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Introduction

Mapping Empire, and "Turks" on the Map

> *I will confute those blind geographers*
> *That make a triple region of the world,*
> *Excluding regions which I mean to trace,*
> *And with this pen reduce them to a map,*
> *Calling the provinces, cities, and towns,*
> *After my name and thine, Zenocrate.*

Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine 1* IV.iv. 81–9[1]

Thus Christopher Marlowe's theatrical Mongol ruler (Timur) proclaims that it is the sword (his "pen") that ultimately determines the mapping of empires. In his play, *Tamburlaine*, first performed c. 1587, Marlowe (1564–1593) created an artful counterpart to the maps of his day, a sovereign space concocted out of a rather indiscriminate mixing of myth, history, and fiction. He collapsed time and space to place Muhammad and Jove in the same firmament, meld the medieval with the early modern, and jumble the territories of the Afro-Eurasian oikumene into one great imperial backdrop.[2] Marlowe's English audience (elite and common) may or may not have known the historical figures of Timur (r. 1370–1405) and the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402). But in the play these rulers' times, locations, compatriots, and identities were mutable, subject to the vagaries of drama, history, memory, education, artistic convention, and strategic interest. Just so, as early modern Europeans created representations of territory, they employed those same factors to delineate an Ottoman imperial space (and identity) that was as much a function of cultural imagination as it was a product of contemporary technologies of print and measurement. Such representations, particularly those

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[1] Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* (Mineola, NY: Dover Books, 2002), 50; see also Jonathan Burton, "Anglo–Ottoman Relations and the Image of the Turk in Tamburlaine," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, 1 (2006): 125–56.

[2] Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, 102–3.

found on maps, form the subject of this volume. It examines the rhetorical construction of the Ottomans in the texts and images of the Christian kingdoms of early modern Europe and the inscribing of Ottoman territory, sovereignty, and identity onto maps, employing Ottoman self-mapping as a comparative foil. Maps, broadly construed, complicate the notion that representing the Ottomans was an evolutionary process that typed the empire as terrible in the sixteenth century and domesticated in the eighteenth. If we dismiss Marlowe's swirling of character, border, time, and space as merely fanciful or theatrical, we miss the point. For, in the early modern era, mapping was both a pictorial narration of territory and events and a process by which events were subordinated to history, memory, and desire.

With their conquest of the great Christian and Muslim capitals, Constantinople in 1453 and Cairo in 1517, the Ottoman Turks captured the imagination of observers across the Afro-Eurasian world, asserting their identity as one of the most powerful empires of the early modern era. The Ottomans had become a European empire in the fifteenth century, crossing the Danube into Wallachia and extending the territories under their dominion to the borders of Hungary. In the sixteenth century they became a world empire, confronting the Muslim Mamluks and Safavids, in Egypt and Iran respectively, and the Christian kings of Europe, in a broad frontier zone stretching from the western Mediterranean to the Black Sea. Belgrade fell to Ottoman armies in 1521, Rhodes in 1522, and, by 1541, Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66) had occupied Buda and could claim sovereignty over much of Croatia and Hungary. See Map 1. This expanding empire was the object of careful scrutiny and wild speculation in Christian Europe, its military and spiritual prowess addressed in diplomatic reports, histories, sermon literature, compendia of knowledge, plays, essays, murals, broadsheets, and maps, among other forms of communication.

In the Christian kingdoms of Europe the Ottomans were presented as descendants of the "Scythians," the same "Turks" who swept out of Central Asia and confronted the "Saracens" in the crusading era.[3] The "Turks" (a generic designation used to connote the Muslims in Ottoman territory) were then mingled with all the historic Islamic 'marauders' who had tested and trampled the borders of "Christendom."[4] A parade of witnesses passed among the capitals of the Mediterranean world, circulating information

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[3] Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 174–5, 270 n. 62; Patricia Springborg, *Western Republicanism and the Oriental Prince* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2001), 65–9, 73–4; and Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 55–99. See also Kiril Petkov, *Infidels, Turks, and Women: The South Slavs in the German Mind, ca. 1400–1600* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1997), 239–40, on the "German humanists' fondness for their neo-classical knowledge and strict adherence to the norms and requirements of puritanical classicism," in describing the conquests of the Ottomans.

[4] See, for example, G. J. Reinink, "Ps. Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam," 149–87, in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, v. 1, Averil Cameron and Lawrence Conrad, eds. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), 165, 170, 174, who illustrates how this apparently late-seventh-century text collapsed time using both Biblical and classical references (especially to Alexander the Great) to create a vision of apocalyptic restoration.

about the Ottomans, their society, personnel, customs, beliefs, institutions, texts, identities, and material culture. The audiences for that information ranged from statesmen to merchants, and from scholars to illiterate parishioners, from the readers of cheap broadsheets to the consumers of lavish atlases (see Ch. 2). There was enormous demand for images and knowledge of "the Turks," whose successes, coinciding with the Renaissance and Reformation, were believed both to exemplify the effectiveness of a brutal, Islamic 'slave state' and to signal the wrath of an angry Christian God, perhaps even heralding the advent of the Last Days. For some observers, the Ottomans, with their ferocious gunpowder infantry, were poised to overrun Europe; for others, they were temporary squatters on classical and sacred space, the redemption of which awaited only the will and unity of the monarchs of Christendom.[5] Still others saw the rich and successful empire as a land of opportunity, a potential wellspring for products, patronage, and power. These varying perspectives are reflected in the texts and imagery of the time (roughly the mid sixteenth to the later eighteenth century), complicating and lending nuance to the enduring message of the Ottomans as a threat to Christendom.

Methodology, Historiography, and Objectives

The Ottomans, as an element of the historiography of early modern Europe, often appear in two standard forms: the "empire," a continent-spanning but rather amorphous imperial entity that functioned as a military great power; and the "Turks," an embodied plurality that "threatened Christendom," but was ultimately domesticated, exoticized, and dominated by an ascendant Europe as the early modern era came to an end. What the Ottomans did to or with early modern Europe has traditionally been couched in terms of the words "impact" and "difference"; and those terms are a logical outcome of the language of early modern texts. Indeed, Ottoman rhetorics of power and sovereignty, like those of their imperial predecessors and European Christian rivals, highlighted difference and military supremacy. But if we turn to the ways in which the Ottomans and their neighbors in "Christendom" visualized and designated space, then we find a rather more complex picture, one that included permeable borders, overlapping interests, and shared societies.

The historiographic literature on both the Ottoman empire and Christian Europe's reception of the "Turk" has become increasingly rich in recent years through the contributions of Ottomanist historians and scholars of European history, literature, and art.[6] So, too, considerable interest has been

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See also Walter Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38.2 (June, 1969): 139–49, esp. 144–5.

5 Anthony Grafton, "The Humanist as Reader," 180–211, in *A History of Reading in the West*, Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 187, writes of the simultaneous Renaissance impulse both to "bring the ancient world up to date," and to "reconstruct it as it was."

6 For example: Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remappping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel:*

generated on the question of Ottomans on the map, a field that for a long time was limited to the pioneering works of Tom Goodrich, Svat Soucek, and a few others.[7] The publication of J. B. Harley and David Woodward's magisterial *History of Cartography* (hereafter *HOC*), along with the staging of cartographic exhibitions such as the 2008 "European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500–1750" at the Oriental Institute in Chicago, have provided textual and visual inspiration on this theme to a wide audience.[8] Nonetheless, much of the work currently available on representations of the "Turk" still tends to proceed in well-defined channels (from a focus in cartographic studies on Piri Reis and major European mapmakers on one hand, to the examination of select travel accounts, diplomatic reports, or 'national' dramas on the other). Thus there remains much to be said regarding the ways in which those residing in the Christian kingdoms of Europe imagined, narrated, and visualized the Ottomans, their sovereignty, and the spaces they possessed.

This work attempts one segment of that larger project. It traces out some of the historical and literary sources for representations of the Ottomans, plotting the dissemination of visions of the "Turk" and perusing the complex matrix of borders, interactions, and identities through which European audiences visualized Ottoman territory. It delineates specific categories (war space, historical space, travel space, and sacred space) employed to inscribe the Ottoman empire on maps. It also presents the iconography of the "Turk" as displayed on maps, an iconography that painted the Ottomans, alternately and in combination, as commercial partners, epic warriors, and objects of ethnographic scrutiny, as well as marauding barbarians, heretics, and harbingers of the Antichrist. This study devotes particular attention to the image/text interface (that is, the relationship between images and the texts with which they were associated). That interface is especially important because early modern maps derived their characterizations of Ottoman space from the rhetorics and imagery of texts, and because maps often involve an intricate layering (or collage) of text and image derived from other works.[9] Just as there was no definitive border between Europe and Asia, or Islam and Christendom, in this era, so too there was no definitive boundary between the map itself and the texts that surrounded, inspired, or were inscribed upon it. Further, this book contributes to the burgeoning literature on 'Eastern' travel. As mapmakers enclosed the land and seascapes of the Ottomans within the

English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720 (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); and Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012).

7 Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1990); and Svat Soucek, *Studies in Ottoman Naval History and Maritime Geography* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2008).

8 J. B. Harley and David Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography*, [hereafter *HOC*], v. 1–3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992–2007); Ian Manners, ed., with M. Pinar Emiralioğlu, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500–1750: Maps from the Collection of O.J. Sopranos* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010).

9 Leonora Navari, "Gasparo Tentivo's Il Nautica Ricercato. The Manuscripts," 135–55, in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, George Tolias and Dimitris Loupis, eds. (Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2004), 138.

map frame, they displayed early modern notions of space measured in terms of cities, fortresses, pilgrimage sites, provisioning stations, and accessible or inaccessible routes. Mapping was thus intimately connected to travel, both actual and imaginary. It had its own logics of possession, movement, and frontiers. The traveler, along with the diplomat and other types of intermediaries, was the eyewitness, the authority invoked by the mapmaker to legitimate his vision of space. Finally, this book, as it examines the diffusion of images of the Ottomans, their sovereignty, their mores, and their armies, adds to the growing historiography on the circulation of knowledge and the translation of culture in the early modern Eurasian world.

It is also important here to state what this book does not do. I am a historian of the intersections between the Ottoman world and surrounding territories; I am neither a cartographer nor an art historian. Thus it is not my intention here to trace the evolution of maps of Ottoman territory or the technical details of map production and artistry. Those tasks have been accomplished or are being accomplished by experts elsewhere, in the *History of Cartography* and in the journal *Imago Mundi*, among other sources. Rather than sorting out the direction of cartographic influences, or precedence in discoveries of mapping technology, what I want to know is how mapmakers in different places embodied and circulated ideas of the Ottomans and Ottoman space, and what their images might tell us about their milieu, their audiences, and things such as state power, historic memory, identity, worldview, borders, the visualization of land and sea, and the exigencies of getting from place to place.[10]

The early modern era was indeed a time when the technologies of charting, engraving, and depicting the world's spaces were evolving and improving. But technological capability and scientific knowledge were only two factors in the complex intellectual, political, economic, historical, and pictorial process that was mapping.[11] Early modern maps, like the texts from which they derive, do not follow a strict evolutionary pattern in depicting the Ottomans and their empire; they are, rather, the products of tropes of narration and conventions of representation, the technical constraints of printmaking, and the knowledge, education, imagination, and demands of a consuming public that is notoriously difficult to pin down, except anecdotally. Most of all, I want to know what Ottoman space looked like to that public. In seeking that objective, I focus on the map itself and its narrative contexts to demonstrate the ongoing tensions over truth-claims and illustrate some of the ways in which Ottoman space was experienced and constructed. The tales of individual narrators do not, of course, substitute for a close examination of each one of the numerous interpretative communities affected by these maps: how they accepted, misunderstood, acted on, or ignored the messages of the map. But it may be hoped that the traveler witnesses employed here will speak in some

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[10] That is, I was more interested in the essential contexts for maps described so eloquently by J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2001), 35–8.

[11] Peter Whitfield, *The Charting of the Oceans: Ten Centuries of Maritime Maps* (London: British Library, 1996), 46, 56–7, for example, notes the adherence to old templates, "legend and imagination," despite the acquisition of new knowledge.

small way for their own reading communities, whereas I leave the project of assessing audience reception in specific communities to other scholars.

