IMAGES IN THE BORDERLANDS

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE
AND THE WORLD

VOLUME 1

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Images in the Borderlands

The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period

Edited by
IVANA ČAPETA RAKIĆ AND
GIUSEPPE CAPRIOTTI

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Introduction

IVANA ČAPETA RAKIĆ AND
GIUSEPPE CAPRIOTTI

Images in the Borderlands

The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period

In 2015, the iconic image of a three-year-old Syrian boy whose lifeless body had been washed up on a sandy beach near the Turkish city of Bodrum after a fatal attempt to cross over to the European territory with his family circled the globe.[1] We witnessed an event in which an image, more than any previous news, caused a dramatic shift of public attention to the European migration crisis. Even though the age we live in is characterized by a pronouncedly visual communication (the visual media and social networks), this example has shown that despite their abundance, images still possess the power to trigger a series of social reactions and debates, prompting the politicians to act. Even if we missed seeing the above-mentioned image in the media, the mental image which we project based on a verbal description of the fatal event is strong enough to provoke a whirlwind of emotions in a person. The same day the image was published in the media, its numerous recreations started appearing on the virtual platforms, each with their own specific goals: from shaming the European leaders for closing the boundaries to migrants, to exposing and condemning Islamophobia.[2] Thus, for example, graphic designer Azzam Daaboul created and published an illustration of sea animals mourning

1 Vis and Goriunova, eds, *The Iconic Image on Social Media*.
2 Mielczarek, 'The Dead Syrian Refugee Boy Goes Viral'.

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over the child's body, accompanied with the textual comment: 'We are losing ourselves as humans, and the people will die around the borders' (Fig. 1).[3]

Although the comment was not written directly on the picture, the combination of image and text is what the art historian Peter Wagner would call an iconotext, which the perceiver can 'read' both literally and metaphorically.[4] By using different animals, united in solidarity for a victim of another species, the author simultaneously emphasizes mutual solidarity and differences.[5] In the spring of 2016, two German artists painted a huge picture of the drowned child by a riverbank in Frankfurt am Main, again to raise awareness about refugee issues and as a criticism of the EU's migrant policy. However, only a few months after the mural had been completed, right-wing activists destroyed the painting, spraying 'grenzen retten leben' (Borders protect lives) all over it (Fig. 2).[6]

Several components of these recent events are crucial for our discussion: interaction between Western Christianity and the Islamic World in the Mediterranean basin which is considered as a borderland, image eyewitnessing, and the power of the image which becomes a historical document.

Current events and the crises which we are experiencing impel the research community to revise the past ones, which is why, in line with the topics of interest, a two-day international congress was held at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split (Croatia) in September 2020 as one of the activities within a four-year European project IS-LE COST Action CA18129 *Islamic Legacy: Narratives East, West, South, North of the Mediterranean (1350–1750)*, funded by the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST). The purpose of the Action is to provide a transnational and interdisciplinary approach capable of overcoming the segmentation that currently characterizes the study of relations between Christianity and Islam in late medieval and early modern Europe and the Mediterranean.

The name of the conference, as well as the title of the book, stems from a desire to examine the relationship between Christendom and the Muslim World in the Early Modern Age based on diverse examples within the geographical boundaries of the Mediterranean and beyond, a very peculiar geographical area that can be considered as a 'borderland' between the two worlds. Therefore, the topic of Christian-Muslim confrontation is examined through the prism of a syntagm composed of two paradigmatic concepts (borderland and images), each of which had its own fate and methodological evolution.

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3 Available at <https://twitter.com/AzzamDaaboul/status/639358232687980548> [accessed on 13 August 2021].

4 Wagner, *Reading Iconotexts*. The combination of text and image is also considered crucial in modern visual communication. Lester, *Visual Communication*.

5 Geboers, '"Writing" Oneself into Tragedy'.

6 'German Mural of Dead Syrian Boy Alan Kurdi Vandalised', BBC News, 23 June 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36609793> [accessed on 1 July 2021].



Figure 1. Azzam Daaboul, meme published on Twitter, 3 September 2015.



Figure 2. Mural by a riverbank in Frankfurt am Main. Image taken from DW News.

Borderland: The Mediterranean Basin between the Two Worlds

With the methodological revolution of the *Annales* school, historians were encouraged to take geographical factors into account in their study of the past.[7] For the study of the Mediterranean area, Fernand Braudel's seminal book *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*) played a crucial role. Written by 1939, at the close of the dazzling early period of the *Annales*, of which it is the direct result, and published in 1949, it has influenced an immense amount of work that is directly connected with the topic of this book.[8] Although written by a historian, the volume had repercussions on scholars from diverse disciplines including art historians who started to

7 Megill, 'Coherence and Incoherence in Historical Studies', p. 211.
8 Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, p. 15.

consider the circulation of artists and works of art in the Mediterranean as a historical issue of the geography of art. As a branch of the traditional art history, 'geography of art' (or 'artistic geography') studies the localization of artistic phenomena within a space, analysing the dialectic between centres and peripheries[9] and the artistic circulation on a global scale.[10] It also studies homogeneous artistic cultures created along streets, rivers, and mountain chains, as well as in cultural basins like valleys, lakes, and seas, in spite of the artificial administrative borders.[11] In effect, in this specific field of research, the analysis of the contrast between the 'political and administrative boundaries' and the 'artistic and cultural borders' is crucial:[12] not only do artistic borders rarely coincide with the boundaries of states, but it is also common to find a specific geographic zone where two or more artistic cultures meet and overlap on boundaries between two states. In a fundamental essay written in 1987, Enrico Castelnuovo discussed the topic of 'artistic frontiers', analysing which particular factors help shift a frontier in art history.[13] The areas of an artistic frontier are established by measuring the expansive capacity of a style. More precisely, artistic frontiers are dual peripheries; that is, they are those areas in which stylistic influences of two centres meet each other. Two different artistic centres spread their innovations towards the same peripheral area: this dual periphery is a frontier. Following this historiographical path, other researches have shown how much the seas, such as the Adriatic, the Tyrrhenian, and the entire Mediterranean, can be considered as artistic frontiers, in which many artistic cultures meet and synthesize.[14] The career of Gentile Bellini, who travelled from Venice to Istanbul and produced portraits of Sultan Mehmed II and other members of the Ottoman court, is in a sense emblematic of this fruitful Mediterranean circulation.[15] Generally, the scholars interested in research on artistic geography were mainly concerned with the topic of style.

In the same period some American scholars, social scientists, and historians started to use the word 'borderland' to describe and analyse a region close to the border, separated by a political boundary but culturally

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9 In Croatia, the most significant contribution to the perception of art production through the prism of the geographical aspect was given by Ljubo Karaman in his seminal book *O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva*, published in 1963. For more information about the peculiar Italian situation, see Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, 'Centro e periferia'.

10 DaCosta Kaufmann, Dossin, and Joyeux-Prunel, eds, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*.

11 Toscano, 'Geografia artistica'; DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.

12 Toscano, 'Confini amministrativi e confini culturali'; Murawska-Muthesius, ed., *Borders in Art*.

13 Castelnuovo, 'La frontiera nella storia dell'arte'.

14 Dempsey, ed., *Quattrocento adriatico*; Natale, ed., *El Renacimiento mediterráneo*; Salis, *Rotte mediterranee della pittura*; Spissu, 'Rinascimento Mediterraneo'; Ceriana, 'Il Rinascimento adriatico'.

15 Campbell and Chong, eds, *Bellini and the East*.

homogeneous.[16] Expanding on these inquiries, Linda T. Darling used the 'borderline paradigm' in contrast to the 'frontier paradigm' to describe the culture of the early modern Mediterranean.[17] According to this researcher, 'the frontier divides one society from another, while the borderland is where they overlap and blend'; 'the frontier is a line [...] whose purpose is to delineate one population and set of conditions from another', 'an inimical place, defended by forts and armies', while 'the borderland is the area where the two societies meet and overlap'.[18] In spite of this monolithic construction, Darling states that in the case of Middle Eastern studies, 'Some authors use the term "borderland" for the concept designated here as the frontier' or use 'the terms frontier and borderland interchangeably'.[19] In this regard we can add that in the European art-history tradition the term 'frontier' is used to describe not a line delineating a distant land, but a dual periphery, that is, an osmotic barrier characterized by a strong and peculiar cultural and artistic communication, very similar to the concept of 'borderland'.[20] Lastly, some geographers used the concept of 'borderscape' to describe places of global encounter and plurality in which borders are continuously renegotiated, such as the contemporary Mediterranean.[21] Despite terminological issues, these researchers consider the seas (in particular the Adriatic and the entire Mediterranean) as dynamic areas of confrontation, and not as borders or limits.

Using a global approach and not attempting to transform the words 'frontier' and 'borderland' into a monolithic paradigm, the essays in this book show that the Mediterranean was a crossable border between two religious and political powers, that the borders were represented and modified in the territories as well as in images, and that this 'borderland' was an area of interesting iconographic experimentations.[22]

Considering the geopolitical aspect of early modern times (in relation to contemporary geographical determinations), in the first chapter of this book

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16 The concept is established when considering areas between the United States and Mexico. See Hansen, *The Border Economy*.

17 Darling, 'Mediterranean Borderlands'. According to the scholar, 'The concept of the borderland stands in direct contrast to that of the frontier, traditionally understood as the outer edge of a society. In the case of the United States, the frontier was also the edge of civilization, the place where civilized society confronted the wilderness, the savage, the unknown. What lay on the other side of the frontier was conceptualized in negative terms, as the absence of the things that made civilized life good or even possible: government, agriculture, cities, literacy, the rule of law'. Darling, 'The Mediterranean as a Borderland', pp. 54–55.

18 Darling, 'The Mediterranean as a Borderland', pp. 54–55.

19 Darling, 'The Mediterranean as a Borderland', pp. 57–58.

20 The concept of 'frontier' is fruitfully used in this way by a Franco-Italian group of researchers: Raviola, 'Frontières régionales, nationales et historiographiques'.

21 Rajaram and Grundy-Warr, eds, *Borderscapes*; Brambilla, 'Exploring the Critical Potential of the Borderscapes Concept'.

22 Regarding the theme of the encounter between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean basin, see Pedani, *Dalla frontiera al confine*; Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*; Pedani, 'Beyond the Frontier'.

the eminent scholar Peter Burke offers a comparative approach to two Islamic heritages, the Arab heritage in Spain and Portugal and the Ottoman heritage in Central and Eastern Europe, especially but not exclusively in territories that once formed part of the Ottoman Empire. Selected examples of the artistic legacy of the two regions illustrate what the Turkish scholar Halil İnalcık, describes as a 'frontier culture', defined against the culture of the capital cities, Istanbul and Vienna.

Two scholars, Ivan Alduk and Ferenc Tóth, analyse the buildings, the maintenance, and the perception of military fortresses on both Christian and Ottoman borders.[23] The fortresses of Zadvarje in Croatia and the bastions of the Dardanelles and Bosporus are two examples of the construction of military borders prompted by the continuous expansion of the Ottomans,[24] inserted in a more general process of the establishment of borders characteristic for early modern Europe and recently studied by Maria Baramova.[25] Furthermore, Alduk emphasizes that many of the present-day customs in Zadvarje are the echoes and legacy of the cultural overlap and encounters that took place in the border area in the past. Ana Echevarria brings an interesting perspective of the borderlands between the Christian and the Muslim world with an emphasis on the guardians of the borders. She analyses the role of certain elite corps, namely bodyguards who, having converted, challenged boundaries in the borderland: Mamluks, Janissaries, the Moorish bodyguard of the Iberian kings, and the Elches of the kings of Granada all served as a measure of their lords' importance. They all created an image of converted soldiers that are often encountered in literary sources, but were simultaneously depicted in many paintings, allowing Echevarria to analyse their appearance and role in the imagery which has become a visual source for the research of historical events.

Images as a Historical Source

Once again the *Annales* school played a crucial role in the development of the new methodological approach by acknowledging the importance of images as a source on which to rebuild history.[26] From the second half of the twentieth century (especially since the 1980s) — the decades of the

23 The permeability of the Balkan frontier has been recently studied, regarding different aspects by Antov, *The Ottoman 'Wild West'*; Molnár, *Confessionalisation on the Frontier*.

24 Among others, this topic has been analysed by Karpat and Zens, eds, *Ottoman Borderlands*; Stein, *Guarding the Frontier*; Ebel, 'Representations of the Frontier'; Peacock, ed., *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*.

25 Baramova, Boykov, and Parvev, eds, *Bordering Early Modern Europe*; Baramova, 'Border Theories in Early Modern Europe'.

26 Naturally, some historians relied on images for their interpretation of history much earlier than this. For more on the use of images in history up to the 1990s, see the landmark research study by Haskell, *History and its Images* as well as the chapter 'Introduction: The Testimony of Images' in Burke, *Eyewitnessing*.

birth and the development of visual studies, cultural history, and visual anthropology — many scholars, coming from a wide variety of disciplines, started to use images in their research, without necessarily being art historians. In this way, iconography became the common ground for research, shared by art historians, cultural historians, archaeologists, theologians, cultural anthropologists, etc.[27] In other words, it has become a frontier which allows an encounter between many disciplines, as evidenced by the collection of essays in this book, written by scholars who come from different disciplines, but whose starting point is image research. The term 'image' first referred to the graphic images which belong to the sphere of traditional art history (paintings, statues, engravings, photographs, architectural images, etc.),[28] after which the term was incorporated in a much broader cultural context, that is, in the context of life, whereby its comprehensive sphere of research encompassed terms from other disciplines, such as the optical, perceptual, mental, or verbal image.[29]

Images inspire different emotions in people, evoking empathy or fear; they are the objects of veneration and cult objects; people worship them, kiss them, weep before them, and offer gratitude to them. They are didactic tools and propaganda tools, and can be used for the purpose of indoctrination. Images represent either personal or collective vows; they commemorate both events and people. Pictures can be defaced and damaged, whereas images cannot. They are the ones that endure.[30] Images become 'monuments', thus entailing the notion of duration, warning, aspiration, speech that refuses to fall silent, and subsuming the notion of survival, whether personal, group, or human in general. An image defies both entropy and time.[31] It is because of this that images exist as (eye)witnesses of a specific event, age, or era. As emphasized by Peter Burke, one of the founders of the new cultural history in the UK,[32] images as historical evidence can also present challenges. In the case of inherited Islamic architecture in present-day Europe, he noticed that buildings are often palimpsests, and thereby one challenge is to reconstruct their appearance at different moments in their career. In the case of painting — Christian paintings of Muslims in the Battle of Lepanto, for instance — the

27 Anthropological approach to images is a relatively new method. More on the overview of its development in Schomburg-Scherff, 'The Power of Images'; Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*; Morphy and Perkins, 'The Anthropology of Art'. Georges Didi-Hubermann, one of the leading modern theoreticians of art history and philosophy, also deals with the anthropological dimension of images; see Didi-Hubermann, *L'Image ouverte*.

28 Burke, *Eyewitnessing*, p. 13.

29 Mitchell, *Ikonologija*, pp. 19–20; Vicelja-Matijašić, *Ikonologija*. p. 178.

30 About the difference between picture and image, see Mitchell, 'Four Fundamental Concepts of Image Science', p. 28; About relations between images and people in history, see Freedberg, *The Power of Images*.

31 Babić, 'Za jedno antropološko'.

32 This approach has also been analysed and codified as a method in France by Dominique Rigaux and by Chiara Frugoni in Italy.

challenge is the stereotyping of the represented figures. For traditional positivist historians, this distortion was a liability. For cultural historians, though, it can be turned into an asset, a source for the history of prejudice itself.[33]

The Battle of Lepanto, though not strategically relevant from a strictly military point of view, generated an unprecedented campaign of celebrations in a variety of media, comprising all kinds of visual arts as well as literary texts and performative events. Many essays have been written on this topic,[34] but the works in this book show that the ever-intriguing theme of the Lepanto battle is not even close to being exhausted. Therefore, the article written by Laura Stagno deals with the images in the Ligurian territory and the bordering southern area of Piedmont, which are perceived as peripheral to the main Lepanto discourse, with the aim of investigating the plurality of iconographic typologies related to the 1571 triumph prevailing in these contexts. She deals in particular with the iconography of the rosary, which encompasses the celebration of the 1571 victory as one of its possible components and often includes portraits of the victor whose identity could depend on a specific political context, as pointed out by the scholar.[35] The post-Tridentine climate in which the battle was fought also favoured the comparison of these contemporary figures with sacred exempla as confirmed by the analysis of several portraits of the Lepanto victor by Chiara Giulia Morandi. Indeed, *formulae* in disguise were used for the celebration of Christian princes who supported or fought in the Battle of Lepanto in order to create celebrative comparisons not only to martyred saints, but also to figures of the Old Testament. Thus, for example, John of Austria, an admiral of the Holy League fleet at Lepanto, is compared to Joshua and David in Pedro de Oviedo's text, whereby the scene of the triumph of John of Austria is deduced from the iconography of David victorious over Goliath who is holding the severed head of the enemy. Invented images and ephemeral constructions in the context of celebratory imagery are also the topic of interest of Juan Chiva and Víctor Mínguez, who examine a publication entitled *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal et monumenta victor. classicae, in honor. Invictissimi ac Illustrib. Iani Avstriae, victoris non qvietvri* (Antwerp, 1572). The volume is an apology for John of Austria, composed of sixteen triumphal images (accompanied by a Latin text) that show frontispieces, triumphal

33 Burke, 'Rival Legacies' in this book.

34 On Lepanto's celebrations, see, among other studies, Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar'; Le Thiec, 'Les enjeux iconographiques et artistiques'; Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*; Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*; García Hernán, 'Consecuencias politico-culturales de la batalla de Lepanto'; Mínguez, 'Iconografía de Lepanto'; Wright, Spence, and Lemons, eds, *The Battle of Lepanto*; Mínguez, 'El Greco y la sacralización de Lepanto'; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*; Mínguez, 'Doria y Austria en Lepanto'; Stagno and Franco Llopis, eds, *Lepanto and Beyond*.

35 For a survey of the theme, focused on southern Italy, see Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*, especially pp. 137–212. For the fortune of the 'Lepantine' iconography of the rosary in the Adriatic basin, see Stagno and Čapeta Rakić, 'Confronti mediterranei'; Čapeta Rakić and Capriotti, 'Two Marian Iconographic Themes'.

arches, cenotaphs, columns, and other monuments in which we see captive Turks, mythological gods, trophies, galleys, and other nautical and allegorical depictions. In their opinion, the publication and the accompanying images — a series of invented, ephemeral constructions that were never built — served as powerful propaganda and ideological weapons to praise the achievement at Lepanto, extol the House of Austria, and promote, perhaps even as a possible successor, the figure of John of Austria.

Nevertheless, the essays in this book seek to adopt a reciprocal approach to the topic in focus, which is viewed through the prism of 'both sides'. Thus, Naz Defne Kut deals with the Ottoman perspective of the Battle of Lepanto, which is based on Ottoman sources. As the scholar emphasizes, the Sublime Porte tried to minimize the dimensions of the defeat in their official reactions, but its devastating effects are notable in the narratives of contemporary Ottoman chroniclers. While the historiographical documentation and visual representations of the Ottoman victories, such as the conquest of Preveza (1538) and the conquest of Cyprus (1571), are traditionally abundant in the sixteenth-century Ottoman literary and visual accounts, the literature on the Battle of Lepanto is scarce. Furthermore, the visual representations of Lepanto as a locality, such as miniature paintings or the portolan charts, are mostly limited to the works of the pre-1571 era.

Since the relationship between images and texts is a core issue of the history of images, another implicit risk in this kind of research might also include the interpretation of images on the basis of texts by simply projecting the content of written sources onto the images.[36] The essays collected in this book seek to overcome this methodological problem by looking for the specific testimony of images, that is, for the voice and the intention of images which can be found in the gap between texts and images or sometimes even opposing the text.[37] In some cases the testimonies of the images and the texts actually coincide, as shown in the essay by Angelo Maria Monaco on the portraits of Mehmed II. Before the siege of Otranto, the circulation of the sultan's images on both sides of the Mediterranean shows how partial religious tolerance can produce luxury goods. After Otranto, however, images and texts are unanimous in the depiction of the sultan as a monstruous leader. The relationship between texts and images is also central in the essay by Cristelle Baskins and Borja Franco Llopis on the personification of Africa and on the conquest of the Peñón de Vélez in the ephemeral funeral structures built on the occasion of the exequies for King Philip II held in Seville, in comparison with the ones settled in other cities, such as Saragossa, Alcalá de Henares, Florence, Naples, and Chieti. In the case of *Africa Devicta*, the gap between text and image may

36 This implicit risk of the Warburgian tradition was underlined already by Ginzburg, 'Da A. Warburg a E. H. Gombrich'.

37 On the importance of focusing the attention on the gap between texts and images, see Frugoni, 'Le immagini come fonte storica'.

derive from a need to simplify the production of the image or from the use of another iconographic model as a source instead of the text. The strength of an iconographical model in the Mediterranean basin is also studied by Iván Rega Castro in his essay devoted to the circulation of the 'icon' of the Turkish or Moor slave put at the feet of triumphal princes or kings (sometimes, like the already mentioned *Africa Devicta*, as personification of the continents). In Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy, this 'icon' seems to be used as a peculiar strategy to glorify the military victories of many sovereigns.

The military achievements of Christians against Muslims in specific battles are the focus of the essay by Maria Luisa Ricci, devoted to the patronage of the Knights of Malta. Promoting the role of the order as guardians of the borders of Christianity in the Mediterranean Sea, some Knights commissioned the depictions of medieval battles in which the enemies are anachronistically represented as modern Ottomans to underline the need for the existence of the order due to the permanent war against infidels. The same role of guardians of the boundaries between Christendom and the Ottoman Empire was played in the Mediterranean basin by the Knights of St Stephen in Tuscany, quite far from the centre of the Christian-Ottoman conflict. In his essay, Francesco Sorce shows the lost connection between the order and the image of Muhammad, painted as a creator of the border between classical civilization and Islamic barbarism in a Medicean cycle of paintings in Palazzo Pitti in Florence.

Many essays of this book show how the rhetoric of the perpetual conflict is still prevalent in images,[38] even if in some cases it is possible to perceive the fascination with and the acknowledgement of the prestige of the 'enemy' from both sides.[39] In effect, over the last few decades, historiography dealing with the Christian–Muslim relationship used a double paradigm: the first is the paradigm of confrontation, studying in particular the economic and political reasons for an apparently religious conflict; the second is the paradigm of the encounter, showing the many possibilities of exchange during the permanent war, slavery, and conversions in late medieval and early modern times.[40]

To conclude, the strength of the book lies in considering the issue of the images in the 'borderland' from a new perspective. Whereas the 'frontier' has always been delineated and analysed by art historians from the point of view of style, the essays collected in this volume are an attempt to question the images in the Mediterranean borderland for their iconographic meaning and for their value as testimony.

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38 Cf. Sorce, 'Il drago come immagine del nemico'.

39 See also Eslami, ed., *Incontri di civiltà nel Mediterraneo*; Poumarède, *Pour en finir avec la Croisade*; Ricci, *Appeal to the Turk*.

40 This double paradigm has been analysed by Harper, ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye* and has been used by Formica, *Lo specchio turco*.

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Part 1

Borderland

The Mediterranean Basin between the Two Worlds

PETER BURKE

Rival Legacies

Islamic Art in Early Modern Europe

The study of the Islamic heritage in early modern Europe offers great opportunities for a comparative approach, since it is in fact two heritages, the Arab heritage in Spain and Portugal and the Ottoman heritage in Central and Eastern Europe. It is not sufficient to juxtapose the two heritages. A comparative historian needs to look for differences as well as similarities between the items compared and to be aware of both significant absences and possible connections between the two cultures compared, their 'entangled histories'. In this way, the valuable specialized research that is going on at the moment may be integrated into a bigger picture.

Since the Islamic heritage in Europe was particularly important for material culture, it can be studied not only through texts but also through architecture, painting, and the decorative arts. All these sources present challenges to the historian. In the case of architecture, since buildings are often palimpsests, one challenge is to reconstruct their appearance at different moments in their career. In the case of painting — Christian paintings of Muslims, fighting at Lepanto for instance — the challenge is the stereotyping of the figures represented. For traditional positivist historians, this distortion was a liability. For cultural historians, though, it can be turned into an asset, a source for the history of prejudice itself.

We should, of course, be very careful when we use terms such as 'stealing', 'borrowing', 'legacy', or 'heritage' to refer to cultural survivals, since all these metaphors encourage their users to think in terms of something that has been transferred unchanged. Even the term 'tradition' is dangerous if we think of it as pure continuity, handing over or handing down, rather than examining the ways in which ideas, practices, and artefacts have been reconstructed over the centuries. Hence the invention of the useful oxymoron 'the invention of tradition', a phrase launched by the historian

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Eric Hobsbawm to refer to Europe in the late nineteenth century, but often quoted outside this context.[1]

In what follows I shall be mainly concerned with painting and architecture, but not with those arts alone. To a cultural historian such as myself, it seems unwise to study the visual arts in isolation, not only from the economy and society in which they were produced and consumed but also from the language and literature of the same period.

Spain

A recent study of the Islamic heritage in European art has appeared, under the catchy title *Stealing from the Saracens*.[2] The author, Diana Darke, makes two general points: first, that Gothic architecture was borrowed or 'stolen' from Islamic traditions, and second, that this fact has long been overlooked. Both points are exaggerations. The debt of Gothic architecture to Islamic models was argued in a more moderate way twenty years ago by Deborah Howard in her *Venice and the East*.[3] In any case, 'inspiration' would be a more accurate term to describe what happened than 'borrowing' or 'theft', since what was taken was transformed, often to the point of being virtually unrecognizable.

The second point made by Darke about failure to acknowledge the influence of Islamic tradition on medieval and early modern Europe is also an exaggeration. Aesthetic and historical interest in Islamic art was already growing in the eighteenth century. A major figure in the Spanish Enlightenment, the polymath Gaspar Melchor Jovellanos, was a pioneer in the revival of appreciation of the Moorish style. He began by rejecting Gothic but gradually came to appreciate it and accepted the theory that it was derived from Arab models.[4] In the early nineteenth century, some foreign visitors to Spain, including the American writer Washington Irving, showed their appreciation of Islamic architecture, especially the Alhambra.[5]

Scholarly use of the term *mudéjar* in the context of art began in the late 1850s, revealing a rise of interest. Later in the nineteenth century, Spain experienced a 'Moorish Revival', otherwise known as 'Neo-Mudejar' art, beginning with the bullring at Madrid constructed in 1874. Other famous examples include the post office in Saragossa and the railway station in Toledo (Fig. 1.1).[6]

In the case of painting, a style that is now described as 'Orientalist' became fashionable in the later nineteenth century in many parts of Europe, including

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1 Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition*.
2 Darke, *Stealing from the Saracens*. For the history of this theory, see Frankl, *The Gothic*.
3 Howard, *Venice and the East*.
4 Jovellanos, *Elogio de D. Ventura Rodríguez*.
5 Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra*.
6 A general study of Neo-Mudejar architecture appears to be lacking, but see Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art*, 'Neo-Mudejar'.



Figure 1.1. Toledo Railway Station. Photo by King of Hearts, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

Istanbul. In England, for instance, the fashionable painter Frederic Leighton, following his visits to Spain from 1864 to 1869, exhibited a work called *Moorish Garden: A Dream of Granada*. The artist went on to visit Turkey, Egypt, and Syria. His London house included an Arab Hall, begun in 1873, modelled on a palace in Palermo and including a pool and tiles from Damascus.[7] In Spain, another fashionable painter, Mariano Fortuny, a Catalan who lived for more than two years in Granada, produced paintings of North Africa. He bought a medieval palazzo in Venice with orientalizing decoration on the façade (Fig. 1.2).[8]

Further evidence of a growing interest in Islamic art comes from some European exhibitions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: an exhibition of Persian art in London in 1876, for instance, exhibitions of what the French called 'art musulman' in Paris in 1893 and 1903, and the 'Mohammedan Exhibition' (*Muhammadanische Ausstellung*) in Munich in 1910.

Interest in Islamic art was accompanied by increasing consciousness of the important part that Arab traditions had played in the formation of Spanish culture. Take the case of the controversial study published by Miguel Asín Palacios, a Catholic priest and a scholar whose field was medieval Islam. In a

7 Ormond and Ormond, *Lord Leighton*; Brandlhuber and Buhrs, eds, *Frederic, Lord Leighton*.
8 Yriarte, *Fortuny*.



Figure 1.2. Palazzo Fortuny, Venice. Photo by Sailko, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

book about Dante, Asín Palacios argued that the *Divine Comedy* was influenced, at least indirectly, by Islamic theology.[9]

The mixture of traditions was, of course, the central theme of a famous book by Américo Castro, *España en su historia*, a book with a fascinating history of its own.[10] Castro was a specialist in medieval Spanish philology who left Spain in 1936 as a refugee from the Civil War. He responded to the challenge of exile by turning from specialist studies to the big picture, in this case reinterpreting Spanish history. This reinterpretation of Spanish history presented it as the interaction of three cultures: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim. It was to discuss this interaction that Castro launched one of the most important — and controversial — concepts in this field, the idea of *convivencia*.

Castro's reinterpretation, like that of Asín Palacios, was criticized severely, notably by another Spanish medievalist in exile, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz.[11]

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9 Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*.
10 Castro, *España en su historia*.
11 Sánchez-Albornoz, *España*.

There were political as well as scholarly reasons for the critique. At this time, the idea of a 'multicultural' Spain (as we would call it) was becoming what is now known as 'politically incorrect', since it challenged the ideology of 'national Catholicism'. Castro's book could not be published in Spain. It first appeared in Buenos Aires in 1948 and then in a revised edition in English in 1954.

It was only after Franco's time that Spaniards were allowed to rediscover the importance of Islamic culture in their history. It may not be coincidence that 1975, the year of Franco's death, was also the year of the first international symposium on *mudéjarismo*.[12] Today, there is widespread interest in the Islamic tradition in Spain, especially in Andalucía. It can almost be measured, or at least it could be measured before the pandemic, by the numbers of people (including tourists from Islamic countries, China, and Japan) visiting the Alhambra and the Great Mosque of Córdoba. It would be fascinating to know how these different groups interpret what they see.

Central and Eastern Europe

I turn now to the Islamic legacy in Central and Eastern Europe, especially but not exclusively in territories that once formed part of the Ottoman Empire. Chronologically speaking, the contrast between the two legacies is a great one. In Spain, the Arabs arrived early in the (Western) eighth century, and were expelled or forcibly converted seven centuries later, following the Christian *Reconquista*. In Central and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman conquest dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while the Habsburg *Reconquista* (as we may call it) occurred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Despite this difference, as well as the difference between Arab traditions and Turkish ones, there are important similarities in the artistic legacy of the two regions. There were what the British classicist Frederick Hasluck called 'transferences from Christianity to Islam and vice versa', ranging from the cult of Saint Louis to the career of Hagia Sophia as both a church and a mosque.[13] These examples illustrate what the Turkish scholar Halil İnalcık described as a 'frontier culture', defined against the culture of the capital cities, Istanbul and Vienna.[14]

As a case study, I shall choose Hungary, which was conquered by the Ottomans after their victory at the Battle of Mohács in 1526. Buildings and furnishings in an Islamic style can be found in Hungary as they can in Spain. Mosques were built and so were *hamams*, two of which survive in Budapest to this day, the Kiraly and the Rudas baths. Some churches were converted into mosques, with the addition of minarets, in Eger, Pécs, and elsewhere. A ruined Gothic church on Farkas Street in the city of Kolozsvár (now Cluj Napoca) in Transylvania (a region

12 Hinojosa Montalvo, 'Balance y Perspectivas de los estudios mudéjares en España'.
13 Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*.
14 İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*.



