie* (Fig. 2) is also listed in the cartouche, within the title of the map, at the same hierarchical level along with major political concepts/lands of Bosnia, Serbia, Hungary and Croatia (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014b). In addition, in Diderot's and D'Alembert's encyclopedia (1782) *La Morlaquie* was given the same significance as other political concepts/lands i.e. Bosnia and Serbia (Mirošević and Faričić 2011).

1 B. Bonifačić: Zarae, et Sebenici descriptio, 1573.

2 V.M. Coronelli i J.B. Nolin: Le Royaume de Dalmacie…, Paris, 1690.

**The Region of Morlaquie on Coronelli's and Nolin's map**
1690, facsimile

Source: Marković 1993


*Fig. 2: The region of Morlaquie on Coronelli's and Nolin's map, 1690, facsimile*

The fact of a centuries long equal presence and significance of the place name/toponym of Morlacca (with all other corresponding forms of the place name) on maps of all relevant European cartographic traditions points to the general perception of a positive attitude, and certainly not of neglecting the territorialization of Morlachs who are considered to be *Others* in social and cultural terms. This clearly means the appreciation and acceptance of differences. What could be read "between the lines" is: *here they are, we see them as different, but still we accept them as they are: sharing common space, but retaining their (different) identity*. The strength of perception could be seen through the development of a spatial/regional concept of of the Morlacca region, and from the state of awareness and appreciation of the presence of a different social/cultural group through the process of their territorialization, as recorded by place names.

The image of the Wallachians as *Others* can also be read off clearly on the G.C. da Vignola[3] (1690) map of Slavonia at the northwesternmost borderlands, or today's western Slavonia. G.C. da Vignola points primarily to the religious differentiation of the borderlands Wallachian communities: *Wallacchi Pop. Di Rito Greco* (Wallachians, people observing the Greek rite) in the region to be called Minor Wallachia in the following century: *Valachia Minor* on Mueller's map of Hungary[4] (1709), *Petit Valaquie* on the Ottens map of the Kingdom of Dalmatia[5] (1740), or *Kleine Walache* on von Reilly's map[6] (1790) (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014a).

The westernmost border of the Ottoman Empire with the Habsburg Monarchy was primarily a border between Islam and Christianity. That fact notwithstanding, the Orthodox Christians were also perceived as *Others* among the dominant population of Roman Catholic affiliation in (Habsburgian) Croatia. The same process for Morlacca could be read here as well; the development of a spatial/regional concept (*Valachia Minor*) from the appreciation of a presence of different – *Other* cultural/religious group (observing different rite) through the process of territorialization.

The borderlands area was, thus, regarded more likely as a shared space of different intersecting cultural (religious) identities that were appreciated and recognized rather than an area of division. What we can read from the place names and from the meaning hidden behind them is that the cultural, social and religious differences in the borderlands were generally recognized, appreciated and certainly not neglected as realities of the time. The communities considered different in social and cultural/religious terms, as *Others*, were eventually accepted as carriers of the spatial /regional concept, sharing the same space while retaining their different identities.

There are quite a number of maps of different political backgrounds and European cartographic traditions that equally share the same image of *Turkish Croatia* in the borderlands area that denote the territory between the old pre-Ottoman border and the newly established border after the peace treaty of Karlowitz (1699). That was primarily the interfluve area between the rivers Vrbas (the pre-Ottoman, "historical" border) and Una (the new Karlowitz border). The issue of old and new borders in areas characterized by frequent changes opens up the question of identity of a border region. The following examples of maps of the territory of Turkish Croatia show that the perception of tradition and historicity of an area persists as a mental map in the collective memory (Fuerst-Bjeliš 2014a).

Although the territory east of the river Una, i.e. the contemporary border of Habsburgian Croatia was in possession of the Ottoman Empire, as defined by the peace treaty of Karlowitz, the maps of the time clearly show the widely present image of the separate character and status of the interfleuve area between the rivers Una and Vrbas. At the earliest examples from the very beginning of the 18th century, the image of continuity of the Croatian lands, regardless of the new border, was transmitted by the inscription of the name of Croatia across the newly established border. That could be read from the Weigl's map of Habsburg-Turkish border (1702)[7] where the inscription is extended easterly

3 Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola: Parte della Sciavonia.... abitate da popoli Slauini..., Roma, 1690.