Neither do I propose to trace out the extent of geographic knowledge in the Ottoman world or to present in any comprehensive way the literary and historical contexts out of which mapped images of the Ottomans emerged. A database of cartographic literary allusions grouped by time and region would be a wonderful thing; but it is beyond my capabilities. What I hope to accomplish, rather, is a comparative commentary on the modes and types of representation of Ottoman space deriving from some of the Christian kingdoms of Europe. I place before the reader an array of mappings of the Ottomans (particularly those spaces on the European 'side' of the empire) in hopes that they will provoke discussion and refine and expand our sense of the ways in which the Ottomans were imagined and imagined themselves. This material is purposefully selected to range widely, unconstrained by strict chronology or 'national' designation. It crosses genres to present a mix of imagery of the "Turk," similar, perhaps, to that an educated reader might be exposed to. I hope thereby to illustrate the ways in which the map layered historical time and manipulated space, suggest those forms of representation that were enduring and those that were exceptional, and, further, propose that the mappings of the sixteenth and eighteenth century worlds were not as dramatically different as they might sometimes seem.[12]

This volume is divided into three parts comprising seven chapters plus an afterword. Part One (Chapters 1 and 2) sets the stage by addressing methodology, approach to space and time, categories of analysis, genres of mapping the "Turk," and the processes by which the Ottomans were made familiar to audiences in the Christian kingdoms of Europe. This first chapter serves as an introduction. It suggests a set of categories by which Ottoman space was understood and introduces some of the possibilities for comparisons to Ottoman self-mapping. It emphasizes the ways in which time and space were collapsed on early modern maps in order to convey political and cultural messages of entitlement and identity. Chapter 2, on "Reading and Placing the 'Turk,'" introduces some of the genres employed for mapping the Ottomans and speaks (through a set of illustrative examples) about the ways the Ottomans were represented and translated into text and image. It also addresses questions of the circulation of knowledge. Part Two (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) presents the mapping of Ottoman space in terms of borders, fortresses, and the iconography of triumph and submission. Chapter 3 is divided into three sections, which address conceptions of the ends of empire; the transimperial borders among the Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Venetian empires; and, finally, the roles played by Constantinople and the Holy Land as annexes of Europe and focal points for prophecy in mapping the division of "Christian" and "Turk" space. Chapter 4 examines the fortress (inland and coastal) as

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[12] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change," 3–24, in *HOC*, v. 3, pt. 1, *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, David Woodward, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 12, 23, provides a typology of the ways in which the nature of European maps changed (or did not change) in the Renaissance era, noting that the timing of changes varied from place to place in Europe. He lays out the arguments against any simple "progressive" model of mapmaking (6–7).

the quintessential marker of space and sovereignty, employing examples concentrated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The fortress was the centerpiece of possessed space and of the competition for hegemony in the transimperial zone linking the Ottoman, Venetian, and Hapsburg empires. Chapter 5 continues the examination of conflict imagery in historical texts and map imagery. Possession was counted not only in fortresses but also in images of the conquered foe, his head, his body, his arms, and his symbols. The fallen Turk, deployed on the map, delivered a powerful message of ownership. Part Three (Chapters 6 and 7) elaborates on the literatures and imagery of travel along with the various authorities invoked in an attempt to demonstrate the 'accuracy' and 'truth' of mapped space. Chapter 6 presents the stages by which travelers and maps charted the movement into and out of Ottoman space. This chapter highlights the journeys from Vienna and Venice to Istanbul by land and sea and illustrates the modes and measures by which Ottoman space was counted. Chapter 7 addresses the threefold foundation of authority (knowledge, text, and eyewitness testimony), used by travelers and transposed onto the map to certify the validity of descriptions of Ottoman domains. The knowledge and texts of 'classical' and Biblical pasts were front and center in the imagery of the early modern era. They constituted its history and memory. In this chapter, narratives by Italian and English travelers will be featured and then juxtaposed to the well-known travel narrative of the Ottoman raconteur Evliya Çelebi.[13] Additionally, in this chapter, I will use travelers' descriptions of women and their dress as a special element of claims to authority. By way of conclusion, the "Afterword" (Chapter 8) will take up some of the implications of mapping space and identity that have traced through both the volume and the historiography of Ottoman–European relations and that find resonance in both world-historical paradigms and contemporary world struggles.

Designations of Space

This work is about mapping Ottoman space. I employ the term *space* as an alternative to *territory*, because I want to suggest the Ottoman realm (conceptualized by early modern peoples) as a place imbued with attendant identities, cultures, and historical contexts, all of which could be enclosed within the map frame.[14] Ottoman space, in the European (and Ottoman) imagination, was not simply a block of territory circumscribed on a map. It was a place entangled in a set of histories and competing claims dating back to creation. It was full of peoples, faiths, languages, occupations, and cultural mores that transcended political reality, or endured as carefully preserved

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[13] Italian and English travelers were certainly not alone, nor was actual travel a necessity, as Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 135, has aptly noted.

[14] This is not to argue that "territory," a term that I employ as well, is not conceptually complex. Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 7, speaks of "territory" as "a word, a concept, and a practice"; also as "a distinctive mode of social/spatial organization, one that is historically and geographically limited and dependent . . . (10)." In his discussion of early modern conceptualizations, highlighting the work of Gottfried Leibnitz (1646–1714), he focuses on "legal–political power" and the articulations of sovereignty (315–20).

artifacts of cherished past lives. Further, Ottoman space was not limited to those lands where the sultan's armies could readily be deployed. It included lands claimed by the sultan. It comprised those adjacent places where the threat of Ottoman arms held (or seemed to hold) sway. Nor was it limited to *terra firma*, including as it did the seascapes of the Mediterranean, Aegean, Adriatic, Black, and Red Seas onto which Ottoman power was projected. The notion of Ottoman space then presumes the sultan's domains as a complex form of possession and identity, dependent not entirely on what was actually there but also on what was imagined, remembered, depicted, hoped for, and then visualized in textual and pictorial sources such as maps and travel accounts.[15]

The idea of Ottoman space is complicated by terminologies of place and identity that defy the drawing of borders. The borders of Europe, in the early modern imagination, as we shall see in Chapter 3, ranged over a broad territory, despite what the continental divisions of ancient geographies or the national boundaries of contemporary atlases might suggest. Christendom and Europe on one hand, and Islam and Asia on the other, were not coincident. And finding precise terminology for designating Ottoman space in Europe is a vexed process and one with a long history. That dilemma is reflected in early modern European cartographic usage, which came to employ the designations "Turkey in Asia" and "Turkey in Europe" to suggest its own uncomfortable relationship to the cross-continental territorial holdings of the Ottoman sultans. I have used here (rather broadly) the terminology "Balkans" and "Greco-Balkan peninsula" to describe those European territories into which the Ottomans expanded and in which they operated in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.[16] That usage is a geographic convenience employed to avoid the repeated recitation of individual regions. But it fails to reflect the complex relationships among sovereign (or not so sovereign) lords, or among inland, coastal, and island territories. I cannot resolve these ambiguities of designation in any comprehensive way. "Europe" remains a term that designates continental space, with Constantinople as its evident eastern outpost, "before Asia."[17] And in this study I will employ that term because it is customary and familiar to denote the location from which 'outside' observers in the Christian kingdoms characterized the sultan and his territories. But the Ottoman empire was as European as it was Asian; its heartland and signature province, Rumelia, lay in Europe.

Another problem of designation resides in the fact that the territories of Europe were no more entirely Christian than the territories of Anatolia or Syria or Egypt were entirely Muslim, or Turk, as European sources of the

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[15] For a discussion of some elements of the "spatial turn" in history, see Charles Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn' in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70.4 (October, 2009): 637–58, esp. 648–9, on history as "mapping," and 656–8. Withers nonetheless points out the complexity and "metaphysical imprecision" of the usage of the terms "space" and "place" (637).

[16] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21–37.

[17] See Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 27–8, 44. Although pointing out that East and West in Europe were categories most durably based on the line between Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, he also notes that "In more modern times there is the Ottoman line, which marked off the Balkan lands which lived for centuries under Muslim rule (27)."

era might describe them. Ottoman sources customarily employed a we/they distinction: the "well protected domains" of the sultan as opposed to the "lands of the Christian kings." This juxtaposition separated the empire from the polities of European enemies and allies alike without suggesting that the whole continent of Europe was somehow necessarily "Christian." That division of space, relying on sovereignty rather than communal identity, is a useful one because it includes all those people (and readers) resident under either Ottoman rule or that of the Christian kingdoms. It takes up the enduring minorities (such as the Jews of Europe or Anatolia), that seem to be precluded in designations such as "Christendom" and "Islam," highlighting instead the communally legitimized power structures to which majority and minority populations alike were subject.

Time/Periodization

Various scholars have tried to periodize the representational relationship of the kingdoms of Christian Europe to the Ottoman empire. Some, such as Lucette Valensi, see European authors as moving by the turn of the seventeenth century from the vision of the Terrible Turk to a rather admiring notion of the Ottoman empire as a well-organized and efficient form of government.[18] A related notion, articulated by Joan Pau Rubiés, is that the depiction of the East in the seventeenth century became more systematic, more scientific, and more "secular."[19] Other commentators, such as Mustafa Soykut, argue that the Ottomans were domesticated in the European imagination, particularly after the death of Sultan Süleyman I in 1566, the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, and the advent of the English in the Ottoman Mediterranean around 1580.[20] Conventions of representation, however, do not necessarily, or readily, transform in response to political changes, battles, or commercial developments. The ways in which the Ottomans were mapped in any period might thus have as much to do with aesthetic tastes, ideological positions, available print models, consumer demand, conventions of labeling, or modes of looking as with any given political episode or any given advances in technologies of writing, commerce, travel, or mapping. More broadly, the whole notion of the early modern as an era that anticipates the ideas, state formations, and hegemons of the nineteenth century suppresses a set of very powerful continuities that tie the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even eighteenth centuries to the long medieval era that preceded them. The ways in which the Ottomans were mapped was inevitably conditioned by the pull of the past. The English advent in the Mediterranean, for example, was important to the English, and to their

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[18] Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*, Arthur Denner, trans. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Jean Pierre Amalric, "Une géopolitique de bénédictin: la Turquie d'Europe dans la Géographie historique de Dom Vaissète (1755)," 359–74, in *Byzance et ses périphéries: Hommage à Alain Ducellier* (Toulouse: Université Toulouse, 2004), 366, 372–3.

[19] Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 388–91. But science had to contend with the known and remembered layers of history. And the "secular" retained at least a very healthy measure of the sacred.

[20] Mustafa Soykut, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy* (Berlin: Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 2001).

competitors. But its significance has been greatly magnified by the much later ascent of that nation to the position of world seapower, and by the extensive scholarship on both the English mercantile investment in Asia and the English literary imagination of the 'East.'[21]

That said, the death of Süleyman, the Battle of Lepanto,[22] the founding of the English "Turkey" Company,[23] and cartographic innovations did all play important roles in the familiarization of Europe with the Turk. Indeed, *familiarity* (how it happened and what form it took) is perhaps *the* key concept in establishing a periodization for European representation of the Ottomans.[24] Although the Ottomans were certainly "domesticated" for European readers (or viewers) by the seventeenth century, that domestication was already well under way by 1548. And it was accomplished not simply through a rather ephemeral naval victory but through a blizzard of news and imagery that had already reached stunning proportions by 1571. In many ways the Ottomans were familiar to some European audiences long before Lepanto. That familiarity derived in part from a complex network of commercial and cultural relationships that spanned the Afro-Eurasian oikumene and predated the Ottomans.[25] It drew on the medieval constructions of the Muslim conquerors who were the Ottomans' antecedents. And it added new variants to the representational corpus as events, audience, and situation demanded and as narrative and visual modes allowed.

These demurrals are not meant to argue that there can be no logical periodization for early modern European mapping of the Ottomans. Indeed, that mapping was characterized increasingly by a movement from regional to state designation; a complementary movement to the marking of borders of various sorts; the employment of ethnographic vignettes; a willingness to

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[21] Constance Relihan, *Cosmographical Glasses: Geographic Discourse, Gender, and Elizabethan Fiction* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2004), 45, links Lepanto to the notion of a turning point but also suggests the continuity in England of the consciousness of Ottoman threat. See also Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[22] On Lepanto, see Niccolo Capponi, *Victory of the West: The Great Christian–Muslim Clash at the Battle of Lepanto* (Cambridge, MA: da Capo, 2008); and Andrew Hess, "The Battle of Lepanto and Its Place in Mediterranean History," *Past and Present*, 57 (November, 1972): 53–73. See also Palmira Brummett, "The Lepanto Paradigm Revisited: Knowing the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century," 63–93, in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, Anna Contadini and Claire Norton, eds. (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); John Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 221–52; and Halil İnalcık, "Lepanto in the Ottoman Documents," 185–92, in *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto,* Gino Benzoni, ed. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1974).

[23] On the English "discovery" of the Mediterranean, see, for example, Archer, *Old Worlds*, 3; and MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*. This is an era that Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 21, has called "a period of intensive intelligence-gathering" by the English on the Mediterranean and the Ottomans.

[24] Bronwen Wilson, *The World of Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 147, has argued, rightly, that the Ottomans were "too familiar to be made exotic." See also Deborah Howard, "Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottomans in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," 138–77, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, v. 4, *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Gerald MacLean and William Dalrymple, eds. *Re-orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchange with the East* (London: Palgrave, 2005).

[25] See Palmira Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994).

recognize the sovereignty of the Ottomans on the body of the map (in addition to its acknowledgment in legend or captions); the characterization of the sultan as analogous to European Christian rulers; greater sophistication in the depiction of fortresses and troops; enhanced claims (based on increased volume of contact) to the "latest" and most "scientific" knowledge in narrating the Ottomans; and the utilization of more advanced technologies of print and measurement.[26] The mapping of Ottoman space might also be characterized as moving from what was in part a medieval pilgrim mode to a later seventeenth century connoisseur mode, although the latter did not preclude the former.[27]

This study thus does assume a certain logic of beginning and ending points. I have chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, 1548 as a beginning date, the year in which the maps of Giacomo Gastaldi of Piedmont (fl. c. 1544–66), cosmographer of the Venetian republic, were published in a new and revised edition of Ptolemy's geography.[28] Gastaldi was a notable figure in the production of cartographic visions of the Ottoman world. And Venice was (as Levantine commercial emporium and translator par excellence of things Ottoman to the rest of Europe) the preeminent center for the circulation of such visions. Although it is clear that the evolution of mapping was a slow and intricate process, it is also the case that the second half of the sixteenth century was a time in which the mapping of Ottoman space geared up and the circulation of images of the Ottomans flourished in tandem with the expansion of both the empire and print.

As for an end point, Napoleon's 1798 invasion of Egypt and the European project of translating the East that it helped launch are often employed as a fitting beginning for both the "modern" Middle East and the "modern" consumption in Europe of knowledge about the "Orient." But the production of the monumental *Description de l'Egypte* (published in 1809) may well be a more suitable transition point for the history of mapping than Napoleon's invasion is for a new era of Middle Eastern political history. Closer to the center of Ottoman power, the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca signaling Russia's victory in the 1768–74 Russo–Ottoman war and the reform period of sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) have also been employed to map modernity onto Ottoman space.[29] Nonetheless, I have chosen a rather different theater

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[26] Michael Biggs, "Putting the State on the Map: Cartography, Territory, and European State Formation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41.2 (April, 1999): 374–405, see 380, suggests that although "the basic principles and technique of cartography," were established by the early sixteenth century, "fundamental change would come only in the late twentieth century . . ." The pace and benchmarks of change are contested, but the subordination of science to story is ongoing.

[27] This notion derives in part from Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo–Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), xvi, characterizing transformations in the modes of early modern English travel.