Figure 1.3. Town Hall in Sarajevo. Photo by Aktron, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

that remained semi-independent, paying tribute to the sultan) was converted into a Calvinist temple in the seventeenth century. The pulpit is decorated with floral designs that evoke Ottoman art. Hungarian jugs and plates from the early modern period are also decorated with flowers such as tulips, reminiscent of the famous Turkish ceramics produced in Iznik, combined with Italian-style majolica. In similar fashion, in rural Hungary, a church in Csaroda was decorated in the first half of the seventeenth century with mural paintings of flowers.

In the early eighteenth century, following the Reconquest, Hungarian mosques were reconverted into churches. However, the minarets sometimes remained — whether out of inertia or because they were considered beautiful, we shall probably never know — and a few are still to be seen. In Pécs, the mosque of Pasha Qasim was converted into the church of the Virgin Mary in 1702. The minaret was taken down in 1766, but the church retains much of its original appearance. The mosque of Jakovali Hassan was made into the chapel of St John Nepomuk in the eighteenth century, but the minaret was retained (the chapel has now become a mosque again). In Eger, the Kethuda mosque was converted into a church that was replaced only in 1841, while the seventeenth-century minaret is still there, despite a failed attempt at demolition in the eighteenth century. A third Ottoman minaret survives, alone, in the city of Érd.[15]

15 The secondary literature on these buildings is mainly in Hungarian, but see Fehérvári, 'A Major Study on Ottoman Architecture in Hungary'.

It is more of a surprise to find that in the late nineteenth century, the Spanish Neo-Mudéjar style appealed to some architects and patrons in Central and Eastern Europe, for a variety of reasons, thus revealing connections as well as similarities between the rival legacies. Synagogues, for instance, were built in this style, as they had been in late medieval Spain. A well-known example is the synagogue in Pilsen, Czechia. Following the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Habsburg Empire, the government encouraged architects to design buildings in Muslim areas in a Moorish Revival style. Public buildings such as town halls were built in this style, including the town hall of Sarajevo (Fig. 1.3). Designed at the end of the nineteenth century by an Austrian architect, the town hall became the National Library in 1945. Sadly, the library only became widely known in Western Europe when it was bombarded during the civil war of the 1990s.[16]

Italy

In Italy, the Islamic legacy represents not a third way but rather a merger of the two traditions, the Arab and the Ottoman. For example, the striped exteriors of some medieval Italian churches and cathedrals are clearly modelled on buildings in Syria and elsewhere in the Middle East, while Islamic *bacini* could be found set into churches in medieval Pisa.[17]

Venice in particular reveals the mixing of Christian and Muslim traditions. The economic and political relations between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire had cultural consequences for both sides. Venetian diplomats and merchants resided in Aleppo, Cairo, and Istanbul. Turkish merchants came to Venice, where they stayed in special quarters, the Fondaco dei Turchi (the term *fondaco* was derived from the Arabic *funduq*, meaning an inn).

A few Venetian palaces and even churches followed models from the Islamic world, as was noted by three visiting novelists, one American, one Dutch, and one French. Herman Melville viewed St Mark's 'as if the Grand Turk had pitched his pavilion here'.[18] Louis Couperus described it as a 'mosque' and even as a harem, as if 'a sultan lived there with princesses'.[19] For his part, Marcel Proust wrote of 'Venetian palaces hidden like sultan's wives behind a screen of pierced stone' and of 'tiny moorish windows'.[20] The sixteenth-century palace of Ca' Zen, for instance, includes oriental arches on the façade, doubtless an allusion to the economic and political involvement of the Zen family in the affairs of the Middle East. Dragon Zen was in Persia in the fifteenth century,

16 Markowitz, 'Tales of Two Buildings'.
17 Matthews, 'Other People's Dishes'.
18 Quoted in Tanner, *Venice Desired*, p. 8.
19 Couperus, *Verzamelde werken*, II, pp. 801–82.
20 For a full discussion of this and other passages, see Collier, *Proust and Venice*.



Figure 1.4. Andrea Palladio, Il Redentore, Venice. Photo by Moroder, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

and Pietro Zen was in Istanbul in the sixteenth.[21] A more controversial claim is that two slim towers of the church of the Redentore, designed by Andrea Palladio, were designed to evoke minarets (Fig. 1.4).[22]

In the decorative arts, Venice was a centre for the style known during the Renaissance as 'arabesques' (or sometimes in German, *Mauresken*, or in Spanish, *damasquino*).[23] The objects that were decorated, besides buildings, ranged from bookbindings to metalwork. In the case of metalwork, scholars remain unsure whether surviving objects were made in Damascus for export to Venice or made in Venice for export to the Ottoman Empire.[24]

Contexts

As the introduction to this chapter noted, it is illuminating to study the visual arts in the context of the ideas, language, and literature of their time and of the economy and society in which they were produced and consumed.

In the case of ideas, it is worth remembering that although Spain was officially Christian after 1492, there is evidence to show that the so-called

21 Concina, *Dell'Arabico*.
22 Howard, 'Venice between East and West'.
23 Morison, *Venice and the Arabesque*.
24 Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders*; Allan, 'Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork'.

moriscos or *cristianos nuevos* did not give up their traditions easily. Some people, perhaps a majority of *moriscos* in the sixteenth century, continued to practice Islam in private.[25] Visual traditions survived in the open, helped by the low status of manual labour in the Christian community and the resulting reliance on masons and carpenters of Arab descent.

The *moriscos* went on speaking Arabic after 1492. As for Spanish speakers, over the centuries they borrowed about four thousand words from Arabic. No wonder then that the Spanish humanist Juan de Valdés called Castilian a 'mixed language' (*lengua mezclada*).[26] In Central and Eastern Europe we find something similar: Hungarian, Romanian, Greek, Bulgarian, and what used to be called 'Serbo-Croat' all borrowed from Turkish.

Turning from speaking to writing, texts in Spanish were regularly produced in Spanish in the Arabic script, a practice known as *Aljamiado*. On the other side of Europe, texts in Bosnian, Polish, Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, and even Tatar were all sometimes written in Arabic script.[27] In the case of literature, the famous picaresque romance *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) drew, directly or indirectly, upon a long tradition of Arabic texts about rogues and their tricks, a genre known as the *maqamat*.[28] In similar fashion, scholars have noted the debt to Sufism of the mystical poems of San Juan de la Cruz.[29] Studies of Miguel de Cervantes now emphasize his years as a captive in North Africa and the Arabic words that recur in his romances and plays. Don Quijote is described, like Muhammad, as having a mole on his right shoulder-blade, and his story is presented as the translation of a text by an Arab, Cide Hamete Berengeli.[30]

In many parts of the world, the cultural domains that show a mixture of cultures most clearly are music, cuisine, and clothes. The importance of the Arab element in Spanish music has long been a matter of debate, but the existence of this element is clear.[31] As for food, the relation between *paella*, for example, and what is known in Eastern Europe as *pilaf* and in India as *pilau* is obvious enough, even in the name. In the case of clothing, think of the mantilla for Spanish ladies or of Spanish horsemen riding in the Moorish manner with short stirrups.

At the other end of Europe, think of the early modern Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Moldavian nobles such as Ieremia Movila or Janusz Radziwiłł, who wore a long gown or kaftan and, on occasion, even a turban. Weapons in the Turkish style were made by Armenian artisans in Poland, one example

25 Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*.
26 Burke, *Languages and Communities*, p. 121.
27 Lehfeldt, *Das Serbokroatische Aljamiado-Schrifttum*; López-Baralt, *Huellas del Islam en la literatura española*, pp. 119–48; Galmés de Fuentes, *Estudios sobre la literatura española*.
28 Abu-Haidar, '*Maqamat* Literature and the Picaresque Novel'.
29 López-Baralt, *San Juan de la Cruz y el Islam*.
30 Guevara Bazán, 'Cervantes y el Islam'.
31 Schneider, 'A propósito del influjo árabe'.

among many of oriental influences on Polish material culture.[32] Even in the nineteenth century, regiments of Polish lancers and Hungarian Hussars wore Turkish or semi-Turkish costume, a survival of the frontier culture formed in the wars between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, when each side learned something from the other.

Concepts

How should we think, speak, and write about these Islamic elements in European culture and about the social and cultural contexts in which they were created and survived?

As we have seen, one concept coined to describe the relations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in medieval Spain is *convivencia*. The word is sometimes used to describe a golden age of 'a culture of tolerance', as María Rosa Menocal has called it, in medieval Spain.[33] The problem with this emphasis on tolerance is that it overlooks the recurrent pogroms of the time as well as smaller-scale examples of violence against religious and cultural minorities, especially but not exclusively the Jews.[34] As Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada has remarked, criticizing the idea of multicultural harmony or symbiosis in al-Andalus, what was dominant was 'antibiosis', conflict, mutual misunderstanding, and hostile images of 'the Other'.[35]

Menocal offers the counter-example of Hasdai ibn Shaprut, a Jew who became vizier to the caliph Abd-el-Rahman III in Cordoba in 949.[36] However, medieval monarchs were well known to promote individuals from outside the elite, 'raised from the dust', not because they were tolerant but because individuals of this kind would be dependent on the good will of the ruler.

Some examples of mixing in architecture were the result of violence, the forcible conversion of mosques into churches for instance. Aware of the violence in the multicultural society of medieval Spain, some historians have recently replaced the idea of *convivencia* with the more modest term *coexistencia* (although this term has the disadvantage of seeming to imply a lack of interaction between the coexisting cultures).[37] Whichever term we choose, it may be useful to extend it to the Ottoman Empire and to compare and contrast the histories of cultural minorities there with those living in Spain.

In the domain of cultural encounters, it is useful to think in terms of what the Brazilian historian Gilberto Freyre liked to call the 'interpenetration of cultures', in his case the interaction between the indigenous peoples of Brazil,

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32 Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej*.
33 Menocal, *Ornament of the World*.
34 Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*.
35 Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, preface to Fanjul, *La quimera de al-Andalus*, p. xii.
36 Menocal, *Ornament of the World*, pp. 79–100.
37 Mann, Dodds, and Glick, eds, *Convivencia*.



Figure 1.5. La Casa de Pilatos (Pilate's House), Seville. Photo by Ajay Suresh, CC BY-SA 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

the Portuguese colonists, and their African slaves. Incidentally, Freyre read Castro's book with enthusiasm, as the pencilled notes in the margins of his copy make very clear.[38] One way in which scholars have conceptualized this field is by the use of hyphens such as 'Hispano-Mauresque' and 'Venetian-Saracenic'.[39] For more general discussions, one of the most useful concepts for scholars working in this field remains that of cultural 'hybridity', despite its original association with biology.[40]

The great historical problem, when we study all these elements in the culture of early modern Europe, is to know what they meant to contemporaries. What, for instance, did the *mudéjar style* mean in early modern Spain? A good case has been made for the idea that medieval buildings in Islamic style such as the Alhambra were viewed as trophies, monuments reminding viewers of the Christian triumph at the *Reconquista*.[41] However, this interpretation is unlikely to be the whole story, at least in the case of secular architecture.

At this point, it may be useful to zoom in on a single relatively well-documented example of a cultural mixture, the Casa de Pilatos in Seville and its mixture of Islamic traditions with classical elements (Fig. 1.5). This palace was built for a rich nobleman a generation after 1492 and the forced conversions. The owner, Don Fadrique, had travelled in Italy. He commissioned Italian

38 Freyre, *Casa-Grande e Senzala*. Freyre's copy of Castro's book is now in the Fundação Gilberto Freyre in Apipucos, Recife.

39 Terrasse, *L'art hispano-mauresque*; Allan, 'Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork'.

40 Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*; Burke, *Hybrid Renaissance*.

41 Urquízar-Herrera, *Admiration and Awe*.

sculptors to design the grand entrance of his palace, while local artisans were responsible for the tiles in the interior. Unusually, there is textual evidence in this case for the aesthetic attitudes of the patron. Don Fadrique kept a journal of his visit to Italy in which he expressed admiration for two buildings, neither of them in Renaissance style. Both were Gothic: Milan Cathedral and the Certosa of Pavia.[42]

Despite an idiosyncratic combination of elements, the Casa de Pilatos was part of a general trend. Even churches were built in this style. It is therefore likely that the hybrid style was viewed at the time not as borrowing from the enemy but as a distinctive style that was a source of either local or national pride. The style has been linked to what is now known as 'maurophilia', an enthusiasm for the Moors who were viewed by some Christians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as contributing to the national identity.[43]

It is surely because this hybrid style came to be seen as distinctively Spanish that it was revived in the nineteenth century, not only in Andalucía but also, as we have seen, in Toledo and Saragossa. The revival of Iznik-style ceramics in Hungary in the 1870s, produced by the Zsolnay family in their factory in Pécs, is probably a case of the 'nationalization' of culture, interpreting an example of cultural hybridity as the expression of the national spirit. A similar point might be made about the folksongs of Hungary (collected by Béla Bartók and Zoltan Kodaly at the beginning of the twentieth century) and those of neighbouring Romania. It might be more accurate to describe the folksongs as a form of frontier music, separated by language but not by themes or melodies, that was transformed into national music in the twentieth century.[44]

In the case of synagogues, like the one in Pilsen, a different explanation is in order, making use of Pierre Bourdieu's emphasis on the importance of cultural distinction.[45] It has been suggested that the Neo-Mudejar style appealed to educated German-speaking Jews precisely because it distinguished them from the poor and poorly educated Ashkenazi Jews from the Russian Empire who were migrating westwards. In the case of the town halls in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this style had the double advantage of association with Islam while remaining distinct from Ottoman architecture. Nineteenth-century literature offers evidence in favour of this suggestion, revealing a similar interest by German Jews in 'the construction of a glorious Sephardic past' set in fifteenth-century Spain, as in the case of the best-selling novel *Die Marranen*, published in 1837 by the Jewish writer Phöbus Philippson and translated into Yiddish and Hebrew.[46]

A particularly fascinating, indeed mysterious case of contact between the two legacies is the New Mosque in Salonika, built in 1902 by an Italian Catholic

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42 Lleó Cañal, *La casa de Pilatos*.
43 Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*.
44 Sárosi, 'Hungary: Folk Music'.
45 Bourdieu, *La distinction*.
46 Efron, *German Jewry and the Allure of the Sephardic*, p. 171, p. 190.

architect (the Sicilian Vitaliano Poselli) for a community of Muslims who were secretly Jews, in a city that was full of Sephardic Jews. The choice of style (if it came from the client rather than the architect, which is likely, since Poselli designed buildings in a number of different styles) might be interpreted as a form of homage to the Sephardic tradition. The style of the mosque might even be a coded message — the content of the form — alluding to the situation of the Marranos in Spain, officially Catholic but secretly Jews. A comparison of the situation for Jews in the rival empires, Spanish and Ottoman, might be illuminating (an entangled history, since some Spanish Jews, like Spanish Muslims, found a refuge in the Ottoman Empire after 1492).

And how shall we describe the Sarajevo Library? As an example of a typically late nineteenth-century 'invention of tradition'? Or as an unusual case of one of the two heritages influencing the other one?

In this essay I have examined a few aspects of Islamic traditions in both Spain and Eastern Europe. I hope that some of the readers of this chapter will be inspired to go beyond regional or national research and make such a study. For example, it would be fascinating to compare the two Moorish revivals, West and East, examining both the role of the government as patrons and contemporary attitudes to the style. There are more gains to be made from systematic comparisons and contrasts between the two Islamic legacies discussed briefly in this chapter.

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IVAN ALDUK

Zadvarje (Duare)

The Fate of a Fortress at the Border of Two Worlds

The Italian monk and travel writer Alberto Fortis visited Zadvarje around 1770. It was a small village at the foot of a fortress in Dalmatia's interior. He admired its location above the Cetina River canyon and the huge eagles that were nesting in this canyon. To the surprise and admiration of the locals, he even went down into the canyon to see the huge 'Gubavica' waterfall. On this occasion, he wrote that Zadvarje was a place 'that carries with it the fate of the whole territory!'[1] And what is, or was, that fate?

Zadvarje and its surroundings is a place where people and ideas from the Adriatic coast and its deep hinterland have been meeting for centuries. There are two main reasons which give context to everything that has been happening here, especially in the last five hundred years or so, although traces of these 'encounters' can be found even in earlier history (in prehistoric and Roman times).[2] Both of these reasons are, of course, geographical. First, the easiest way to enter the interior from this part of the Adriatic coast is through Zadvarje. Its very name, Dvare or Duare, is probably of Slavic origin and originates from 'dveri' — door. This ancient road is still used and preserved in its old shape, which is medieval or even earlier (Fig. 2.1).

The second reason is the fact that on this part of the Adriatic coast, between Omiš and the mouth of the Neretva River, there is practically no place where, throughout history, a significant settlement could have been developed. That is because there is no place with a safe harbour within which a larger marketplace could have emerged. There is Makarska, of course — but its port is really small and very sensitive to the north and south winds, which

1 Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, pp. 199–200; Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, pp. 227–30.
2 Katić and Lozo, 'Protoantička utvrda "Kulina" u Katunima'.

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Figure 2.1. Ancient and medieval road between the coast and Zadvarje fortress. Photo by Ivan Alduk.

we still witness today. Therefore, all trade was moved to the nearest place in the immediate hinterland of the coast (Fig. 2.2).[3]

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, circumstances in Zadvarje slowly began to change.[4] In a document issued by the King of Bosnia in 1408,

3 Katić and Lozo, 'Protoantička utvrda "Kulina" u Katunima', p. 84.

4 About the medieval history of the fortress, see Alduk, 'Uvod u istraživanje'.



Figure 2.2. Zadvarje and its surroundings. Map by Ivan Alduk.

Zadvarje is mentioned with its 'territory', its county: 'locum Dvarum cum provincia Radobilja'.[5] It is difficult to say whether there was a fortress at the place where it is located now — the likelihood is, probably there was not. During archaeological research, which is still being carried out, we have not come across anything that would indicate a fortress from that time. Yet in the course of the fifteenth century, the whole context changed with the appearance of a new force from the east, the Ottoman Empire, which gradually occupied the area of the Adriatic hinterland. In 1444, the Venetian governor in Split took over neighbouring Omiš and Poljica in the name of Serenissima, and Zadvarje found itself on the very border of the Venetian Republic.[6] Unfortunately, in all these and other events, which are very well documented by written sources, Zadvarje is not mentioned at all. Only in 1482, when the Venetian subjects in Poljica defined the borders of their 'county', among other things, did they mention the 'Cetina River under the fort of Zadvarje' as one point along that border.[7] Trying to unravel this situation and understand what happened between the beginning and the end of the fifteenth century, we came to the following conclusions.

Feeling the growing Ottoman pressure, especially after the fall of the Bosnian kingdom in 1463, in 1465, Radobilja (the county around Zadvarje) placed itself under the protection of Venice. Unlike some other regions nearby that would do the same, the Venetian authority was felt here more considerably.[8] The Venetians saw Radobilja, and especially Poljica, as an

5 *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, p. 190.
6 Pivčević, *Povijest Poljica*, pp. 24–25.
7 Pera, *Poljički statut*, p. 427.
8 Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, p. 80.

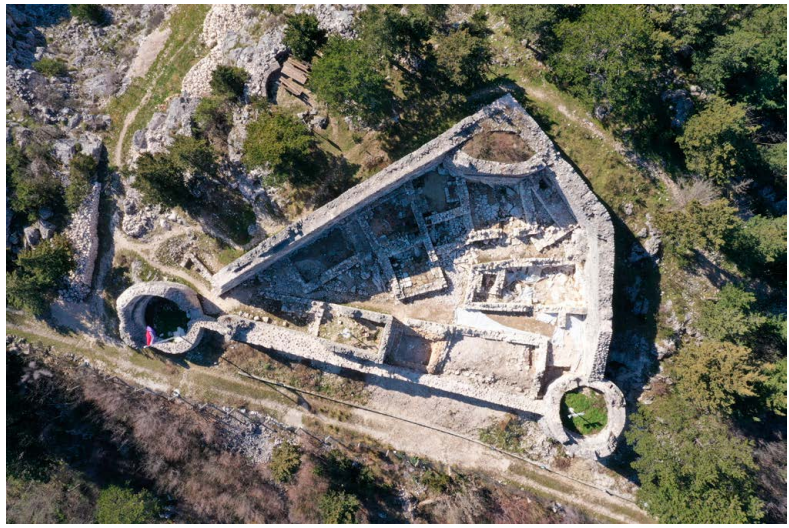


Figure 2.3. Zadvarje fortress. Photo by Živko Bačić.

extremely important area and an outpost of their estates along the coast, or as they say in one letter 'propagnaculo e difesa di Spalato e di bona parte di Dalmatia'.[9] Therefore, probably between 1465 and 1482, the construction of the fortress of Zadvarje began in the form in which we see it today in its very characteristic triangular ground plan, probably as a result of the need for faster construction (Fig. 2.3).

Such layouts with towers at the corners are characteristic of the so-called Renaissance fortifications from the end of the fifteenth century and from the sixteenth, when their advantages in artillery warfare became more obvious, and which were further improved with the appearance of bastion fortifications and systems. In terms of the ground plan, this is the earliest such attempt on the eastern Adriatic coast. We still have to take this assumption with great caution since the earliest such examples in Italy date back to the very end of the fifteenth century: Rocca di Ostia/Castle of Julius II in Ostia (1482) and Saranzello (1493).[10] Here we would also point out the Venetian-Turkish triangular fortress in Butrint in Albania. The construction of the original fort in Butrint dates back quite widely, from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century — more precisely, part of the literature emphasizes that the fortress was built in stages within that period.[11] This dating of Zadvarje

9 *Rapporti della Republica Veneta*, p. 170.

10 Žmegač, 'La fortezza di San Nicolò presso Sebenico', pp. 143–44. This assumption needs further and more detailed research.

11 Karaiskaj, 'Triangular Fortress-Butrint-Albania'.

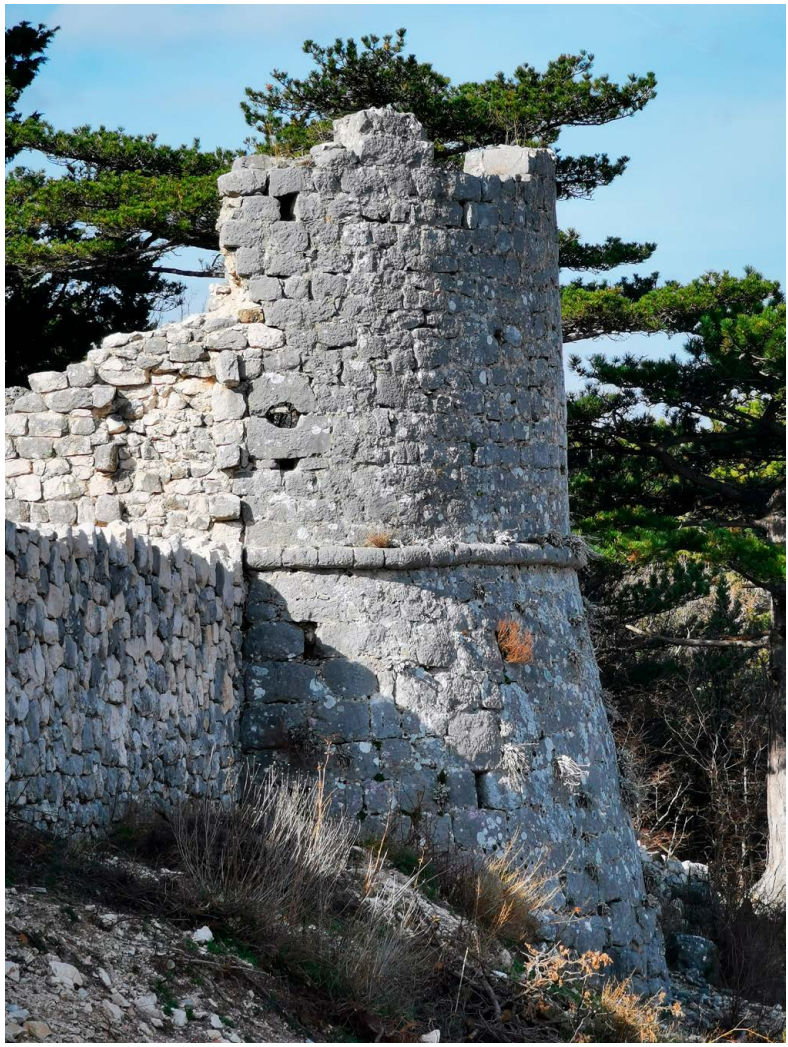


Figure 2.4. North-western tower of Zadvarje fortress. Photo by Ivan Alduk.

fortress is supported by archaeological finds, but mostly by the form of the north-western tower, a so-called 'Renaissance roundel/rondel', with a scarp and cylindrical upper part (Fig. 2.4). All analogies along the eastern Adriatic coast can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century (Poreč, Trogir, Korčula, and so on).[12]

12 Pelc, *Renesansa*, pp. 31, 33, 42–44, 50.

Radobilja would not stay in Venetian possession for long, and as the end of the fifteenth century approached, this area would become indefensible and for a certain period of time would probably function as a no man's land. By peace treaty between the sultan and the doge at the end of 1502, the border was established on the Cetina River and Zadvarje belonged to the Ottomans. But, of course, that wasn't the end — but rather a new start!

From that time the fortress was one of the points along the south-western border of the Ottoman Empire, so its new masters behaved accordingly. This would become especially evident in the second half of the sixteenth century. Although the War of Cyprus further reduced the Venetian 'Stato da mar', even those possessions in Dalmatia,[13] by the end of that century there was a great desire in these areas, primarily in the local population, to go to war against the Ottomans, especially after the victory in the Battle of Lepanto. Somewhat later, at the end of the sixteenth century, a Franciscan called Angel from Trogir led a revolt against the Ottoman rule, or at least he tried.[14] In 1596, members of the nobility from Split, with the help of the Habsburg army, would briefly take possession of Klis, one of the seats of the Ottoman government in Dalmatia.[15] All these events led the Ottomans to further fortify Zadvarje by building a semicircular tower in the south-west corner and by adding reinforcement to the north wall. Archaeological finds date these works to the second half of the sixteenth century. In addition to these works on the fortress, we are convinced that the construction of two towers east of the main fortress — Avala and Poletnica — took place also at the same time. Avala is a word of Turkish origin meaning 'lookout point' or 'watchtower'. By the end of that century, the area around Zadvarje became a kind of 'Ottoman limes' between the Cetina River canyon and the almost impassable Biokovo Mountain — towards the coast from where the Ottomans expected Venetian attacks (Fig. 2.2).[16]

Not even half a century later, that's just what happened. Probably the bloodiest period in the history of Dalmatia begins with the War of Candia, and ends with minor periods of peace, in 1717, after the so-called Second Morean War, with the peace treaty of Požarevac. At the very beginning of this war, in 1646, the Venetian army took over Zadvarje for the first time. The campaign was led by 'proveditori straordinarii' Paolo Caotorta and Alvise Cocco. There were two main reasons for the seizing of Zadvarje: first, to divert the Bosnian pasha from attacking Šibenik (which happened the following year), and second, to gain the trust of the local population.[17] It was this trust that was very difficult to gain because these 'Morlacs' (Morlachi), as Venice often calls them, although

13 Norwich, *A History of Venice*, pp. 464–88.
14 Klaić, *Povijest*, p. 440.
15 Mažuran, *Hrvati i Osmansko carstvo*, pp. 169–70.
16 Alduk, 'Uvod u istraživanje', pp. 226–27.
17 Difnik, *Povijest Kandijskog rata*, pp. 92–94.

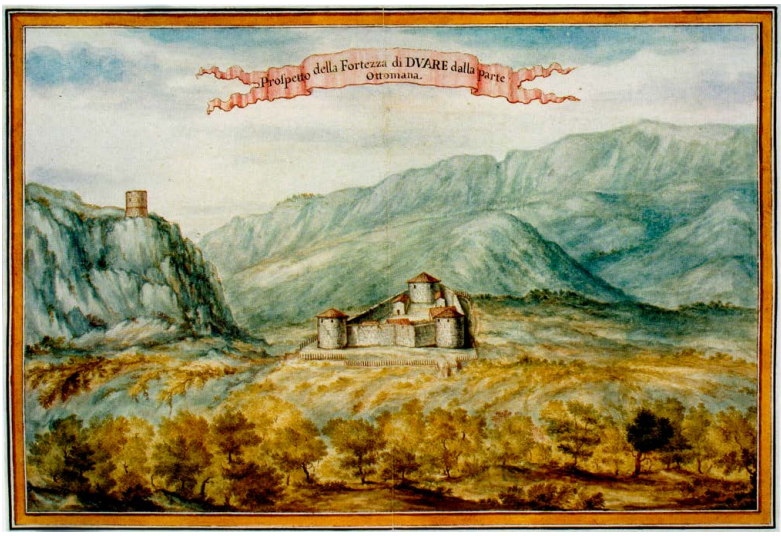


Figure 2.5. Zadvarje fortress at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Photo taken from *Fortezze veneziane nel Levante: Esempi di cartografia storica dalla collezione del Museo Correr*, ed. by Elisabeta Molteni and Silvia Moretti (Venice: Comune di Venezia, 1999), p. 10.

loyal in principle, were extremely distrustful of the Venetian authorities.[18] It was proveditore Caotorta himself who was one of the main causes of this distrust, as we can see during negotiations when he tried to convince the population around Zadvarje and Makarska to rebel against Ottoman rule. Their readiness was unquestionable, but the amount of suspicion based on previous experiences was most evident in the fact that the local priests were most opposed to such attempts by the Venetian authorities.[19] In the case of Zadvarje and Caotorta, this proved to be completely justified, and shortly after capturing the fort, Caotorta had it largely demolished so that the Turks could not use it in case they captured it again.[20] Of course this happened, and the Ottoman crew soon returned to the fortress and remained there until 1684.[21] The fortress was used until the first half of the nineteenth century, and then briefly during the Second World War. From 1684 to 1717, Zadvarje was located on the Ottoman–Venetian border (Fig. 2.5).

18 Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs*, pp. 63–68. Although it deals with the eighth century, in this work we find interesting views on the relationship of the 'Schiavi' with Venice — from extremely negative attitudes and fears to admiration for their loyalty and courage.