4 J. Christoph. Mueller: Mappam hanc/regni hungariae/propittis elementis fertilissimi/cum adiacentibus regnis et provinciis (...), 1709.

5 Nouvelle carte du Royaume de Dalmacie (...,) Amsterdam, 1740.

6 Joseph von Reilly: Das Koenigreich Sklavonien und Herzogthum Syrmien, Wien, 1790.

7 Johann Christoph Weigl: Mappa der zu Carlovitz geschlossenen und hernach durch zwei gevollmächtige/Comissarios vollzogenen Kaiserlich Tükischen Grantz Scheidung, 1699.

over the officially actual Ottoman territory; on Mueller's map of Hungary (1709)[8] as well, or from Vitezović's map of the whole Kingdom of Croatia (1701)[9] with additional distincton of the interfleuve area as *Croatia Turcica*.

On the following maps by Schimek (1788)[10], von Reilly (1790)[11] and Artaria & Co. (1807)[12] (Fig. 3), the image of a distinctive and separate status of the interfleuve territory was even more deepened and accentuated. Throughout the century, the perception, already widely accepted as the "reality", was deeply rooted as a spatial fact. The mapmakers used the tools of color and line to point out the separate status of Turkish Croatia – neither as belonging to the rest of Croatia, nor to the Ottomans (Turkish). The territory of Turkish Croatia was contoured by a thick borderline and marked with different color in relation to both Croatia and Ottoman Empire (e.g. Schimek), or marked with the same color as the Ottoman territory, thus acknowledging the official status, but still divided by the borderline as an expression of the common image of its separate status ( e.g. Artaria & Co.). Up to the mid 19th century, maps of Croatian territory, such as those by Szeman (1826)[13]or Halavanja (1851)[14], confirm the general image and distinction of the eastern (Ottoman) side of the Croatian-Ottoman borderland as Turkish Croatia.

Apart from the perception and the image of the temporality of borders fluctuation in the mentioned centuries, of their frequent changes and of the continuity of the (historical) Croatian territory, there is also another symbolic layer. Applying the methodology of map deconstruction i.e. tracing its rhetoric, enables the interpretation and reading the set of sign symbols expressed by color, line, typography of a place name and their relation on a particular map and comparatively among other maps. This symbolic layer points to the recognition and distinction of a diverse cultural/religious identity i.e. Turkish as Muslim and the distinction of Christian Croatia versus Muslim Croatia as *Other*. Taking into account the presence of the intersecting Orthodox and Roman Catholic identities discussed above, the Muslim or the Islamic one is the third one that makes the borderlands a true landscape of multiple identities that is even more complex than in Hayden and Walker's (2013) shared spaces of "antagonistic tolerance" of two populations/religions.

**Representation of Turkish Croatia on the map of Bosnia, Serbia, Herzegovina**
Artaria & Co., Vienna, section, 1807, facsimile
Source: Marković 1998