[28] Robert Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century and Their Maps: Bio-bibliographies of the Cartographers of Abraham Ortelius, 1570* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1993), 216, 246. Gastaldi was associated with Giovanni Battista Ramusio and produced maps for his *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, 1550–56, the model for other later European collections of voyages (227). See also David Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade, 1480–1650," 773–803, in *HOC*, v. 3, pt. 1, 781–91, on Gastaldi and Venetian successors.

[29] See Virginia Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, An Empire Besieged 1700–1870* (New York: Longman, 2007), 129–79; and Karl Roider, Jr., *Austria's Eastern Question, 1700–1790* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton

of mapping and war for my end point: the Ottoman conflicts with Austria
(1788–91) under Joseph II and Russia (1787–92) under Catherine the Great.
That great transimperial struggle, with its battlegrounds at Danube and
Dniester, its transcontinental implications, and its backdrop the paroxysm of
the French Revolution, provoked a surge of cartographic endeavor in Chris-
tian Europe on the scope of war and the necessity of new constructions of
the "world." The "new" and the "news" were always an important element
of the articulation of early modern mapping, as we shall see; but the decade
of the 1780s produced its own variations on that consciousness.[30] And the
war was one, as Karl Roider puts it, in which "there was hardly a hint of the
old cry of gathering the Christians to strike the Moslems."[31]

Even so, the cartographic visions of the later eighteenth century, despite
their claims to novelty and a clearer sense of the expansive nature of the world
and its cultures, did not disown the past. Between 1783 and 1790, Thomas
Stackhouse, in London, published four editions of his *New Universal Atlas:*

> *consisting of a complete set of maps, elegantly engraved and colored,*
> *peculiarly adapted to illustrate and explain ancient and modern geogra-*
> *phy; in which the ancient and present divisions, as also the subdivisions,*
> *of countries and various names of places, are exhibited to the eye at one*
> *view, distinctly and correctly, on opposite pages, the several parts of*
> *the earth, which were originally peopled by the descendants of Noah,*
> *pointed out expressly, and the geography of the Old and New Tes-*
> *taments rendered clear and perspicuous The Whole Being Particularly*
> *Suited to Facilitate the Study of Geography; To make that Science more*
> *generally known; and thereby the Knowledge of History, both Ancient*
> *and Modern, much more useful, instructive, and pleasant.*[32]

Those who wished to study and perfect history and geography needed to
see the living traditions of the ancient and the Biblical stamped onto the
expansive territories of the globe. Thus Stackhouse used ancient divisions
and peoples, along with colored maps, to illuminate the current situation
of the world. In that regard, his atlas echoed the new Venetian edition of
Ptolemy that appeared in 1548.

Proclaiming itself "truly no less useful than necessary," that 1548 edition
included "the usual antique and modern" plates, but boasted the addition
of "an infinite number of modern names, of cities, provinces, castles, and
other places, accomplished with the greatest diligence by the aforementioned

University Press, 1982), 135–96. When Austria planned to seize the Bukovina (which the Ottomans
claimed) in 1774, the Austrian internuncio, Thugut, requested maps and information on the region,
arguing that the Ottoman ministers "possess not the slightest knowledge of geography (147)." In 1786,
the Hapsburg officer Wenzel Brognard "journeyed from Constantinople to Vienna via the Danube,
mapping and describing Turkish military installations along the way (177)."

[30] Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University
of Chicago Press, 2009), 49–50, on the eighteenth century (in England). But my choice of periodiza-
tion here is more concerned with transformations of scale and style and with enduring rhetorical
continuities.

[31] Roider, *Austria's Eastern Question*, 179.

[32] T. Stackhouse, *A New Universal Atlas*, 2nd ed. (London: For Mrs. Stackhouse, 1785), title page.

Mr. Giacomo Gastaldi."[33] The modern was thus an adaptation of the ancient for both Gastaldi and Stackhouse, not a replacement. The true, the accurate, and the unusual constituted the rhetorical foundations for claims to the customer's attention and money, whereas "divisions," "names," "cities," and "castles" were the irreplaceable components of the mapmaker's art.

Thus, 1548 and the 1780s seem fitting temporal brackets for our consideration of the cartographic vision of early modern Ottoman space. And a fitting counterpart to Gastaldi's new map of Anatolia (presented as a transnational region rather than Ottoman sovereign territory) might be F.I. Maire's 1788 "*Carte générale des Limites entre les trois Empires*," a Viennese map that demonstrated the expansive boundaries of war and the diminishing power of the Ottomans in the transimperial space (Figs. 1.1 and 1.2).[34] Maire's map traces the changes in imperial borders and power from the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz (a major juncture in the Ottomans' struggle for supremacy with Hapsburg Austria) to the combat of the "present war." It provides an example of the complex and technical sorting out of imperial space and of eighteenth-century attempts to fix 'national' boundaries. But its modern, scientific qualities do not preclude its recycling the iconographies of the past. The sultans, after all, remained the self-described successors of Alexander and of the Byzantines.[35] They had conquered the "Holy Land" and "Rome." Maire's cartouche thus showed the Hapsburg eagles tearing apart the empire's turban and breaking its bow, to leave no doubt who represented the new Rome.

Layers of History

Early modern maps displayed space through a process of selecting from among available associations with the present or with proximate and distant pasts. Thus Ottoman cities, throughout our period, were mapped both as the sites of current events and as the cities of the Greeks and Latins, of Strabo, Pliny, and Mela, the "ancient *auctoritates*," as Roger Chartier has noted, who were "continually cited and tirelessly commented upon."[36] The

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33 Giacomo Gastaldi, *La Geografia di Claudio Ptolomeo Alessendrino* (Venetia: Gio.a Baptista Pedrezano, 1548), title page. See Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*, 220, 30/C. See also Conley, *The Self-Made Map*, 105–8; and on the circulation of Ptolemy's "expanded geographical order," Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 85–9.

34 F.I. Maire, "Carte générale des Limites entre les trois Empires et leurs variations successives depuis l'année 1718 jusqu'à ce jour, ou Théâtre de la Guerre présente, Vienna, 1788," British Library, Maps K.Top. 113.34.a.11[Roll].

35 Mr. C. [Henri Abraham Chatelain], *Atlas Historique, ou Nouvelle Introduction à l'Histoire, à la Chronologie & à la Géographie Ancienne & Moderne; Représentéë dans de Nouvelles Cartes, Ou l'on remarque l'établissement des Etats & Empires du Monde, leur durée, leur chûte, & leurs differens Gouvernemens; La Chronologie des Consuls Romans, des Papes, des Empereurs, des Rois & des Princes, &c. qui ont été depuis le commencement du Monde, jusqu'à présent: Et la Généalogie des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe*, 3rd ed., v. 4 (Amsterdam: Chez L'Honore & Chatelain, 1739), first published in 1705, makes these connections in a series of charts and a fold-out map (stretching from Spain to Iran) that place the Ottomans in the flow of imperial history and treat them as conquerors in a long list of conquerors.

36 Roger Chartier, "Foucault's Chiasmus," 13–31, in *Scientific Authorship: Credit and Intellectual Property in Science*, Mario Biagiolo and Peter Galison, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 16.
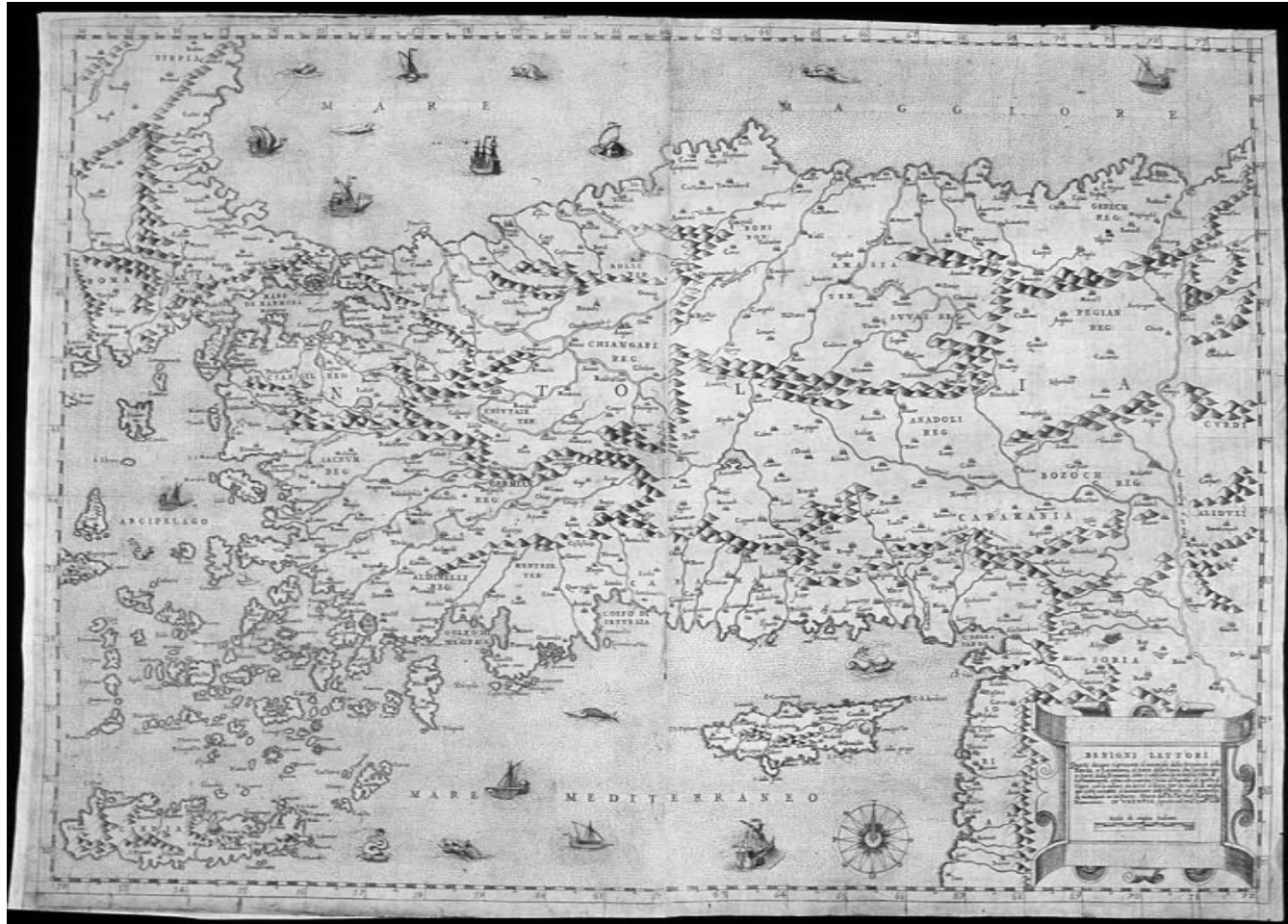
Figure 1.1. Giacomo Gastaldi, "Natolia," Venetia [1564, 1566]. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 4F 377.

Figure 1.2. F.I. Maire, "Carte générale des Limites entre les trois Empires et leurs variations successives depuis l'année 1718 jusqu'à ce jour, ou Théâtre de la Guerre présente," cartouche, Vienna, 1788. The British Library Board, Maps K.Top. 113.34.a.11. (See color plate)

layers of the past also certified imperial claims to territory. The Venetian cartographer Vincenzo Coronelli (1650–1718), for example, charted the space stretching from Negroponte to Constantinople in a 1696 map entitled "Parallello Geographico Dell'Antico Col Moderno Archipelago" (Figs. 1.3 and 1.4).[37] The legend tells us that the map is intended for "instruction" in the history of the islands of the Archipelago. Constantinople is marked with a list of historical "owners": Constantine, the Latins, Venice and France in 1204, and the "Turks" in 1453. It was not 'national' borders that were important here; rather it was a vision of expansive space, ultimate victory, and the layers of memory to which the Archipelago was inevitably attached.[38] History,

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[37] Vincenzo Coronelli, "Parallello Geographico dell'Antico col Moderno Archipelago per Istruzione dell'Istoria dell'Isole contenute in esso," in *Isolario* [*dell'Atlante Veneto*] *descrittione geografico-historica, sacra-profana, antico-moderna, politica, naturale, e poetica . . . di tutte l'isole . . . del globo terracqueo . . . ornato di trecento-dieci tavole . . . in supplimento dei XIV volumi del Blaeu . . .*, v. 1 (Venetia: A spese dell'autore, 1696). On Coronelli, see Ermanno Armao, *Vincenzo Coronelli: Cenni sull'uomo e la sua vita* (Firenze: Libreria Editrice, 1944); the introduction to Vincenzo Coronelli, *Ships and Other Sort of Craft Used by the Various Nations of the World, Venice 1690*, Mario M. Witt, ed. and trans. (London: Francis Edwards, 1970), v–xiii; Denis Cosgrove, "Global Illumination and Enlightenment in the Geographies of Vincenzo Coronelli and Athanasius Kircher," 33–66, in *Geography and Enlightenment*, David Livingstone and Charles Withers, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); and Annette Gerstenberg, *Thomaso Porcacchis 'L'Isole piu famose del mondo,' Zur Text – und Wortgeschichte der Geographie im Cinquecento (mit Teiledition)* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), 58–9.

[38] Daniel Smail, *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 59, has used toponyms among other evidence to illustrate the ways in which "people convey an image of the past in the confines of the present."

Figure 1.3. Vincenzo Coronelli, "Parallello Geographico Dell'Antico Col Moderno Archipelago," *Isolario* [*dell' Atlante Veneto*], v. 1, Venetia, 1696. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Vault Ayer 135.C8.