19 Marušić, 'Diplomatičke isprave Općine Lokva Rogoznica', pp. 98–101.

20 Difnik, *Povijest Kandijskog rata*, p. 95.

21 Difnik, *Povijest Kandijskog rata*, pp. 106–07.

Although the period from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century was almost entirely characterized by wars, short periods of peace were also recorded, among other things, by very lively and diverse relations and correspondence between the Ottoman and Venetian authorities, but also among the population. The authorities worked together to resolve border issues, petty thefts, serious kidnappings, or murders and even invited each other to celebrations and so on.[22] And the population would trade — and trade is the activity for which Zadvarje is known even today. The first record of organized trade in Zadvarje comes from the report to the 'Congregatio de propaganda fide' written in 1708 by Stefano Cupilli, then Bishop of Trau/Trogir, and soon the Archbishop of Split. Cupilli writes about this fair with a multitude of goods coming to the foot of the fortress from Ottoman Herzegovina, from Bosnia, and even beyond that continues to the coast.[23] Although the bishop is not particularly detailed in his description, we can still assume some things with certainty. Livestock (horses, cows, mules, sheep, goats), meat (especially salted and dried), wool, dairy products (cheese, for example), metal, and wood products came from the interior, while olive oil, wine, pottery,[24] luxury fabrics, glass, etc. came from the coast. Salt must also be noted here since it is of special importance — a substance immensely valuable for hinterland cattlemen. This fair, or in the local dialect 'Pazar', which is a word of Persian or Turkish origin (bazaar), is still held in Zadvarje almost every Tuesday. Moreover, everything is almost the same as written in Cupilli's report (Fig. 2.6).

Twice a year this 'Pazar' becomes 'dernek' (also a Turkish word meaning 'celebration', 'fair', 'gathering', and sometimes 'wedding' or 'association'), a somewhat more festive fair that lasts for several days, for the feasts of Saint Anthony and of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle. Saint Anthony, apart from being probably the most venerated saint in Dalmatia, is also the patron saint of Zadvarje — the parish church is dedicated to him. The origin of the fair of Saint Bartholomew, who is also worshipped at Zadvarje at the main altar in the parish church, is even more interesting. According to the local legend, the Venetian 'proveditor' Caotorta took Zadvarje from the Ottomans in 1646 on the feast of that saint. The truth is only slightly different — the battle happened a few days later[25] — but local tradition emphasizes this very feast. In addition, these two feasts mark one period of the year — the beginning

22 Solovjev, 'Bogišićeva zbirka', pp. 75–80.

23 Kovačić, *Župa Žeževica do godine 1940*, pp. 391–92.

24 The Ottoman strengthening of the fortress at the end of the sixteenth century is dated with pottery from workshops in central Italy. This pottery arrived on the east Adriatic coast probably via Ancona, which starts to develop in the sixteenth century as an important port within the Papal State, trading mostly with the opposite coast. Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, pp. 436–38.

25 Difnik, *Povijest Kandijskog rata*, pp. 92–94.



Figure 2.6. Fair in Solin (Dalmatia) in the nineteenth century. Photo taken from Charles Yriarte, *Istra i Dalmacija – putopis* (Antibarbarus: Zagreb, 1999), p. 164.

of summer (13 June, Saint Anthony) and the end of summer (24 August, Saint Bartholomew). The latter one is especially significant to the population of the coast and islands, considering that wooden products arrived in Zadvarje at that time — especially barrels and various larger containers for storing and making wine, which would begin in early September.

This essay has offered a short story about Zadvarje, or, even better, a few short stories. Whether it is about architecture, trading, beliefs, social behaviour, or even social intelligence in Zadvarje, in the immediate hinterland of the coast, today or in the fifteenth or eighteenth century, these issues are only reflections of earlier traditions that have been developing gradually and have not faded for hundreds, even thousands of years.

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The Bastions of the Ottoman Capital

The Fortresses of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus Seen by French Military Engineers, Diplomats, and Travellers in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

> This very evening, I was with some of these retainers to Neptune. Among the rest of the discourse I had with them, we touched upon the Dardanelles, which guard the Hellespont. They taxed the Christian Princes with cowardice, or unpardonable negligence, that they have never attempted to force their passage through that channel into the Propontis, and block up the imperial city by sea, and set it on fire; especially the royal seraglio, from whence are issued out the decrees of life and death to the whole earth.[1]

This text cited from the popular epistolary novel of Giovani Paolo Marana which became later a source of inspiration for Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* reflects well common European ideas on the military quality of the fortresses defending the entry of the narrow maritime passage leading to Constantinople from Western Europe. Historically, the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea constituted an integral geographical unit, along with the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. As part of the only passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, the straits had always been of great importance from economic and military points of view. Constantinople always needed to control this unit for its food supplies, security, and trade. For the Eastern Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire, the fortresses located on the European and Asian coasts of the straits were places of clashes between armies and civilizations and constitute a symbolic borderland from several points of view. The most important conflict in history was certainly the bloody battle

1 Marana, *Letters writ by a Turkish spy*, IV, p. 193.

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of Gallipoli in 1915, but the problem of the fortifications of the straits was an important question also during the early modern period. This study would contribute to the history of cartographic representations and sources made by French military experts, diplomats, and travellers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. France had a very ambiguous attitude towards the Ottoman Empire at this time. For example, King François I took advantage of his alliance with Suleyman the Magnificent (1535) against the Habsburg Empire, although other kings of France did not cease to trouble this alliance 'against nature' by projects of crusades and the re-establishment of the Eastern French Empire. With the triumph of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, Constantinople became the only diplomatic centre in the Muslim Mediterranean.[2] However, the importance of European communities and their commercial interests to certain merchant towns in the Middle East prompted certain states to appoint consuls in provincial localities, the first case being the appointment of a French consul in Alexandria in 1528. The treaties granted by the sultan (the 'capitulations') generally kept the form of unilateral proclamations until the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the decline of the empire. The Peace of Karlowitz,[3] signed with the Holy League, the coalition of European powers, in 1699, marked this change of style, from the proclamation to the negotiated document. The French monarchy had ambiguous relations with the Ottoman Empire, which explained on the one hand a friendly relationship in the commercial and religious fields and a distrust of French diplomats considered to be 'honest spies' on Ottoman lands.

This period corresponded to the great progress of warfare in Western Europe, the so-called 'military revolution' which has been remarkably analysed by Michael Roberts, Geoffrey Parker, and Jeremy Black.[4] The development of artillery transformed radically the art of fortification in Western Europe. Modern fortification spread throughout Europe and was perfected considerably under the influence of engineers such as the Dutch Menno Coëhoorn or the French Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban who introduced the high-quality training of military engineers in France at the end of the seventeenth century. One of the areas neglected by the Ottomans was probably the fortification of the strategic places of their empire, as the fortification work was limited to the areas of the most threatened military borders. The progress of the Western navy and the resurgent Turkish-Venetian conflicts with the participation of Christian forces demonstrate the vulnerable nature of the defence of the core of the Ottoman Empire, which became more and more a colossus with feet of clay.

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2 With the exception of Morocco, which remained independent.

3 See recently on the history of the treaty of Karlowitz: Bérenger, ed., *La paix de Karlowitz 26 janvier 1699*.

4 Parker, *The Military Revolution*. See also Black, *A Military Revolution?* and Rogers, *The Military Revolution Debate*.

In the occupied provinces, we can see the deterioration of the city walls and defences, starting with the splendid Byzantine walls around Constantinople. Thus, the fortresses defending the strategic straits of the Marmara Sea were of paramount importance.

By its advantageous location, the city of Constantinople enjoys a natural defence by the straits which communicate between the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea. The Dardanelles are therefore both a gateway to a sea route from one sea to another and a defence system comprising real fortification works whose strength lies above all in their geography. In fact, the narrow sea channel, dotted with fortresses, presents as much difficulty for an enemy fleet as a mountain pass and defile for a land army. Defenders have a primary advantage over attackers. The Dardanelles Strait, also known as Hellespont or Çanakkale in Turkish, takes the form of a canal approximately sixty kilometres long and on average three kilometres wide. In the Middle Ages, the main fortress in the strait was in Gallipoli, at the eastern end of the canal. After the capture of Constantinople by Mehmed II, the geostrategic situation of the Dardanelles changed considerably: they became the lock on Istanbul. Mehmed the Conqueror had two fortresses constructed face to face at the narrowest part of the strait: Kilid'ül-Bahir in Europe and Çanak-Kal'asi in Asia. The importance of the fortresses of the Dardanelles increased at the time of the Candian War (1645–1669), led by the Porte against the Republic of Venice. During this war, the Ottoman fleet was twice defeated at the Dardanelles (1650, 1654).[5] It was the first time in the history of the Ottoman Empire that the capital was threatened by an invasion across the Dardanelles Strait. After, Mehmed Köprülü had the old fortifications reinforced and had two new fortresses built: Sedd'ül-Bahir in Europe and Kumkale in Anatolia.[6]

The beginning of Louis XIV's reign was characterized by the influence of Cardinal Mazarin who supported the war against the Ottomans. Many French volunteers participated in the Candian War alongside the Christian forces, and Louis XIV also sent, in 1664, an auxiliary army of six thousand men to Hungary who distinguished themselves in the Battle of St-Gotthard.[7] The projects of the European anti-Ottoman coalition and the spirit of Crusades invaded the mind of the young Louis XIV who undertook a policy of greatness in Europe. After Kahlenberg's victory (1683), secret plans to occupy the Ottoman Empire increased. In this situation, some curious military projects emerged in Europe and even in the French government concerning the

5 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 181–82.

6 These fortresses were also represented on the schematic French maps of the seventeenth century. See, for example, Carte de l'Hellespont ou Canal des Dardanelles (1686) of Benjamin de Combes, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53100638k.r=Dardanelles?rk=128756;0> [accessed 30 May 2021].

7 See on the campaign in 1664 Tóth, *Saint-Gotthard 1664*; Tóth and Zágorhidi Czigány, eds, *A szentgotthárdi csata és a vasvári béke*, and recently Michels, *The Habsburg Empire under Siege*.

occupation of the strategic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully, François Savary de Brèves, Father Joseph (François Leclerc du Tremblay), Charles I, Count of Nevers, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, and other thinkers proposed military interventions and the partition of the empire.[8] At the end of the seventeenth century, military espionage was often the origin of the iconography of the fortresses of the straits. The French king even sent military engineers to Turkey for reconnaissance of the strategic points around Constantinople. Their reports and drawings constitute very precious holdings in French archives and libraries. One of the most exciting missions was conducted by Étienne Gravier d'Ortières.

In 1685, King Louis XIV sent, with his new ambassador, Pierre Girardin,[9] a controller general of the marine, Étienne Gravier d'Ortières, whose secret mission was to draw up maps on the Dardanelles and Istanbul in order to prepare a plan for a military occupation of the Ottoman capital. Girardin and Gravier d'Ortières arrived in Constantinople in January 1686. Apart from his commercial mission, Gravier d'Ortières devoted himself entirely to observing the fortifications of the coasts, islands, ports, and especially the Dardanelles. The engineers had to draw up an exact map of the Dardanelles, the ports and roadsteads, sound out the anchorages, and draw up plans of the fortifications. Gravier d'Ortières had under his orders several engineers of the French marine including Plantier who produced high-quality pictures. The engineers' mission lasted until August 1686, during which time they gathered very rich documentation composed of maps, pictures of fortresses made by engineers, and drawings that resemble military photography containing much useful information for military experts.[10] According to Faruk Bilici, these exceptional maps stand out from the collection with their artistic dimension expressing the objective of the secret mission. The allegoric image of the map of the Dardanelles' channel represents the global ambitions of Louis XIV: under the Sun the Ottomans in chains showing the victory of the Most Christian King.[11] Most of the documents deal with the strait fortresses, describing them and analysing their military forces. The conclusion of the military experts is the following: if the strait of the Dardanelles is crossed, it is easy to occupy Constantinople because its defence system was defective. Louis XIV's grandiose project remained on paper, as wars with the empire, Spain, England, and Holland prevented its execution.[12] A spy mission similar to that of Gravier d'Ortières was entrusted to the brothers de Combes who carried out a reconnaissance expedition in the Sea of Marmara and in the Archipelago between summer

8 Bilici, *XIV. Louis ve Istanbul'u fetih tasarisi*, pp. 60–89.

9 See on Girardin's embassy in Constantinople Kerekes, ed., *Mémoires sur l'Empire ottoman*.

10 This collection is conserved in the archives of the Ministry of Marine (Château de Vincennes). See Bilici, *XIV. Louis ve Istanbul'u fetih tasarisi*, pp. 145–47.

11 Mansel, *King of the World*, pp. 299–300.

12 Bilici, *XIV. Louis ve Istanbul'u fetih tasarisi*, pp. 327–29.

and spring 1686.[13] As early as April 1686, they presented a detailed report of the fortifications of the straits and the surroundings of Constantinople, including the possibilities of military intervention.[14]

The following missions were also carried out in the utmost secrecy, often under the cover of a Grand Tour or a scientific expedition. This was the case for Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), French botanist who travelled through the islands of Greece and visited Constantinople and the Black Sea between 1700 and 1702. He already had a very important career behind him when Louis XIV entrusted him with the mission to bring new plants to the Royal Botanical Garden (*Jardin Royal des Plantes*) and also with a mission to make a reconnaissance of the defence system of the Ottoman capital. Tournefort started out on his voyage in the spring of 1700, accompanied by the French painter Claude Aubriet. He visited thirty-eight islands of the Greek archipelago, as well as Anatolia, Pontus, and Armenia, and reached Tiflis in Georgia. He returned to France in June 1702. In his relation of his voyage he gives us a very disappointing description of the pathetic state of the castles:

> And yet this passage might be forced without much danger, the Castles being above four miles asunder: the Turkish Artillery, however monstrous they look, would not much annoy the Ships, if they had a good Wind, and went in a file. The Port-holes of the Cannon, which are the largest I ever beheld, not being set on Carriages, can't fire above once. And who would dare to charge 'em in the presence of Ships of War, that would pour in such Broadsides upon 'em, as would soon demolish the Walls of the Castles which are not terrass'd and buy beneath their Ruins both Guns and Gunners? half a dozen Bombs would do the business.[15]

During the eighteenth century, mapmaking developed considerably, and we can find many maps on the region. The first map of high quality was made by a French military engineer, Poul Bohn (1687–?), an agent in the service of the exiled Prince of Transylvania, Francis Rákóczi II (with some other French agents). He worked very closely with the renegade Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval and the French ambassador to Constantinople, the Marquis de Villeneuve. Villeneuve, in his letter of 12 March 1734, mentions the engineer Bohn in the entourage of Prince Rákóczi who made maps of the regions of the

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13 Apostolou, *L'orientalisme des voyageurs français au XVIII^e siècle*, p. 37.

14 *Memoire concernant le detroit de l'Elespont ou des Dardanelles. De ses quatre chasteaux, de leurs mouillages, les moyens de les passer. De la ville et villages du detroit de Gallipoly; des villes, bourgs et isles de la Propontide ou mer de Marmara; de la ville, port environs de Constantinople, jusques à l'entrée de la mer Noire; de partie des isles de l'Archipel; de la ville de Smirne en Azie et de celle de Salonich en Europe*. We know of two copies of the same report: the first one is conserved in the Archives du dépôt des services hydrographiques de la Marine (vol. v, n.°2), and the second copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS f. fr. 5580).

15 Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant*, I, p. 341.

Ottoman capital.[16] As double agent, he could work officially and published his map in France, which was also used in England even until the second half of the eighteenth century. Some of his maps, signed as Poul Bohn, are in the cartographic collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The first is a manuscript map that depicts a broader area from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea and Constantinople channels.[17] The success of the manuscript map clearly indicates that several versions have been incorporated into the French national library collection. Among them, one dated from 1732 is a coloured map largely considered to be the last manuscript copy of a map of better quality.[18] A more detailed map of the vicinity of Constantinople and the Bosporus Strait also includes the name of Rákóczi's military engineer 'P. D. Bohn'.[19] There is also another manuscript map of the Sea of Marmara from 1732 in the collection, which Bohn may also have made according to the library catalogue.[20] Based on the work of a French military engineer, some printed maps in English were also made in the second half of the century.[21] Most likely, Bohn's maps served as models for the printer Ibrahim Müteferrika's maps of the Marmara and Black Seas.[22] In French diplomatic correspondence we find more information that Ibrahim Müteferrika, with the help of Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval, made maps for Prince Rákóczi.[23] They worked closely with András Tóth, a Hungarian agent in French service.[24] Later, in 1755, the French royal secret diplomacy (*Secret du Roi*) sent András Tóth's younger son, François Baron de Tott, to Constantinople to improve his knowledge of Eastern languages and to study Ottoman political and social relations. In August 1757, the young man reported on the results of his observations in the Ottoman capital in a detailed dissertation (*Mémoire sur la Turquie*), in which

16 Villeneuve's letter to Germain Louis Chauvelin, Secretary of State for Justice (Constantinople, 12 March 1734), BnF, MS fr. 7180: Ambassade à Constantinople de M. le marquis de Villeneuve — Lettres de Villeneuve à Monseigneur le garde des Sceaux (déc. 1734–1735), fols 60–61. On the diplomatic role of the Secretaries of State for Justice (Gardes des sceaux), see Barbiche, 'De la commission à l'office de la Couronne'.

17 BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 98 DIV 2 P 9.

18 BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 98 DIV 2 P 9/1.

19 BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE C-10441.

20 BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 98 DIV 2 P 10.

21 The first printed British map, known as a copy of Bohn, was made in 1770: BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 98 DIV 2 P 13. The map was drawn by the engraver Peter Andrews, and his work was dedicated to the English Ambassador James Porter. At the same time, a more detailed English map of the Bosporus Strait was made. The preparation of the map was most likely related to Russian naval operations threatening the straits in 1770. See about this Tóth, *La guerre russo-turque*. Later, in 1786, another version was released: BnF, Cartes et Plans, GE SH 18 PF 98 DIV 2 P 26.

22 Ibrahim Müteferrika printed in his printing press office three maps: one on Iran (1729–1730), another one on the Sea of Marmara (1719–1720), and a third on the Black Sea (1724–1725).

23 See the relevant sections of Marquis Villeneuve's correspondence in Constantinople. BnF, MSS f. fr. 7177–98.

24 See Tóth, 'Magyar ügynökök'.

he also mentioned the fortifications of the Dardanelles.[25] Due to the strange and unpredictable whim of history, he later also played an important role in surveying the straits and building new fortifications there.[26]

With the development of hydrography, many maps were drawn representing also the currents and streams of the sea water. The Austro-Russian-Turkish War between 1735 and 1739 drew the attention of geographers to the region. Military operations in the Crimea and the Black Sea, as well as in the Balkans, raised the strategic importance of the straits, but the victories of the Ottoman armies stabilized the situation of Constantinople.[27] It is worth remembering the importance of the cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697–1782) in the middle of the eighteenth century, who wrote a memoir on the maps of the straits of the Dardanelles at the Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres. In this work, he corrected the measurements and scales of the old maps, and he specified the locations of the castles.[28]

The principal person of the next important military mission concerning the question of the fortifications of the straits was a French officer of Hungarian origins, the above-mentioned François Baron de Tott,[29] who had some experience in mapmaking and military engineering. In 1755, he was sent to Constantinople to learn Turkish and to gather information about the Ottoman Empire. In 1767, he was appointed French consul in Crimea with a secret mission to incite the Tatars to make war against Russia. After completing his mission, he left Crimea and moved to Constantinople, where he was tasked by the Ottoman government to defend the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet. This he did, and then played a major role in the modernization of the Ottoman army during the Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774).[30]

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25 'Ce que j'ai vû de leurs fortifications se borne à la verité aux chateaux des Dardanelles que je n'ai même pû examiner que legerement et en passant. Cependant j'ose vous assurer, Monsieur, que rien n'est plus mal bati, et avec moins de regle que ces barrieres de la capitale turque, et ce que la nature semble avoir pris plaisir de faire d'avantageux paroit en même tems englouti sous l'ignorance de leurs ingenieurs, si tant est que ces entrepreneurs qui n'obtiennent la préference lorsqu'il faut batir quelques ouvrages qu'en offrant de la faire à plus bas prix puissent meriter ce titre'. (What I have seen of their fortifications is really limited to the Dardanelles castles, which I have only been able to examine lightly and in passing. However, I dare to assure you, Sir, that nothing is more badly built, and with less regulation than these barriers of the Turkish capital, and what nature seems to have taken pleasure in doing advantageously seems at the same time swallowed up, under the ignorance of their engineers, so much so that these entrepreneurs who do not obtain the preference when it is necessary to build some works by offering to do it at a lower price can deserve this title.) AD, CP Turquie, vol. CXXXIII, fol. 283.

26 See Palóczi, *Báró Tóth Ferenc a Dardanellák megerősítője*, and more recently Tóth, *Egy magyar származású francia diplomata életpályája*.

27 See Tóth, *La guerre des Russes et des Autrichiens*.

28 Bourguignon d'Anville, *Analyse de la carte*, pp. 32–34.

29 On his life, see Tóth, *Un diplomate militaire français*.

30 See on this topic Tóth, *La guerre russo-turque*.

The naval battle of Chesma (5 July 1770) was a real turning point in the Russo-Turkish War. The situation became critical for the very existence of the Ottoman Empire. On the proposal of the Count of St-Priest, Reîs Efendi sent Baron de Tott at the end of July 1770 to make the strait capable of resisting the victorious fleet of Admiral Alexei Grigoryevich Orlov. Baron de Tott arrived in the last moment at the fortresses of the strait to save the Ottoman capital. He analysed quickly the state of the defence system of the Dardanelles and, as he noted in his *Memoirs*, he observed the precarious state of the castles:

> The Russian squadron, then sailing, with a favourable wind, in sight of the first castles, might, with ease, penetrate into the Sea of Marmora, and advance to the very walls of the Seraglio, and prescribe its own terms to the Grand Signior. Such was the situation of this proud Court: the ignorance of the chief ministers, and knavery the subalterns, had reduced it to a state so low, so humiliating and so distressing. An examination of the castles, built near Constantinople, on the same plan with those of the Dardanelles, served to show me what was to be done, on my arrival.[31]

The Russian fleet made a single attempt to force the passage, which was quite easy to carry out, but eventually, thanks to the 'red hot ball' tactics employed by Baron de Tott, the Russians gave it up.[32] This brilliant action contributed to his great fame and succeeded in reassuring the frightened Turkish soldiers. The fortification work lasted about two months. He had batteries built and organized the direction of the guns in order to allow the best possible defence of the Dardanelles. During this time, he carefully observed this strategic strait as he remarked later in his *Memoirs*:

> The strait of the Dardanelles, situated fifty leagues to the west of Constantinople, between the Archipelago and the little sea of Marmora, extends from the coast of Troy to Gallipoli over against Lampsacus. This space, about twelve leagues, of an unequal breadth contains different points in which the continents of Europe and Asia, which this strait separates, approach to within the distance of three or four hundred fathoms. Three leagues from its mouth, on the side next the Archipelago, at the narrowest part of the strait, have been built the two castles called the Dardanelles, the cannon of each commanded the opposite shore. These were, for a long time, the only barrier to secure Constantinople; but the Turks, becoming more fearful, though not more enlightened, at length, built two others,

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31 Tott, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 32–33.

32 'On my arrival, in the evening, at the Dardanelles, I caused a small piece of canon, taken from the Venetians, to be brought out; and after having heated some bullets red hot, and charged the piece, I gave the spectators, who always followed me in crouds, a flight specimen of red hot balls. The Pacha and the Turks, who were present at this experiment, thought the Ottoman Empire already avenged for the destruction of its fleet'. Tott, *Memoirs*, II, p. 43.

> near the mouth; but as they are at the distance of fifteen hundred fathoms, their fire is uncertain, and their defence insufficient.[33]

The threat of the Russian fleet on the Black Sea demanded the fortification of the entrance to the Bosporus. As he relates in his *Memoirs*, this work was also entrusted to Baron de Tott who determined the places of the new fortresses according to his personal measurements and gunfire experiences:

> This experiment, several times repeated, confirmed our observations and decided the question. […] I dined with the ministers, and we afterwards reimbarked, to return to discover, as we went along, a proper situation for the two castles, thought necessary for the defence of the Bosphorus. We quickly found such a one: the two first capes we passed, placed at a convenient distance, and situated in such a manner as to defend the anchoring places before them, seemed as if intended for the very purpose.[34]

After having made his plans, he began their realization on 16 February 1773. The works lasted several years, practically until the departure of Baron de Tott in 1776. After his return to France, he was associated with the plans to colonize Ottoman territories. During his last eastern mission (1777–1778), he visited French consulates around the Mediterranean Sea and elaborated secret military plans for the occupation of Egypt. In his *Memoirs*, he left us a wonderful history of his activities.

Baron de Tott was a good observer and an excellent painter. He made a lot of drawings, and some of them were published in his *Memoirs*. Its engraving showing the new castles on the Bosporus reminds us of the military drawings of the expedition of Gravier d'Ortières eighty years earlier (Fig. 3.1).

A painting of Antoine van der Steen, certainly based on a picture of military reconnaissance of the same period, represents a fort built under the direction of Tott. This view of the Dardanelles, conserved in the Rijksmuseum, shows not without a certain irony the French contribution to the defence of Constantinople.[35]

Ten years after Tott's mission, during the embassy of the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, the French government sent a new official military mission to Constantinople led by André-Joseph de Lafitte-Clavé in order to check up on and continue the previous achievements in fortifications of the straits. The military reconnaissance report was drawn up by André-Joseph de Lafitte-Clavé on the order of the king in 1784, ten years after the end of the Russo-Turkish War and just a year after the first occupation of Crimea by Russian troops. The international situation changed radically: Catherine II continued to develop her 'Greek project', and she discussed with Emperor

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33 Tott, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 39–40.

34 Tott, *Memoirs*, II, p. 148.

35 <https://useum.org/artwork/View-of-the-Dardanelles-Antoine-van-der-Steen-1770> [accessed 27 May 2021].



Figure 3.1. View of the two New Fortresses built by Baron de Tott at the entrance of the Bosporus towards the Black Sea. Engraving after the drawing by Baron de Tott, private collection. Photo courtesy of National Széchenyi Library.

Joseph II the division of the Ottoman Empire. The Crimea was considered as the gateway to Constantinople, and the Black Sea was no longer an Ottoman lake.[36] In the first part of Lafitte-Clavé's report concerning the new fortifications of the Dardanelles, the French military engineer describes the fortresses built under the direction of Baron de Tott. Lafitte-Clavé described the artillery present in the castles at that time. The description of the new castles in Europe and Asia presents a condition almost identical to that before the war. Most of the guns are old and remain poorly maintained. The report also criticizes certain aspects of the construction of the new forts (position, problems with smoke evacuation, etc.). The military mission also examined the state of new fortifications on the Bosporus. The report underlines the general characteristics of these fortifications, which are really only fortified and closed batteries. The result, as the author notes, despite their strengths, is the extreme vulnerability of this defence system. In summary, he asserts that these forts are capable of withstanding a maritime attack as long as enemy troops do not land in large numbers on the coasts. The landing of a large land army would be fatal to these forts, which are supplied daily with food and which receive water from the outside. Apart from the proposed architectural changes, the author of the report underlines the importance of the logistical

36 Mansel, *Constantinople*, pp. 204–05.

shortcomings of these forts which should be corrected by the construction of wheat stores, bakeries for the manufacture of bread, and cisterns to ensure water supply to the defenders during a long siege.[37]

The French governments of the nineteenth century were no less interested in the state of the forts of the Dardanelles than those of the Ancien Régime. Numerous handwritten reports bear witness to this, for the most part buried at the bottom of the boxes of the archives, as well as the travel accounts over the pages of works printed for the French military. The *Voyage militaire dans l'empire othoman* published in 1829 by Félix de Beaujour, inspector of the French consulates and counters in the Levant, is just the tip of the iceberg. This diplomat and military expert travelled most of the territory of the Ottoman Empire and made pertinent remarks on its defence system. He often refers to the activity of Baron de Tott whom he regards as his predecessor in inspecting French establishments in the Middle East.[38]

During this period, we can observe radical changes in the perception in France regarding the question of the Ottoman capital's defence. At the end of the seventeenth century, in spite of the good relations between the two powers, the young Louis XIV sometimes participated in military operations, and made plans of occupations, but a hundred years later, with the opening of the Eastern question, the strategic importance of the straits of Dardanelles and Bosporus increased. The Ottoman Empire became an important element of the balance of powers, and France contributed by the successful military missions to save the 'sick man of Europe'. The view of the straits' fortresses changed dramatically. The spirit of the Crusades gave way to the principle of the balance of power, and the fortresses were to symbolically defend the European order. The testimonies of military engineers, diplomats, and French travellers reflected these changes which made the bastions of the Ottoman despotism the bulwarks of European equilibrium. Later, during the Greek war of independence the image of the straits as military border had changed again. The orientation of opposing forces reinforced the border image of

37 Tóth, *Un diplomate militaire français*, pp. 132–39.

38 'Le fort Tott, construit au-dessus du cap Éléonte sur la côte d'Europe, pour lier la première position à la seconde, est une batterie détachée de treize embrasures, rentranchée à sa gorge et flanquée de tourelles. Ce fort est bien entendu assis sur un pic élevé, en face de l'embouchure du canal et à l'opposite du cap Rhétée, il n'est point dominé, et tous les vaisseaux qui entrent sont obligés de lui présenter la proue: il est par son élévation à l'abri de leur feu qui pourrait à peine en écrêter les merlons. L'ouvrage de Tott est très bien tracé, et les Turks ont mal fait de le laisser dégrader'. (Fort Tott, built above Cape Éléonte on the European coast, to link the first position to the second, is a detached battery of thirteen embrasures, retracted to its gorge and flanked by turrets. This fort is of course seated on a high peak, opposite the mouth of the canal and opposite Cape Rhétée, it is not dominated, and all the vessels which enter are obliged to present the prow to it: it is by its elevation sheltered from their fire which could hardly clip the merlons. Tott's book is very well laid out, and the Turks did wrong to let it degrade.) Beaujour, *Voyage militaire dans l'empire othoman*, II, p. 490.

two continents and two diametrically opposed civilizations. By the act of bravery of Lord Byron who swam across the Hellespont, a four-mile stretch of symbolic importance in memory of the legendary Greek hero Leander's achievement, the Dardanelles Strait thus became a symbol of Romanticism. But that is another history.

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ANA ECHEVARRIA

The Image of Elite Corps, from Al-Andalus to Lepanto

A significant number of works of art painted after the Battle of Lepanto depicted the Turks as the personification of the centuries-long threat represented by Islam, and in this respect they drew inspiration from a number of previous iconographical sources. Elite corps of bodyguards of convert origin, such as Mamluks, Janissaries, the Moorish bodyguard of the Iberian kings, and the Elches of the kings of Granada, served as a measure of their lords' importance. The symbolic depiction of these groups challenged the boundaries in the military borderland. All of them created an image of convert soldiers that permeated literary sources, and which bothered the clergy, who wrote scathing criticism against them. These soldiers appeared as crossover characters, as minor but nevertheless ever-present figures in battle scenes. The focus on these specialized troops provides an interesting point of analysis that contrasts with the prevailing image of triumphant armies in early modern battle paintings.