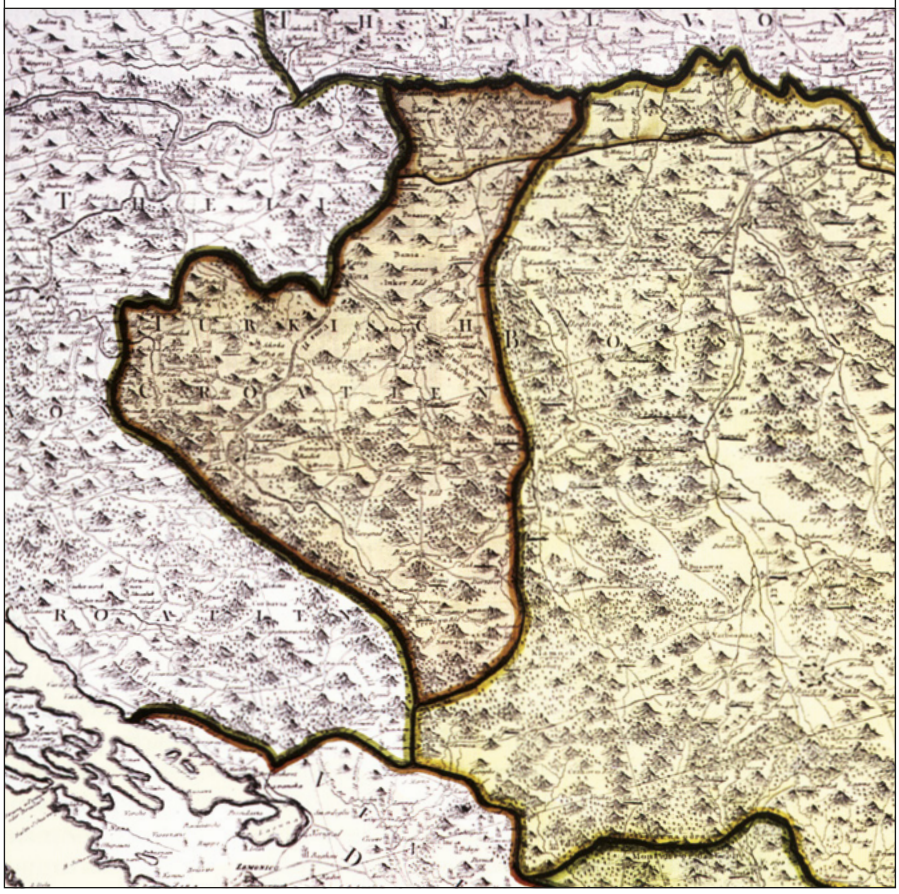

*Fig. 3: Representation of Turkish Croatia on the map of Bosnia, Serbia, Herzegovina, facsimile*

Out of these three regional concepts, only Turkish Croatia retained its distinct character after the change of the socio-political architecture of the borderlands area by the end of the 19th century. However, the name was changed to *Bosanska Krajina (Krajina* meaning the borderlands). While the former name of Turkish Croatia emphasized the Croatian territoriality of different religious and cultural identity, the new one of Bosanska Krajina retained its borderland character even later through the participation in the organization of the Military Border, that additionally sustained the image of *Otherness* in terms of a particular military mentality.

## Conclusion

The images of cultural and social spaces can be derived both from the iconography of a cultural landscape as well as

8 J. Christoph. Mueller: Mappam hanc/regni hungariae/propittis elementis fertilissimi/cum adiacentibus regnis et provinciis, 1709.

9 Pavao Ritter Vitezović: Mappa Generalis Regni Croatiae Totius. Limitibus suis Antiquis, 1699

10 Maximilian Schimek: Das Koenigreich Bosnien und die Herzegovina, 1788, Wien.

11 Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly: Special-Karte von dem Oesterreichischen und Osmanischen Koenigreiche Kroatien,Wien, 1790.

12 Das Koenigreich/ Bosnien und Servien (…) Artaria & Co., Wien, 1807.

13 Josip Szeman: Mappa Dioecesis Zagrabiensis, 1826.

14 Marko Halavanja: Zemljovid Kraljevine Hèrvatsko-Slavonske i Vojvodine Sèrbske, 1851, Zagreb.

from the symbolic sign system of historical maps. The material basis for deconstruction of a map rhetoric were place names. Since deconstruction tends to reveal the symbolism, hidden meanings or messages conveyed through the medium of cartography, it is more a subtle research strategy than a set of a precise techniques. Deconstructing symbolic layers of historical maps of the Early Modern Croatian borderlands has revealed landscapes of diverse cultural identities at the contact of three empires – Habsburgian, Ottoman and Venetian – as well as of the Eastern and the Western world. A number of analysed examples of historical regional concepts i.e. Morlacca, Minor Wallachia and Turkish Croatia, developed in the borderlands area, indicating multiple intersecting identities and borderlands as a shared space, but not as a space of shared identities. They represent a common image of all relevant European cartographies of the time, regardless of different (and often opposed) political affiliations, interests and attitudes towards the borderlands. They were not imposed from above, from the center of political power, but reflect an internal and local knowledge and perception.

Since distinctiveness and recognition of cultural identity mainly arise from religious affiliations of societies from the time before the nation-state building, the contact nature of borderlands landscapes is expressed through the recognition of diverse religious identities. There are quite a number of oppositions expressed: Orthodox versus Roman Catholic, Christian (containing also the differentiation of Orthodox and Roman Catholic) versus Muslim. Since deconstruction analysis showed that regional concepts of Morlacca, Minor Wallachia and Turkish Croatia pointed to the acceptance and appreciation of diversities in the borderlands, oppositions in this context imply recognition of multiple identities and not necessarily conflicts. Thus, there are three intersecting cultural/religious identities built into the borderlands' cultural landscape.