Figure 1.4. Vincenzo Coronelli, "Parallello Geographico Dell'Antico Col Moderno Archipelago," detail, *Isolario* [*del Atlante Veneto*], v. 1, Venetia, 1696. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Vault Ayer 135.C8.

as Coronelli tells his readers in another context, is explained through the "collation of memories, both antique and modern."[39] And what better place to see that collation than on a map?[40]

Coronelli dedicated this particular map of the Archipelago to Giovanni Battista Dona, the Venetian bailo of Constantinople (resident ambassador and chief intermediary between the Venetian Signoria and the Ottoman Porte). It later appeared in an atlas of "the celebrated emporium of Venice," which was dedicated to the Holy Roman emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), thus illustrating the transimperial options for patronage available to accomplished cartographers. In the atlas's dedication, the author imagines the Ottoman monarchy felled by the heavy blows of the emperor's sword. Having despoiled Asia, Africa, and Europe, and terrorized the West, the Ottomans, Coronelli suggested, would be subordinated to the "superior faith" of the emperor and his forces, who would restore to Christianity "all good things."[41] This claiming of the Archipelago as Christian space was impressed on the consciousness of the reader, not through physical lines but through a narrative of historical entitlement. The map harked back, as one Italian treatise in 1590 put it, to the imperial glories of the "ancient states already possessed in Asia and in Europe," which had to be "recovered for Christianity."[42]

And lest there be any doubt about the 'proper' associations for the Archipelago, history was inscribed onto Coronelli's seas through an elaborate system of legends on the body of the map. On the European side of the Straits of Gallipoli, a small text notes that it was in these waters that the Venetian commander Pietro "Loredano took from the Turks 6 *galere* and 21 *fuste* in 1416." And in the Aegean, northwest of the island of Stalimene, the sea is inscribed, "It is believed that here was the Island Crise [Chryse] later submerged under the waves; on which Filottete [Philoctetes] was stung by a serpent." The Archipelago of the present, with its Venetian–Ottoman struggle for supremacy, was thus rooted in the Archipelago of myth and history. So the mapmaker's waves restored Philoctetes and Chryse to the surface of the map. Coronelli was a scholar who prided himself on searching out the most up-to-date sources for his cartographic productions. But that inclination, even in the later seventeenth century, was never detached from the inclination to keep the past close at hand. The accuracy of his coasts was not more important to his audiences than the sense of place and attributions of "divine" right that his maps embodied.

[39] Vincenzo Coronelli, *Isola di Rodi geografica-storica, antica e moderna* (Venetia: n.p., 1702), "To the Reader," first unnumbered page.

[40] Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," 4, 17, 23, proposes a phenomenon beginning in the 16th century by which contemporary and historical information were separated on the map, "favoring the idea that things represented in the map space should all have the same 'tense' (23)". Although that separation is clearly evident, I would suggest that it coexisted with an ongoing commingling of historical and contemporary space within the map frame.

[41] Coronelli, *Isolario*, 1696, v.1, unnumbered dedication pages 1–2.

[42] Gherardo Bergogni, *Le Discordie christiane le quali causarono la Grandezza di Cassa ottomana* (Bergamo: Comino Ventura, 1590), 1. See John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 156–75, esp. 171, on the use of classical and Biblical references in the "new geography" of the Renaissance.

Various other artifacts suggest the role of the past in imagining the place of the Ottoman Turks in the 'Western' historic and geographic imagination. An unsigned mid-sixteenth century map, for example, shows a sea-based attack on a fortified port. This is the 1538 battle of Prevesa at the mouth of the Gulf of Artha on the western shore of the Greek peninsula. There the Ottomans, fighting for control of the Ionian islands, successfully battled a combined Christian fleet under the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria. The legend, in Italian, highlights what David Woodward calls the "storytelling role" of the map.[43] It informs the reader that this is the place where "at present one finds the navy of [Hayrettin] Barbarossa and that of the Christians" (Fig. 1.5).[44] Cannons roar and naked men leap from a burning ship into the water. The viewer can almost see the famous red-bearded Ottoman naval commander and hear the booming of the cannons. But the legend goes on to situate the map not only in the events of the time but also in the historic memory of its readers, showing these consumers where and how this space was important. This is the place, it reads, "called the Gulf of Artha; in ancient times it was called Ambracio da Ambra, the actual city of Pyrrhus, near the promontory of Actium where the memorable victory of Augustus over Marc Anthony and Cleopatra took place." Marc Anthony and Cleopatra, for the viewer, thus inhabit the same space as Barbarossa (c. 1478–1546). The Ottomans in this vision are one set of fragments in the kaleidoscope of rulers, battles, and ambitions that form the knowledge-picture of the reader.[45]

Space on the map, like time, was flexible. It had to be in order to facilitate the demands of historical consciousness and the need to see distant lands in their full measure of connectivity. In 1541 the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (r. 1519–56), lost his fleet in an effort to take Algiers and end the threat of Barbarossa to Spanish shipping in the Mediterranean. A map produced that same year visualizes the port-fortress of Algiers as lying in the back yard of Italy and Spain (Fig. 1.6).[46] The author notes this conscious distortion of space in the map's legend; it is a distortion that suggests a relationship. Algiers was a site where the history of Europe was being made. It was a site the emperor wanted to draw into the power sphere of the Hapsburgs. And it was a site of encounter with the "Turk," whose military successes mirrored those of Rome and confounded the continental division of the Christian and Islamic worlds. So the mapmaker drew Algiers in toward the coasts of Europe, demonstrating its potential for conquest by one 'side' or the other.

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[43] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," 16.

[44] Anon., "La dimostratione del luogo…Artha," [c. 1538]. For a rather less dramatic Venetian map by Giovanni Camocio, see Ennio Concina and Elisabetta Molteni, *La fabrica della fortezza: L'architettura militare di Venezia* (Verona: Banco Popolare di Verona, 2001), 252.

[45] Vincenzo Coronelli, *Conquiste della Serenissima Republica di Venezia nella Dalmatia, Epiro, e Morea* (Venetia: 1686), second section, text on Prevesa, pages of volume unnumbered, described Prevesa as the place of the victory over Cleopatra and Marc Anthony, "the 723 year of the foundation of Rome, 29 years before the birth of Christ…"

[46] A. S. [Antonio Salamanca], "Algeri," 1541. Spain had fortified Pignon islet in 1510; the city was taken by Aruj Barbarossa in 1516 and then controlled by his brother Hayrettin (Barbarossa). See Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," 18, on proportion vs. exaggeration in Forlani's map of the siege of Algiers; and María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002), 62–3.

Figure 1.5. The Battle of Prevesa. Anonymous, "La dimostratione del luogo . . . Artha" [n.p.], [c. 1538]. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 2F 22.

Figure 1.6. A. S. [Antonio Salamanca], "Algeri," [Rome], 1541. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 2F 237.

Maps such as this one, even when detached from their written contexts, are inextricably linked to an enormous corpus of literature.[47] They flow naturally from texts and bend the visual conceptualizations of place to replicate the lines and distortions of narrative. Thus Algiers may be approximated to Sicily; or Vienna and Istanbul may be placed in the same horizontal plane so that viewers can better imagine the journey. Each map reveals the avenues by which European publics grasped and 'consumed' the Ottomans and their empire. The readers' universe of knowledge might stand unmentioned in the background of the map or it might take the form of elaborate textual explanations: for example, the transcriptions with iconographic and allegorical commentary that Coronelli produced for the six hundred textual cartouches on his terrestrial globe, or the "instructions and rationales" for their maps that Claude (1644–1720) and Guillaume (1675–1726) de l'Isle put forth in the *Journal des Sçavans*, a publication of the French Académie Royale des Sciences.[48] Even if the text on the body of the map was limited to a handful of place names, a whole universe of text and subtext was close at hand.[49] The image could not escape it.

Space Classified: Historical Space, Travel Space,

War Space, Sacred Space

Whether maps were inscribed with texts, embedded in texts, or detached from texts, they routinely conveyed impressions of history, travel, war, and the sacred. Those four categories were the primary and entangled prisms through which observers portrayed Ottoman space. History, as we have seen, served as an organizing principle for the reader's vision of the world. It was layered on the map like a set of transparencies placed one on top of the other. Travel was also a narrative mode that translated very directly onto the map. Although many maps presented space as static, many others indicated movement, the stages by which a traveler traced his or her way from one place to another. Many map legends cited the tales of individual travelers (ranging from the classical to the contemporary) as witnesses to the conditions, peoples, and geographies of the places depicted. History and travel were thus so tightly intertwined with the project of mapping, so ubiquitous in their presence, that they cannot be treated separately. (I will address them directly in Chapters 2, 6, and 7.) War and the sacred were also important categories

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[47] Similarly, Johan Verberckmoes, "The Imaginative Recreation of Overseas Cultures in Western European Pageants in the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," 361–80, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, v. 4, 364, points out that European "festive culture," pageants, and their representations of "overseas people and cultures" . . . . "closely followed models of textual descriptions, often taken from travel journals. . . . "

[48] See Cosgrove, "Global Illumination and Enlightenment," 48; and Mary Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 166.

[49] Emanuela Casti, *Reality as Representation: The Semiotics of Cartography and the Generation of Meaning* (Bergamo: Bergamo University Press, 2000), 9–10, 62, has written of the process of designation on maps in terms of an "intellectual appropriation of territory."

for mapping Ottoman space. War was mapped to embody strategy, chart events, and foster celebration. It served to certify kingly claims and establish a hierarchy of warrior states. But sacred spaces and the paths to them competed with conflict for attention on the map. As monarchs legitimized themselves through the invocation of an Abrahamic god, a crucial element of their sovereignty was the identification, possession, and protection of sacred space.

War Space

War was an old and large category in 'traditional' interpretations of the Ottomans. Geographical accounts of all sorts interspersed descriptions of Ottoman territory with accounts of the battles that took place there. In the European imagination, Ottoman space was war space (*dar ul-harb* in Ottoman parlance), including the land spaces of the Greco-Balkan peninsula and the sea spaces of the Aegean and Adriatic. Maps portrayed these two sites of conflict, focusing on the military ferocity of the Ottomans, but also on the points (ports and fortresses) where the "Christian" encountered the "Turk." These were the critical spaces that could signify the triumph of the Ottomans and a diminution of Christendom.

Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), in his 1544 *Cosmographia*, explicitly admired the discipline and soldierly qualities of the Ottomans: "nothing is more marvelous," he wrote, than their "speed in action, constancy in danger and obedience towards their empire."[50] That textual description of marvelous order was mapped in images of the Ottomans at war. In some representations of battle space the site itself was secondary to the image of Ottoman power. Ottoman armies were thus shown marching in undesignated space, an exemplary and fearsome force. The message of such images is one of control and obedience, echoing narrative portrayals of Ottoman troops as armies of "slaves," who would do anything to please their commanders.

In one such undated map, Antonio Lafreri (d. 1577) depicted the Ottoman army as Sultan Süleyman led his men on his last campaign in 1566 (Fig. 1.7). The caption suggests that both Muslims on the Ottomans' eastern frontiers and Christians to the west are the potential targets of this formidable force.

> *Order with which the Turkish army presents itself in the field against the Christians or the Persians. So splendid and industrious is it, that it can quickly mobilize, if need be, three or four hundred thousand persons, mostly cavalry . . .*[51]

[50] Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Houndmills: Ashgate, 2007), 254–5, argues that Münster's "ethnographic passages betray the sixteenth-century European's fear of certain conquering races," but "the Turks, a very real contemporary are investigated in a more dispassionate and inquiring fashion" than for example the Huns.

[51] Antonio Lafreri, "Ordine con il quale l'esercito Turchesco suole presentarsi in Campagna contro de Christiani, o Persiani," Rome, 1566. Lafreri emigrated to Rome from France and set up as an engraver and print seller in 1544. See R. V. Tooley, "Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century, Being a Comparative List of the Italian Maps Issued by Lafreri, Forlani, Duchetti, Bertelli, and Others, Found in Atlases," *Imago Mundi*, 3 (1939): 12–47, esp. 12; Karrow, *Mapmakers of the Sixteenth Century*,

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Figure 1.7. The Ottoman army. Antonio Lafreri, "Ordine con il quale l'esercito turchesco suole presentarsi in Campagna," Rome, 1566. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 2F 48.

Christian observers, however, were primarily concerned with how far Ottoman armies might penetrate into Europe, and how many citadels they might attack on the way.[52] It was the mapmaker's task to show his audience that which it wished to "know and see," no matter the frisson of fear that such an image might generate.[53]

In other maps, specific place was critical to the viewer's vision of war. For example, the Ottoman siege of the Hungarian fortress of Sighetvar in 1566 galvanized the pens and brushes of Christendom. News maps invited the viewer to 'witness' the action. Thus the caption on another Lafreri map, printed in Rome (Fig. 1.8), reads

> *The true portrait of Zighet, with its castle, new fortress, marshes, lake, river, and bridge and other notable things indicated, [also] showing the "monte" (hill fortification) built by the Turks, and their assault.*[54]

This caption attempts to remind the viewer that he or she is receiving an up-to-date and "accurate" picture of the conflict with the "Turks" and its setting. Sighetvar was a centerpiece of this vision, one fortress in a chain of military installations that defined the borders between a Christian 'us' and a Muslim enemy (see Ch. 4). It was also central to the Ottomans' image of war space, the siege commemorated in multiple campaign miniatures to celebrate the glory of Ottoman arms (Fig. 1.9).[55]

Sea battles were also a favorite subject for the artists and mapmakers of Christian Europe.[56] The battle of Lepanto, which took place in the narrow channel connecting the Gulf of Patras to the Gulf of Corinth, on October 7, 1571, resulted in a victory for the combined fleets of Venice, the Holy League, and Don Juan of Austria, arrayed against the Ottoman fleet under Grand Admiral Müezzinzade Ali Pasha. Images of that victory spread swiftly to an audience eager for good news, with Venice, one of the major print capitals of Europe, spearheading the production of those images. The Venetian

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230 n; and David Woodward, "The Italian Map Trade, 1480–1650," 773–803, in *HOC*, v. 3, pt. 1, 775–7.

[52] The legend on another map, "The Marvelous Order of the Grand Turkish Army," proposed that "for the delight of those who attempt to know and to see various and diverse things…no other thing supersedes the military order of the Grand Signor Turk:" "Il Meraviglioso Ordine de Gran Esercito Turchesco" [n.p., n.d.]. Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare 1500–1700* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 6–7, has pointed out that Ottoman warfare could be "haphazard" as well as ordered.