Triumphs over the enemies of the faith were a popular subject of the propaganda of Christian rulers from the early Middle Ages.[1] Some of this lore was produced directly for the pope in Rome, in the form of either paintings for his basilicas or as images for manuscripts. A parallel trend was developed for the Holy Roman Emperor and the kings at both sides of the frontiers of Christendom, Spain and Portugal in the West, and Hungary and the Balkans in the East. Drawing from earlier medieval sources and strongly influenced by Vatican imagery, Philip II designed a complex iconography for the Hall of Battles in the Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial, where Muslims and

1 Echevarria, 'Enrique IV de Castilla, un rey cruzado'; Villaseñor, 'Arte "versus" ideología', pp. 152–53.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 75–95
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Protestants represented the enemy. Although the Battle of Lepanto was not chosen for this gallery, the individual paintings and series of canvases produced around the battle were exhibited as individual canvases in several of the state rooms in the monastery. A close look into these war images reveals a number of characters widespread in borderland contexts. I am referring to soldiers of a different faith from that of the rulers they served — usually bodyguards or mercenaries, or military converts personally attached to the ruler as members of his household.

Military Conversion and Elite Corps

The use of slave soldiers, mercenaries, and foreign bodyguards is as old as the armies that they served in. From Assyria through Persia to the Roman Praetorian guard, the borderlands were a coveted space for the recruitment of troops. As the extensive borders of the *dar al-Islam* grew, slave soldiers became part and parcel of caliphal great armies all around the Mediterranean.[2] Many of these slave soldiers in time became bodyguards for the caliphs. As I have shown elsewhere, conversion to Islam as a mechanism of attaching the slave soldiers to the rulers as bodyguards is an innovation in dealing with foreign troops.[3] The great empires of ancient history did not require a change of religion in their elite corps prior to the appearance of the third monotheistic faith. In the Islamic domains, the trend towards forced conversion of troops did not flourish until the times of the Ayyubid and Mamluk regimes (after the 1100s), which respected caliphal legitimacy but were in fact governed by military converts.[4] In the West, dynasties that put a special emphasis on the orthodoxy of Islamic practices according to their own religious view, such as the Almohads, also used newly converted troops as part of their retainers.[5] By the late Middle Ages, the circumstances of different geographical areas and the varying needs of their rulers led to the development of several systems of providing soldiers to be converted with slight variations among them: we can think of the Mamluk forces of Egypt, Persia, the Ottoman and the Delhi Sultanates, the Maghreb, al-Andalus, Sicily, and the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. These polities took their military manpower from their own borderlands and all kinds of religious affiliations, but also from as far away as the Mediterranean basin, the Caucasus area, the eastern frontier of Europe (Poland, Hungary, and Russia), the Tatar and Mongol khanates, etc.

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2 Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam*, pp. 163–66, shows the beginning of this phenomenon in Mecca and its advancement at the pace of the Islamic conquests.

3 Echevarria, 'Military Conversion'.

4 Denoix, 'La servilité, une condition nécessaire pour devenir prince', p. 39.

5 Lapiedra, 'Christian Participation in Almohad Armies and Personal Guards', pp. 236–41, 244–45.

The mixture of slave troops — converted or not — mercenary companies, and regular troops from varied ethnic and religious origins made the Muslim armies multicoloured and as diverse as the tactics employed by the different traditions of warfare of the many peoples that constituted such armies. The search for distinction and symbolic meaning attached to the leaders led to the establishment of a distinct group of soldiers around the rulers, who were easily differentiated from the rest of the army. The characteristics of such a bodyguard close to the ruler is vital to understanding the symbolic meaning of these elite corps. Apart from ethnicity, special physical traits, a foreign language, a forged familial relationship with the ruler, and specialized combat practices, religious difference was often one of the traits of these bodyguards. The next step forward was proselytism, namely, the conversion of these individuals to the faith of the ruler, who became their patron in their new life. I have called this process 'military conversion'.[6]

The term 'military conversion' refers to the more or less voluntary change of religious allegiance in a context where the fundamental aim of conversion is to build up a specialized corps of the army for the defence of the ruler and, only by extension, of the land (this nuance is important, because of the special role of the patron in the conversion and identity of the soldier). These changes abolished local and political allegiances, and particular cases illustrate local differences of the borderlands or diachronic changes. The enormous expense involved in these operations in the Islamic borderlands resulted in highly skilled warriors whose special skills were taken advantage of, or who were carefully trained in the caliphs' own headquarters as knights. As a propaganda motif, special emphasis is given to the idea of their use as fighters of *jihād* in the borders of Islam, although their role was much wider and included fighting other Muslim adversaries.

In military conversion situations, types of recruitment — compulsory or voluntary (i.e. paid), individual or collective — together with detachment from their land and group of origin, and legal situation (slavery or freedom) conditioned the performance of soldiers and their attitude towards their lifestyle. In the case of bodyguards, the most common case was their origins as captives of war, enslaved and subsequently used as armed forces; in other cases, tribes sold children to slave dealers, and they also became slaves, sold in markets.[7] Once the individual was extracted from his natural environment, the massive conversion of slaves was easy to achieve in courtly schools directed and taught by eunuchs who, themselves, had experienced the same training. Manumission was also a common component of this situation. Former slaves

6 Echevarria, 'Military Conversion'.

7 Some were bought from slave dealers in the Turkish steppes, and then sold to the Mamluks on duty, or else received as gifts from another ruler. In the case of the Indian *bandagān*, according to the sources the young slaves were purchased, not captured, which involves a pre-selection of the qualities of the men involved. Cf. Kumar, 'When Slaves Were Nobles', p. 39; Veinstein, 'On the Ottoman Janissaries', pp. 123–24.

could attain positions of power, and even own slaves themselves, and any of them might be later manumitted, retaining a bond of association with his former patron. They were introduced to protect, expand, and administer the realm. Once educated at court, the most talented and loyal were privileged as adopted sons by the ruler, and served in key positions as viziers, governors, and generals, and helped to uphold dynastic sovereignty.[8] Another kind of recruitment that helped increase the number of bodyguards took place on an individual basis, accepting high-status knights who had been banished from other states or were forced to seek refuge in dangerous political situations. Privileged war captives and high-rank hostages who had been brought up in foreign courts were more prone to being converted to the other's religion. The decision to serve a ruler could be accompanied by a personal commitment to religious conversion, and on such occasions the knight normally remained in his adopted land and had his social status acknowledged. An example of this kind of individual military conversion were the Marinid princes who were kept in the court of Castile, who converted to Christianity and fought in the king's bodyguard in the fifteenth century.[9]

The advantage of these knights over previous tribal retinues lay in their unconditional loyalty to their patron, which made them valuable in any geographical setting. Their passage from captivity to a military school, where they were also given training in the Islamic faith, made them free men (because they were often manumitted before embarking on active service), tied by an oath to the ruler, and by a kind of brotherhood to the other members of the guard.[10] The verbs used in Arabic and Persian chronicles for the raising of these slaves — especially if they were children or youngsters — enhance the idea of foster-parenthood: *nourish*, *foster*, *educate* are used for the relationship between the patron and the convert.[11] The bond created was at the same time spiritual and physical. The selection system and the opportunities for social promotion during their lifetime were two further elements to add to the privileged situation these men enjoyed.

Bodyguards in the Medieval Iberian Frontiers

Bodyguards marked by religious difference were used in the western Mediterranean after the thirteenth century in both Christian and Muslim polities. The idea of sovereignty as supremacy over other royal powers was closely

8 Babaie and others, *Slaves of the Shah*, p. 4.

9 Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, pp. 156–57. As for their origins, it is not clear whether they came from Fes or the Marinid holdings in the sultanate of Granada, in the mountains of Ronda.

10 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, p. 149.

11 Kumar, 'When Slaves Were Nobles', p. 41, but it is true in a general way for all the sources from Europe to Central Asia.

linked to these external signs of power. Frederick II as Holy Roman Emperor had a Muslim royal guard at his court as part of his imperial performance. On the crusader front, the Turcopoles, turned from Islam to Christianity, specialized in Turkish combat tactics as light cavalry archery. After fighting for the Byzantines, they became part of the retinue of Christian leaders after the campaign of Antioch.[12] Any of these could possibly have inspired the Aragonese kings to employ similar troops when they claimed the island of Sicily in 1285 as part of the domains of the Mediterranean-based Crown of Aragon, according to Husseyn Fancy.[13] Although the *jenets* 'de domo domini regis' used by the kings of Aragon were often mercenary troops sent by the rulers of the different polities in the Maghreb, some of them stayed close to the king. A century later, Pope Benedict XIII had to remind King Peter IV of Aragon (r. 1336–1387) not to receive military instruction from them.[14] The closest example of cross-religious bodyguards was in Granada, whose emir used to employ *elches* (Christian converted captives) as his guards at court. Very few images exist of these guards, none dated to their time. The return from the camp depicted on the walls of the Houses of El Partal, in the Alhambra gardens, does not help to characterize the *elches* of the emir's guard. The descendants and families of these *elches* were later attacked by Cardinal Cisneros as apostates who ought to be prosecuted, in the aftermath of the conquest of Granada.[15]

Keeping cross-religious bodyguards also had an operational side. In a world where professional royal armies were starting to emerge as substitutes for feudal and tribal companies, specialized training was valued above all other factors. Royal armies in Europe had their origins in the royal bodyguards, permanent royal forces — as opposed to feudal armies — where several regiments of knights and soldiers received specific training in the use of particular weapons. The creation of the Moorish guard was part of a general tendency among European monarchs to employ armed troops that were permanently available to them and solely dependent on their authority. As one of the seeds of a standing royal army, royal bodyguards underwent an unstoppable rise in the whole of Europe from about 1350, and in some ways assumed the nature of a miniature version of a true army. The general European tendency to have a permanent personal guard also took root in Castile. During the reigns of John II of Castile and Henry IV of Castile, the monarch's personal guard was made up of the following corps: the *monteros* (huntsmen)

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12 Richard, 'Les Turcopoles au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre'; Harari, 'The Military Role of the Frankish Turcopoles'.

13 Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean*, pp. 8–9.

14 The *jineta* riders of the house of our lord the king. Ferrer i Mallol, 'La organización militar en Cataluña en la Edad Media', p. 186.

15 On the changing definition of this term and the use of *elches* in fifteenth-century Granada, see Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, pp. 316–28; Echevarria, 'La conversion des chevaliers musulmans' pp. 126-28.

of Espinosa (a group of forty-eight men since the times of Alfonso XI); the crossbowmen and huntsmen, both mounted and on foot, of whom there were only twenty to forty individuals after Henry IV's reign; the *ballesteros de maza* (crossbowmen with maces) who guarded the king's bedchamber; the guard of young noblemen who accompanied the monarch; and finally the Moorish guard. In this context, the Moorish guard can be seen as one more element in the late medieval army, carrying out light cavalry functions.

Their duties at court included watching over the king and his family, protecting him during his travels and public appearances, and hunting and jousting as part of his retinue. In the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, more importantly for this study, these duties included accompanying the king as part of the royal army in his military campaigns against Granada, armed like the Islamic light cavalry. Its members were recruited among Mudejars from northern Castilian aljamas or Granadan knights who had quarrelled with their Muslim lords. In the beginning, the Moorish guard was created in Castile as an answer to the steady number of knights who switched sides during the campaigns in Granada, and a way to keep hostages close to the royal houses in such a way that they would serve John II's interests more effectively. The lack of soldiers under the king's orders in a troubled period of Castilian history encouraged the use of paid troops of another religion who offered the security of being solely dependent on the king. The Moorish knights were direct vassals of the monarch, of whose household they formed a part and from whom they received their *raciones* or allowances. Other factors were also involved, such as the high degree of specialization of some of these men in certain kinds of operations the royal army needed to build in. The role of cavalry in pitched battle was always presented as decisive and occupied the most striking pages of the chronicles, and training as light cavalry included both hunting and tournaments. According to Don Juan Manuel, the Christian armies based their success on the charging strength of their cavalry and the technical superiority of their weapons, which by the fifteenth century included advanced artillery.[16] In fact, bombardiers of the royal army (*bombardero*) were either Mudejars or converts from Islam in both Castile and Navarre, where the Mudejars of La Ribera also designed and manufactured the '*ingenios*' or war machines used in defence, sieges, and assaults on fortresses, as well as ladders and other instruments. Musical skills were also appreciated among members of the royal guard, as *atabaleros* (kettledrummers) and trumpeters. The place of these men in the royal household, their salaries, and special rewards show the king's esteem, while the deliberate preservation of Moorish style in their dress reveals a careful design of stage policies in the royal household.[17]

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16 Don Juan Manuel, *El libro de los Estados*, pp. 221–36; Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, p. 104.

17 Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, pp. 104–05; Fancy, *The Mercenary Mediterranean*, pp. 18–21.

By the end of the Middle Ages, both Christians and Muslims were using the combined tactic of heavy cavalry and light cavalry *a la jineta*, and both of them became part of their political propaganda. Constable Álvaro de Luna used knights riding in the two styles in his public parades, the same as King John II of Castile. Luna was proud to be 'called *cabalgador* (rider) in both saddles', that is, a skilled rider in the two styles, as can be seen in his portrait in the Hall of Battles.[18] The pattern was repeated in the households of some of the great lords in the frontier region who were known to have Moorish tastes, such as the constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, whose guard dressed in the Moorish style, or indeed may have actually been made up of Moors, like that of the king.[19]

The Battle of La Higueruela left a unique graphic document on the makeup of the Castilian royal army and the role played in it by the Moorish knights. The breathtaking fresco was painted in the Hall of Battles of the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial, based on a near-contemporary representation of the battle.[20] The original canvas has been attributed to the Florentine Dello Delli, who worked as court painter to John II around 1445. The canvas, which was 130 feet long, was later found rolled up in a chest in the Alcazar of Segovia and was ordered to be reproduced by Philip II. In the image, the armies appear in their characteristic arrangement in ranks, and the Moorish knights are seen as John II's guard, together with a large number of troops *a la jineta* on both sides. Its reproduction, with a number of details to re-enact the story in the sixteenth century, was due to the collaborative work of Niccola Granello, Fabrizio Castello, Lazaro Tavarone, and Orazio Cambiaso, who introduced some of the topics of sixteenth-century armed confrontation (Fig. 4.1).[21]

The role of the Moorish knights as the king's personal guard was strengthened during the reign of Henry IV of Castile. Henry scarcely employed any new knights, unless to replace men who had died, but preferred to retain the same men who had joined the guard under his father. Otherwise, he employed the sons, starting a hereditary process that resembled other offices of the royal administration. During the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the descendants of Moorish knights normally reached the second or third generation, but the Moorish guard as such had been dissolved, since it did not agree with the ideology conducting the Wars of Granada. In this new context, the descendants of the

18 Chacón, *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna*, pp. 68, 207.

19 Escavias, *Hechos del condestable don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, p. 138.

20 Silva Maroto, 'El arte en España en la época del primer marqués de Santillana', pp. 183–85; Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, pp. 52–55.

21 'Mandola pintar el Rey, a imitación de los antiguos Césares, en un lienço de 130 pies, que hasta hoy permanece en nuestro Alcaçar, aunque apolillado y roto. De aquí la hizo copiar el Rey Don Felipe II para el Escurial: pintura curiosa por la diversidad de trages y armas defensivas y ofensivas de aquel tiempo, si bien la pintura animada y durable contra el tiempo es la historia': Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia*, p. 337; Villaseñor, 'Arte "versus" ideología', pp. 161–62.



Figure 4.1. Niccola Granello, Fabrizio Castello, Lazaro Tavarone, and Orazio Cambiaso, *Moorish Guard at the Battle of La Higueruela (1431)*, Hall of Battles, Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial, Spain. *c.* 1590. © Patrimonio Nacional.

Moorish guard became members of the royal guards (*guardias reales*), the most similar institution in function and organization, but deprived of religious or cultural connotations. Diplomacy and local citizens' cavalry companies were the other leading roles for these Muslims and their descendants. As far as the military aspect was concerned, the end of the war against Granada meant an end to the need for *almogávar* knights on the frontier, so many moved with the royal guards to other military fronts, or else lived out their lives peacefully in the lands granted to them in recognition of their military services.[22]

The scene recreated in the Hall of Battles raises some interesting issues, such as why did Philip II choose to represent the Battle of La Higueruela in El Escorial, in the most representative place of the monastery apart from the throne room, instead of one of the battles of his father, Charles I, against the Turks in Europe, or the conquest of Granada by Isabella and Ferdinand. The fresco shows the change of meaning between the original set of the battle in the Middle Ages (it took place on 1 July 1431) and what it symbolized for Philip II, who placed it opposite to the siege of St-Quentin, the official reason for the construction of the monastery, which happened between 10 and 27 August 1557. During the reign of John II, war against Granada was always led by a person other than the

22 Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, p. 203.

king, a fact that did not contribute much to the symbolic legitimization of the figure of this monarch according to the guidelines established since ancient times in the Iberian kingdoms. On the other hand, it did allow for the ideological justification of the two characters who exercised the most political influence over Castile: Infante Ferdinand of Antequera, during the king's minority, and Don Álvaro de Luna, for the rest of his life. Both politicians shared a clear consciousness of the role of the dynasty at the head of the kingdom, a message that they transmitted through symbolic gestures such as Ferdinand's pledge to John II and his mother Queen Catherine of Lancaster upon returning from the Antequera campaign, offering them his triumph, or the obligatory presence of John II in Cordoba, at the head of the Castilian troops just before the Battle of La Higueruela, despite being absent during the rest of the campaign. The Battle of La Higueruela in El Escorial shows these nuances in the exercise of royal power in the precedence given to Constable Álvaro de Luna and his troops over King John II and his guard. The king is there, as well as in his camp, as a symbolic figure, but he is not present in battle.

Although the victory of La Higueruela was minor compared to other Castilian triumphs, it was the only pitched battle of this period. This type of open field confrontation between two large armies, led by their kings, was considered by medieval chroniclers as one of the most important events in the history of a king and his reign. Its transcendence transformed it into a way of dating documents for the royal chancery, and as the matter of popular romances and legends that were in charge of perpetuating the exploits of its participants. Its very grandeur made it the most extraordinary and least employed tactic during the entire confrontation between Christians and Muslims in the Peninsula. A pitched battle implied a previous agreement between two contenders willing to settle their differences once and for all in a fixed place and time, accepting the political consequences of the result for both the victors and the vanquished. It was therefore considered as the true judgement of God, an appeal to the divine justice that legitimized the winner of a fight that put on the board all the military resources of a kingdom. La Higueruela meant all this and much more in the eyes of the Castilians. For the Nasrids, what was in question was the divine legitimization of one of the two candidates to the throne, both more or less dynastically illegitimate: Muhammad IX or Yusuf IV ibn al-Mawl. The former took all his troops out of the city — the chronicles give a figure, perhaps exaggerated, of four thousand knights and two hundred thousand foot-soldiers — to confront the Christian allies of Yusuf IV in the open field, an unprecedented decision. The outcome of the battle was considered a triumph by the Castilian dynasty. Yusuf IV had become a formal vassal of the king, who authorized him to use the title of King of Granada, investing him with the badge of the Band, emblem of the King of Castile based on the order of chivalry founded by Alfonso XI.[23]

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23 Carrillo de Huete, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*, p. 106; Barrientos, *Refundición de la Crónica del Halconero*, p. 122: Echevarria, *Knights on the Frontier*, pp. 67–68.

Understanding the symbolic meaning of the Battle of La Higueruela in the definition of dynastic thinking and the role of the king as defender of the faith helps to place it in the context of Philip II's self-imagination. The peaceful surrender of Granada to the Catholic Monarchs did not exactly convey the same meaning.

Bodyguards in the Age of Lepanto

But let us now turn to the role of Muslim bodyguards in another scenery of conflict. The reception of the other great triumph against the Muslims, the Battle of Lepanto (1571), did not make an impact in the Hall of Battles of the monastery of San Lorenzo, as would have been expected. Mínguez has explained this fact as a result of the jealousy of Philip II, who did not want to acknowledge the role of his half-brother John of Austria in the great success of the League; however, more nuanced interpretations can now be pursued given the interest of the king in promoting a Spanish agenda for the triumph.[24] Nevertheless, engravings were circulated and large paintings ordered all around Europe to commemorate the event. First, images tried to capture and document the strategy, showing the confronting armies, or else a general view of the battle, with the boarding of the ships in the foreground. Examples of these images are Egnazio Danti's painting for the Map Gallery of the Vatican, ordered by Pope Gregory XIII (1580–1581), the anonymous *Battle of Lepanto* at Greenwich National Maritime Museum, or the series painted by Luca Cambiaso given by Andrea Doria to the secretary for Italy, Antonio Pérez, nowadays hanging in the cloister of the monastery of San Lorenzo.[25] Andrea Doria (1466–1560) and his heir, Giovanni Andrea I (1540–1606), who had repeatedly vanquished the Turks as *generals of the sea*, and subsequently ordered a number of works of art to promote their role of champions in the fight against the Muslim enemy as well as their claim to primacy in the ranks of Genoese aristocracy, had ordered these paintings as part of their propaganda scheme to present their participation in the battle as trustworthy and heroic.[26] The bird's-eye focus of the scene, too far to show the participants, remains foreign to the men who fought in the sea battle.

More allegorical images appeared slightly later in time, when the powers who had signed the Holy League wanted to celebrate their only triumph in

24 Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar'; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 388–403; Hanß, 'Event and Narration', p. 92. Philip and his son Fernando had not fought at the Battle of Lepanto, but neither had they led the armies at St-Quentin or other victories of the Habsburgs which were represented in the monastery.

25 Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar', pp. 8–9; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 395–96.

26 Stagno, 'Triumphing over the Enemy', pp. 148–49, 157. Part of this strategy was designed to counter Venetian diplomacy and accounts, according to Hanß, 'Event and Narration', pp. 85–86.



Figure 4.2. Drowning of Turkish enemies, one janissary in the centre. Detail from Giorgio Vasari, *The Battle of Lepanto*, Sala Regia, Vatican Palaces. 1572. © Wikimedia Commons.

the ongoing maritime war. These paintings took special care of symbolic images of the contenders, or else represented the leaders and soldiers of both armies in action.[27] The first frescoes to create an idealized image of the Turks was the cycle conceived by Giorgio Vasari for the Sala Regia of the Vatican, very different from the map-like tactical version for the Map Gallery, only one month after the battle. Of the three frescoes originally intended for the Sala Regia, the one entitled *The Holy League* (1572) depicts Death harassing the defeated Turks, on the right. However, it is in *The Battle of Lepanto* (1572) where Vasari addresses the inferiority of the Turks in different images: an allegory of the Faith sitting over the defeated enemy, fallen standards, and drowning Turks, providing one of the most moving images of the vulnerability of the otherwise powerful Turkish soldiers (Fig. 4.2). Being ethically inferior to the Christians, according to Strunck, they leave their fallen to drown, as the janissary who appears in the forefront.[28] This is the first depiction of the important role of the elite Turkish troops in this maritime confrontation.

The origin of the janissaries has been dated to the reign of Murad I (r. 1362–1389), who used a fifth of all slaves taken in war to establish the janissary as a corps loyal only to the sultan, and was later expanded under Suleyman I

27 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 352–53. For a study of the engravings, see pp. 353–66.
28 Strunck, 'The Barbarous and Noble Enemy', pp. 222–25; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 377–80; and Mínguez, 'A Sea of Dead Turks'.

(1520–1566).[29] Their structure and strengths were described in the fourth part of Konstantin Mihailović's *Memoirs of a Janissary*, written around 1490 in order to assist the Christian powers in their fight against the Ottomans inland.[30] Janissaries became a decisive tool in siege warfare, thanks to their specific ability to act as a monolithic and compact block in the final assault. Well known in Western Europe as part of the most functional units of the Ottoman army, and strongly linked with the sultan, they are mentioned in polemical works against Islam, such as the *Fortalitium fidei* by Alonso de Espina (*c.* 1460).[31] In this work, janissaries appear in the illuminations concerning the wars in the Balkans and the capture of Constantinople, being one of the earliest testimonies of recognizable Turks in Western Europe.[32]

In the early times of this elite corps, the janissaries were armed with their formidable recurved bow, sabre, shield, and mail. However, under Murad II (1404–1451) they had changed the bow for the more fashionable handgun (*tüfek* or *arcabuz*), which appears in the defence of frontier castles such as Novoberda (Novo Brdo) in 1455. Ottoman registers of *timar* prebends or military fiefs mentioned gunners (*sing, topçu*) remunerated with *timars* from as early as 1390.[33] As for their faith, gunners, arquebusiers, and crossbowmen serving in Ottoman forts in the Balkans were Christians or recent converts, whereas in strategically located castles all of the artillerymen were Muslims.[34] Most of the Janissary infantry corps of the Ottoman army was formed through *devshirme*, the system of forced recruitment of children for the Ottoman infantry, established around 1326 and abandoned at the end of the seventeenth century. It affected the Balkans, Hungary, Armenia, Greece, and Poland, but the real figures of this levy remain dubious.[35] The fact that the recruits were converted to Islam did not change their exclusiveness as a group, their strangeness from the rest of the Turkish society, and their personal almost familial relationship with the sultan. Janissaries conveyed the idea of the submission of Byzantium and Eastern Europe at first sight, while giving prestige to the ruler they served.

The account of Sultan Mehmed II's expedition of 1462 against Vlad Drakula in Wallachia, written by Mihailović, already mentions that the janissaries were given '80 large and well-rigged boats and other necessities for shooting: guns, short-barrelled cannons, light cannons and hand-held cannons', which

29 Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 111–13; Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', p. 88.

30 Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, pp. 169–75; Buc, 'One among Many Renegades', p. 7.

31 In the two wars describing the loss of Constantinople and the siege of Belgrade: de Espina, *Fortalitium fidei contra iudaeos*, Burgo de Osma, MS 154, fols 141^{v}–142^{r}.

32 About twenty years earlier than the xylographies/wood engravings by Erhard Reuwich for Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (Mainz, 1486) or by Guillaume Caoursin in *Obsidionis Rhodiae Urbis description* (1480). Cf. Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, p. 178.

33 Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', p. 88; Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, p. 135.

34 Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', pp. 93–95, 105–06.

35 Menage, 'Some Notes on the Devsirme'; Bennassar, *Cristianos de Alá*, pp. 320–27; Goodwin, *The Janissaries*.

shows that by that time, the bodyguards were already experts in artillery.[36] The introduction of gunpowder and guns in the army required specialized knowledge and professional soldiers, which were included, in the same way as in Europe, as members of the sultan's standing household forces, known as *kapukulu* or 'slave-servitors of the [sultan's]'. Changes in armament were a matter of discussion, therefore debates ensued as to whether arquebusiers had the same accuracy as archers. Matchlock arquebuses, the first handheld firearm with a trigger, could have appeared in the Ottoman Empire as early as 1465 and in Europe a little before 1475. Personal weapons were joined by cannons, which started to be used in the Danube flotillas and ships.[37]

In the Ottoman rulers' mind, the use of this new and revolutionary weapon was intended to remain the monopoly of the janissaries, in connection — one can imagine — with their status as a standing army under the direct supervision of the sovereign, which gave better opportunities for both training and control. An instructor in chief (*ta'limhânecibaşı*) was appointed by the sultan. In fact, this monopoly quickly became obsolete, and firearms circulated among much larger sections of the population, partly because of quarrels between the various members of the Ottoman dynasty. The number of janissaries equipped with firearms (*tüfenkli*, *tüfenk-endâz*) began to increase under the reign of Mehmed II, and this continued under the subsequent reigns. Suleyman the Magnificent was famous for having expanded the state arms factories. However, janissaries continued using archery until the end of the sixteenth century, and in some battles they were even more valuable than guns.[38]

Key to Ottoman success in the sixteenth century were other factors such as high intelligence, resourceful leadership, large and disciplined professional armies, superior supply, and the tactical combined use of field artillery, infantry firepower, wagon tresses, and cavalry. At the time of naval battles such as Lepanto, the janissaries were no longer just the personal escort of the sultan, but had become the main factor in the Ottomans' military superiority.[39] They took part in all the main campaigns, both on land and at sea, even in the absence of their patron, the sultan. They were employed as part of the crew of ships as the best trained infantry firepower. Probably the janissaries who were recruited for sea battles would come from the *'acemi oglan* (literally 'the foreign boys', identified commonly with janissary trainees) based in the harbour of Gelibolu (Gallipoli) on the Dardanelles, where their duty was to work on the ships coming across the strait, as well as to transport heavy material and troops from the Asiatic to the European parts of the sultanate

36 Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, pp. 131–33; Buc, 'One among Many Renegades', p. 8.

37 Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', p. 89; Needham, *Science & Civilisation in China*, p. 443.

38 Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', pp. 87–88, 98.

39 Veinstein, 'On the Ottoman Janissaries', p. 118.



Figure 4.3. Fighting on the deck, janissaries to the right. Detail from Andries Van Eertvelt, *The Battle of Lepanto*, private collection. 1640. © Wikimedia Commons.

across the Dardanelles.[40] In the same way, they contributed to shipbuilding in the shipyards of Galata: many boys were mobilized after the destruction of the Ottoman fleet in Lepanto.[41] According to the report of Theodoros Spandouyn Cantacasin,

> Après qu'ilz les auront osté de ce meschant mestier, ilz leur font apprendre à tirer de l'arc et des dards. Aprez, ils les despartent à divers capitaines à ce qu'ilz appreignent l'exercice des armes et aulcuns d'eux les mectent sur la mer.[42]
>
> (After having removed them from this humble job, they made them learn archery. Afterwards, they divided them among different captains so they learnt the practice of war, and some of them were sent to the sea.)

This maritime training could also include the arquebus. To reinforce these sailor troops, janissary gunners were placed in the vanguard of each ship, as we see in the paintings by Andries Van Eertvelt (Figs 4.3, 4.4, 4.5).

Van Eertvelt is documented in Genoa from 1628 to 1630, where he lived with his fellow countryman Cornelis de Wael, who also practised marine art, in particular the depiction of sea battles. De Wael was a long-term resident in Genoa who arranged work for Van Eertvelt during his stay in the city. The background for the commissions to the Flemish painters lays in the patronage of the Genoese doges after the battle. The nuanced vision of the Turks that

40 Veinstein, 'On the Ottoman Janissaries', pp. 128, 130, 132; Vargas-Hidalgo, *La batalla de Lepanto*, p. 61.

41 Veinstein, 'On the Ottoman Janissaries', p. 133.

42 Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit traicté*, p. 104; Veinstein, 'On the Ottoman Janissaries', p. 134.



Figure 4.4. Crew of Ottoman archers. Andries Van Eertvelt, *The Battle of Lepanto*, private collection. 1622. © Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 4.5. Sunken Turks. Detail from Andries Van Eertvelt, *The Battle of Lepanto*, Museum Voor Schone Kunsten (Msk), Ghent. 1623. © Wikimedia Commons.