In the context of Hayden and Walker's (2013) research and theoretical framework, based on material elements of the cultural landscape – "religioscape", culturally/religiously diverse communities shared space, but not their identities. However, Hayden and Walker discussed two opposing populations in historical post-Ottoman space of South-eastern Europe, Orthodox and Muslim in their antagonistic and competing relations. These relations of just two opposing sides may have amplified the antagonistic side of the tolerance.

As our research has shown, the cultural landscape of the borderlands represented a multiple contact space of three cultural/religious populations in complex and diverse relations of intersecting, sharing spaces and, as we may "read between the lines" of the textuality of the historical maps of the time, the relations of recognition and appreciation of diversities, which consequently lead to the construction of regional concepts.

Since there are examples of different developments in some other regions e.g. Istria, where in spite of historical borders between Venetian Republic and Habsburg Monarchy and ethnic diversities within Istria, one overarching regional Istrian identity was developed. The difference in development points to the fact of homogeneity of Istria in terms of Christian and western cultural environment and tradition that appears to be a strong unifying element. On the contrary, in Habsburg-Venetian-Ottoman borderlands there is a very prominent religious and cultural contact of the East and the West, as well as of Christianity and Islam that must have directed the social and regional identity developments in a diverse way. Findings from our research of the Habsburg-Venetian-Ottoman borderlands and the development of the landscape of multiple identities based primarily on religious/cultural differences, leads to the conclusion that religious affiliation and practices together with overall cultural tradition have the strongest impact in development of the (regional) identity.

## Bibliography


Fortis, A. (1984): Put po Dalmaciji. Zagreb. (Original: Viaggio in Dalmazia, 1774.)

Fuerst-Bjeliš, B. (2000): Toponimija i percepcija u prostoru Triplex Confiniuma: Morlakija. In: Radovi 32-33, p. 349-354.

Fuerst-Bjeliš, B. (2011): Slike i mijene regionalnoga identiteta – geografska imena na kartama ranoga novog vijeka, odabrani primjeri. In: Skračić, V. and J. Faričić (eds.): Zbornik radova s Prvoga nacionalnog znanstvenog savjetovanja o geografskim imenima. Zadar, p. 67-72.

Fuerst-Bjeliš, B. (2014a): Cartography revealed: multiculturality and regional identities of the borderlands. In: Revista Continentes 3, 5, p. 8-22.

Fuerst-Bjeliš, B. (2014b): Territorialisation and de-territorialisation of the borderlands communities in the multicultural environment: Morlachia and Little Wallachia. In: Acta geographica Bosniae et Herzegovinae 1, 2 English, p. 45-54.

Harley, J. B. (1989): Deconstructing the Map. In: Cartographica 26, 2, p. 1-20.

Harley, J. B. (2001): The New Nature of the Maps, Essays in the History of Cartography. Baltimore.

Hayden, R. M. and T. D. Walker (2013): Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces. In: Journal of the American Academy of Religion 81, 2, p. 399-426.

Murphy, A. B., J. N. Entrikin, A. Paasi, G. Macleod, E. G. Jonas and R. Hudson (2015): Bounded vs. Open Regions, and Beyond. Critical Perspectives on Regional Worlds and Words. In: Jones, M. and A. Paasi (eds): Regional Worlds. Advancing the Geography of Region. London, New York, p. 6-15.

Kozličić, M. (1995): Kartografski spomenici Hrvatskoga Jadrana. Zagreb.

Maleković, V. (1992): Borders of Croatia on Maps from 12th to 20th century. Zagreb.

Marković, M. (1993): Descriptio Croatiae. Zagreb.

Marković, M. (1998): Descriptio Bosnae et Hercegovinae, Zagreb.
Mirdita, Z. (2009): Vlasi, starobalkanski narod. Zagreb.
Mirošević , L. and J. Faričić (2011): Perception of Dalmatia in selected foreign lexicographic publications. In: Geoadria 16, 1, p. 119-140.
Nail, T. (2016): Theory of the Border. New York.
Panofsky, E. (1983): Meaning in the Visual Arts. Chicago.
Regan, K. (ed.) (2003): Hrvatski povijesni atlas. Zagreb.
Rogić, V. (1976): Sociogeografski aspekt dinarskoga krša, dinarskoga kulturnog areala i dinarskoga brdsko-planinskog prostora. In: Geografski glasnik 38, 1, p. 253-268.
Rumford, C. (2006): Theorizing borders. In: European Journal of Social Theory, 9, 2, p. 155-169.