[53] See David Buisseret, *The Mapmakers' Quest: Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 47, 113–51.

[54] Antonio Lafreri, "La Vera ritratto de Zighet," Rome, 1566. M. Giulio Ballino, *De Disegnie delle Piu Illustri Città et Fortezze del Mondo* (Venetia: Bolognini Zaltieri, 1569), provides three different maps of Sighetvar. See also Jessica Maier, "A 'True Likeness': The Renaissance City Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012): 711–52, esp. 726, 730, 740, 748.

[55] On Ottoman commemorations of Sighetvar, see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 108–22, 136–7. See also Feridun Ahmet Bey, *Nüshet ül-Esrar ul-Ahbar fi Sefer-i Szigetvar*, Topkapı Saray-ı Müzesi [hereafter TKSM], H. 1339, fol. 40b–42a; and Géza Fehér, *Türkische Miniaturen aus den Chroniken der Ungarischen Feldzüge* (Budapest: Corvina Magyar Helikon, 1976), plates 38–42, which focuses on Ottoman frontiers. On Feridun Bey, who served on the Sighetvar campaign, see Feridun Ahmet, *Nüzhet-i Esrârü'l-Ahyâr Der-Ahbâr-ı Sefer-i Sigetvar: Sultan Süleyman'ın Son Seferi*, H. Ahmet Arslantürk and Günhan Börekçi, eds. (İstanbul: Zeytinburnu Belediyesi, 2012), 16–24, 54–5,72,116, 122–3.

[56] On the commemorations of Lepanto, see for example, Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose*, 125–33.
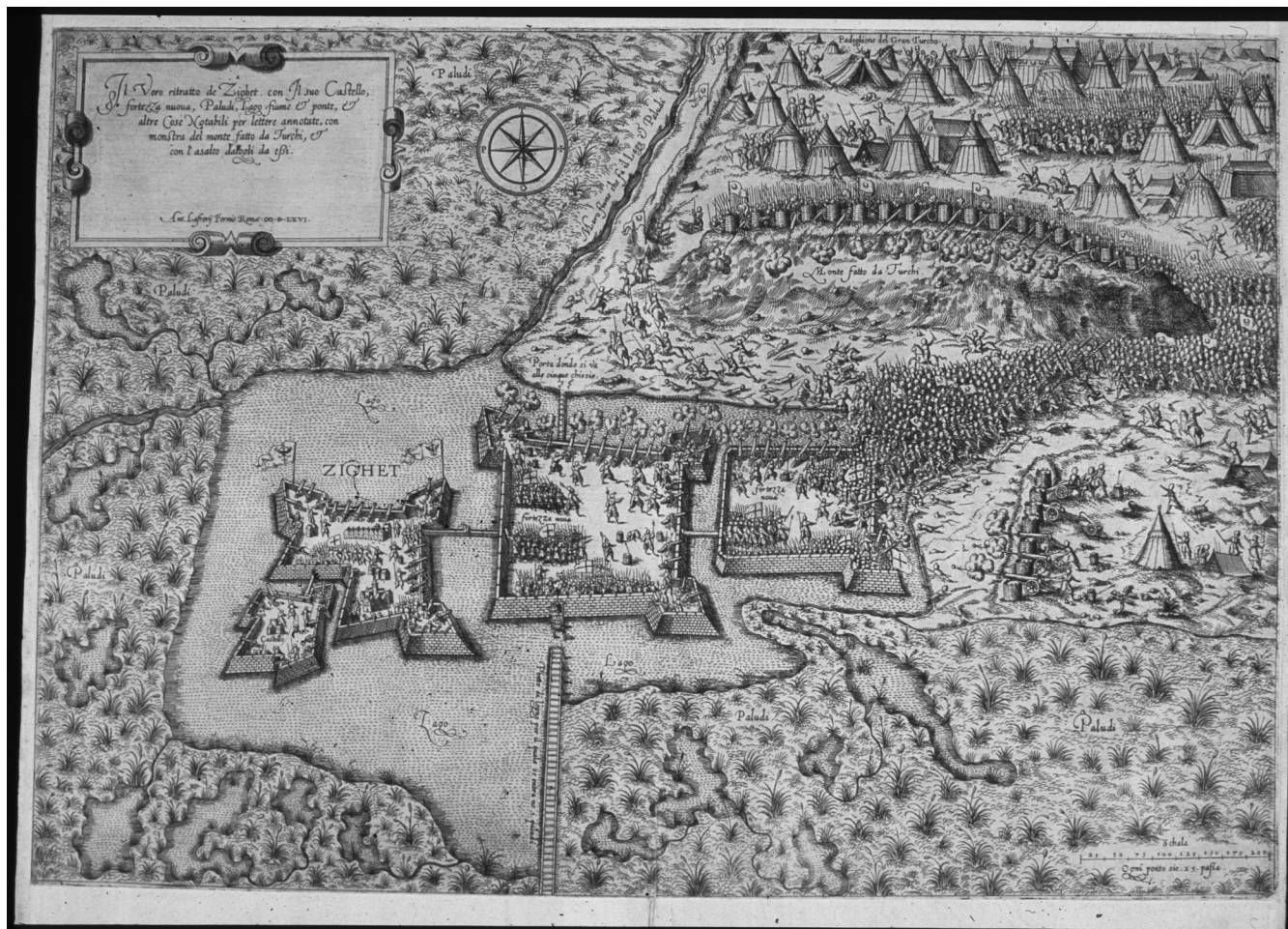
Figure 1.8. The Siege of Sighetvar. Antonio Lafreri, "Il Vero ritratto de Zighet," Rome, 1566. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Novacco 4F 101.
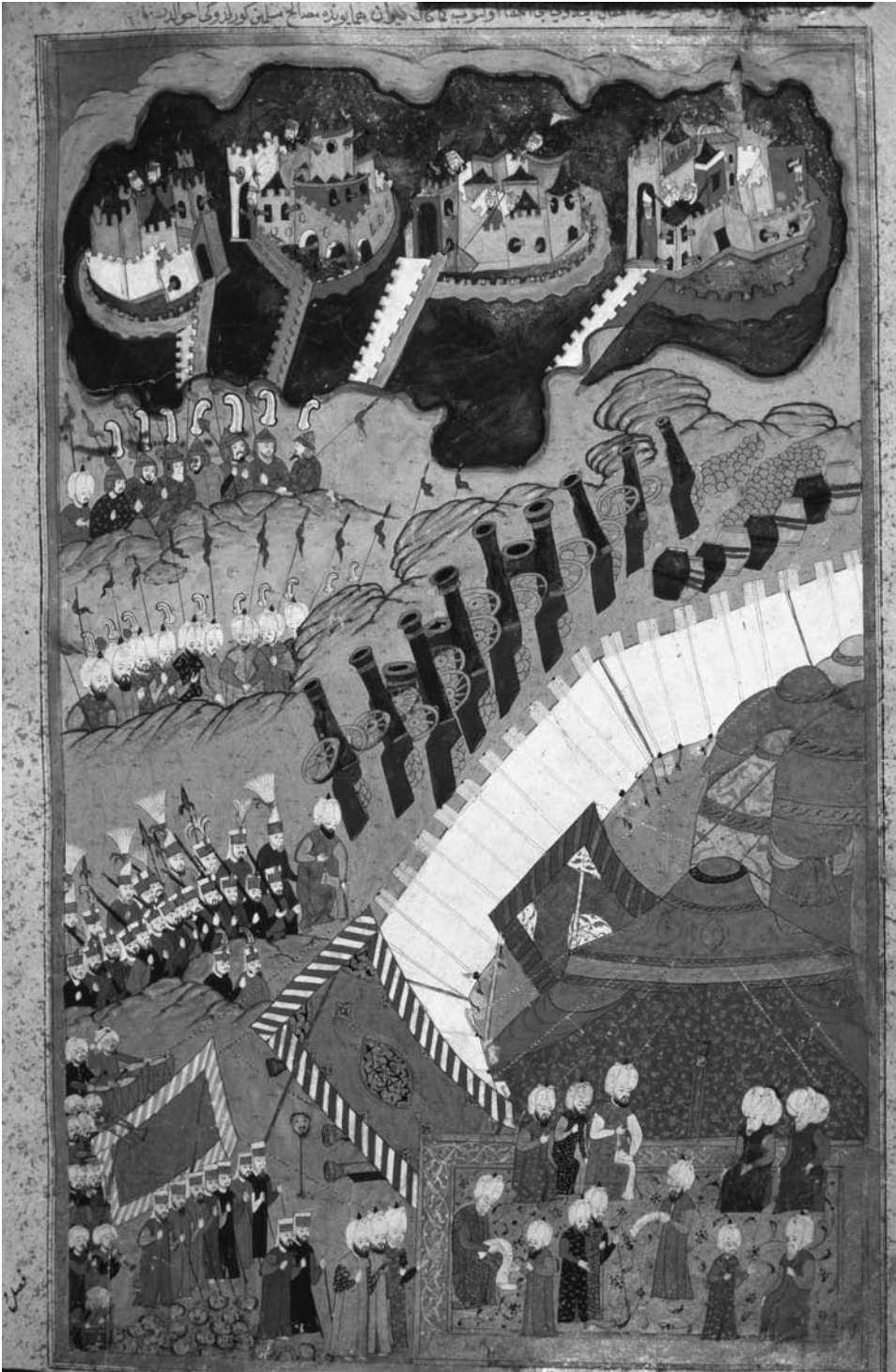
Figure 1.9. Siege of Sighetvar. Seyyid Lokman, *Hünername (Book of Accomplishments)*, H. 1523, İstanbul, c. 1588. Topkapı Palace Museum, İstanbul. Photo Credit: Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY. (See color plate)

mapmaker Giovanni Camocio (c. 1501–75) captioned one image of Lepanto:
"The true order of the two potent armadas, Christian and Turkish, as they
approached to engage in battle" (Fig. 1.10).[57] Another image (not shown
here) trumpeted "the success of the miraculous victory of the armada of the
Christian Holy League against that of the most powerful and vainglorious
prince of the Ottomans, Sultan Selim II" (r. 1566–74).[58] That characteriza-
tion of arrogance was an elemental part of late sixteenth century images of
the "Turk." His purported hubris fueled Christian hopes for his defeat, hopes
that seemed to secure a divine answer in the Ottoman loss at Lepanto.[59]

These are conventional images: the Ottomans as a dominant military power
threatening the kingdoms of the Christian kings and poised to wash over
Christendom with a wave of unbelief that was temporarily turned aside by
the victory at Lepanto. But images of battle and of armies on the march were
only one of the multiple modes in which this enduring conflict was conceived.
In both Ottoman and European mapping, war space might also be conveyed
indirectly, as we shall see in later chapters, by allusion, by iconography, or
via scenes of weapons, submission, and pageantry.

Sacred Space

From the point of view of Christian observers, Ottomans domains were lit-
tered with sacred sites: the birthplace of the Virgin Mary, the towns where
Paul preached, and the peerless Jerusalem, center point of numerous medieval
mappaemundi. The notion of a Holy Land (*Terra Sancta*) distorted the geo-
graphic construction of the edge of Europe and added a very particular
historic layer to the mapping of Ottoman lands (see Ch. 3).[60] Some maps of
Ottoman territory were produced specifically to adorn histories or geogra-
phies of ancient times. In other texts, however, temporal boundaries were
purposefully blurred. The invocation of classical or Biblical space served to
keep space timeless and recapture history for an early modern audience.[61]

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[57] Giovanni Francesco Camocio, "Il vero ordine delle due potente armate . . . ," Venice, 1571, map 38, in
*Isole famose, porti, fortezze, e terre maritime, sotto poste alla Sigma Sig.ria di Venetia, ad altri Principi
Christiani, et al Sig.or Turco, novamente poste in luce* (Venetia: Alla libraria des segno di S. Marco,
[1574]).

[58] Camocio, "Il successo della mirabile vittoria della armata di la Santa Lega Christiana, contra la
potentissima, et orgogliosa [di] Sultan Selim principe Ottomano . . . , " [n.d.], map 39, *Isole famose.*

[59] The new treaty was confirmed in March 1573; see Alexander De Groot, "The Historical Development
of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Cen-
turies," *Oriente Moderno*, special edition, *The Ottoman Capitulations: Text and Context*, Maurits
van den Boogert and Kate Fleet, eds., XXII (LXXXIII), n.s., 3 (2003): 575–604, esp. 593.

[60] Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 2006), 285, and 105–6. "The division of human history into six world ages became a common-
place in the middle ages," as was the notion, extending into the sixteenth century at least, that man
was at the end of the last of these ages (68–9). Paradise, in the fifteenth century, might be marked in the
far east of Asia (where Gog and Magog were still often located on maps), or in Armenia as it appeared
on Ortelius' 1601 map, *Geographia sacra,* in the Middle East, or in undesignated space among other
locales (207, 254, 270–77, and plates 15–16 in Scafi). See also Ricardo Padrón, "Mapping Imaginary
Worlds," 255–88, in *Maps: Place in the World*, James R. Ackerman and Robert Karrow, eds. (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 2007), 261–5.