Genoese art chose to present continued in the balanced depiction of the series of paintings on Lepanto by Van Eertvelt, which seems to have originated in the popularity it retained with members of the lesser nobility in Genoa, where the episode was still remembered in the following century. In between, efforts to keep the offensive against the Turks and their protégés the Berber pirates in the Mediterranean were harboured by Giovanni Andrea Doria. The Flemish series of paintings follows on the subject of the canvases and tapestries

commissioned around 1581 in order to explain his participation in the battle, but developed a different imagery, more engaged with the protagonists and less with the tactical movements of the fleet. This resulted in a livelier and more dramatic approach to the episode as regards the majestic parade of the ships in the tapestries (Fig. 4.4).[43]

Among the Turkish armies, archers and artillery show the janissaries' characteristic skills. While some of the paintings used a more idealized, less obscure style, the dramatic aura involving the 1623 depiction of the battle in the middle of a storm suggests a change in his approach (Fig. 4.5).

The gradual increase in the number of janissaries and their division into regiments can be explained in part by the need to garrison frontier provinces, to besiege artillery fortifications, amphibious operations, and longer sieges of modernized fortifications in the Mediterranean islands of Malta (1565) and Cyprus (1570–1571).[44] The mission of the janissaries was not limited to the sultan, but they could act as guards for the different Turkish authorities, when these were sent as delegates of the most important authority. The participation of the janissaries in missions to accompany Turkish authorities, with an evident dissuasive purpose, was also described in the reports that reached the ambassador of the Genoese Doge Giulio Canova.[45] The naval

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43 Russell, *Visions of the Sea*, pp. 181–85; Vlieghe, *Arte y arquitectura flamenca*, pp. 311–12; Stagno, 'Triumphing over the Enemy', pp. 161–62; Carpentier, 'The Necessary Enemy', pp. 248–59.

44 Ágoston, 'Firearms and Military Adaptation', pp. 113–14; Murphey, 'Yeñi Čeri'.

45 'Vinieron aquí en frente de Tabarca en tierra firme algunos turcos con su caydi embiado por el alcayde Dramedan sardo (renegado) que por el Rey de Argel reside en Tunes y se metieron en çiertas casas viejas que están en frente de Tabarca una milla y no dexan venir ningún moro en esta isla. El otro dia los dichos turcos alçaron bandera para venir a parlamento con el Capitán el qual luego le embio una barca a llevarlos e vino el dicho caydi con seis janiçaros y después de haver comido dixo que le embiava el dicho Alcayde Dramedan por orden del Rey d'Argel para cobrar la decima de los moros de lo que traen a vender y que lo mismo querían de los christianos de lo que compravan y que en donde ellos estaban en aquellas casas viejas se haría cada día el mercado y particularmente el jueves adonde el Capitán y los demás podrían seguramente embiar a comprar como se pague el derecho de su Rey, de manera que esto ha pesado mucho al Capitán y a los moros por ser dañoso a entrambas partes y no poderse libremente negotiar como antes' (Some Turks with their officer came here in front of Tabarca on the mainland, sent by the Sardinian Dramedan (renegade), the governor of Tunis for the King of Algiers. They got into some old houses distant one mile from Tabarca, and they do not let any Moor come to this island. The other day the said Turks raised their flag to come to parley with the Captain, who then sent a boat to take them. The said *qa'id* came with six janissaries, and after having eaten he said that he was sent by the said *qa'id* Dramedan by order of the King of Algiers to collect the tenth of the Moors on the goods they bring to sell and that they wanted to obtain the same thing from the Christians on the goods they bought. [They told them that] in those old houses they held, the market would be held every day and particularly on Thursday where the Captain and the others could surely come to buy as the right of their King is paid, so that this has weighed heavily on the Captain and the Moors for being harmful to both parties and not being able to freely negotiate as before): 17 October 1570, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, 1400/67. Cf. Vargas-Hidalgo, *La batalla de Lepanto*, p. 147.



Figure 4.6. Andrea Michieli, il Vicentino, *Battle of Lepanto*, Ducal Palace, Venice. 1571. © Wikimedia Commons.

and shooting experience of the janissaries made them indispensable as part of the armed troops that embarked in the Turkish navy, as the spies deployed in Constantinople well point out.[46]

Thus, janissaries also appear as part of the escort of the *kapudan* (Turkish Admiral, called Captain of the Sea by the Spaniards) Ali Pasha, a self-made man who had risen in Istanbul to the rank of fourth vizier and had been appointed admiral after the Cyprus campaign despite not having experience in maritime warfare.[47] Within the squadron of 221 galleys, 56 galleys and *fustas*, and 92,000 men, it is difficult to know the exact number of janissaries. However, the 1815 Christian cannons were clearly superior to the 750 at the disposal of the Turks.[48] The best allegorical depiction of the strength and symbolic meaning of this janissary escort is probably Andrea Michieli il Vicentino's *Battle of Lepanto* for the hall of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice (Fig. 4.6). He underlines their role as arquebusiers, but more importantly, placing them at the feet of Ali Pasha, admiral to the fleet, he reinstates them in their natural role as bodyguards of the sultan and his representatives.[49]

However, the Colonna gallery depiction of the battle in the vault only offers fancy Turkish costumes in some details of the ceiling frescoes, and

46 'Ali Baxa, capitán del Mar, […] partio con 25 galeras, 14 galeaças que son mahonas cargadas de artillería, pelotas y 1500 geniçaros, y otros ocho vaxeles, y lo demás del armada se va metiendo en orden, y se jusga partira a la mitad de mayo con Piali Baxa, el qual se cree será general de toda el armada' (Ali Baja, Captain of the Sea, left with 25 galleys, 14 galleasses, which are mahonas [Turkish transport vessels] heavy with artillery, balls, and 1500 jannissaries, and eight ships more, and the rest of the army is getting organized. It is thought that it will leave mid-May with Piali Baja, who is believed will be the commander of the whole army): 19 March 1571, Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, 1401/242. Cf. Vargas-Hidalgo, *La batalla de Lepanto*, p. 196.

47 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, p. 339.

48 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 340–42.

49 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 381–82, 385.

not one janissary to be seen. The later conception of this programme seems to have deprived it of real-life characters.[50]

If Lepanto was won, as several scholars suggest, by the superior fire capacity of the Christian troops, praise of the janissaries would automatically enhance the Christian victory. Their resilience was praised by some of the contemporary witnesses of the battle.[51]

As we have seen, the Mediterranean appears as a confrontational zone that, however, fostered the phenomenon of religious transfer which nuanced the perception of the enemy. Notwithstanding the strong message conveyed by cross-religious bodyguards who could be forced into conversion, military prowess made of these men an example of how the embedded qualities of Christians had remained intact and were used by their rivals. Bodyguards and royal armies developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into complex organisms where multicultural and multireligious battalions could be found. Their proximity to the ruler — and their purposeful foreign attire — helped to enhance the prestige of rulers, both Muslim and Christian, becoming an important part of their propaganda. The role of pitched battles, both on land and maritime, in creating such a propaganda, combined with the use of these men in the humanization of war, once the first political messages had been delivered, shows an evolution in the iconography of warfare.

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50 Strunck, 'The Barbarous and Noble Enemy', p. 231.

51 Parker, *The Military Revolution*, pp. 87–89; on the testimony of Girolamo Diedo, see also p. 211; Barbero, *Lepanto*.

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Part 2

Lepanto

The Image and the Reflection of the Battle in the Mediterranean Basin and Beyond

LAURA STAGNO

Between Liguria and Southern Piedmont

Images of Lepanto in Religious Contexts

The Christian triumph over the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto, though not strategically relevant in the long term from a strictly military point of view, generated an unprecedented campaign of celebrations in a variety of media, comprising all kinds of visual art as well as literary texts and performative events.[1] In the immediate aftermath of the victory — which created a significant shift of paradigm in European perceptions, causing the demise of the myth of the 'invincible Turk'[2] — Western Christendom brought forth an exceptionally high number of processions and festivals, works of art, poems, and other texts to commemorate the event; but the latter's value as a testimony of divine favour and as a model of success in the long-lasting confrontation with the 'infidels' would prove durable, so that representations and references to the battle can also be found in many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artefacts. From the beginning, Venice, Rome, and to a lesser degree the Spanish court were at the centre of this extensive, multimedia propaganda, given their leading

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1 On Lepanto's celebrations, see, among other studies, Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar'; Le Thiec, 'Les enjeux iconographiques et artistiques'; Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*; Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*; García Hernán, 'Consecuencias politico-culturales de la batalla de Lepanto'; Mínguez, 'Iconografía de Lepanto'; Scorza, 'Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes'; Wright, Spence, and Lemons, eds, *The Battle of Lepanto*; Mínguez, 'El Greco y la sacralización de Lepanto'; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*; Mínguez, 'Doria y Austria en Lepanto'; Stagno and Franco Llopis, eds, *Lepanto and Beyond*.

2 Soykut, *The Image of the 'Turk' in Italy*, pp. 61–66; Harper, ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye*, p. 8; Scorza, 'Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes', pp. 177–78.

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role in the Holy League that defeated the Turks;[3] but many other territories, connected to the other states that took part in the coalition or merely involved in the climate of antagonism with the Ottomans, also produced a number of significant works, especially in the context of religious art.[4] The representation of Lepanto or its evocation through the depiction of its protagonists included not only a series of recurrent topoi but also many variables heavily influenced by the agenda of the patrons, and could therefore be quite place-specific.[5] This essay focuses on the Ligurian territory and on the bordering southern area of Piedmont (currently corresponding with the provinces of Cuneo, Asti, and Alessandria), focusing on centres which are perceived as peripheral to the main Lepanto discourse and are often relatively minor, with the aim of investigating the plurality of iconographic typologies related to the 1571 triumph prevailing in these contexts. The Republic of Genoa and the Duchy of Savoy (both of them members of the Holy League, albeit not major ones, contributing three galleys each to the Christian fleet) governed these territories, which shared a history of interconnections; the Apennine area between Liguria and Piedmont, in particular, was the place where influences from the two states (and the eastern part of the Spanish state of Milan as well) intermingled, where their borderlands met. With reference to the whole of this area, a notable variety of approaches must be noted. The city of Genoa enjoys a unique position in this context, because in the 'Dominante' — contrary to what happened in its dominion — the commemoration of Lepanto was primarily (though not exclusively) linked to the aristocratic patronage of noblemen who had fought in the battle, or their families; it aimed to provide a detailed record of the events and enhance the commissioners' direct connection to this military triumph. Though patronage by the Spinolas and possibly the Negronis is also attested, Giovanni Andrea Doria was the absolute protagonist from this point of view, with multiple Lepanto-themed artistic commissions.[6] He had led the Christian fleet's right wing and had a crucial role in the battle, though a highly controversial one as far as the results were concerned: Doria was accused by some of the other leaders of mismanaging the manoeuvres of the galleys under his command and breaching the Christian fleet's line-up, a serious accusation and an intricate matter on which opinions were divided. Possibly a fabricated

3 On the question of a possible initial reluctance of King Philip II to celebrate the victory on a grand scale, because of his complicated relationship with Don John of Austria, see Jordan, 'Imagined Lepanto'; Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar'; Mínguez, 'El Greco y la sacralización de Lepanto'; Stagno and Franco Llopis, 'A Brief Review', p. 32; Hanß, 'Event and Narration'.

4 For a first survey of literature on Lepanto celebrations in a plurality of geographical contexts, see Stagno and Franco Llopis, eds, *Lepanto and Beyond*. Spain, Venice, and papal Rome were the most important, but not the only members of the Holy League, which also included the Republic of Genoa, the Knights of Malta, the Granduchy of Tuscany, the Duchy of Savoy, the Duchy of Urbin, the Republic of Lucca, the Duchy of Ferrara, and the Duchy of Mantua.

5 See Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 9–19; for politically inspired diverging narratives of the battle, see Hanß, 'Event and Narration'.

6 Stagno, 'Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa'.

black legend, but one which caused a great stir at the time, prompting Doria to engage in a campaign of self-defence and self-celebration, of which his artistic commissions were part.[7] Both the controversy sparked by Giovanni Andrea's actions and the artistic works he commissioned — his portrait in arms with naval symbols bearing the date of the battle, the six canvases by Luca Cambiaso sent to Antonio Pérez in Spain (representing the phases of the Holy League's venture from the fleet's meeting in Messina through the clash with the enemy to the victorious return to Corfu), and the tapestries for his own palace in Genoa, after cartoons by Cambiaso (which depict the same sequence of narrative scenes, but with the addition of complex allegorical frames and the personification of Venice, Rome, and Spain in three separate pieces) — have recently been the object of detailed analyses,[8] and are not central to the survey here presented: suffice therefore to underline that in these works classical and allegorical imagery is used, with no reference to religious figures or celestial intervention. Outside Genoa, instead, the memory of Lepanto was mostly celebrated — in the Ligurian as well as the southern Piedmontese territory — in a web of devotional contexts, though on a remarkably different scale in the two territories and adopting a variety of approaches.

As is well known, Pope Pius V, the Holy League's main architect, promoted a religious interpretation of the victory, which was widely accepted; more specifically, he credited the Ottomans' defeat to the intercession of Mary, 'Virginis Dei Genitricis Mariae [...] meritis et piis intercessionibus', as he proclaimed in his bull *Salvatoris Domini Nostri* (5 March 1572),[9] issued on the request of Lepanto commander Luis de Zuñiga y Requesens, by which the pontiff conferred a privilege for the annual celebration of the Feast of the Holy Rosary on the confraternity in Martorell (Requesens's fiefdom), to be held on 7 October;[10] twelve days later, on 17 March, the pope established a new liturgical feast, the *Commemoratio Beatae Mariae Virginis de Victoria*, to mark the anniversary of the victory in more general terms. In this case, Pius V did not make explicit mention of the rosary (for which he had an intense personal devotion and to which he had dedicated the 1569 bull *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices*, extending the Dominican Order's version of the sequence of prayers to the whole Church);[11] but in the following year his successor, Pope Gregory XII, explicitly linked the new feast to Our Lady of the Rosary in his bull *Monet Apostolus*, citing the efficacy of the rosary confraternities' prayers on the day of the battle in propitiating the Christians' victory through Mary's intercession, and shifting the feast's celebration to the first Sunday of

7 Beri, 'Accusation, Defense and Self-Defense'.
8 Stagno, *Giovanni Andrea Doria*, pp. 39–76; Stagno, 'Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa'; Beri, 'Accusation, Defense and Self-Defense'; Hanß, 'Event and Narration'.
9 Pius V, *Salvatoris Domini Nostri*, in *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, ed. by Larroca, p. 90.
10 Kochaniewicz, 'The Contribution of the Dominicans', p. 398.
11 George Tvrtković, 'Our Lady of Victory or Our Lady of Beauty?', p. 408.

October.[12] (It became the shared patron feast of all rosary *fraternitates*.)[13] This secured a widespread and lasting connection between the Christian triumph at Lepanto and the devout practice of the rosary; even in the Venetian Palazzo Ducale, a non-religious seat and the ultimate showcase of the Republic's self-celebration, an inscription was affixed by the Senate's order under Andrea Vicentino's representation of the battle, reading 'Non duces, non vires, non arma sed Maria Rosarii fecit nos victores'.[14]

Thus the iconography of the rosary — which already had a complex history and a number of different typologies[15] — absorbed the celebration of the 1571 victory as one of its possible components, with a varying degree of frequency and importance in different territories.[16]

In general terms, as Daniele Sanguineti's recent research has shown,[17] large-scale depictions of the battle were not usually included in the decoration of the rosary chapels or other religious contexts in Liguria, where the victory, when it was commemorated, was more frequently evoked through either the depiction of the Holy League's 'princes' (that is, the leaders of the coalition's main powers, represented in other regions too, especially in southern Italy),[18] sometimes reduced to the lone figure of the pope, or a small representation of the clash inserted in a larger altarpiece (often a combination of both solutions). The most monumental illustration of the theme is to be found in the church of Santi Cornelio e Cipriano in the village of San Cipriano (Serra Riccò, Val Polcevera) (Fig. 5.1).

On a side wall of its rosary chapel, erected by a fraternity founded in 1623, Lazzaro Tavarone and his workshop frescoed a large effigy of the Virgin in the

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12 Gregorius XIII, *Monet Apostolus*, in *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, ed. by Larroca, p. 97.

13 Kochaniewicz, 'The Contribution of the Dominicans', p. 399.

14 Mâle, *L'arte religiosa nel Seicento*, p. 409 and n. 169, p. 431; Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*, p. 137.

15 On the genesis, dissemination, and iconographies of the rosary and their characters in some specific areas, see, among others, Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, pp. 120–22; Ringbom, 'Maria in Sole and the Virgin of the Rosary'; Meersseman, 'Le origini della Confraternita del Rosario e della sua iconografia in Italia'; Natale, 'Vicende di un'iconografia pittorica'; Staid, 'Rosario'; Duval, 'Rosaire'; Baviera and Bentini, eds, *La 'Candida Rosa'*; Barile, *Il Rosario salterio della Vergine*; Quattrini, 'L'iconografia della Madonna del Rosario nelle Marche'; Gatti, 'Per la definizione dell'iconografia'; Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*; Gelao, 'Aspetti dell'iconografia rosariana'; Rosa, 'Pietà mariana e devozione del Rosario'; Olson, 'The Rosary and its Iconography', pp. 263–76; Anselmi, 'La Madonna del Rosario'; Saffrey, 'La fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475'; Montevecchi, 'La Madonna del Rosario'; Barile, ed., *Il rosario tra devozione e riflessione*; Sanguineti, 'La Madonna del Rosario a Genova in età barocca'.

16 For a survey of the theme, focused on southern Italy, see Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*, especially pp. 137–212. For the fortune of the 'Lepantine' iconography of the rosary in the Adriatic basin and some brief remarks on its presence in Genoa, see Stagno and Čapeta Rakić, 'Confronti mediterranei'.

17 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies'.

18 Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*.



Figure 5.1. Lazzaro Tavarone and workshop, Celebration of the victory of Lepanto: the Virgin with the kneeling figures of the King of Spain, the Doge of Venice, the pope, and the Doge of Genoa, with galleys in the background, Santi Cornelio e Cipriano di Serra Riccò, Rosary Chapel. *c.* 1623. Copyright: Arcidiocesi di Genova.

upper section, and below her the triad of figures associated with the Christian triumph, Pope Pius V, King Philip II of Spain, and the Doge of Venice, plus the Doge of Genoa, whose addition is an exception only found here and is meant to enhance the contribution of the Republic of Genoa to the venture: three public galleys led by Ettore Spinola (distinct from the many galleys of private Genoese *asientistas*, Giovanni Andrea Doria first among them, fighting as part of the Spanish forces).[19] This is considered the only known work of art in which the engagement of the Genoese state is directly and publicly celebrated;[20] the choice of the medium of fresco is also unusual in Ligurian contexts for the illustration of this subject.[21] In the background, two lines of galleys introduce a citation of the battle, in addition to the portraits of the 'princes'. In other cases, a similar structure, including the insertion of a detail of the naval combat, is adopted in altarpieces which restrict the representation of the Holy League's leaders to its main promoter, the pontiff, while presenting a rich array of rosarian motifs. This is the case for the altarpiece painted in his late years by Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554–1627) for the Dominican nuns of San Silvestro in Genoa, now in the Albergo dei Poveri, where the Virgin offers the rosary to Saint Dominic and the fifteen mysteries are illustrated on a sort of wide paper ribbon with which two little angels in the bottom-right corner play (an original invention which is one of the first attempts to vary the traditional structure with the mysteries framing the central scene) (Fig. 5.2).[22]

On the left, a kneeling Pius V, enveloped in a sumptuous cope, devoutly gazes at the Madonna, while pointing to the seascape at the centre of the painting. Here, the line-up of the two fleets in the first moment of the confrontation is depicted: though it is described in the abbreviated form of a sketched scene seen from a distance, it presents a legible rendition of the most iconic and recognizable

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19 For the fresco in Santi Cornelio e Cipriano (attributed to Tavarone on stylistic grounds), see Fava, 'Una inedita Visione'.

20 Stagno and Čapeta Rakić, 'Confronti mediterranei', p. 69; Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 139.

21 In the village of Dolcedo, in the province of Imperia, a hitherto unstudied fresco depicting enemy fleets arrayed for battle is probably to be interpreted as an approximate depiction of the initial line-up at Lepanto. The fresco is on the ceiling of a modest building whose history is unknown (it is unlikely that it ever was a chapel or church), which was perhaps later converted for use as a pharmacy. Two black-and-white photos are published in Marchi, *Liguria territorio e civiltà*, figs 61, 62, where the fresco (possibly dating from the seventeenth century) is not discussed; a study by Alessandro Giacobbe is forthcoming. In a very different context, related to the aristocratic patronage of great Genoese families mentioned at the beginning of this essay, five episodes of the Lepanto venture (a simplified version of the corresponding scenes in Giovanni Andrea Doria's tapestries) were frescoed in Giulio Spinola's palace in Strada Nuova. Stagno, 'Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa', pp. 196, 197, fig. 7.19.

22 Stagno and Čapeta Rakić, 'Confronti mediterranei', p. 69; Sanguineti, 'La Madonna del Rosario a Genova in età barocca', p. 185; Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', pp. 143–44. The composition also includes the figures of Saint Francis and Saint Clare of Assisi, flanking the Virgin with Child.

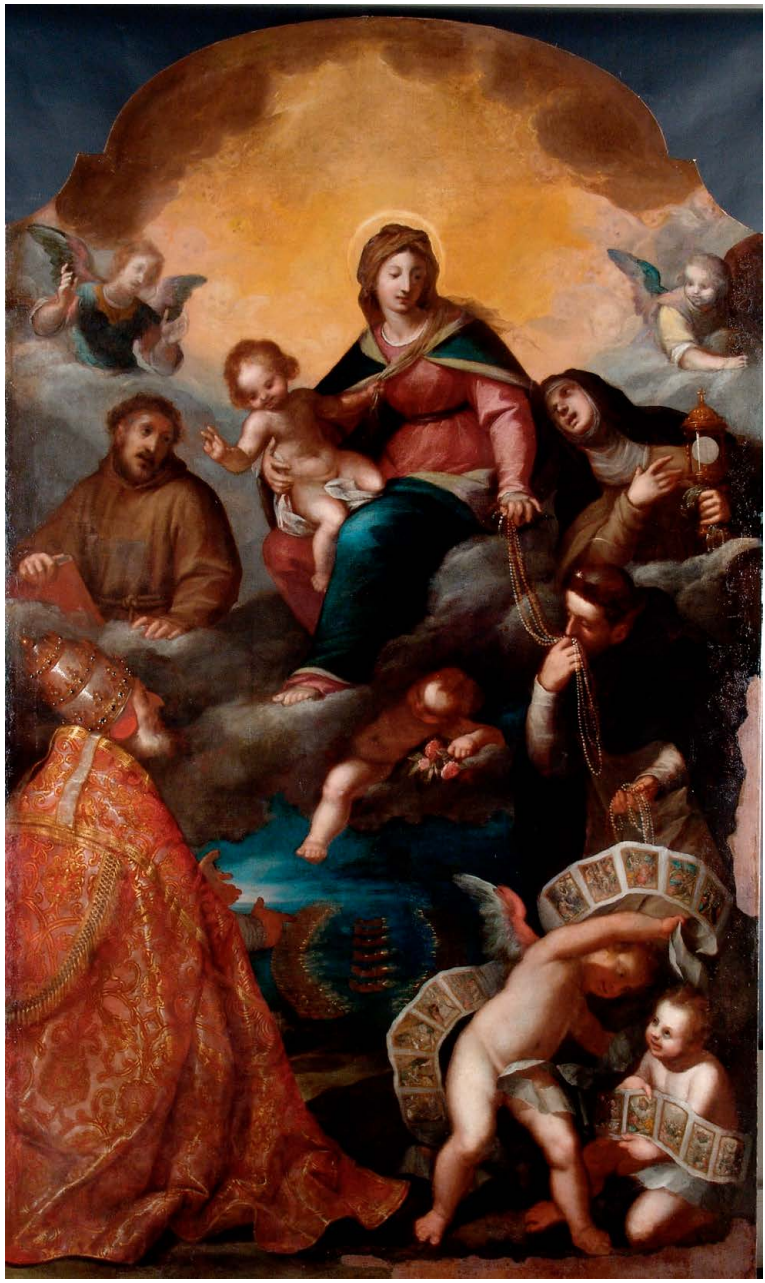


Figure 5.2. Giovanni Battista Paggi, Our Lady of the Rosary among the Saints Francis, Clare, and Dominic, with Pius V, Genoa, Albergo dei Poveri. *c.* 1620–1627. Copyright: Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la citta metropolitana di Genova, Genoa.

image of the battle, with the curving line of the Christian galleys preceded by the six bigger Venetian *galeazze* and mirrored by the Turkish fleet opposite, as crystallized and disseminated by a large number of prints, starting with those by Giovanni Francesco Camocio and Antonio Lafrery in the aftermath of the event.[23] In a painting executed by Gregorio De Ferrari with the participation of his son Lorenzo in the early eighteenth century (now in a private collection, and of unknown provenance), the same typology of structure was used, but the illustration of the battle was reduced to a generic clash of galleys mostly hidden by smoke.[24] It is worth noting that Paggi's altarpiece was destined for a Dominican foundation, but to a relatively minor one connected to a female congregation, rather than to the most important church of the order in Genoa, San Domenico, demolished in 1825, whose grand rosary chapel, linked to a fraternity attested from 1517, boasted a rich seventeenth-century decoration focused on the illustration of the mysteries — depicted on both the vault and the walls — which did not include Lepanto-themed works.[25] (In 1664, a representation of Pius V with the battle in the background was to be inserted in an altarpiece destined for another chapel in San Domenico, dedicated to the Crucifixion, but the image would have shared the lower section of the canvas with the depiction of Pope Alexander VII blessing the French army, in connection to his effort to instigate a new anti-Ottoman Catholic league, and this compromising interference with international current affairs through a visual statement — which in fact proved the exemplary value still attached to the Lepanto paradigm — was interrupted by the Senate's order.)[26] A certain number of rosarian altarpieces throughout Liguria comprise the figures of Pius V and Philip II (without the Doge of Venice, who is usually omitted in the Republic of Genoa's territory) but not the battle, and share the same basic structure, with the Virgin giving the rosary to Saint Dominic in the upper section, the League's 'princes' kneeling below her, the mysteries around the central scene.[27] Other altarpieces include both the two leaders' effigy and an image of

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23 On the widespread production of prints related to Lepanto, see, among many other studies, López Serrano, 'Lepanto en su representaciones grabadas' and, recently, Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 351–67.

24 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 144.

25 Sanguineti, 'La Madonna del Rosario a Genova in età barocca', pp. 182–83. The same applies to the city's other major Dominican church, Santa Maria di Castello (Gilardi and Badano, *Santa Maria di Castello*, p. 37), and in general to the circuit of Genoese Dominican churches and rosary confraternities, though it is important to underline that a large part of the latter's artistic heritage was dispersed and is often undocumented.

26 The case — which involved Paolo Maria De Marini, who commissioned the altarpiece to painter Domenico Piola — is reconstructed in Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 145.

27 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', pp. 142–43. Cases in point, cited in Sanguineti's census, are Bernardo Castello's 1582 canvas in Sant'Antonio Abate in Dolceacqua, his later work in the church of Santi Biagio e Francesco in Chiusavecchia, and an unknown artist's ante-1613 painting in the church of the Santissima Annunziata, in



Figure 5.3. Bernardo Castello (attributed to), Our Lady of the Rosary with Philip II, Pius V, and other figures, framed by the rosary mysteries and the fleets' line-up at Lepanto, Quiliano, Church of San Michele in Montagna. *c*. 1570. Copyright: Diocesi di Savona-Noli.

the confrontation, which is not part of the main composition, but rather added in a separate medallion or *quadretto*, conceptually at the same level as the fifteen mysteries. This typology, which relies on the most traditional kind of rosarian

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Santa Maria Maggiore in Castelvecchio (all of them in western Liguria, in the province in Imperia), or in the eastern area, the 1620s canvas attributed to a follower of Domenico Fiasella in Arcola (province of La Spezia). The mysteries originally surrounding the main scene in the 1582 altarpiece in Dolceacqua were later removed.

structure, with the mysteries framing the main composition, is mostly attested in altarpieces gracing the churches of minor centres in peripheral areas. In the church of San Michele in Montagna, a small village close to Quiliano (Savona), an altarpiece attributed to Bernardo Castello and dated around 1570 shows a crowded composition, dominated by the figures of the Virgin and Child, the latter consigning a red rosary to Saint Dominic (Fig. 5.3).

Many other saints are represented, including Saint Francis and Saint Lucy; in the upper section, two angels display the symbols of Marian purity (a lily) and justice (scales and a sword), while among the kneeling figures at the bottom the King of Spain and the pope, himself clasping a rosary, can be seen. The series of mysteries at the perimeter of the scene is complemented, at the centre of the lower section, by a representation of the two fleets arrayed for battle — again, the most iconic image of Lepanto, recognizable even in a small-scale depiction.[28] A similar layout was used in an altarpiece of the church of San Bernardo in Ginestro, Testico, also in the province of Savona. In the church of San Pietro in Corniglia, in the Cinque Terre area in the eastern part of Liguria, a different solution — including an effigy of the pontiff, without the king — was adopted. The local Compagnia del Santissimo Rosario commissioned Giovanni Luxardo to produce a carved and gilded frame containing eighteen small canvases, carried out between 1639 and 1641, surrounding a central niche housing the polychrome statue of Our Lady of the Rosary (Fig. 5.4).[29] In fifteen of the canvases Luxardo painted the mysteries, while the three additional ones, in the lower section under the base of the sculpture, represent the Virgin interceding for the souls in Purgatory in the centre, Pius V with a crucifix on the left, and a number of galleys — evoking the battle at Lepanto — on the right.

The connection between the rosary and the great naval victory of 1571 prompted the former's association with all kinds of clashes against the Ottomans, and the need of protection from the threat they still constituted, widely felt in Liguria. Sanguineti mentions the painting depicting Our Lady of the Rosary in the parish church of Algajola, a Genoese garrison town in Corsica, whose lower section represents the town being attacked by Barbary corsairs in 1643, and the altarpiece in the church of San Martino in Portofino, with a seascape opening between the figures of Saint Dominic and Saint Catherine of Siena.[30] To these, a differently conceived work can be added. In the sanctuary of Nostra Signora dei Piani, Imperia, to honour a much venerated, miracle-performing thirteenth-century Castillan statue of the Virgin as *Sedes Sapientiae*, a painted *custodia* was produced, into which the sculpture was inserted.[31] In this canvas, painted in 1609 by Giovanni Battista

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28 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 140.

29 Donati, *Pittura in Provincia della Spezia*, p. 66.

30 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 147.

31 Giacobbe and Cervini, *Restauri a Piani*, with a reproduction of the *custodia* (fig. 5.2). For the sculpture, see Fulvio Cervini, catalogue entry no. 4, in Boggero and Donati, eds, *La Sacra Selva*, pp. 114–15.



Figure 5.4. Giovanni Luxardo, Eighteen small canvases in a carved and gilded frame, depicting the rosary mysteries, Pius V, the Virgin interceding for the souls in Purgatory, and galleys at the Battle of Lepanto, Corniglia, Church of San Pietro, Rosary Chapel. *c*. 1640. Copyright: Diocesi di La Spezia.