Prof. Borna Fuerst-Bjeliš, PhD
University of Zagreb
Faculty of Science, Department of Geography
Marulić Square 18
HR-10000 Zagreb
Croatia
bornafb@geog.pmf.hr

Assist. Prof. Branimir Vukosav, PhD
University of Zadar
Department of Geography
Franje Tuđmana 24i
HR-23000 Zadar
Croatia
bvukosav@unizd.hr

***Резюме***

Борна Фюрст-Бьелиш, Бранимир Вукосав

**Ландшафты идентичностей, делящих между собой общее пространство приграничных территорий**

В период раннего Нового времени хорватский пограничный регион характеризуется многочисленными социальными и культурными линиями разграничения, общими пространствами и частично переплетающимися идентичностями. Это область разнообразных контактов между тремя различными имперскими традициями раннего Нового времени: Османской империи, Габсбургской монархии и Венеции. Здесь встречался Восток и Запад, христианство и ислам, морские и континентальные традиции. В течение нескольких столетий частые изменения границ сопровождались миграцией и появлением новых (других) социальных и культурных сообществ, а также возникновением и изменением ландшафтов самых разнообразных идентичностей. Изучение раннего восприятия пространства и изображений исторических карт представляет особый интерес в смежных и общих областях, где сталкиваются различные культуры, религиозные системы и сложные этнические структуры. Исследование региональных идентичностей в контактных пространствах приграничных регионов основано, прежде всего, на деконструкции современных карт, а также на анализе содержащихся в них утверждений и их символического значения. Самая западная граница между Османской империей и Габсбургской монархией была, в первую очередь, границей между исламом и христианством. Тем не менее, православные христиане также считались *другими* в доминирующем римско-католическом (Габсбургском) населении Хорватии. Пограничные регионы, вероятно, были скорее общим пространством, чем линией разграничения между различными накладывающимися друг на друга культурными (религиозными) идентичностями, которые ценились и признавались. Ландшафты разных идентичностей были проанализированы и обсуждены на основе ряда исторических примеров, например, Морлакка, Малая Валахия и Турецкая Хорватия.

*Пограничные районы; идентичности; Хорватия; историческая картография; христианство; ислам; раннее Новое время*

***Résumé***

**Des paysages identitaires diversifiés dans les zones frontalières communes**

La zone frontalière croate du début de l'époque moderne présente de nombreuses lignes de démarcation sociale et culturelle, des espaces communs et des identités qui se chevauchent. Cette région fut le théâtre de nombreux échanges entre trois traditions impériales différentes du début de l'époque moderne: celle de l'Empire ottoman, de la monarchie des Habsbourg et de Venise. Ce fut un lieu de rencontre entre l'Est et l'Ouest, le christianisme et l'islam, et les traditions maritimes et continentales. Pendant plusieurs siècles, ce territoire a connu de nombreuses modifications de frontières, entraînant ainsi des migrations, l'arrivée de nouvelles communautés sociales et culturelles (différentes), ainsi que la naissance et la transformation de paysages identitaires diversifiés. L'étude des perceptions spatiales de l'époque et des images d'anciennes cartes est tout particulièrement intéressante dans le cas des territoires frontaliers communs où se sont côtoyés différentes cultures, structures ethniques complexes et divers systèmes religieux. L'étude des identités régionales dans les zones de contact des régions frontalières se base avant tout sur la déconstruction des cartes géographiques modernes ainsi que sur l'analyse des témoignages de cartes géographiques et de leur signification symbolique. La frontière occidentale entre l'Empire ottoman et la monarchie des Habsbourg était avant tout une frontière entre l'islam et le christianisme. Néanmoins, les chrétiens orthodoxes étaient eux aussi considérés comme des étrangers au sein de la population (habsbourgeoise) catholique romaine qui dominait en Croatie. Les zones frontalières étaient davantage un espace commun qu'une ligne de démarcation entre les différentes identités culturelles (et religieuses), lesquelles se chevauchaient et étaient appréciées et reconnues. Les multiples paysages identitaires ont été analysés et traités à l'aide d'une série d'exemples historiques, par ex. La Morlaquie, La Valachie Mineure et la Croatie Turc.

*Zones frontalières; identités; Croatie; cartographie historique; christianisme; islam; début de l'époque moderne*