[61] Jean Baptiste d'Anville, "La Grece et les pays plus septentrionaux jusqu'au Danube: Pour l'Histoire
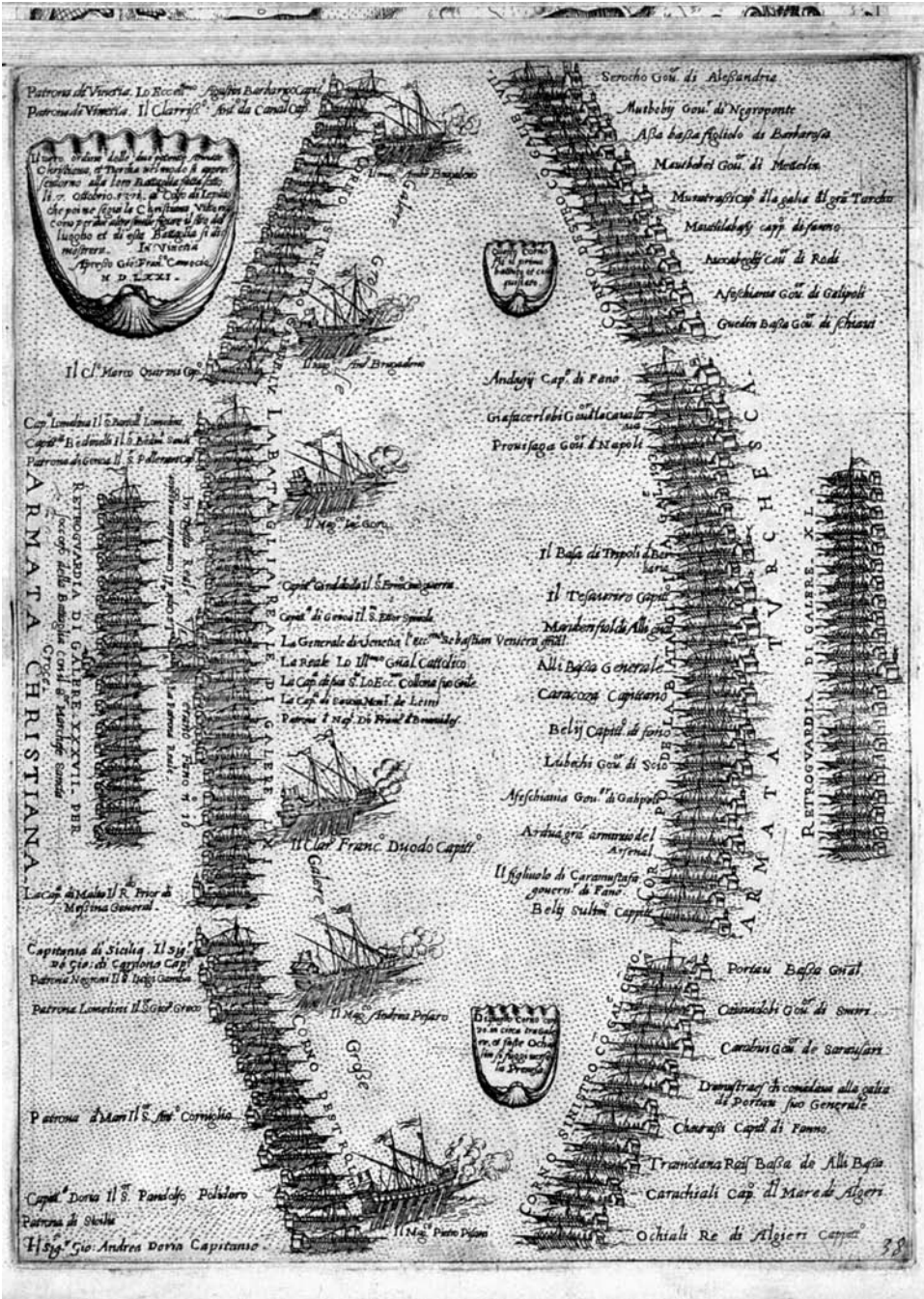Ancienne de Mr. Rollin," 1740. Charles Rollin (1661–1741) was a contemporary French historian

Figure 1.10. The Battle of Lepanto. Giovanni Camocio, "Il vero ordine delle due potente armate...(Christiana e Turchesca)," *Isole famose porti, fortezze, e terre maritime sottoposto all Ser.ma Sig.ria di Venetia*, map 38, Venetia [1574?]. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark: G1015.C3 1574 Cage.

Thus, in Paolo Forlani's (fl. 1560s) map of "Europe," the sacred figures of Christian history, moving outward from Palestine, framed European space. The journeys of the apostles Paul and Peter were described, as were the travels of Christ.[62] The Christian savior and his acolytes would thus seem to draw the lands of Europe and the gaze of the viewer toward their eastern 'home.' Similarly, Abraham Ortelius' (1527–98) atlas, the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, included a set of Biblical maps. Among them was a view of "Terra Chanaan" illustrating the life and travels of the patriarch Abraham, "Abrahami Patriarchae Peregrinatio et Vita."[63] The reader could experience the trials of the patriarch, depicted in twenty-two vignettes surrounding the map. Abraham thus walked Ottoman lands along with other father-travelers who served in Ortelius' atlas as witnesses to their Judeo-Christian identity.

Contemporary authors also pictured themselves as joining that historical parade of pilgrim travelers. For Thomas Fuller (1608–61), an outspoken Anglican preacher, prolific writer, and supporter of Charles I in the context of the English Civil War (1642–51), the "Holy Land" embodied the identity, history, and well-being of Christendom.[64] It transcended physical possession and sovereign claims; it was God's space.[65] In Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre*, published in Oxford in 1639, the whole Mediterranean was the site of a centuries-long battle between Christian kings and "Turks," for possession of the Holy Land. Saladin was thus a "Turk," and his seizing of Jerusalem in 1187 stood in a direct continuum with the Ottoman conquest of that city in 1516. Christendom, the churchman advised in his *Historie*, must not rest until the "Turks" were expelled from the Holy Land and the Christian pilgrims again in possession of their sacred sites.[66] The frontispiece of Fuller's book serves as a map (Fig. 1.11). It compresses the journey to the Holy Land onto a single page, moving from "Europe" (depicted as the "Church") to Jerusalem (embodied in the "Temple of the

whose *Histoire ancienne des Égyptiens . . .* was published in 1735–8 and reprinted many times. Or see the male and female "antients" of Judea and Babylon on the cartouche for Edward Wells, "A New Map of the Eastern Parts of Asia Minor, shewing their Antient Divisions, Countries or People, Chief Cities, Towns, Rivers, Mountains, &c," included in his *A Sett of Maps*, dated 1700.

[62] David Woodward, *The Maps and Prints of Paolo Forlani: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1990), 52–3. Travelers also modeled their accounts on the journeys of Paul and other scriptural antecedents; see MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, 73, 78, 85–7.

[63] Ariel Tishby, ed., *Holy Land in Maps* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2001), 94–5. Biblical segments in early modern atlases were not unusual; and maps such as Ortelius' on Abraham's Holy Land also circulated in single sheet and were inserted into historical texts.

[64] Norman Housley, "The Eschatological Imperative: Messianism and Holy War in Europe, 1260–1556," part III, 123–50, in *Crusading and Warfare in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum Reprints, 2001), references Joseph Strayer who "illustrated how in the case of the French a similar transfer of the idea of the 'Holy Land' occurred, from a unique territory in Palestine to the *patria* of the Christian believer (148)."

[65] The notions of sacred space, pilgrimage, and forgiveness were shared by Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Abraham Balanzas, a Cretan Jew, drew up a will in 1626 when he was about sixty years old as a prelude to travel to Jerusalem, where he planned to end his days. See Chryssa Maltezou, "From Crete to Jerusalem: The Will of a Cretan Jew (1626)," 189–201, in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, Benjamin Arbel, ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 188.

[66] Thomas Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre* (Oxford: Thomas Buck, 1639). See W. B. Patterson, "Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)," 159–63, in H. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 21 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Figure 1.11. Thomas Fuller, *Historie of the Holy Warre*, frontispiece, Oxford, 1639. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark: STC11464, copy 2.

Sepulcher").[67] On the way, pilgrims face death in the form of Turks, disease, and an avenging angel. Fuller has thus violated the constraints of space, making Jerusalem proximate to Europe, or, more particularly, to Britain.

[67] This impressionistic "map" can be compared with Bernardo Salvioni's 1597 map of Venice, which commemorates, in an inset, the Corpus Christi procession in which Venetian senators had been accustomed to progress in the company of pilgrims en route to Jerusalem. Fuller's image is allegorical; Salvioni's is an impression of a past event. See Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 7, 163. See also Daniel

Inside Fuller's history, one also finds a map depicting Palestine and the eastern end of the Mediterranean (Fig. 1.12). The legend provides place names in terms of four layers of time – Old Testament, Christ's Time, Saint Jerome's Time, and "At This Day" – each layer crafted by the dictates of religion that the clergyman thought most pertinent to his readers. That offering of multiple time frames was echoed in other maps of the Holy Land as well. Giuseppe Rosaccio (c. 1530–c. 1620), for example, offered his readers two 'time zones' in a map of Syria included in his 1598 travel book: "this plate is the Antique Siria divided into twelve tribes, now called Soria and Holy Land (*terra Santa*), [and] possessed by the Turk" (Fig. 1.13).[68]

Drawing sacred space, however, was not without its pitfalls. Under the name-legend of his Palestine map, Fuller provides some insight on the logistics of early modern mapping and the conflicted geographical visions of his own time and place.

> *Of thirty maps and Descriptions of the Holy Land which I have perused, I never met with two in all considerables alike. Some sink valleys where others raise mountains; yea, end rivers where others begin them; and sometimes with a wanton dash of their pen, create a Stream in Land, a Creek in Sea, more than Nature ever owned. In these differences we have followed the Scripture as an unpartiall umpire. The Longitudes and Latitudes (wherein there be also unreconcileable discords) I have omitted, being advised that it will not quit cost in a map of so small extent.*

The preacher thus invoked truth claims of a rather different sort than those employed in the news maps that reported the Ottoman–Hapsburg or Ottoman–Venetian wars. His were based neither on claims of eyewitness accuracy nor on the authority of scientific measurement. Rather "Scripture" had the final word on the form and limits of Palestine. And where the science of latitude and longitude was concerned, the purse of the publisher was the determining factor, science giving way to the dictates of cost and demand (not to mention the license of the king).

Like Jerusalem, Constantinople served as a sacred site, a royal capital suspended between Europe and Asia in which the histories of empire and faith were inextricably intertwined. This eastern "Rome" complicated Christian efforts to form discrete dominions of the sacred and profane.[69] Thus the front matter of the third edition of Henri Chatelain's (1684–1743), *Atlas Historique, ou Nouvelle Introduction à l'Histoire,* traces sacred history from

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Connolly, "Copying Maps by Matthew Paris: Itineraries Fit for a King," 159–204, in Palmira Brummett, ed., *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), for a medieval English example of collapsing space to map the journey from England to Jerusalem.

[68] Giuseppe Rosaccio, *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli* (Venetia: Giacomo Franco, 1598), 52 v. The text for this work was provided by Rosaccio and the maps by the engraver and publisher Giacomo Franco; see Leonora Navari, "Mapping the Mediterranean in the Gennadius Library," *New Griffon* 8 (2006): 8–21, see 15.