Casanova, the rosary mysteries are illustrated so as to link the ancient cult object to the most widely appreciated devotional practice of the time; in the lower section a group of kneeling figures is depicted, with Pope Pius V in the foreground. At the centre, a rosarian procession is portrayed, with the probable added reference to a miracle that allegedly took place in 1562 when Turkish invaders, after having devastated the village, tried to steal the statue.[32] In such rosarian contexts, the illustration of these local events could

32 Calzamiglia, *S. Maria dei Piani*; Giacobbe and Cervini, *Restauri a Piani*.

take the place elsewhere occupied by the image of Lepanto. This is why a degree of ambiguity can occasionally emerge, as in the case of the beautiful painted frame with the mysteries executed by Andrea Ansaldo in the 1620s for the church of Sant'Antonio Abate in Diano Marina, destined to surround a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary which used to be carried in procession along the seaside.[33] At the centre of the lower part of the frame, between Saint Dominic and Saint Catherine of Siena, the procession is represented while it returns to the church. In the background, a rapidly sketched clash of galleys is probably to be interpreted as a depiction of the battle at Lepanto, made current and relevant to the local faithful by staging it as taking place in the proximity of their village,[34] but can also be seen — in the absence of precise indicators and of the Holy League's leaders — as a more general reference to the ongoing fight against the Ottomans, who were perceived as a grave threat in the Ligurian area well into the seventeenth century, and against whom the Virgin's intercession was impetrated.[35]

The longue-durée fortune of the Lepanto paradigm, often reactivated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries[36] (Leo XIII, for instance, exhorted Catholics to turn to their rosaries in order to fight contemporary enemies, as their predecessors had done in the sixteenth century to defeat the Ottomans who tried to impose 'the yoke of superstition and barbarism' on Europe),[37] would determine a new success of the subject from the mid-Ottocento onwards, with decorations depicting the Holy League's 'princes' or the battle itself in the rosary chapels of churches in Chiavari, Lavagna, and Santa Margherita Ligure, on the eastern Riviera, as well as in other contexts, such as the church of Nostra Signora del Santissimo Rosario in the small village of Trovasta (Pieve di Teco), in the hinterland of Imperia's province.[38]

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33 Priarone, *Andrea Ansaldo*, pp. 224–27.

34 Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 141, fig. 5.3.

35 On the perduring threat of Barbary incursions in the Ligurian area, see Calcagno and Lo Basso, 'The Barbary Obsession'.

36 On this, see, among others, Stouraiti, 'Costruendo un luogo della memoria'.

37 Leo XIII, *Supremi apostolatus officio* (1883), quoted in George Tvrtković, 'Our Lady of Victory or Our Lady of Beauty?', pp. 408–09.

38 For the scenes in the Riviera di Levante's churches, see Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 148; an image of the decoration in Trovasta is published in Fedozzi, *La pirateria in Liguria*, p. 81. Giovanni Battista Pianello painted a complex scene on the vault of the rosary chapel in the church of San Giovanni Battista in Chiavari in 1866, presenting the protagonists of the Lepanto venture, including the Doge of Venice and Marco Colonna, in veneration of the Virgin. The altarpiece of the same chapel, executed by Giovanni Battista Carlone in the ninth decade of the seventeenth century and enlarged by Giuseppe Galeotti around 1741, presents a problematic iconography, with a group of characters in the foreground comprising three female figures who hold a picture of the Virgin, an old man and a child, a seascape with galleys engaged in battle, and Our Lady of the Rosary appearing in the sky (Algeri, *Testimonianze d'arte nella Diocesi di Chiavari*, pp. 152–53; Rossi in *Riviera barocca*, pp. 187–88; Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 148, fig. 5.13). It is generally considered a depiction of Lepanto, because of the rosarian context, but is in

To sum it up: though it is important to keep in mind the dispersion of a significant part of the artistic heritage connected to local rosary confraternities and chapels as well as the loss of important Dominican foundations, on the basis of available research, the motif of the Battle of Lepanto seems to recur but not to claim centrality in Ligurian early modern rosarian patronage, primarily focused on the representation of the Virgin and of the saints connected to the devout practice, and to the illustration of the mysteries; the theme is the protagonist of the fresco decorating the chapel in the church of San Cipriano, but more often, when present, is only evoked through the figures of the pope and the King of Spain kneeling below Our Lady of the Rosary, or represented in abbreviated form and small scale, either in the background of the main scene or in a medallion complementing the perimetral *quadretti* of the mysteries.

In Southern Piedmont, the number and scale of Lepanto representations are remarkably higher, with a cluster of particularly important seventeenth-century renditions of the subject. Here, the Dominican Order fully espoused the theme of the 1571 victory as a key component of the rosary imagery, constantly enhancing the public dimension of the devotion — it being perceived as an efficient weapon against the infidels ('a prayer for the love of which the Virgin often trampled the Ottoman Moon, especially in that immortal victory in the Curzolari waters, against a whole world of Turkish sails')[39] — beyond its value as a tool for meditation and personal salvation. In this area, the long-term centrality given to the 'political' side of the rosary is certainly connected to the local importance of Pius V, of whose papacy Lepanto was the crowning achievement.[40] Michele Ghislieri was born in Bosco Marengo, at the time part of the Duchy of Milan, in the province of Alessandria, where he founded the great convent and church of Santa Croce (in which the altarpiece of Our Lady of the Rosary — commissioned by the late pontiff's nephew, Cardinal Michele Bonelli, and executed by Grazio Cossali in 1597 — evokes Lepanto by depicting the battle standard with the coats of arms of the three main allies surrounded by the usual figures of Pius V, Philip II of Spain, and the Doge of Venice, plus Bonelli himself).[41] Before ascending to the papal throne, Ghislieri had taught in Casale Monferrato, and had been nominated Bishop of Mondovì (1560), which after his beatification chose him as its patron saint.[42] Instances of the ubiquitous rosarian altarpieces with the Holy Leagues' 'princes', concentrated between the aftermath of the battle and the first decades

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fact not consistent with usual Lepantine iconographies and seems to reference a specific, hitherto unrecognized episode. Subsequently, Pianello portrayed the same characters depicted in Chiavari in a lunette of the rosary chapel in the church of Santo Stefano in Lavagna; the battle and Pius V giving thanks after the victory were represented by Raffaello Resio in the rosary chapel of the church of San Siro in Santa Margherita Ligure in 1898 (Sanguineti, 'Lepanto in Religious Iconographies', p. 148).

39 Venturini, *Storia, grandezze, e miracoli*, p. 77.

40 Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', especially pp. 319–23.

41 Scolari, 'Le cappelle delle reliquie'.

42 Quezza, '"Un tempo vescovo … ora patrono in Cielo"'.



Figure 5.5. Giovanni Crosio, The Battle of Lepanto, with the Virgin and Child, Saint Dominic, and Saint Catherine of Siena, Casale Monferrato, Church of San Domenico. 1626. Copyright: Diocesi di Casale Monferrato.

of the seventeenth century, are also present in this territory,[43] but its distinctive feature is the abundance of large, free-standing representations of the Christian triumph (which, not coincidentally, extends to the bordering Lombard area, also closely related to significant passages of the pope's biography).[44]

A monumental depiction of the battle can be found in the church of San Domenico in Casale, attached to the Dominican convent where Ghislieri had been a lecturer of philosophy and theology around 1540 (Fig. 5.5).[45] It was painted by Giovanni Crosio from Trino (Vercelli), who signed and

43 A survey of rosarian altarpieces in the province of Alessandria, including the 'Lepantine' ones, is in Natale, 'Vicende di un'iconografia pittorica'.

44 At the east border of the province of Alessandria, the area corresponding with the modern province of Pavia in Lombardy also offers a number of significant representations, which deserve a survey of their own. Suffice here to cite the instances in Voghera, in the church of the Dominican convent where Ghislieri studied for two years before being admitted to the Dominican Order, or nearby Casei Gerola, or, much later, Broni. But it is in the great hall of the Collegio Ghislieri in Pavia itself, which Pius V founded one year after becoming pontiff, in 1567, that the celebration of both the pope and the battle finds its apex, in a series of paintings executed on the occasion of Pius V's beatification in 1672. These include Lazzaro Baldi's depiction of the pope's vision of the battle, a replica of the composition the same painter had executed for the ceremony in San Pietro (now in Santa Maria della Minerva in Rome), and Giovanni del Sole's grand rendition of the battle, in which, for the first time, Ghislieri himself rises to the upper, celestial register of the painting, on the cloud with the Virgin, in the role of saintly intercession (Gibellini, 'La battaglia di Lepanto'; Angelini, *Il Collegio Ghislieri di Pavia*, pp. 173–79).

45 Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', p. 320.

dated it ('I. Cro. Tri. F. 1626').[46] This vast canvas, executed with the help of collaborators and therefore not stylistically homogeneous, was placed on the wall of the right nave, leading to the Chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary in the transept, decorated in the 1610s.[47]

It is a complex representation, presumably based on one of the many engravings recording the battle, which presents at the centre the flagship of John of Austria, supreme commander of the Christian fleet, who can be seen standing in arms on her aft deck. The galley, called the *Real*, bears the Holy League's flag with the coat of arms of the coalition's three main powers on a crimson background, the same 'political' standard, epitomizing the alliance that led to victory, depicted in Cossali's altarpiece in Bosco Marengo.[48] John of Austria's galley is seen clashing with Ali Pasha's flagship. The realistic illustration of the battle coexists with an explicit interpretation of the event in supernatural terms: in the upper part of the canvas, on the usual bank of clouds, the celestial protectors of the Christian fleet are represented, as in the influential prototypes of Giorgio Vasari's frescoes in the Vatican Sala Regia or Paolo Veronese's altarpiece for the rosary confraternity of the Dominican church of San Pietro Martire in Murano (now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice).[49] But the choice of characters is significantly different. Vasari represented Christ ready to hurl thunderbolts (as in some versions of the Last Judgement's iconography), flanked by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, symbolizing the Church, Saint Mark, alluding to Venice, and Saint James, patron of Spain, referencing the Holy League's main *soci*; Veronese depicted the Virgin, the patron saints of the three powers, and Saint Justina, venerated in the Veneto area, whose liturgical feast fell on the day of the battle. In Crosio's painting, the focus is entirely on the rosary, seen in its Dominican inception: Mary, holding the Child, is accompanied by Saint Dominic, to whom Jesus consigns a crown, and by Saint Catherine of Siena, all of them surrounded by angels. This configuration of saints — so often represented in the altarpieces of rosary chapels — is a reference to the foundation legend of the 'Marian psalter' as related by the influential fifteenth-century Breton Dominican theologian Alain de la Roche, to whom the modern version of the rosary is credited.[50] Alain described the founder of the order as the fiercest paladin of the Marian psaltery and asserted that he had received a vision in which the Virgin herself had given him a rosary, recommending it as the most effective weapon against the heretic Albigensians, whom Saint Dominic was engaged

46 Romano, 'Corso, Giovanni'.

47 Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', p. 320.

48 On the standards at Lepanto, see Moretti, 'Il "vessillo di Sua Santità"'. The League's flag flown by Don John's *Real* bore a Crucifix and the three coats of arms.

49 For the iconographies of these works, see Scorza, 'Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes' and Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*.

50 On Alain de la Roche and his contribution to the dissemination of the rosary, see Kochaniewicz, 'The Contribution of the Dominicans'.

in fighting by his preaching in Toulouse.[51] This mystic event would later be compared by Saint Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort (1676–1716), one of the greatest rosarian supporters, to God's giving of the Laws to Moses at Sinai.[52] Alain also evoked Saint Catherine of Siena, as well as Catherine of Alexandria before her, as *betrothed to Jesus*, when he narrated how the Virgin 'sibi desponsavit' by giving him a marriage ring made of her hair, as well as a rosary chain made of the Virgin's hair and precious stones.[53] The iconography of Our Lady of the rosary with the two Dominican saints was established and widely disseminated, mainly through the web of the order's churches.[54] (It also characterizes the 1618 altarpiece by Nicolò Musso in San Domenico's own rosary chapel.)[55] This solution conveys the most militantly Dominican rendition of the theme of celestial intervention at Lepanto; and it is worth noting that the friar depicted brandishing the crucifix right at the centre of the composition is a Dominican, too, rather than one of the Capuchins and Jesuits that prevailed among the chaplains sent to spiritually assist the Christian fighters and seamen (a Capuchin can be seen in the galley behind the *Real*, where the elderly leader on the quarterdeck is presumably Sebastiano Venier). Superimposed on the historical event, a battle between heaven and hell is evoked: not only do the Virgin and saints preside over the clash, Natale also indicates that among the enemies a diabolical Muhammad escapes.[56] (Vasari had included in his fresco what he described as 'una legione di demoni che fuggiranno portando via con essi Macometto maggior diavolo dei Turchi', a legion of fleeing demons bringing with them Muhammad, the greatest devil of the Turks.)[57] In this conflict, the Dominican Order could claim a major role at all levels, having gifted to Christendom its most powerful weapon, the rosary, as well as the pope who promoted the coalition that defeated the Ottomans: in a mid-eighteenth-century description of the church, the subject, was indicated as 'S. Pius V's naval battle', though the pope is in no way represented, evidencing the lasting strength of the connection to the pontiff.[58]

The large-scale visual illustration of the Battle of Lepanto was a defining feature in the decorations of a series of monumental rosary chapels in the province of Cuneo — some of them unfortunately lost — sharing an influential model established and replicated by renowned painter Giovanni

51 Alano della Rupe, *Il Salterio di Gesù e di Maria*, pp. 104–07.

52 Grignion de Montfort, *Il segreto meraviglioso*, p. 24.

53 Alano della Rupe, *Il Salterio di Gesù e di Maria*, pp. 32–35, 114–15; cf. also Orlandi, *Libro del Rosario*, p. 202.

54 Natale, 'Vicende di un'iconografia pittorica', p. 402.

55 Anna Maria Bava, catalogue entry no. 5, in Romano and Spantigati, eds, *Da Musso a Guala*, pp. 134–35.

56 Natale, 'Vicende di un'iconografia pittorica', p. 402.

57 Letter sent from Vasari to Francesco de' Medici, on 23 February 1572, in Vasari, *Le opere*, pp. 466–68.

58 P. G. Cavalli, *Descrizione dell'origine e fondazione del convento di Casale Monferrato raccolta nell'anno 1753*, quoted in Romano and Spantigati, eds, *Da Musso a Guala*, p. 44.

Claret, based in Savigliano. For the chapels in the churches of San Domenico in Savigliano, San Vincenzo Ferrer in Bra, and Santi Giovanni ed Evasio in Mondovì Carassone, Claret executed a number of rosary-themed works, including depictions of the battle of a very high artistic quality; this paradigm influenced the later versions in San Giovanni in Saluzzo, San Donato in Demonte, and San Fiorenzo in Vinadio.[59]

The chapel of the Santissima Compagnia del Rosario in Savigliano — the earliest instance (dated around 1637) and the prototype of the series, whose altarpiece was later transferred to the church of San Filippo in the same town — must have boasted an extremely rich decoration, according to the description offered by the sources.[60] It was meant to adequately celebrate Our Lady of the Rosary, who in 1636 had been proclaimed patron of Savigliano,[61] and to visualize the special local importance of the theme, resonating with the tradition according to which Saint Dominic himself had visited the town and had preached the rosary there, choosing it as the first seat of his order in Piedmont.[62] By the end of the nineteenth century, the chapel's decoration was already largely ruined (some fragments of the frescoes on the vault and on the top section of the walls, bearing illustrations of Saint Dominic's miracles and the fifteen mysteries, were retrieved in the 1970s).[63] Local historian Casimiro Turletti, in a work published in 1883, mentioned 'parecchi quadri di Claret alcuni stupendi in affresco nella cappella del Rosario […] i quali rappresentavano le memoranda vittorie riportate dall'armi cristiane sugli Albigesi e sugli Ottomani',[64] thus providing the information that the frescoes depicted victories over the Ottomans (Lepanto) and the Albigensians (the Battle of Muret, as evinced by the preserved decorations of other chapels, which will be discussed *infra*), and adding that these 'stupendous' works had been 'prophanated' and then obliterated after the Napoleonic suppression of the convent. This chapel was the likely model of the rosary chapel in the Dominican church of San Vincenzo Ferrer in Bra (situated at about 16 km distance from

59 Giovanna Galante Garrone and Giovanni Romano, *Giovanni Claret, Battaglia di Lepanto, 1642–1646*, catalogue entry, in Di Macco and Romano, eds, *Diana trionfatrice*, pp. 244–45.

60 Arena, Bava, and Spione, 'Savigliano nel Seicento', pp. 59–63; Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 187. The chapel's altarpiece now in San Filippo, depicting Our Lady of the Rosary, previously attributed to Molineri, is by the hand of Claret, too; it is signed and dated 1637 (Arena, Bava, and Spione, 'Savigliano nel Seicento', p. 59; Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 198 n. 171).

61 Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 198 n. 171.

62 Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, p. 269.

63 Galante Garrone and Romano, *Giovanni Claret, Battaglia di Lepanto, 1642–1646*, catalogue entry, in Di Macco and Romano, eds, *Diana trionfatrice*, p. 244; Arena, Bava, and Spione, 'Savigliano nel Seicento', p. 63; Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 187.

64 Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, p. 847. Turletti also wrote that Claret's works 'furono poi creduti del Molineri' (had later been attributed to Molineri). On the question of the attribution, solved in favour of Claret by modern scholars, see Galante Garrone and Romano, *Giovanni Claret, Battaglia di Lepanto, 1642–1646*, catalogue entry, in Di Macco and Romano, eds, *Diana trionfatrice*, pp. 244–45.



Figure 5.6. Giovanni Claret, The Battle of Lepanto, with the Virgin, Christ with thunderbolts and an Angel, Bra, Church of Sant'Andrea, Sacristy. 1642–1646. Copyright: Arcidiocesi di Torino; photo by Luigino Visconti.

Savigliano), grandly decorated by Claret between 1642 and 1646, when it was described as 'one of the rarest things' in Piedmont.[65] Of the original decorative complex — including the altarpiece, lateral paintings with stories of Saint Dominic (which may have comprised, as has been suggested, a representation of the Albigensians' defeat),[66] miracles of the same saint, the depiction of a rosary procession, the fifteen mysteries, and the 'naval battle' — only a frescoed lunette depicting the procession of Our Lady of the Rosary survives in situ.[67] After the convent was suppressed and the chapel abandoned (1802), the altarpiece with the *Madonna del Rosario* and the canvas illustrating the Battle of Lepanto were moved to the old Sant'Andrea, and then, after the latter's destruction, to the current location, the 'new' Sant'Andrea, which had inherited the title (the church was previously dedicated to the Corpus Domini), where the large painting of the battle — a 'colossal' painting, in Turletti's words, in which the clash is presided over by the Virgin of the Rosary, 'queen of victories' (though in fact she is at the side of Christ, whom the nineteenth-century erudite does not mention) — still dominates the sacristy (Fig. 5.6).[68]

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65 Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 187.

66 Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', p. 322.

67 Galante Garrone and Romano, *Giovanni Claret, Battaglia di Lepanto, 1642–1646*, catalogue entry, in Di Macco and Romano, eds, *Diana trionfatrice*, p. 244; Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 188; Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', p. 323.

68 Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, p. 847.

It is one of the masterworks of Claret's mature phase, vividly realistic in the depiction of the clashing figures in the foreground, which are stylistically close to those animating the battle scenes in the cycle celebrating Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy's victories in Palazzo Taffini, of which the Bra canvas can be considered 'a marine variation'.[69] In this lower section of the composition, the main focus of attention is the melee taking place on the two locked flagships, the *Real* and Ali Pasha's flagship (usually called the *Sultana* in Christian sources), which soon after the start of the confrontation engaged in deck-to-deck combat, culminating in the latter being boarded and captured. In many details, Claret shows a close connection to the language of northern *Caravaggeschi* in Rome, so that the painting has been defined as 'a grand sea *bambocciata*'.[70] The general structure is similar to the one in Crosio's rendition of the theme, but — beyond the obvious difference of visual language — there are significant iconographic divergences, too. In the upper section, for instance, the choice of celestial protectors, rather than preferring the rosarian configuration of Virgin and Child, Saint Dominic, and Saint Catherine of Siena, goes back to the representation of Christ holding thunderbolts at the centre, which is clearly indebted to Vasari's prototype in the Sala Regia, though this belligerent figure is accompanied not by the Holy League's patron saints, as in the Roman frescoes, but by the Virgin holding a rosary (many of the angelic putti do the same) and by an angel with drawn sword. The battle scene is both lively and clearly legible. At the centre, on the *Real* hoisting the crown of Spain's standard, Don John of Austria majestically stands, in full armour, with red sash and drawn sword; close to him, the Capuchin chaplain and a drummer can be seen; in front of him, arquebusiers and soldiers surge towards the enemies, turbaned and clad in brilliantly coloured costumes (the sight of the Turks in battle dress was considered a *bellissima vista*).[71] Behind the *Real*, in a prominent position, the *Capitana* of the three-strong Savoy squadron is depicted, identified by her standard (white cross on red), a locally significant evocation of the galleys sent to the battle by Emanuele Filiberto and led by Andrea Provana di Leyni: it references the Duchy of Savoy's contribution to the Christian effort and consequent claim to a share of the merit. In a sequence behind it, in the left section of the composition, the flagships of the papal galleys, led by Marcantonio Colonna, of the Knights of Malta, and of the Republic of Genoa are represented, while the *Capitana* of the Republic of Venice can be seen at the centre, between the clouds of smoke erupting from the burning Turkish galleys. The whole scene is introduced by three figures in the left foreground, standing on a *rembata* or fighting platform, a seaman, an arquebusier reloading

69 Romano, 'Resistenze locali alla dominazione torinese', p. 309; Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 188 (from which the quotation is taken); Goria, 'Dipingere la guerra', p. 119.

70 Romano, 'Resistenze locali alla dominazione torinese', p. 309.

71 Caracciolo, *I commentarii delle guerre*, p. 34.



Figure 5.7. Mondovì Carassone, Church of Santi Giovanni ed Evasio, Rosary Chapel. Copyright: Diocesi di Mondovì; photo by Luigino Visconti.

his gun, and a halberdier (in the last two, the affinity with characters portrayed in Palazzo Taffini's frescoes is particularly evident); while symmetrically, to the right, the scene is occupied by the images of shipwrecked Ottomans, a trope of Lepanto depictions that Crosio had used, too.

The rosary chapel in the parochial Chiesa dei Santi Giovanni ed Evasio in Mondovì Carassone (officiated by the Dominican Order till 1802) is preserved in its integrity (Fig. 5.7), providing an idea of how the lost decorative complexes of Savigliano and Bra must have looked originally. On its side walls, Claret painted two extensive frescoes, recently restored, 'bellissimi', as Turletti observed, representing 'le due menzionate battaglie di terra e di mare',[72] that is, the two battles, on land and sea, won by Christendom against heretics and infidels, thanks to the rosary (Figs 5.8 and 5.9). Beside Lepanto, the Battle of Muret is portrayed here (as it happened in Savigliano too, and possibly in Bra). It was fought on 12 September 1213 near Muret, not far from Toulouse, and was the last major clash of the Albigensian Crusade. Simon de Montfort and his knights prevailed against much superior forces, led by King Peter II of Aragon and Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. Alain de la Roche lists this victory among the many 'miracula et prodigia' operated by the rosary, which Saint Dominic, participating in the fight against the Albigensians through his preaching, had received from the Virgin herself,

72 Turletti, *Storia di Savigliano*, II, p. 847.

who had promised him 'maxima [...] mirabilia' through its use.[73] Alain narrates that

> Simon Monfortius invictus heros, toto cum exercitu Magistro Dominico meo Psalterium condidicit, et usitare suevit: perque id hostes vicit, fudit, fugavit, extirpavit. [...] Alias denique cum suis tribus millibus, Regem Aragonum eiusque plus viginti millium exercitum ad Tolosam internecione delevit: praelioque simul, et bello victor debellavit.
>
> > (The never-defeated hero, Simon of Montfort, learned the rosary from my master Dominic, and, with the whole army, used to recite it habitually, and, through it, he defeated, dispersed, removed, and eradicated his enemies. [...] Finally, another time, with three thousand men, in a battle near Toulouse, he defeated the king of the Aragonese and his army, which numbered more than twenty thousand; and came to win, with a single battle, the whole war.)[74]

The feat was commemorated by Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, too, as one of the precious fruits of the rosary.[75] It was Pius V himself who authoritatively established the *ratio* of a parallel between the events, when he began his 1569 bull *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices* by comparing his own incessant fight against Muslims and Protestants to Saint Dominic's efforts against the Albigensians, both under the aegis of the rosary.[76]

The structure of the two scenes is the same: the holy figures in the upper section assist their devout in their military endeavours. In the depiction of the Battle of Lepanto (in which the painter's signature and the date 1660 have been discovered in the course of the restoration),[77] the triad of protectors is the same as in the painting in Bra, but the angle chosen to represent the battle is different (Fig. 5.8).

The *Real* is not at the centre of the foreground anymore; the commander in chief, Don John, is instead depicted on the *rembata* in the left corner, in full armour and holding his baton of command. In her stead, the Savoy *Capitana* is represented, distinguished by her white-crossed red standard and by the flag with the cross of Saint Maurice. Thus, she becomes the absolute protagonist, in a composition which is greatly simplified in comparison with the one in Bra, and consequently the image becomes much more place-specific, responding more explicitly to an agenda of celebration of the Duchy of Savoy's role in the Christian triumph. The fresco with the Battle of Muret, which is better preserved (Fig. 5.9), is dominated by the effigy of a crowned Virgin with

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73 Alano della Rupe, *Il Salterio di Gesù e di Maria*, p. 182.

74 Alano della Rupe, *Il Salterio di Gesù e di Maria*, p. 182.

75 Grignion de Montfort, *Il segreto meraviglioso*, p. 145.

76 Pius V, *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices* (1569), in *Bullarum diplomatum*, pp. 774–75. See also George Tvrtković, 'Our Lady of Victory or Our Lady of Beauty?', pp. 406–07.

77 Goria, 'Dipingere la guerra', p. 120.



Figure 5.8. Giovanni Claret, The Battle of Lepanto, with the Virgin, Christ with thunderbolts, and an Angel, Mondovì Carassone, Church of Santi Giovanni ed Evasio, Rosary Chapel. 1660. Copyright: Diocesi di Mondovì; photo by Luigino Visconti.

Child, who actively engages in the confrontation by preparing to hurl not thunderbolts — the Last-Judgement weapons attributed to Christ in the companion depiction of Lepanto — but modern bombs, with which many of the little angels surrounding her are also armed.

This can be construed as an updating of the narrative offered by Alain de la Roche, according to which Mary assisted a devout soldier of Montfort's army — surrounded by a multitude of heretics on the battlefield, tired, and unable to resist much longer — by pelting rocks on the enemies.[78] On the other hand, it is to be noted that in other contexts the image of the Virgin intent on throwing bombs has also been associated with the 1571 victory against the Ottomans, as in the case of the 1603 fresco in Pazzalino, close to Lugano.[79]

78 Alano della Rupe, *Il Salterio di Gesù e di Maria*, pp. 512–15.
79 Rady, *Los Habsburgo*, p. 142.



Figure 5.9. Giovanni Claret, The Battle of Muret (Victory over the Albigensians), with the Virgin and Child, Mondovì Carassone, Church of Santi Giovanni ed Evasio, Rosary Chapel. 1660. Copyright: Diocesi di Mondovì; photo by Luigino Visconti.

In Claret's depiction of the Battle of Muret, below the armed Virgin, knights clash; the dynamic knot of men and horses in the foreground, reminiscent of Palazzo Taffini's frescoes (especially of the figures in the depiction of the Battle of Mombaldone),[80] is centred on Montfort's figure, flying the battle standard bearing an image of Our Lady of the Rosary (which also appears, among other flags, in the large fresco by Francesco Allegrini, *c*. 1660, which illustrates the same event in a cycle celebrating the merits of the Dominican Order in the fight against heresies, in the rooms of the Inquisition Court in the Palazzo della Minerva, Rome; and in the crowded mid-eighteenth-century rendition by Orazio Solimena for the Church of San Domenico in Barra, Naples).[81]

80 Romano, 'Resistenze locali alla dominazione torinese', p. 314; Arena, 'Giovanni Claret e Giovenale Boetto', p. 200; Goria, 'Dipingere la guerra', p. 120.

81 Zeri, 'Francesco Allegrini', pp. 125–27; Pavone, 'Precisazioni su Orazio Solimena'.

Saint Dominic, portrayed in the background, supports the military effort by praying, crucifix in hand. This is considered a relatively rare theme in the visual arts,[82] and only in some of the instances is it associated to Lepanto in a rosarian context, as happened, for example, in the case of the rosary chapels in San Domenico in Cremona — where the Madonna del Rosario altarpiece by Camillo Procaccini, including the protagonists of the Holy League and the battle in the background (now in Isola Dovarese), was accompanied by Cerano's illustration of the Battle of Muret (now in Cremona's Civic Museum) — and, much later, in San Domenico in Taranto, where two 1770 paintings commemorate the battles;[83] or in public ceremonies such as the Feast of the Holy Rosary celebrated in Rome in the jubilee year 1675, when the consign of the batons of command to Simon de Montfort and John of Austria was staged.[84] The systemic pairing of the two iconographies in the Dominican churches of the Cuneese territory (in Savigliano and in Mondovì Carassone, possibly in Bra, and later in San Giovanni in Saluzzo, as will be shown) is therefore significant for its unusual frequency. It expanded to the neighbouring area of Asti: in the church of San Vincenzo in San Damiano d'Asti, one of the earliest paintings by Pietro Laveglia, indebted to Claret's compositions, depicts the 1571 battle; now in the chapel of Saint Ann, it was originally on the walls of the chapel of the rosary, opposite a pendant depicting an 'antico combattimento contro gli infedeli, colla immagine della Madonna in su i vessilli' (ancient clash with the infidels, with the Virgin's image on the standards), identified as the Battle of Muret.[85] The association of the two battles also trickled down to relatively less important locations such as the parochial church of Santa Maria Assunta in Caraglio in the province of Cuneo, where two late eighteenth-century canvases in the rosary chapel represent the two events.[86] In the church of San Domenico in Casale, where the Battle of Lepanto had no companion, a painting by Pietro Francesco Guala depicting the defeat of the Albigensians, commissioned by Father Vittorio Songi, was added in 1724 opposite Crosio's monumental painting of almost a century before; the new canvas shows Saint Dominic in the middle of the melee and bears the inscription 'San Domenico esorta, Montforte combatte. Apparve la Vergine a proteggere i suoi popoli. Se un grande esercito è sconfitto da pochi soldati questo è merito della Vergine del Rosario'.[87] It is worth noting

82 Ferrari, *Convento di San Domenico a Cremona*, pp. 78–79.

83 Ferrari, *Convento di San Domenico a Cremona*, pp. 65–83; Amuso, *La Chiesa di San Domenico*.

84 Nanni, 'Figure dell'Impero Turco', p. 192.

85 Daneo, *Il Comune di S. Damiano d'Asti*, p. 302; Andrea Rocco, 'Pietro Laveglia (Parigi, 1628 – Asti, 1675), Riposo durante la fuga in Egitto (1664)', catalogue entry no. 17, in Marchesin and others, eds, *Nella città d'Asti in Piemonte*, p. 220.

86 Armando, ed., *Da Pieve di Santa Maria*.

87 Bava, Spantigati, and Soffiantino, 'Da Musso a Guala', p. 44; Cristina Mossetti and Maria Paola Soffiantino, 'Pietro Francesco Guala (Casale Monferrato 1698 – Milano 1757), catalogue entry no. 19, in Romano and Spantigati, eds, *Da Musso a Guala*, pp. 168–69



Figure 5.10. Giuseppe Nuvolone, *The Battle of Lepanto* (detail), Demonte, Church of San Donato, Rosary Chapel. *c*. 1667. Copyright: Diocesi di Cuneo.

that late seventeenth-century depictions of the two battles (destroyed in the following century) also ornamented the rosary chapel of the church of San Domenico in the Duchy of Savoy's capital, Turin, complementing Guercino's *Madonna del Rosario* altarpiece.[88] It must therefore be concluded that in the Piedmontese territory, and especially in its southern area, the Dominican Order, taking up the association suggested by Pius V's bull, assumed the dual iconography of the 'rosary battles' as a particularly apt manifesto of its long-lasting fight for faith and orthodoxy, and showcased it on an unusually vast scale in its churches. In more general terms, Claret's rendition of the theme of the great naval battle — either alone, or associated with the defeat of the Albigensians — would prove a lasting and pervasive influence in the whole Cuneese territory. In the peripheral Valle Stura, the parochial church of San Donato in the minor centre of Demonte presents a rosary chapel decorated with a Lepanto fresco on the front wall that closely follows Claret's model — more specifically, his large painting in Bra, whose composition is copied verbatim — but translates it into simplified forms and a lighter palette, patently lacking the vivacity and depth of the original (Fig. 5.10).

(focused on the preparatory sketch in Casale's Civic Museum, with reproductions of both the canvas and the *bozzetto*); Spantigati, 'Il culto di San Pio V', p. 323. Inscription's translation: 'Dominic exhorts, Montfort fights. The Virgin appeared to protect her peoples. If a large army is defeated by a few soldiers, this is due to the Virgin of the Rosary'.

88 Rondolino and Brayda, *La chiesa di S. Domenico in Torino*, p. 93.



Figure 5.11. Piedmontese painter, *The Battle of Lepanto, with the Virgin Holding Thunderbolts*, Saluzzo, Church of San Giovanni, Rosary Chapel. *c.* 1660. Copyright: Diocesi di Saluzzo; photo by Luigino Visconti.

This has led to its attribution to Giuseppe Nuvolone, documented as author of the vault's decoration in 1667.[89] The frescoes in the church of San Giovanni in Saluzzo (Figs 5.11, 5.12) and the lost one in the church of San Lorenzo in Vinadio — the latter, not dissimilar from the one in Demonte, fell into a ruinous condition and was destroyed in 1960, to be replaced by a Lourdes grotto — belong in the same vein.[90] In the Saluzzo church, officiated by the Dominican Order up to 1802, the rosary chapel, which holds an early sixteenth-century altarpiece by Oddone Pascale, was completely renovated around 1660,[91] and the new baroque decoration included two medallions over the lateral arches which display, on a reduced scale, abbreviated and simplified versions of the battles depicted in the Mondovì Carassone's frescoes, with variations. The upper, 'celestial' section is almost completely omitted; only a tiny, lone figure of the Virgin is comprised in the Lepanto fresco, and in a contamination of attributes, she comes to brandish the thunderbolts that Claret had attributed to Christ.

The composition in the opposite medallion is indebted to the clashing figures in the foreground of Mondovì Carassone's depiction of the Albigensians' defeat, centred on the representation of Simon de Montfort on horse, holding

89 Goria, 'L'immagine della "città ducale"', pp. 51–52. Giuseppe and Giovanni Antonio Nuvolone were charged with the execution of stuccoes and frescoes with Marian themes for the vault of the chapel.

90 Goria, 'Palazzo Taffini d'Acceglio a Savigliano', p. 198, n. 179.

91 Perotti, 'Il monumento', p. 79.



Figure 5.12. Piedmontese painter, *The Battle of Muret (Victory over the Albigensians)*, Saluzzo, Church of San Giovanni, Rosary Chapel. *c*. 1660. Copyright: Diocesi di Saluzzo; photo by Luigino Visconti.

the standard bearing the image of Our Lady of the Rosary which features in most renditions of the Battle of Muret.

This direct derivation of the central character, waving the same flag, and the strength in local rosarian contexts of the model associating the two victories credited to the rosary persuade that the most convincing interpretation of the scene indeed connects it to the thirteenth-century fight against the Albigensians, though the iconography is somewhat problematic as the enemies are characterized by Turkish apparel (particularly evident in the costume and arms of the knight preparing to shoot an arrow). This may relate to the semantically significant visual device which in early modern art tended to substitute images of the Ottomans, enemies of the faith par excellence, for those of pagans and of all kinds of heretics, so that paintings depicting, for instance, the martyrdom of Saint Fidelis of Sigmaringen at the hands of Swiss Protestants frequently portrayed the latter as turbaned Turks armed with scimitars.[92] The frescoes in Saluzzo, though of lesser quality than other works, are part of the remarkable series of artefacts which, through the connection to Pius V and the focus on the rosary as bulwark and weapon of Catholic Christendom, make southern Piedmont — external to the great epicentres of propaganda linked to the three Holy League's great powers — such an important tessera in the mosaic of global Lepantine imagery.

92 Borniotto and Stagno, 'I dipinti del convento', p. 565.

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CHIARA GIULIA MORANDI

Heroic Comparisons in Images of Christian Political and Military Leaders Engaged in the Wars against the Turks

Some Observations Starting from the Battle of Lepanto (1571)

Encounters and collisions between the Ottoman Empire and the European Occident had repercussions in the art of the early modern period. In this regard, one of the main outcomes of art-historical research is the identification of a common praxis — especially in Italian art — consisting in the introduction of elements recalling the Ottoman world (for example, Ottoman flags or figures wearing turbans, with long beards and moustaches, or with Ottoman arms) in iconographies apparently unrelated to them. As emerges from the studies of scholars such as Augusto Gentili, Francesco Sorce, or Laura Stagno,[1] the phenomenon is apparent in hagiographic, biblical, and historical narratives. Even if this praxis is not always related to the conflictual relations between Christians and Muslims, various case studies thus far considered by scholars present the Turks as enemies of the Christian faith or of Occidental civilization, or as people to convert, implying an anachronistic actualization of the subject.

These images insisted on typical themes of anti-Turkish rhetoric developed in the decades succeeding the fall of Constantinople (1453) which violently accentuated the problem of Ottoman expansion. In that moment, papal bulls and exhortations to war written by intellectuals were addressed to European

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1 Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio*; Sorce, 'Conflictual Allegories'; Stagno, 'Turks in Genoese Art', pp. 309–16; Sorce, 'The Turks at the Lord's Table': these are some interesting contributions, in which the reader can find references to a vast bibliography on the theme.

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rulers often pointing out a series of sacred or historical episodes as typological antecedents of conflicts against the Ottomans.[2] These typological antecedents at the same time defined the infidels with a derogatory tone and offered positive exempla, to which Christian princes and military leaders were compared with a celebrative or exhortative intention. This mechanism of comparison aimed to justify the wars against the Turks and, recalling frequently exempla related to the history of the victories of Christianity against its enemies, revealed a preponderant idea of Ottoman expansionism as a religious problem.

This kind of anti-Turkish rhetoric, rooted in the second half of the fifteenth century, can also be observed in the centuries that followed. This study will focus on the years surrounding the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which ended with a monumental victory for the so-called Holy League — Venice, Spain, the papacy, and diverse Italian states — against the Ottoman Empire. On that occasion, the celebration of Christian success had been tied to the glorification of the protagonists of the battle, and the post-Tridentine climate favoured the comparison of these figures with sacred exempla. The heroic images deriving from this process of comparison will be at the centre of this study and will show that the same rhetoric based on typological comparisons, from which derived the mentioned negative representations of the Turks, contributed to the creation of celebrative images of Christian political and military leaders.[3] Moreover, this study will show that some celebrative exempla used for the heroes of Lepanto already inspired the anti-Turkish rhetoric developed after the fall of Constantinople: being particularly appropriate for religious conflicts, the same typologies of exempla re-emerged, in fact, in diverse chronological and geographical contexts, on every new occasion of conflict with the Turks. Furthermore, the study of these heroic images will also allow the highlighting of diverse methods of visual expression for celebrative comparisons.

Between the first case studies that must be analysed here are two portraits representing Agostino Barbarigo, who had been elected Provveditore Generale da Mar by the Venetian Senate in 1570 and fought at Lepanto as captain of the left wing of the Christian fleet. These portraits show a symmetric nature in relation to the above-mentioned presence of Ottoman figures in hagiographic iconographies playing the role of enemies of the Christian faith.

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2 Fundamental bibliographic references on the theme are Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent*, pp. 147–75; Tateo, 'Letterati e guerrieri di fronte al pericolo turco'; Tateo, 'L'ideologia umanistica'; Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders'; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; Albanese, 'La storiografia umanistica e l'avanzata turca'; Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*.

3 The historiography regarding the artistic production related to the victory of the Christian forces at Lepanto includes interesting studies, which partly afford the theme studied here: Paul, 'And the Moon Has Started to Bleed'; Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*; Stagno and Franco Llopis, eds, *Lepanto and Beyond*. For an overview of the heroic images of Christian princes and military leaders involved in the wars against the Turks between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Morandi, 'L'immagine eroica del principe al tempo dei conflitti con la Mezzaluna ottomana'.

The Venetian captain died, in fact, after a Turkish arrow plunged into his eye and was portrayed holding the object that caused his death, as saints are represented holding the instrument of their martyrdom.[4] Barbarigo has been represented with this 'attribute' by Paolo Veronese, in a painting now at the Cleveland Museum of Art,[5] and in a woodcut attributed to Cesare Vecellio (Fig. 6.1),[6] which is part of a series composed of portraits of the pope and of other Venetian protagonists of the Lepantine battle.[7] Both images, probably conceived right after the battle, show the commander half-length, in armour, with the arrow in his left hand. The composition recalls representations of Saint Sebastian as captain of the imperial guard, often in armour, holding the arrow alluding to his martyrdom. The closest parallel of this iconography in the portraits of Barbarigo could be considered, as suggested by Giorgio Tagliaferro, Veronese's fresco of *Saint Sebastian Reproving Diocletian* (1558) in the church of St Sebastian in Venice.[8] Here, however, the saint appears in a narrative scene. More direct iconographic references for Barbarigo's portraits are independent half-length representations of the saint with the arrow, which were mostly produced between the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[9]

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4 Cf. Tagliaferro, 'Martiri, eroi, principi e beati', pp. 365–67; Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, p. 82.

5 Oil on canvas, 102.2 × 104.2 cm (unframed), inv. 1928.16.

6 38 × 26 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 17-1889.

7 In addition to the portrait of Agostino Barbarigo, the series is composed of the portraits of Pope Pius V (woodcut, 17.8 × 26.5 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 489-1901), of the Captain General of the Sea Sebastiano Venier (woodcut, 37.9 × 26 cm, London, British Museum, inv. 1863.1114.755), and of Doge Alvise Mocenigo (woodcut, 37.7 × 25.8 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RP-P-1965-789). In the historiated frame of the portraits of the pope and of Sebastiano Venier is inscribed the name of Cesare Vecellio. Because of strong stylistic analogies and of the repetition of the same frame, the other two engravings are attributed to the same artist. As underlined by Benjamin Paul, while the inscriptions in the pictures of Sebastiano Venier and Agostino Barbarigo refer to the already won Battle of Lepanto, the one in Mocenigo's picture predicts the victory: this discrepancy could signify an execution of the engravings in different moments, but it is also possible that the 'temporal sequence […] may be deliberate to signify prophecy and its fulfillment' (Paul, 'And the Moon Has Started to Bleed', p. 91, n. 28). See also De Hoop Scheffer, '16de eeuwse houtsnede-portretten', pp. 24–27; Tagliaferro, 'Martiri, eroi, principi e beati', pp. 343–51 and 365–67.

8 Tagliaferro, 'Martiri, eroi, principi e beati', p. 366.

9 Instances of this iconographic type are, among others, the *Saint Sebastian* by Giorgio Schiavone (tempera on wood, 30.5 × 23 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG630.9), which was part of a polyptych, probably painted between 1456 and 1461 for a chapel in the church of San Niccolò in Padua; the compartment of the San Gallo polyptych (*c.* 1480) by Leonardo Boldrini (here the saint holds more than one arrow) in the Church of Santa Maria Assunta (San Gallo, San Giovanni Bianco, Bergamo); the inlaid *Saint Sebastian* in the choir of the Cathedral of Savona, part of the cycle commissioned by Pope Julius II, realized by Anselmo de Fornari and Elia Rocchi on the basis of cartoons prepared, among others, by Marco d'Oggiono (1501–1504). To these examples can be added the renowned painting by Giorgione (indeed not unanimously considered as *Saint Sebastian*, see below, note 11), at



Figure 6.1. Cesare Vecellio (attr.), *Portrait of Agostino Barbarigo*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett. *c.* 1571. © Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 17-1889.

Indeed, the woodcut attributed to Vecellio unusually recalls a series of images of *Young Man with the Arrow*, inspired by the mentioned iconography of Saint Sebastian, which were popular particularly in Leonardo's milieu in Milan.[10] In these paintings the themes of sacred and profane love likely coexisted: the arrow is in fact not just the instrument of Saint Sebastian's martyrdom but

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the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (oil on panel, 48 × 41.8 cm, *c.* 1500, inv. 323), and the one by Raphael, at the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo (*c.* 1502–1504, tempera and oil on panel, 45.1 × 36.5 cm, inv. 81LC00207). In the same period in which these paintings were produced, the image of Saint Sebastian as a naked young man pierced by arrows began to prevail: cf. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, pp. 1190–99; Quattrini, '"Un zovine con una friza in mano"', p. 72.

10 Among these *Young Men with the Arrow* are, for example, three paintings by Giovanni Ambrogio Boltraffio: the first one was once in the collection Scaglione Frizzoni in Messina (*c.* 1485–1490), the second one is at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow (*c.* 1496, oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 48 × 36 cm, inv. 2667), and the third one is at the Timken Museum of Art in San Diego (*c.* 1500–1502, oil on panel, 49.7 × 35.4 cm, inv. 1964:001). Other examples are two paintings by Marco d'Oggiono (*c.* 1492–1493, oil on panel, 30 × 24 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 1986.9; *c.* 1505, formerly in the collection of Giovanni Leonardo Frizzoni in Milan), and a painting by Giovanni Agostino da Lodi (*c.* 1510, once in the Viezzoli Collection in Genoa). An organic view on this series is offered by Quattrini, '"Un zovine con una friza in mano"'.

also the attribute of Cupid. It recalls the arrow of Love — a popular metaphor in poems of Petrarchan inspiration often produced in the same courtesan circles in which these images circulated.[11] The arrow held by the young men represented in these paintings has then often been considered as a symbol of divine love.[12] Interestingly, the engraved effigy of Barbarigo is crowned by a proverb, expressed through the Petrarchan verse 'un bel morir tuta la vita honora' (dying well honours a life complete) referring to the death of the enamoured struck by the arrow of Love.[13] In Barbarigo's portrait, the idea of sacred love seems then to enrich the reference to the figure of Saint Sebastian, evoked — as in Veronese's painting — in order to stress the martyrial nature of the death of the Venetian captain murdered by infidels.

The reference to the iconography of the saint is realized, in these cases, through the implementation of iconographic '*formulae* in disguise'. This terminology is borrowed from Erwin Panofsky who used it to define the process through which Titian masked well-known iconographic *formulae* in the portraits of persons of the sixteenth century, keeping 'only the compositional "schema" (i.e. the pattern produced by the organization of figures into groups and parts into figures) and the emotional atmosphere surrounding this "schema", while every detail was thoroughly modernized'.[14] This process is aimed at the creation of a subtle comparison between the iconographic model and the modern subject of the portrait, and in the considered historical period it has been used more than once in order to create comparisons with martyred saints.

This happened, for instance, also for Marcantonio Bragadin, captain of the Kingdom of Cyprus since 1569. Bragadin died at the hands of the Turks during the Ottoman siege of Famagusta (1570–1571) that ended with the fall of the Greek city in the same moment in which the Christian forces of the Holy League were

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11 Cf. Reggiani Rajna, 'Un po' d'ordine fra tanti Casii', p. 374; Rama, 'Un tentativo di rilettura'; and Ballarin, *Leonardo a Milano*, I, p. 18, focusing on Boltraffio's paintings in San Diego and in Moscow. See also Koos, 'Amore dolce-amaro', pp. 116–31, about the literary metaphor of the arrow for the gaze of the enamoured and its visual representations around 1500. These images of young men have been sometimes considered, because of their attribute, as images of Apollo or also of Eros: cf. Wilde, *Venetian Art from Bellini to Titian*, pp. 81–82; Ballarin, 'Una nuova prospettiva su Giorgione', pp. 241–42, n. 19; Brown, 'Leonardo and the Idealized Portrait', p. 110; Lucco, 'Venezia fra Quattro e Cinquecento', p. 472; Quattrini, '"Un zovine con una friza in mano"', pp. 75–78, with bibliography. However, the identification with Saint Sebastian seems to be, for these images of young men with the arrow, the most plausible, even in the cases in which they have no halo, because of the consolidated iconographic tradition of the half-length representations of the saint holding the arrow (see Calvesi, *Le realtà del Caravaggio*, p. 215; Perry, 'Death and Devotion in Renaissance Venice'; Settis, 'Esercizi di stile', p. 46; Quattrini, '"Un zovine con una friza in mano"', p. 82).

12 See Calvesi, *Le realtà del Caravaggio*, p. 215; Pedretti, 'Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio'; Quattrini, '"Un zovine con una friza in mano"', p. 77.

13 Francesco Petrarca, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*, CCVII, v. 65.

14 Panofsky, 'Counterpoint', p. 74. In his essay, Panofsky especially analyses the use of classical iconographic schemes in Titian's portraits, but the same principle can be applied to religious prototypes, as emerges at least from one of the case studies considered by Panofsky.

gathering in Messina before the Battle of Lepanto. Indeed, the circumstances of Bragadin's death could not be more favourable for a representation of the captain as a modern martyr for the faith. Like Saint Bartholomew, he had been flayed alive by infidels. Therefore, the iconographic scheme of the martyrdom of the saint has been used to represent the moment of his death, as can be observed in a monochrome canvas in the Great Council Chamber of the Doge's Palace in Venice (1587–1590), and in a fresco by Paolo Piazza occupying the upper part of the monument to the captain in the Venetian Basilica of Sts John and Paul (1596) (Fig. 6.2).[15] Bragadin is portrayed naked and bound to a tree trunk (in the painting) or to a column (in the fresco), while Turks are flaying him with a knife, as if he was a contemporary Saint Bartholomew.[16] In the fresco crowning Bragadin's monument, the allusion to a saintly martyrdom is further expressed by the palm branches held by two putti sitting on the painted frame and in the shields next to them. Indeed, the flaying suffered by Bragadin was also narrated as a martyrdom in coeval written sources about the events at Famagusta, as emerges from Francesco da Molin's *Compendio*, in which it is referred to as a martyrdom and Bragadin is described as a saintly man.[17] This point of view was shared even by the Ottoman statesman Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who defined the death of Bragadin as a cruel act of martyrdom.[18]

Iconographic *formulae* in disguise were used for the celebration of Christian princes who supported or fought in the Lepantine battle in order to create celebrative comparisons not only to martyred saints, but also to figures of the Old Testament. This can be observed in two engravings included in Pedro de Oviedo's report of the festivities organized in Seville at the very beginning of

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15 The painting in the Great Council Chamber has been alternatively attributed to Pietro Longo (or Longhi) and to Antonio Vassilacchi called l'Aliense. See, for the first attribution, Donzelli and Pilo, *I pittori del Seicento veneto*, p. 244; Huber, *Paolo Veronese*, pp. 111–13. For the second attribution, see Franzoi, *Storia e leggenda del Palazzo ducale*, p. 237, and Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, p. 91. As far as Marcantonio Bragadin's monument is concerned, the fresco has an ancient attribution, due to Marco Boschini (*Le ricche minere*, p. 63), to Giuseppe Alabardi (Lo Schioppi). The architectural project and Bragadin's bust have been dubitatively attributed respectively to Vincenzo Scamozzi and Tiziano Aspetti. See Marinelli, 'L'interno', p. 28; Marinelli, 'Paolo Piazza pittore veneto', p. 40, with bibliography; Davis, 'Vincenzo Scamozzi progettista di monumenti commemorativi?', p. 104 (the attribution of the monument to Scamozzi is here rejected), with bibliography; Rossi, 'Scultura e pittura del secondo Cinquecento', p. 241, with bibliography; Rossi, 'Vincenzo Scamozzi (?), Monumento a Marcantonio Bragadin', with bibliography. For the allusion of the fresco and of the painting to the iconography of the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew, see Tagliaferro, 'Martiri, eroi, principi e beati', pp. 367–69, and Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 37–40 and p. 91.

16 Fitting examples of the iconography of the martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew are, among others, the paintings by Cosimo Gamberucci (*c.* 1590, oil on canvas, 247 × 166 cm, Castelfiorentino, Museo di Santa Verdiana) and by Carlo Allegretti (1608, Ascoli Piceno, Church of St Bartholomew).

17 Cf. Maggio, 'Francesco da Molino', p. 174; Tagliaferro, 'Martiri, eroi, principi e beati', p. 368.

18 This is the testimony reported by Marcantonio Barbaro to the Venetian doge on 27 March 1573: cf. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, p. 1044; Capponi, *Lepanto 1571*, p. 202.

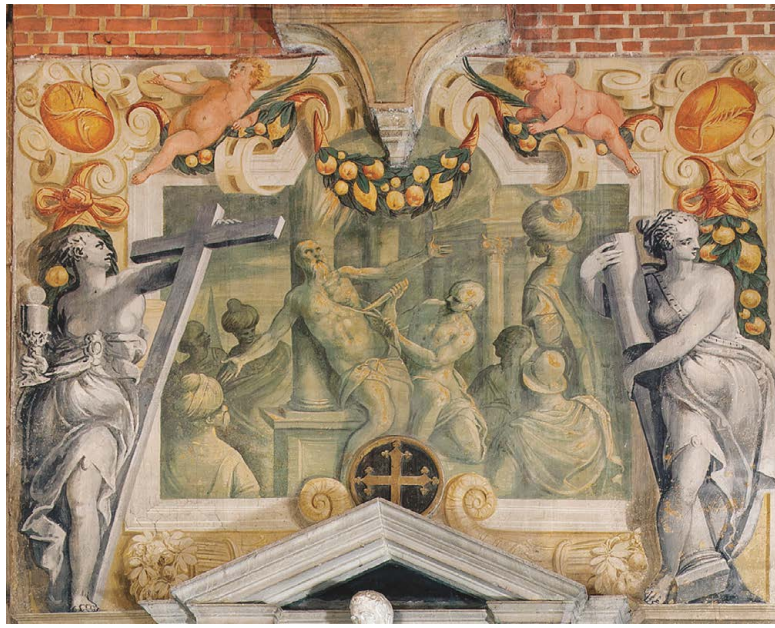


Figure 6.2. Paolo Piazza, *Marcantonio Bragadin Flayed by Turks* (part of the Monument to Marcantonio Bragadin), Venice, Basilica of Sts John and Paul. 1596. Photo courtesy of Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Matteo De Fina, Venice.

1572 which jointly celebrated the Lepantine victory and the birth of the son of Philip II, the Infante Fernando.[19] According to the author of the *Relación de las somptuosas y ricas fiestas*, the two images preserve the memory of the figurative content of two banners which were held by dames parading as personifications of Rome and Spain.[20]

The first of these engravings allegedly reproduces the figurative content of the banner held by the allegory of Rome (Fig. 6.3). It displays an image of the leaders of the first three forces that joined the Holy League implying a reference to the iconography of the prayer of Moses during the battle between Israelites and Amalekites. The King of Spain and the Venetian doge are portrayed holding the arms of Pius V up, 'imitando a lo que Hur y Aarón hazían con Moysen, quando orava en la batalla contra los Amalequitas' (imitating what Aaron and

19 De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas*, cc. 44^{v} and 46^{r}. Cf. Mulcahy, 'Celebrar o no celebrar', pp. 10–12; García Bernal, 'Velas y estandartes'.

20 According to de Oviedo's report (De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas*, cc. 34^{v}–48^{r}), these two personifications were part of the masquerade organized in Sevilla on 17 February 1572. The two mentioned personifications paraded with two other personifications — the one of the Holy League and the one of Venice.

Hur did with Moses, when he prayed in the battle against the Amalekites).[21] In the engraving, the stable and recognizable iconographic scheme of Moses, supported by Aaron and Hur while praying with raised hands, is in fact actualized through the conferment of the features and clothing of the actual Christian princes to the Old Testament protagonists.[22] The biblical model of Moses praying for the positive outcome of the battle fits the celebration of a conflict that was conceived as a holy war. This model was in fact not unusual in anti-Turkish rhetoric and can be found even in those ecclesiastical discourses in support of the war formulated in the second half of the fifteenth century, such as Pius II's bull *Ezechielis prophetae* (1463), in which the pope encouraged prayer, as Moses had done, for the Christian combatants against the Ottomans.[23] Similarly, Marsilio Ficino wrote an *Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros* (1480) for Mathias Corvinus, the king of Hungary and Croatia, who was seen by Occidental Europe as the main champion of Christendom by those that were called to take arms against the Ottomans. Ficino exhorted Corvinus to become a 'Mosem alterum' (another Moses), who had to rescue the nations subjugated by the Turks, which, for their part, were compared to Jewish people under the control of Pharaoh.[24]

Another comparison with a figure of the Old Testament is shown in the second engraving illustrating Pedro de Oviedo's text honouring John of Austria, admiral of the Holy League fleet at Lepanto (Fig. 6.4). This engraving allegedly reproduces the iconography of the banner carried by the allegorical figure of Spain during the Sevillian celebrations. John of Austria is represented here on a Christian galea, connotated with a flag bearing the Spanish coat of arms, facing an Ottoman galea, above which waves a flag with the half-moon. The admiral is standing with the severed head of a Turk, a reference to the beheading of the Ottoman admiral Müezzinzade Ali Pasha after a skirmish with John of Austria in the Battle of Lepanto.[25] In this case, the heroic parallelism is clarified by

21 De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas*, c. 44^{v}.

22 Numerous examples of the iconography of Moses praying supported by Aaron and Hur, pertaining to diverse chronologies, can be compared to our engraving: see, among others, the illuminated page in *The Northern French Miscellany*, 1278–1324, BL, Add. MS 11639, fol. 525^{v}; the engraving by Girolamo Mocetto, London, British Museum (23.9 × 33 cm, inv. 1862.0712.121); the detail with Moses, Aaron, and Hur in a drawing by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, also at the British Museum (1542, 15 × 29.9 cm, inv. 1542.1921.0614.5).

23 Piccolomini, 'Bulla de profectione in Turcos', p. 918. For the common use of Old Testament examples by the popes in the fifteenth century in order to inspire action in the present against the Turks, see Weber, *Lutter contre les turcs*, pp. 501–02.

24 Ficino, 'Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros', p. 721. Cf. Pócs, 'Il mito di Ercole', p. 224.

25 Indeed, as underlined by García Bernal ('Velas y estandartes', pp. 195 and 204), we cannot be totally sure of the adherence of the engraving's subject in de Oviedo's report to the figurative content of the banner raised by the allegorical figure of Spain during the celebrations in Sevilla. The same iconography of the engraving can in fact be observed in the frontispiece of a report about the relief of Malta (*Copia de una Carta*), which took



Figure 6.3. Pius V praying while Philip II of Spain and Doge Alvise Mocenigo hold his arms up, in Pedro De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas, que la insigne ciudad de Sevilla hizo, por el felice nascimiento del príncipe nuestro señor. Y por el vencimiento de la batalla naval, que el sereníssimo de Austria ovo, contra el armada del Turco* (Sevilla: Hernando Díaz, 1572), c. 44^{v}. Image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

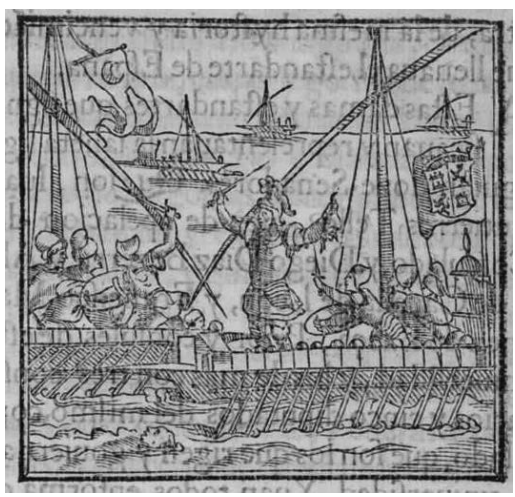


Figure 6.4. John of Austria on a galea holding the severed head of Müezzinzade Ali Pasha, in Pedro De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas, que la insigne ciudad de Sevilla hizo, por el felice nascimiento del príncipe nuestro señor. Y por el vencimiento de la batalla naval, que el sereníssimo de Austria ovo, contra el armada del Turco* (Sevilla: Hernando Díaz, 1572), c. 46^{r}. Image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

an inscription that, according to de Oviedo, completed the image: 'Soys un nuevo Iosue / y en esta dichosa lid / soys otro nuevo David' (You are a new Joshua and in this blessed fight you are another new David).[26] The first part of the inscription refers to the scene of the victory of Joshua in the battle against the Amalekites that may have been represented on the reverse of the banner carried by Spain. The second part of the inscription enlightens instead the heroic reference carried by the image of the hero holding the disembodied head of the enemy. In this case, in fact, the celebrative comparison does not emerge solely from the image. The scene of the triumph of John of Austria is deduced from the scheme of the iconography of David victorious over Goliath by the act of holding the severed head of the enemy, but the maritime setting has nothing to do with the Old Testament episode. The inscription plays a crucial role, providing the key to the interpretation of the heroic parallelism between John of Austria and the King of Israel. Just as Moses' victory over the Amalekites, the King of Israel's triumph over the Philistines was clearly a suitable typological antecedent to a contemporary holy war and already had an anti-Turkish connotation in the early stages of the conflicts with the Ottomans, in the previous century. An example in which the figure of David was probably used in relation to the European-Ottoman conflicts is an illumination in the so-called *Bible of Mathias Corvinus*.[27] Here a comparison seems to be established between the King of Israel and the King of Hungary through the anachronistic integration of the figure of Corvinus in the stories of David and the representation of the Philistines in Turkish dress. Figures such as the ones of Moses and of David were characterized, at the time of the Battle of Lepanto, by a traditional interpretation as model Christian

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place in consequence of the Turkish siege in 1565. The text of this report is not dated, but it has been considered as printed around 1565 because of its content. However, since it contains a copy of writing by Don Garcia de Toledo, it could have been produced even later than 1565. Part of the historiography has in effect proposed a dating to the 1570s (see Castillejo Benavente, *La imprenta en Sevilla*, II, p. 1031, n. 866, with bibliography — I sincerely thank Pedro José Rueda Ramírez for the bibliographic suggestion; see also Mailard Álvarez and Rueda Ramírez, 'Sevilla en el mercado tipográfico', p. 9). This hypothesis could be supported also by the fact that the engraving in the *Copia de una Carta* has a smaller size then the one that can be seen in Pedro de Oviedo's report of the Sevillian festivities: as stressed by García Bernal, the reduced size also characterizes other later occurrences of this engraving. It could then be supposed that it appeared for the first time in the report of the Sevillian festivities and had been later reused with reduced dimensions, assuming the role, not of an illustration of a part of the text, but of a reminder of the battle that was perceived as one of the most important battles fought in the recent past.