[69] See, for later American examples, "A Map of Assyria, Asia Minor, &c.," from *Sacred Geography* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, c. 1830); or Anon., "Map of Asia Minor Designed to Illustrate the Third Volume of Union Questions," for *Union Questions, on select portions of Scripture from the Old and New Testaments* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1830).
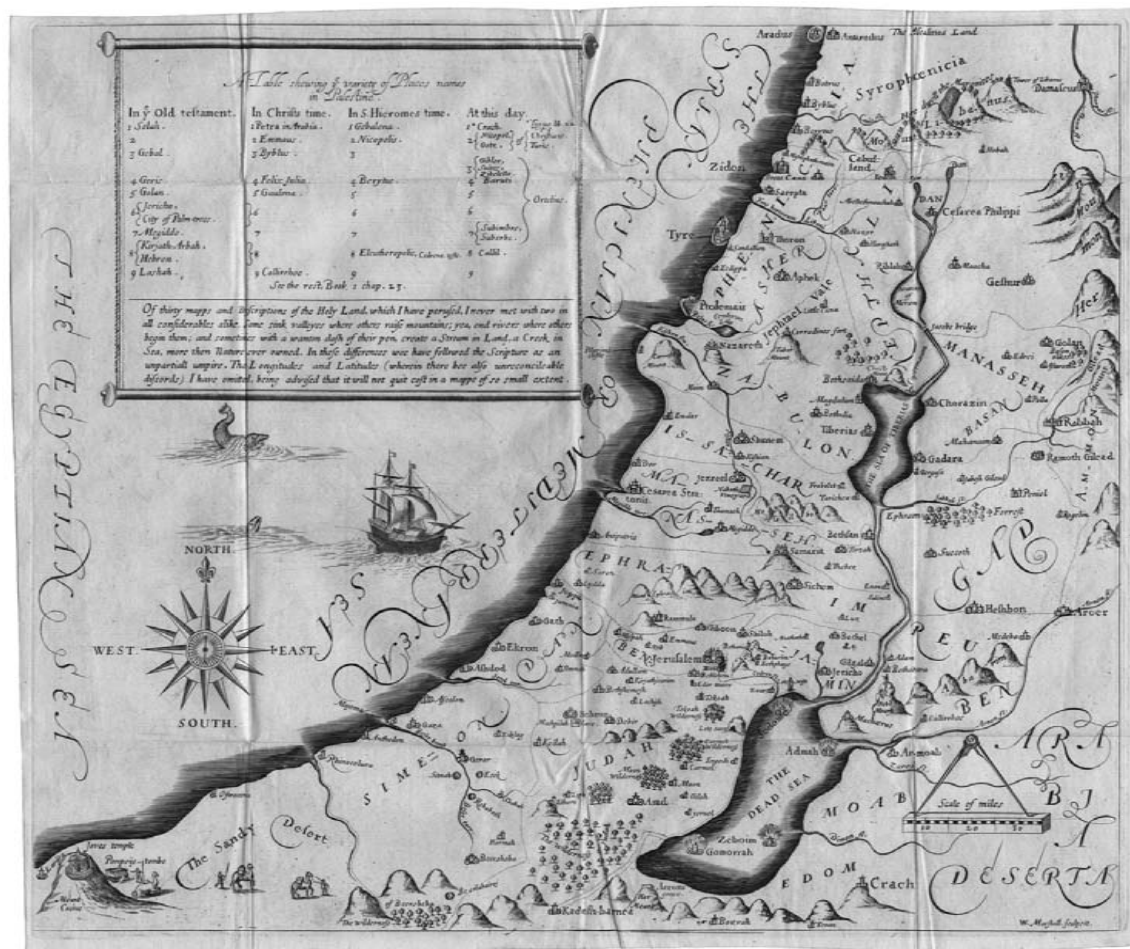
Figure 1.12. Thomas Fuller, "A Table showing ye variety of Places names in Palestine," *Historie of the Holy Warre*, plate between pp. 38 and 39, Oxford, 1639. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark: STC11464 copy 2.
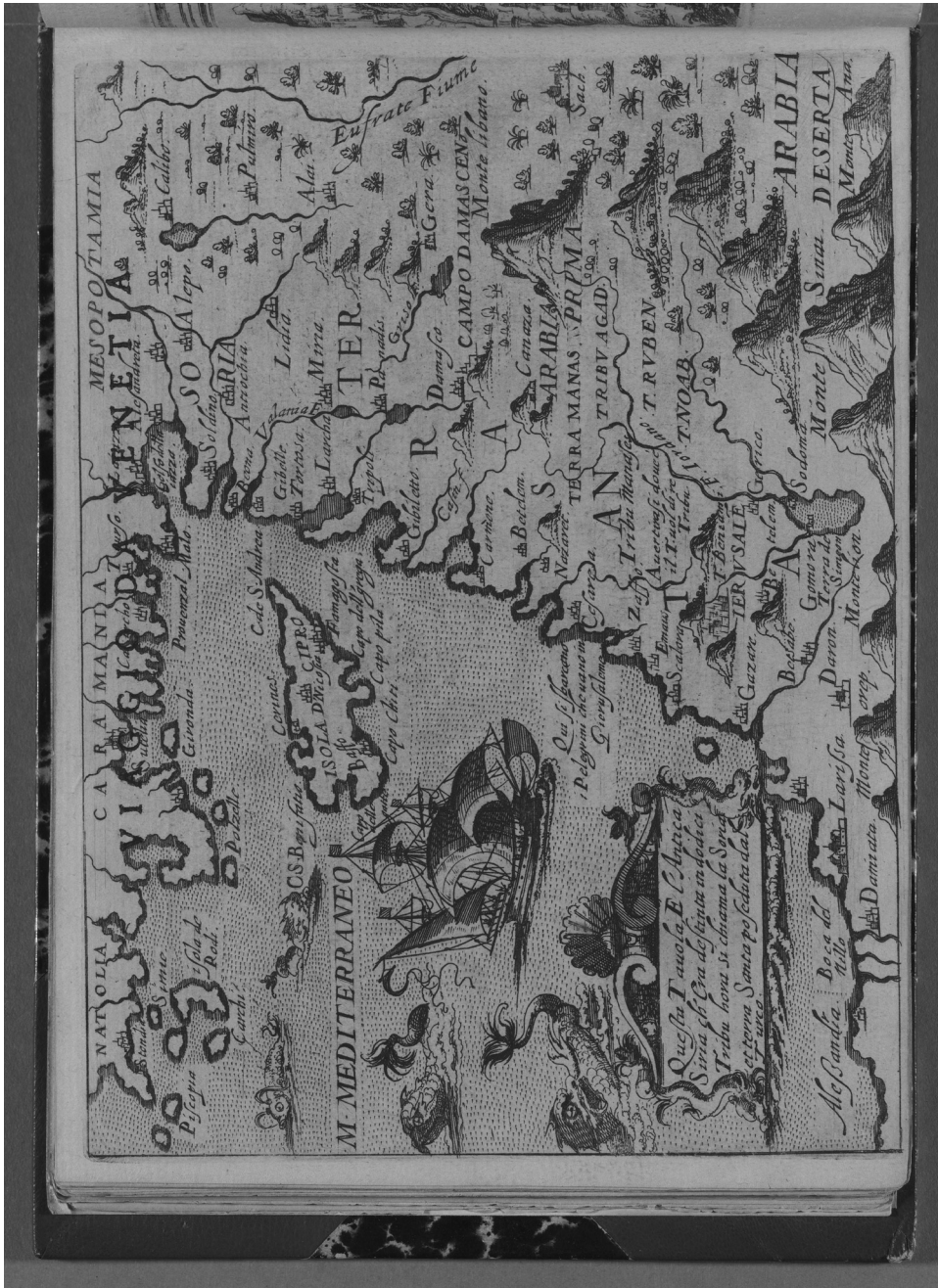
Figure 1.113. Giuseppe Rosaccio, "Antica Siria," *Viaggio da Venetia a Costantinopoli*, 52v, Venetia, 1598. Asia 9215.98.3, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Adam and Eve, to Jesus Christ, to Clement XI, "245th Pontiff," in 1713 (Fig. 1.14).[70] Profane history begins with the first universal monarchy founded by the Assyrians and ends with two major imperial strands. The first (Oriental) strand traces through the Byzantines and Mehmet II (second r. 1451–1481), conqueror of Constantinople in 1453, to the contemporary Ottoman Sultan Ahmet III (r. 1703–30). The other (Occidental) strand traces through the Western Roman Emperor, Honorius, in 395, and Charlemagne (d. 814), and ends with the "German" empire under Charles V. The sacred and the profane (or imperial) are positioned side by side, but the East had to be separated from the West to preserve the strand of the "sacred" for Latin Christendom.

It was, however, difficult to extricate the Ottoman East from the Christian West. Vincenzo Coronelli marked his map of "Asia divided in its parts" as sacred space. The map was inscribed with a large cartouche bearing the Christogram "IHS." It described Asia as "the biggest part of the world with its vast kingdoms…copiously fertilized by the sweat and the blood of the Religious of the Company of Jesuits." It was they who sought "the grand work of the conversion to the Faith of such a great land" (Fig. 1.15).[71] Asia was thus not simply an eastern space, or the site of the Holy Land, or a place of Muslim enemies and competitors. It was a space made sacred for Christendom by blood sacrifice and the weight of history.

Ottoman Self-Mapping

The Ottomans mapped themselves with many of the same intentions and devices employed by the authors and illustrators of the Christian kingdoms. History, travel, war, and the sacred were all prisms through which they conceptualized sovereign space. Istanbul had a long history of cosmopolitanism as an imperial center. It should therefore come as no surprise that its narrative, artistic, and technological influences were diverse and commingled, including the traditions of the East, the West, and everything in between.[72] As a center of learning and patronage, the city, with its notables and scholars, participated in an enduring and transcontinental process of cultural production and transmission. Geographic knowledge (derived from Arabic, Persian, Byzantine, and Italian traditions, among others) was part of

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[70] Chatelain, *Atlas Historique,* 3rd ed. v. 1, part of the unpaginated front matter in two full-page tracings: "Chaine de l'Histoire Sacrée and Chaine de l'Histoire Prophane."

[71] Vincenzo Coronelli, "Asia, divisa nelle sue Parti," in *Atlante veneto, nel quale si contiene la descrittione geografica, storica, sacra, profana, e politica, degl'imperij, regni, provincie, e stati dell'universo . . . ,* v. 1 (Venetia: Appresso Domenico Padovani, 1690), plate after p. 40. See also the frontispiece for Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628), *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (Augsburg: 1615).

[72] Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century," 215–56, in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 249, points out the issue, not to mention the misunderstanding, of discerning "to what degree parallel developments occurred due to internal dynamics, and to what degree an exchange of ideas took place" between "East and West."
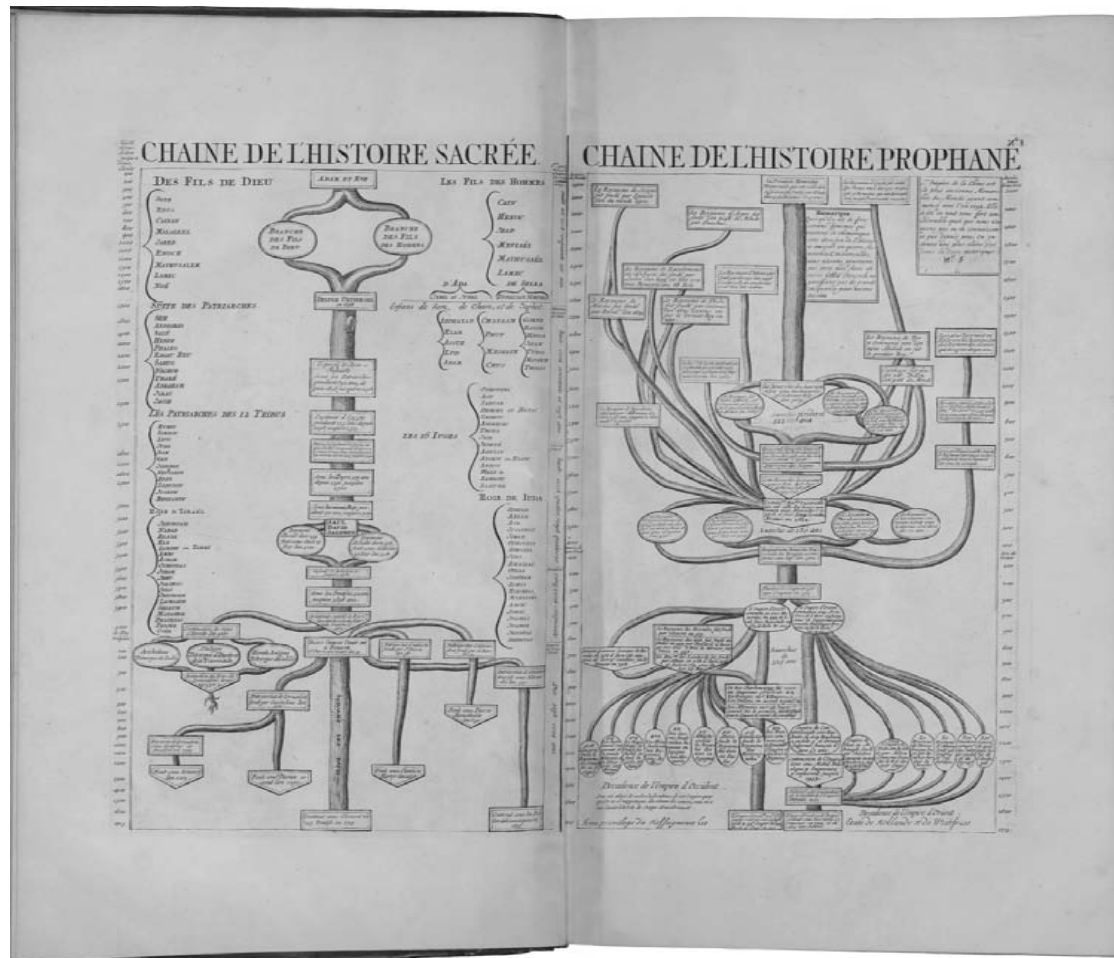
Figure 1.14. Henri Chatelain, "Chaine de l'Histoire Sacrée," "Chaine de l'Histoire Prophane," *Atlas Historique, ou Nouvelle Introduction à l'Histoire . . .*, 3rd ed., v. 1, pl. 3, Amsterdam, 1739. By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Shelfmark: D11.5 C6 v.1 Cage.

Figure 1.15. Vincenzo Coronelli, "Asia, divisa nelle sue Parti," cartouche, *Atlante Veneto*, v. 1, Venetia, 1690. Photo Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer 135 .C8 1690.

that process.[73] Mehmet the Conqueror's interest in geography is well known; and geographic treatises are found in the libraries of the Ottoman military–administrative (*askeri*) and clerical (*ulema*) classes.[74] The renowned world map of Piri Reis (c. 1470–1554) and his *Book of the Sea* (*Kitab-ı Bahriye*) are notable examples of Ottoman cartographic arts.[75] Evliya Çelebi (1611–82), the famous Ottoman traveler, mentions in his *Book of Travels* (*Seyahatname*) that there were eight map ateliers in his time in Istanbul, whose mapmakers were versed in multiple languages, including Latin, so that they could read geographical works.[76] It is useful then to think of the Ottomans as active participants in a cartographic European Republic of Letters (and images).[77] We have only a limited number of Ottoman maps surviving (or accessible) from the late fifteenth to the seventeenth century.[78] They do not begin to approach the scale of mappings deriving from the print houses of Christian Europe. Nonetheless, as Ahmet Karamustafa asserts, "the quality and diversity of extant premodern Ottoman maps certainly suggest that there was a significant and continuous level of cartographic consciousness in certain segments of premodern Ottoman high culture . . . "[79] Also, our knowledge of Ottoman mapping in multiple formats is expanding all the

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[73] Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ed., *Osmanlı Coğrafya Literatürü (History of Geographical Literature During the Ottoman Period)* 2 vols. (İstanbul: IRCICA, 2000); Gottfried Hagen, "Some Considerations on the Study of Ottoman Geographical Writings," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 18 (2000): 183–93; Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World*; J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," 228–55, in *HOC*, v. 2, book 1. See also André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle: Géographie arabe et représentation du monde: la terre et l'étranger* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001) and Kemal Özdemir, *Ottoman Nautical Charts and the Atlas of Ali Macar Reis* (İstanbul: Creative Yayıncılık, 1992), which includes illustrations from a variety of Ottoman works.

[74] M. Pinar Emiralioğlu, "Cartography and Geographical Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire (1453–1730)," 97–107, in *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World*, 97. Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 98–104. See also Benjamin Arbel, "Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions Concerning 'The Mappamondo of Hajji Ahmed,'" *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002), 19–29, esp. 22–3, 26, on elite Ottoman demand for Venetian maps in the 1550s and 1560s, and the circulation of Venetian maps.

[75] On Piri Re'is, see Soucek, *Piri Reis and Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (London: Nour Foundation, 1996), 26–33, 36–105; Cengiz Orhonlu, "Hint Kaptanlığı ve Pîrî Reis," *Belleten* 34 (Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1970): 234–54; Thomas Goodrich, "Better Directions at Sea: The Pîrî Reis Innovation," Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilization, 2007, www.muslimheritage .com/uploads/The_Piri_Reis_Innovation11.pdf; Karen Pinto, "Searchin' His Eyes, Lookin' for Traces: Piri Reis' World Map of 1513 & Its Islamic Iconographic Connections (A Reading through Baghdat 334 and Proust)," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 39 (2012): 63–94; Svat Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 265–87, in *HOC*, v. 2, book 1, 266–9.

[76] Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 284, on the *esnaf-ı haritaciyan* ateliers.

[77] Sonja Brentjes, "On the Relation between the Ottoman Empire and the West European Republic of Letters (17th–18th centuries)," section II, 121–48, in Brentjes, *Travellers from Europe in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, 16th–17th Centuries: Seeking, Transforming, Discarding Knowledge* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, Variorum Reprints, 2010), 122–3, 129.

[78] An excellent selection is provided by Kathryn Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Cultural of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1603," Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas, Department of Geography, 2002; and maps play a central role in M. Pinar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 11, who argues for a unique Ottoman geographic consciousness.

[79] Ahmet Karamustafa, "Introduction to Ottoman Cartography," 206–8, esp. 206, in *HOC*, v. 2, book 1; and Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," 209–27, in *HOC*, v. 2, book 1. Svat Soucek, "Islamic Charting in the Mediterranean," 263, has pointed out that the

time.[80] So our default assumption must be that the early modern Ottomans were (at least) cartographically opportunistic. As Gottfried Hagen puts it, the Ottoman "world-picture" was neither static, consistent, or "dogmatically exclusive."[81] Ottoman mapping cannot, therefore, be delineated as simply unique, "Oriental," or isolated from its surrounding cartographic contexts.[82]

There is no clear line between "European" mapping of the Ottomans and Ottoman self-mapping. Both emerge out of an older set of transnational, transimperial, and transcontinental cartographic, literary, historical, religious, and artistic precedents.[83] The self-image of Ottoman rulers, like those of other imperial entities, was referential, echoing and responding to the self-images of past and present hegemons in the pagan, Islamic, and Christian realms.[84] Mehmet the Conqueror was conscious of that array of options when he claimed the title "ruler of the two seas and the two continents" in an inscription on the gate of his new palace in Istanbul.[85] His gold *sultani* coins of 1477–8 called him "Striker of the glittering, Master of might and victorious on land and sea."[86] Mehmet and his successors saw themselves as participants in a long chain of powerful rulers and glorious events,

comparison of Ottoman and European charts "has tended to be somewhat nationalistic from both the Islamic and Western viewpoints."

[80] A double issue of the journal *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 39–40 (2012), *Essays in Honor of Thomas D. Goodrich*, Gottfried Hagen and Baki Tezcan, eds., has recently assembled a collection of new scholarship on Ottoman mapping, geography, and travel. See also Karen Pinto, "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster'," *Imago Mundi* 63. 2 (2011): 155–79.

[81] Hagen, "Afterword," 216. See also Rhoads Murphey, "Evolving Versus Static Elements in Ottoman Geographical Writing between 1598 and 1729, Perspectives and Real Life Experience of 'The Northern Lands' (*Taraf al-Shimali*) Over 130 Years," 73–82, in *Ottoman Bosnia: A History in Peril*, Markus Koller and Kemal Karpat, eds. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); and Jan Schmidt, "Franz Taeschner's Collection of Turkish Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library," 237–66, in *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism (1500–1923)*, v. 2, *Studies in Ottoman Literature, History, and Orientalism*, Analecta Isisiana LX (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2002), 245, 249.

[82] The maps contained in the Istanbul naval museum give a sense of the intermingling of maps produced by the Ottomans with those (the majority) produced in Europe outside the empire: Şükrü Özpınar et al., eds. *Türk Deniz Müzesi, Harita Kataloğu/Chart and Map Catalogue of Turkish Naval Museum* (Ankara: Kültür Yayınları Tarih Dizisi, 2001). This catalog does not indicate date and mode of acquisition, but the Ottomans clearly consumed and utilized outside images of their domains and continued the long practice of "naturalizing," in this case Ottomanizing, maps produced in non-Ottoman languages.

[83] Serpil Bağci, "From Translated Word to Translated Image: The Illustrated Şehnâme-i Türkî Copies," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 162–76, see 162, has argued that "textual and visual cultures" were intimately entwined, and "freely circulated" throughout the Islamic world regardless of cultural differences. See also Emine Fetvacı, "The Production of the Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 263–315.

[84] Câfer Iyânî, *Tevârîh-i Cedîd-i Vilâyet-i Üngürüs (Osmanlı-Macar Mücadelesi Tarihi, 1585–1595)*, Mehmet Kirişcioğlu, ed. (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), 9, includes an imperial letter of Murad III (1574–95) to the Hapsburgs; and Rhoads Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty: Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400–1800* (London: Continuum, 2008), 82–98, comments on Ottoman internal and external projection of power through titulature.

[85] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 153. As Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59, has noted: "Promoting trade and gaining control over trade routes, both overland and maritime, was an important part of the Ottoman strategy across the Mediterranean."

[86] Soon after the conquest the Ottomans began minting their own version of Venetian gold ducats (*frengi flori*). See Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 61.

capitalizing on tradition when it served their ambitions, and setting it aside when it was expedient to do so.[87] Mapping, like palaces and coinage, served their rhetorics of legitimation and intimidation and demonstrated the expansive nature of Ottoman patronage.

As we examine the ways in which the print houses of Christian Europe depicted the Ottomans and their space, I will invoke Ottoman mappings (as available) by way of comparison, in particular those appearing in text and miniatures. One might object that a miniature does not constitute a map in the same way that many of the cartographic images in this volume do. But I will, throughout, employ the broad sense of mapping, articulated by J. B. Harley, that a map is a representation of space (and a visualization aid).[88] Hence the miniatures in a campaign account serve as 'real' maps just as readily as do the pages of a Mercator atlas (Fig. 1.16).

The Ottomans took the practice (already well developed in Iran and Central Asia) of "writing and illustrating world histories and manuscripts celebrating the victories of illustrious historical figures" to new heights after the mid-sixteenth century.[89] Murat III (r. 1574–95) was particularly known for his patronage of the arts of the book. And the sultans sponsored dynastic histories by the chroniclers Arifi Fethullah Çelebi (d. 1561–2), Seyyid Lokman (served 1569 to 1596–7), and others, placing fine copies of these often lavish manuscripts in the palace treasury and imperial library, or giving them as gifts.[90] Ottoman chroniclers cataloged victories and the acts of submission that accompanied them, consulting "first-hand witnesses of events" in the process.[91] And teams of painters in the sultan's *nakkaşhane* crafted the illustrations for commemorative campaign volumes that mapped out the stopping places on the way to the outposts of empire.[92] Their works certify sovereignty, but they also demonstrate the measuring out and envisioning of space. In the transimperial frontier linking Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Venetian powers, this counting out of victories and subordinates focuses on walled sites and the sieges and ceremonies that took place before them. There is much yet to be learned regarding the creation, patronage, and consumption of Ottoman images that depict space, borders, and imperial claims.

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[87] Celalzade Mustafa, *Selim-Name*, Ahmet Uğur and Mustafa Çuhadar, eds. (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 22–3, on the invocation of Alexander, Hüsrev, and other glorious antecedents.

[88] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 35–8, whose articulation of the "boundaries" of the meaning of "map" are rather broader than those found in sources like the *HOC*. See Buisseret, *The Mapmakers' Quest*, 29–48, on the "painterly origins of some European mapping."

[89] Serpil Bağcı and Zeren Tanındı, "The Ottomans: From Mehmed II to Murad III," 260–374, in *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600*, David Roxburgh, ed. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 268–9.

[90] On the treasury, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 133–140; and Cengiz Köseoğlu, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Treasury*, translated, expanded and edited by J. M. Rogers (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1987).

[91] Bağcı and Tanındı, "The Ottomans: From Mehmed II to Murad III," 269–71, 341. For the ways in which such manuscripts were patronized and produced, see Zeren Tanındı, "Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Palace," *Muqarnas* 21 *Essays in Honor of Michael Rogers* (2004): 333–43; and David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 52–72, 167–70, 179–200.

[92] See Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, DC: The National Gallery of Art, 1987), 29–36, 78–97, 288, on palace art expenses.
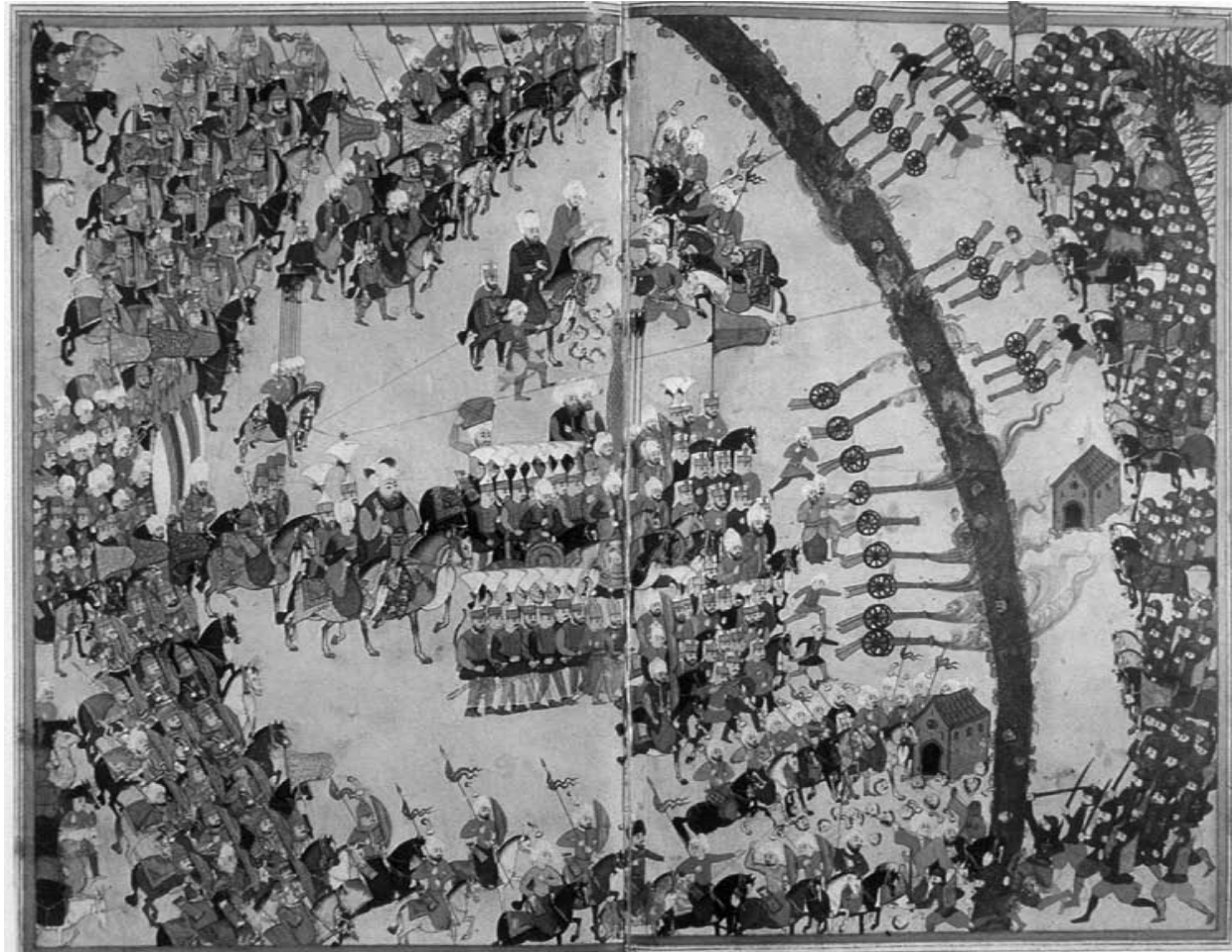
Figure 1.16. Battle of Keresztes, 1596. Talikizade Mehmet Subhi, *Şahname-i Sultan Mehmet III*, H. 1609, fol. 50b–51a, İstanbul [c. 1596–9]. Topkapı Palace Museum, İstanbul. (See color plate)

But Emine Fetvacı has argued for the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly the reign of Ahmet I (r. 1603–17), as a time in which imperial iconography shifted from an emphasis on "conquering castles" to depictions of processions, the administration of justice, and prayer.[93] These are processes that lend themselves to the arts of the map.

Like their Christian counterparts in Europe, the sultans and their artists envisioned space as both historical and sacred. No sultan ever made the pilgrimage to Mecca. But Mecca, like other sites of pilgrimage, was, for Ottoman publics including the sultan, a source of curiosity, worship, longing, and patronage. In the 1582 Ottoman version of the book *Jewels of Marvels: A Translation of the Sea of Wonders* (*Javahir-al-Gharaib Tarjomat Bahr al-Aja'ib*), by Cennabi (d. 1590), one finds an image of the Ka'ba and its surrounding walls.[94] The same work depicts Murat III in his library in Istanbul, flanked on both sides by bookshelves, a consumer of the scholarly, the pious, and the exotic.[95] One can imagine him as an armchair traveler, like the consumers of so many maps, using the images to transport himself to distant lands: those he claimed, those he might conquer, and those he might only imagine.

[93] Emine Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566–1617," Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, Department of History of Art and Architecture, 2005, esp. 309–10, 313, on the intersections of map production with other forms of image and text production and patronage. See also Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım, "A 1498–99 *Khusraw va Shīrīn*: Turning the Pages of an Ottoman Illustrated Manuscript," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 95–109.

[94] Edwin Binney, *Turkish Treasures From the Collection of Edwin Binney* (Portland, OR: Portland Art Museum, 1979), 33–4. Images of the Ka'ba served various purposes, including accompanying indices of the direction of prayer; but one cannot discount a more "secular" geographic and travel interest as well. See for another example of the mapping of sacred space in Mecca *Palace of Gold and Light: Treasures from the Topkapı, Istanbul* (Washington, DC: Palace Arts Foundation, 2000), 128, an image of *the haram al-şerif* from the *Futûh el-Harameyn* of Muhyi al-Din Lari (d. 1526–7).

[95] Binney, 3 *Turkish Treasures,* 6–37. The inscription notes that the illustrated volume was "Made for the Hazine (Treasury) of the Sultan [Murat III, 1574–95]."