26 De Oviedo, *Relación de las sumptuosas y ricas fiestas*, c. 46^{r}.

27 1488–1490, *Novum Testamentum et Liber Psalmorum*, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 15.17, fol. 2^{v}. Cf. Scudieri, 'Novum Testamentum et Liber Psalmorum', with bibliography.

leaders victorious over the infidels, thanks to which the use of disguised iconographic *formulae* was sufficient to create celebrative comparisons.

In addition to these figures, a preponderant comparative model for Christian political and military leaders fighting the Turks was that of Constantine, which had an equally strong and widespread tradition. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the archbishop and Dominican friar Antoninus of Florence, in his oration recited to Callixtus III (1455), affirmed it would be appropriate to honour Constantine by reconquering the city that took his name,[28] and in his opening speech at the Council of Mantua (1459) Pius II, while encouraging the participants to be inspired by the deeds of illustrious predecessors, evoked the emperor's vision of the Cross at the eve of the battle against the infidels at Ponte Milvio.[29] In the following century, this comparison found expression in one of the triumphal arches erected for the entry of Philip of Habsburg, future king of Spain ruling during the Battle of Lepanto, in Antwerp (1549), which showed two juxtaposed paintings. One represented Constantine victorious over Maxentius and the other Philip II fighting against Turks, Moors, and other enemies of the faith. The paintings were accompanied by the inscription 'quo signo' (in this sign) recalling the motto pronounced by a divine voice heard during Constantine's vision of the Cross.[30] Analogously, the history of the first Christian emperor was recalled in relation to the Battle of Lepanto. The standard, blessed by Pius V and raised by the admiral of the papal fleet, Marcantonio Colonna, on his flagship at Lepanto, carried an image of the crucifix, between Saint Peter and Saint Paul, completed, in the lower part, by a golden inscription with Constantine's motto *in hoc signo vinces* (in this sign you will conquer).[31] Another standard with the crucifix was then given to John of Austria by Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle on behalf of the pope in

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28 Pierozzi, 'Oratio facta a Florentinis', p. 588. Cf. Büttner, 'Das Thema der "Konstantinschlacht"', p. 30.

29 Piccolomini, 'Oratio Pii Papae II', p. 909. The passage is cited in Büttner, 'Das Thema der "Konstantinschlacht"', p. 33. It should be remembered here that a fresco by Piero della Francesca, representing the *Victory of Constantine over Maxentius*, in San Francesco in Arezzo, has been considered by some critics as a case of visual comparison between Constantine and a modern prince involved in the anti-Turkish conflicts. In the fresco, in fact, Constantine is represented with the traits of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos. However, the absence of other visual references to the Turkish world obliges one to consider the fresco just hypothetically in relation to the Ottoman problem: see, among others, Büttner, 'Das Thema der "Konstantinschlacht"'; Ginzburg, *Indagini su Piero*, pp. 17–51 and 115–23; Centanni and Pedersoli, 'Costantino XI Paleologo vs Maometto II'; Angelini, *Piero della Francesca*, pp. 192–200.

30 Cf. Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, I, p. 247; the report of the triumphal entry can be read in Grapheus, *Le Triumphe d'Anvers*, n.p.

31 1570, tempera on silk, 307 × 214 cm, Gaeta, Museo diocesano della Religiosità del parco dei monti Aurunci. Cf. Scorza, 'Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes', pp. 144–48; Stagno, 'Triumphing over the Enemy', pp. 164–65. The attribution of this standard to Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta isn't unanimously accepted: see Hunter, *Girolamo Siciolante pittore da Sermoneta*, p. 240, with bibliography.

a ceremony that was commemorated on the reverse of a medal by Giovanni Melon (1571) in which the scene is crowned by the inscription *in hoc vincis* (in this [sign] you conquer).[32] Therefore, Pius V himself was equated with the first Christian emperor in two Latin inscriptions placed on the Arch of Constantine during the triumphal entry of Marcantonio Colonna in Rome after the Lepantine victory (4 December 1571). The first inscription reminded contemporary viewers that 'Constantine was the first among the Roman emperors to fight, victorious, under the banner of the cross, against the cruellest of enemies in the name of Christianity', while the other one affirmed that:

> Pius V was the first among the Roman Pontiffs, for the creation of the Holy League with the Catholic King — Philip II of Spain — and the Venetian Republic, and through the same sign of salvation, to obtain the most joyous of victories against the great Turkish armada.[33]

Likewise, Constantine was evoked in a portrait of Doge Alvise Mocenigo attributed to Cesare Vecellio (Fig. 6.5), part of the series of woodcuts previously mentioned,[34] which confirms the already noted importance of inscriptions for the orientation of the observer's interpretation of the work as alluding to heroic comparisons. In the portrait the verses at the doge's left define the battle against the Turks as a battle that had to be fought 'a furor di Costantino' (by Constantine's acclaim), accounting for the unusual image of the doge wearing armour and holding a sword.[35] Finally, the Constantinian topos was also used in the portrait of Giovanni Andrea Doria, the Genoese admiral that had been at the head of the right wing of the Christian fleet at Lepanto. In the central oval of the ceiling decoration of the hall of Constantine in Palazzo del Principe, in Genoa, he is portrayed, perhaps by Lazzaro Calvi, in the last decade of the sixteenth century, wearing ancient armour and crowned with laurel, while gazing up at the sky, where a cross enclosed by luminous rays appears. Here Giovanni Andrea is represented in the guise of Constantine, in an identification portrait — a genre that constitutes the most explicit expression of heroic comparisons in the visual arts.[36] Figurative references

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32 Bronze, diameter 4.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1975.1.1289. Cf. Scorza, 'Vasari's Lepanto Frescoes', pp. 144–48; Stagno, 'Triumphing over the Enemy', p. 165.

33 Cf. Anderson, 'Marcantonio Colonna and the Victory at Lepanto', pp. 146–47, with bibliography. The English translation of the Latin inscriptions of the Constantine Arch here reported is from Anderson.

34 See above, note 7.

35 As underlined by Paul, 'And the Moon Has Started to Bleed', p. 79, the doge is 'shown wearing armor and raising a sword, relatively unusual in the context of ducal iconography. This characterization of the doge as *miles Christianus* is further accentuated by the reference to Constantine in the adjacent text'.

36 Some significant bibliographic contributions on this genre are, among others, Wind, 'Studies in Allegorical Portraiture'; Wishnevsky, 'Studien zum "portrait historié" in den Niederlanden'; Bardon, *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France*; Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*; Manuth, van Leeuwen, and Koldeweij, eds, *Example or Alter Ego?*



Figure 6.5. Cesare Vecellio (attr.), *Portrait of Doge Alvise Mocenigo*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet. *c*. 1571. Photo courtesy Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

to actual conflicts with the Turks are indeed absent in the portrait of Doria. However, as underlined by Stagno, the crucial role played by the admiral in conflicts with the Ottoman Empire is likely a preponderant motif for the choice of a heroic paragon with the figure of Constantine.[37] Constantine's model then joins those of Moses, of David, and of martyred saints showing the prevalent use, in the Lepantine post-Tridentine context, of sacred exempla as illustrious figures with which to compare the champions of wars against the Turks, often in continuity with an antecedent tradition.

Exempla pertaining to classical imagery were instead used more rarely. However, among the protagonists of the Battle of Lepanto, John of Austria had been associated more than once with the figure of Neptune — an appropriate heroic model for the leader of a battle fought at sea — which

37 Cf. Stagno, 'Celebrating Lepanto in the Republic of Genoa', pp. 176–77, with bibliography.

had already been used for another champion of the wars against the Turks, Andrea Doria.[38] Even before raising anchor for Lepanto, when the admiral arrived in Messina (1571), a triumphal arch had been erected near Porta Reale.[39] According to the description offered by Giuseppe Buonfiglio Costanzo, a painting representing Neptune with the trident in his hand appeared on the arch's northern front, inviting, through a Latin inscription, the son of Charles V to get in his chariot.[40] The victory at Lepanto then reinforced this celebrative juxtaposition: in a sonnet by Alemanno Fino (1572), Neptune was described ceding his trident to the admiral and evoking him as a new god that should take his place.[41] A combination of the image of John of Austria and that of Neptune could be observed a few years later in a medal produced by Giovanni Melon on the occasion of the victory of the admiral over the Ottomans at Tunis (1573).[42] On the obverse is a profile portrait of John of Austria. On the reverse is a representation of Neptune piercing a Turk with a trident crowned by the royal coat of arms and by the Golden Fleece in the waters in front of Tunis, where a group of Turks is running away.[43] The use of these symbols, combined with the representation of Ottomans, was intended to create a heroic comparison between Neptune and John of Austria. As suggested by Claudia Cieri Via, medals can in fact be considered as direct antecedents of the genre of symbolic portraiture thanks to the combination of a realistic portrait on the *recto* with allegorical motives invoking a celebrative comment on the *verso*.[44]

This reference to classical mythology closes the path through the Lepantine context, which, however, could be followed in the successive century when a substantial persistence of the same type of heroic exempla can be noted. In order to underline, once more, the recurring character of this imagery, it could then be interesting to briefly present the phenomenon through some significant cases regarding the Habsburg dynasty reigning over the Holy Roman Empire which, during the seventeenth century, had been one of the European forces most exposed to Ottoman expansionism.

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38 For an overview of the theme and for the essential bibliography concerning it, see Stagno, 'Triumphing over the Enemy', pp. 147, 152–55.

39 Cf. Marías, 'Una estampa con el arco triunfal de Don Juan de Austria'.

40 Buonfiglio Costanzo, *Messina città nobilissima*, c. 45^{v} (at c. 44^{v} the author erroneously dates the triumphal entry to 1570).

41 Cf. Capotorti, *Lepanto tra storia e mito*, p. 114.

42 Bronze, diameter 4.2 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 7072 bß. Cf. Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 436–38; Hanß, 'Event and Narration', p. 95.

43 The image of Neptune piercing a Turk had been already associated — in a more complex allegorical system — to the admiral in one of the triumphal encomiastic images of John of Austria, published in Zsámboky, *Arcus aliquot triumphales*, n.p., after the victory at Lepanto. Cf. Nelson, 'Jerusalem Lost', p. 58; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, p. 377.

44 Cieri Via, 'L'immagine dietro al ritratto', pp. 10–12. Cf. also Bardon, *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France*, pp. 18–20, and Walbe, *Studien zur Entwicklung des allegorischen Porträts*, pp. 4–6.



Figure 6.6. Georg Lackner, *Ferdinand IV of Habsburg in the Guise of Constantine*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. 1653. Photo courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Vienna.

A significative example is an engraving portraying Ferdinand IV of Habsburg in the guise of a new Constantine (1653):[45] the king has the vision of the cross, which appears in the sky surrounded by the motto *in hoc signo vinces* (Fig. 6.6). The heroic identification is justified through the representation, in the background, of a battle between Christians and Muslims — the latter with the usual turbans and banners depicting the half-moon. The portrait then attests to the continuity of the use of the same sacred themes that were used as a basis for crusade rhetoric since the fall of Constantinople. Likewise, figures of the Old Testament continued to serve as typological antecedents of modern princes victorious over the Turks: a medal of Leopold I, successor of Ferdinand IV, by

45 25.4 × 16.7 cm, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. ÖNB/Wien, PORT_00046753_01. Cf. Polleroß, *Das sakrale Identifikationsporträt*, I, p. 248, with bibliography.

Hans Jacob Wolrab commemorates the victory over the Turks in Buda (1684), showing, on the obverse, the emperor stopping the sun, as Joshua did in the battle against the Amorites. Behind him the rays of the sun are banishing the half-moon, and in the background European and Turkish soldiers are fighting.[46] However, it should be noted that classical imagery also had later manifestations in the celebration of Christian heroes. This is particularly true for Leopold I, whose appreciation for the figure of Hercules influenced his image as anti-Turkish prince: in the canvas by Gerard Hoet at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (1672) the emperor, holding the Herculean club, is stepping on the vanquished hydra, monstrous metaphor for the subdued Turks kneeling before the emperor and presented to him by Bellona, goddess of war.[47]

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46 1686, gold, diameter 4.7 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, inv. 1138 bb. Cf. Ziegler, 'STAT SOL. LUNA FUGIT'.

47 C. 1672, oil on canvas, 138 × 240 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1903. Cf. Wrede, 'Türkenkrieger, Türkensieger'; Posselt-Kuhli, *Kunstheld versus Kriegsheld*, pp. 159–60; Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*, pp. 537–38. For the use of the metaphor of the dragon for the Turk, see Sorce, 'Il drago come immagine del nemico', with bibliography.

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JUAN CHIVA AND VÍCTOR MÍNGUEZ

Johannes Sambucus's *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572)

Visual and Written Propaganda for the Victor at Lepanto

News of the Christian victory at the Battle of Lepanto on the Italian coast quickly led to rejoicing and celebrations in the main cities involved in the conflict. At both St Peter's Basilica in Rome and St Mark's Basilica in Venice, *Te Deum* were organized and followed by joyful processions, parties, and other acts of remembrance, demonstrations of the happiness over the defeat of the Turks, with whom various skirmishes had been fought. A large body of apologetic literature was printed as part of a state policy aimed at praising this naval exploit, and this literature had a large impact on the population. Such works are exemplified in the 26 December 1571 premiere of Celio Magno's musical drama *Trionfo di Christo per la vittoria contra Turchi*, which took place after a reception attended by the doge and the senate.[1] Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons have studied a number of Latin poems written in the years following the battle, and they suggest that these works provide evidence that Lepanto was indeed the most celebrated international event of the sixteenth century. In their study, they provide an anthology of twenty-two poets — all of whom were Italians (save one Spaniard) from different regions: Liguria, Venice, Tuscany, and Naples — who all remark, in Virgilian style, on the parallels between this victory of the Holy League and the great maritime adventures

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1 Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 56–59.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 155–179
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described by writers of Antiquity: Carlo Malatesta, Belisario Gadaldini, Cornelio Amalteo, Marc Antonio Tritonio, Nicolò Paladino, Alessandro Allegri, Davide Podavini, Giovanni Canevari, Maffeo Galladei, and Juan Latino. Their titles are representative of their epic, triumphant nature, and of their purported classical air: *Nereidum cantus ad Serenissimum Ioannen […]*, *Proteus*, *Hectora dum recolit maerens*, *De Actiaca victoria […]*, *Ecloga Nautica*, and *Victoria Naupactiaca*. The longest and perhaps most interesting poem is *Austrias Carmen*, published in October 1572, and written by Juan Latino (1518–1596), a black son of slaves who was educated in Granada. After his emancipation, he served as the chair of Latin Language and Grammar at Granada Cathedral.[2]

In Rome, an ancient-style triumph was organized to welcome their local hero, Marcantonio Colonna, admiral of the papal galleys, as was documented by Domenico Tassolo in *I trionfi feste, et livree fatte dalli signori conservatori, & Popolo Romano, & da tutte le arti di Roma, nella felicissima, & honorata entrata dell'Illustrissimo Signor Marcantonio Colonna* (Venice, 1571). Other Italian cities that were assimilated into the Spanish Crown also celebrated the victory. Of note was Messina, for the consequential role its port played in the naval campaign. There, even before the battle, on 26 August 1571, an ephemeral triumphal arch was drawn up on the wall of the port in honour of John of Austria taking on the rank of supreme commander of the fleet. Architect and sculptor Andrea Calamecca — who would later create a life-sized sculpture of the admiral for this very port — has been credited with its design. We know this thanks to a large-sized print dedicated, in Italian, to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (Royal Library, Madrid).[3] The print is divided into two parts. The upper part shows a gigantic square construction supported by sixteen pairs of columns adorned with bands inscribed with the motto of Charles V — *Plvs Ultra*. These columns support an elegant Renaissance-style series of arches. On top of all of this lies an architrave that has been topped with crests, wreaths, allegories, and the figures of Mars and Mercury. There are two sculptures that appear in front of the large ephemeral scene in the engraving. They both show Hercules; in one, he is defeating the Nemean lion, and in the other, he is slaying the giant Cacus. In the lower part of the print there are several galleys, a *nao* (large sailing ship), and some smaller boats sailing. After the battle, another arch was created in Messina on 14 October to celebrate the victory. Compared to the Roman and Sicilian festivities in honour of Colonna and Austria, the celebration in Venice was more subdued, and although Sebastiano Venier was received by the senate and the doge, and acclaimed by the people, he was not given a formal ancient-style reception, as the Most Serene Republic was hesitant to create a personality cult around any of its citizens.[4]

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2 Wright, Spence, and Lemons, eds, *The Battle of Lepanto*. The book compiles the twenty-two poems with their original Latin text, followed by the English translation.

3 Marías, 'Una estampa con el arco triunfal de Don Juan de Austria'.

4 Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*, pp. 85–87.

This prior relationship between celebrations and books in the moments leading up to the battle is relevant to properly understanding the object of our present study, Johannes Sambucus's *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal*. Also relevant is analysing to what degree this book is related to these traditions: apologetic literature dedicated to the heroes of Lepanto, the preparation of celebrations in their honour, and the recreations of the classical world in such literature and celebrations. It is also important that we briefly analyse the political profile and particularities of the person to whom this work is dedicated: the commander of the fleet of the Holy League and illegitimate son of Charles V, John of Austria. His renown as a military leader came from his suppression of the Moorish revolt in Granada in 1569 and 1570, known as the War of the Alpujarras, in which a contingent of Turkish Janissaries who had arrived in Andalusia participated. John of Austria was conceived by the emperor — after becoming the widower of empress Isabella — and Barbara Blomberg, daughter of the Regensburg bourgeoisie, whom the emperor met in the spring of 1546 while preparing the campaign against the Schmalkaldic League that would come to an end a year later at the Battle of Mühlberg. He was born on 24 February 1547 in Regensburg. Henry Kamen, recounting the bibliography that William Stirling-Maxwell wrote about John of Austria in the nineteenth century, says that he arrived at Spain as a five-year-old child in 1551, incognito as a pageboy in his unsuspecting stepbrother Philip's entourage after his trip through the north of Europe. A Flemish violinist, Frans Massi, and his wife, Ana de Medina, looked after the young boy.[5] For two years, he lived in Leganés in the care of the Massis and under the name Jeromín. Then, he was entrusted to Luis Méndez de Quijada, lord of Villagarcía de Campos in Valladolid and steward of the emperor, and his wife Magdalena de Ulloa, both of whom would see that he was educated. After the abdication of Charles V, the young John would finally meet his father in Yuste during the summer of 1558. The emperor did not officially recognize him as his son, even though he was mentioned in his will. Philip II was made aware of the provisions in his father's will in Brussels, and taking advantage of a meeting of the Distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece, bestowed upon his half-brother, without ever having met him, the badge of the order, which John would receive later, on 14 July 1566. The brothers first met in 1559, on a hunt, once Philip was back in Spain. It was then that Philip II officially recognized his half-brother, who was almost twenty years younger, and gave him his new name, Juan, in remembrance of a deceased brother. He was brought up in the court along with two other princes: Don Carlos, the monarch's son, and Alessandro Farnese, the son of Margaret of Parma.[6] However, Philip II refused to grant him the title Highness, instead simply bestowing upon him Excellency.

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5 Kamen, *Poder y gloria*, pp. 153–54; Stirling-Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*.

6 Kamen, *Poder y gloria*, pp. 154–55.

In 1568, the same year during which, on 28 July, the Crown Prince Carlos died under strange circumstances, John, at only twenty-one years of age, was named captain-general of the fleet of the Mediterranean, substituting the infirm admiral García Álvarez de Toledo y Osorio, and thereafter participating in various engagements with Berber pirates. At that time succession to the Spanish throne was uncertain: in 1568, Don Carlos died, and a successor would not be born until 4 December 1571, Infante Ferdinand, who would not be recognized as Prince of Asturias until 31 May 1573. At the end of 1568, the Moorish revolt broke out in the Alpujarra mountains — led by Aben Humeya, descendant of the Cordovan caliphs — just after the majority of the royal army was sent to the Netherlands to squash the rebels from the north. In 1569, there were tens of thousands of armed insurgents in the kingdom of Granada, supported by thousands of Berbers and Turks, and they threatened to spread into Valencia and Aragon. Philip II designated his half-brother as supreme leader of the forces from Aragon and Italy that were sent to quell the rebellion. After months of all-out war and numerous massacres, confrontations ended in the summer of 1570 with John of Austria's victory. This resulted in a significant part of the Moorish population of Granada scattering throughout all of Castile, and in the enormous growth of John's reputation. However, it was not easy for the members of the Holy League to reach an agreement about designating a Christian admiral, though they understood that having a single person in command was necessary to avoid certain disaster. It was up to the King of Spain to submit a proposition, and he chose Giovanni Andrea Doria, a decision that was vetoed by the pope and the Venetians, who considered Doria to be responsible for the naval campaign of 1570, the failure of which prevented the saving of Nicosia and Famagusta. Philip II then suggested John of Austria, whose candidacy was supported by the Society of Jesus and their superior general Francis Borgia. John of Austria was closely allied with the Jesuits and made up for his youth with the military fame he had earned in the Alpujarras. For Philip II, it was a convenient solution: it distanced his half-brother from conspiring in the court, as he was the only heir to the throne at that time.[7] It should also be noted that John of Austria tried to take part in the expedition that freed Malta from a Turkish siege in 1565 against the will of his brother and king, and only an envoy from Philip II managed to dissuade him from embarking.[8]

John already had a notable image before the battle for obvious reasons: he was a person related to the imperial family, brother of the King of Spain, and he had already won battles in the terrible war in the Alpujarras. Painters for the court of Madrid had the opportunity to paint him in the years leading up to Lepanto. According to Francisco Pacheco, John of Austria frequently visited the home of painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, where he had his portrait

7 Rivero Rodríguez, *La batalla de Lepanto*, pp. 125–28.

8 Martínez Laínez, *La guerra del turco*, p. 139.

painted many times. After 1571, paintings depicting John at Lepanto began to appear, especially in prints used in propaganda, which sometimes depicted the events that took place. The highest quality post-Lepanto portrait of John of Austria comes in the form of an oil painting on canvas and is attributed to Juan Pantoja de la Cruz. It is titled *Don Juan de Austria* (sixteenth–seventeenth century, Prado Museum, Madrid), and it is believed to be a copy of a lost portrait that Scipione Pulzone painted of the admiral in Naples after his campaign in Tunis.[9] It was in Messina, the port from which the fleet of the Holy League sailed into battle and to which they returned triumphantly, that the greatest monument to the hero of Lepanto was erected. The senate of the city charged sculptor and architect Andrea Calamecca — disciple of the Florentine Bartolomeo Ammannati — to create a statue of John of Austria next to the Palazzo Reale, a job that the artist would work on from 1571 to 1573, when the piece was placed in the main square near the Chiesa della Madonna del Piliero, the Castilian church in the city, where it remained until it was moved in 1853 to the Piazza della Annunziata. The relevance of the sculpture in the urban layout of Messina can be appreciated in the axonometric map of the port created by Antonio Giosso during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In it, we can perfectly make out the figure at the most important point of the city, alongside the Palazzo Reale; the statue is even mentioned in the map legend included on the print.[10]

It is in this context of excitement and praise towards John of Austria that the impactful piece that is the object of the present study was created by Johannes Sambucus (or János Zsámboky, 1531–1584), humanist, historian, doctor, and Hungarian emblemist at the service of the Habsburgs.[11] Sambucus was born in what is today the Slovakian city of Trnava, and he died in Vienna as a doctor and historian in the court of Maximilian II of Habsburg. Before this, he worked at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Ingolstadt, Strasbourg, and Paris, as well as serving on the court of Rudolf II.[12] He was the author of an incredibly important book on emblems, *Emblemata, et aliquot nummi antiqui operis*, first published by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp in 1564.[13] Eventually, five Latin editions would be printed (in 1564, 1569, 1576, 1584, and 1599) in addition to one edition in Dutch in 1566 and another in French in 1567.[14] The first edition included 167 emblems, and the second added another 56 more, the first of which was dedicated to Maximilian II of Habsburg. However, the work that we consider herein is the *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal et monumenta victor. classicae, in honor. Invictissimi ac Illustrib. Iani*

9 Two of Pulzone's portraits are now lost: this one and another showing Don Juan with Ali Pasha's son. Pérez de Tudela, 'Alonso Sánchez Coello, Don Juan de Austria armado'.

10 Gutiérrez and Benito, *Ciudades y fortalezas del siglo XVII*, pp. 100–01.

11 Praz, *Imágenes del Barroco*.

12 Almási, *The Uses of Humanism*.

13 Viser, *Johannes Sambucus and the Learned Image*.

14 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*.

Avstriae, victoris non qvietvri (Antwerp, 1572), a publication somewhere between commemorative literature and something evoking celebration, as it deals with literary construction. For the present study, we have consulted and studied the copy that is housed in the Getty Research Institute (Los Angeles, United States). The volume is an apologia for John of Austria, composed of sixteen triumphal images (accompanied by Latin text) that show frontispieces, triumphal arches, cenotaphs, columns, and other monuments in which we see captive Turks, mythological gods, trophies, galleys, and other nautical and allegorical depictions. Javier Pizarro Gómez has already studied this work, and he made special note of the connections between this fictitious triumphal piece and emblem literature. He also thoroughly analysed each of the sixteen compositions in terms of their architectural elements — noting the political use of classical language and the preferred use of the composite order — and their visual elements. Furthermore, the study by Pizzaro includes the first and, up to now, only Spanish translation of the epigrams, which was done by Professor Jesús Ureña.[15] Each of the sixteen emblem images is accompanied by an epigram or a declaration in Latin, in addition to the title: *Navali trivmpho*, *Gratiae memori*, *Thvrca desper*., *Neptvn. Vltor*, *Iovi sospiti*, etc. We analyse the images in the order in which they appear in the publication before finally providing an interpretation of the entire set.

The first of the images is titled *Navali trivmpho*, and it shows an altar on top of an architectural frontispiece between the words *Zelvs* (diligence) and *Domvs* (home) and vases full of wheat spikes (Fig. 7.1). On the frontispiece is an inscription, some liturgical objects, the coats of arms of Spain and Venice, bunches of agricultural produce, and joyful cherubs carrying olive branches. On the pedestals there are trophies, and there is an underground cavern with captives being punished where we can also read *Infamia sola svperstes*. We understand that this allegorical structure is truly an ancient-style humanist machination, as the inscription on the central part of the altar and the epigram accompanying the image are dedicated to Mars, god of war, to whom Spain, Venice, and the papacy offer the votive altar via the victor, John of Austria. In fact, all of the entablature composition is a reference to the ceremonial Roman traditions, specifically, offerings to Mars following the triumphant return of the legions: in the centre, there is a burning pyre emitting smoke and incense in honour of the god; on either side there is a vase with wheat spikes; and in the lower part, there are the inscription and liturgical Roman objects, among which the awls, libation vessels, and various amphorae are of note. Thus, this is a reimagining of Roman altars to the god of war, and it includes, according to Pizarro, an allusion to the abundance and commencement of a new golden age via the wheat spikes in the vases. This new age is also alluded to in the epigram in an exaggerated way, with a comment on obedience stretching from one side of the interior sea to another.

15 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero'.



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Figure 7.1. *Navali trivmpho*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Although stability improved in the western Mediterranean after the Battle of Lepanto, control of the eastern part of the sea was merely wishful thinking. The prisoners and trophies in the part beneath the altar allude, once again, to imperial ceremonies and the participation in these ceremonies of captured enemies, weapons, and trophies (or spoils of war), the so-called *spolia opima*.[16] However, in this case, the victory is not presented to Mars, but to John of Austria, in the central inscription, as well as to Spain and Venice, with their coats of arms on the side pillars.

The second illustration, *Gratiae memori*, is composed of a triumphal arch presided over by Neptune (strangely) riding a representation of Pegasus in a scallop shell; he is flanked by sea coral and a bunch of dittany (*Dictamnus*), which Pizarro understands to reference internal and external strength — that is, in soul and body — against paganism (Fig. 7.2).[17] The spaces between the Corinthian columns on either side of the arch contain the coats of arms of the Mediterranean countries. Below the arch sits Oceanus, from whom flow the Nile, as a crocodile, and the Danube, allegorized with a sturgeon: the main rivers in the Mediterranean Basin. In this case, the arch is designed in memory of John of Austria, to whom the godly moniker 'Itacoibero' must refer, as he is linked to the Iberian world and was the victor along the coasts of the Gulf of Patras, which just so happens to end at the heroic island of Ithaca. This 'Itacoibero', or Janus of Austria, is shown to be a genuine naval victor, with a speedy arrival to Ithaca via Neptune flying on Pegasus, which is shown on the top of the triumphal arch, dominating the lower part, which can be understood to be a representation of the Mediterranean Sea, its two main rivers, and the coats of arms of the kingdoms that occupy its shores. The speed and fame of Pegasus, and the internal and external strength of the *Dictamnus* and the coral can be seen as representing virtues: the qualities of John of Austria as a bringer of peace to the Mediterranean.

Thvrca desper. is the title of the third emblem, and it includes an image of an Ionic arch, on top of which appear Neptune, Juno, Jupiter, and Erichthonius (Fig. 7.3). In the space between the left-side columns there is a sun in flames, and in the space between the right-side columns there is a moon over a stag. Hanging under the arch there is an Asian head attached to a chain, and a sea monster is preparing to devour it. This arch might serve as a symbolic representation of the Battle of Lepanto itself: that which is under the arch representing the resounding defeat of the Ottomans, with the head of the enemy hanging from a chain about to be eaten by sea creatures. The space between the left-hand and right-hand columns represents the two fleets facing off. On the one side, we can see the victors, with the flame alluding to piety and faith, and the sun referencing the success that will be a new golden age. On the other side we have the Turks, represented by the stag — an allusion to fear, cowardice, and

16 Versnel, *Triumphus*; Beard, *El triunfo romano*.

17 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero', p. 156.



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Figure 7.2. *Gratiae memori*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



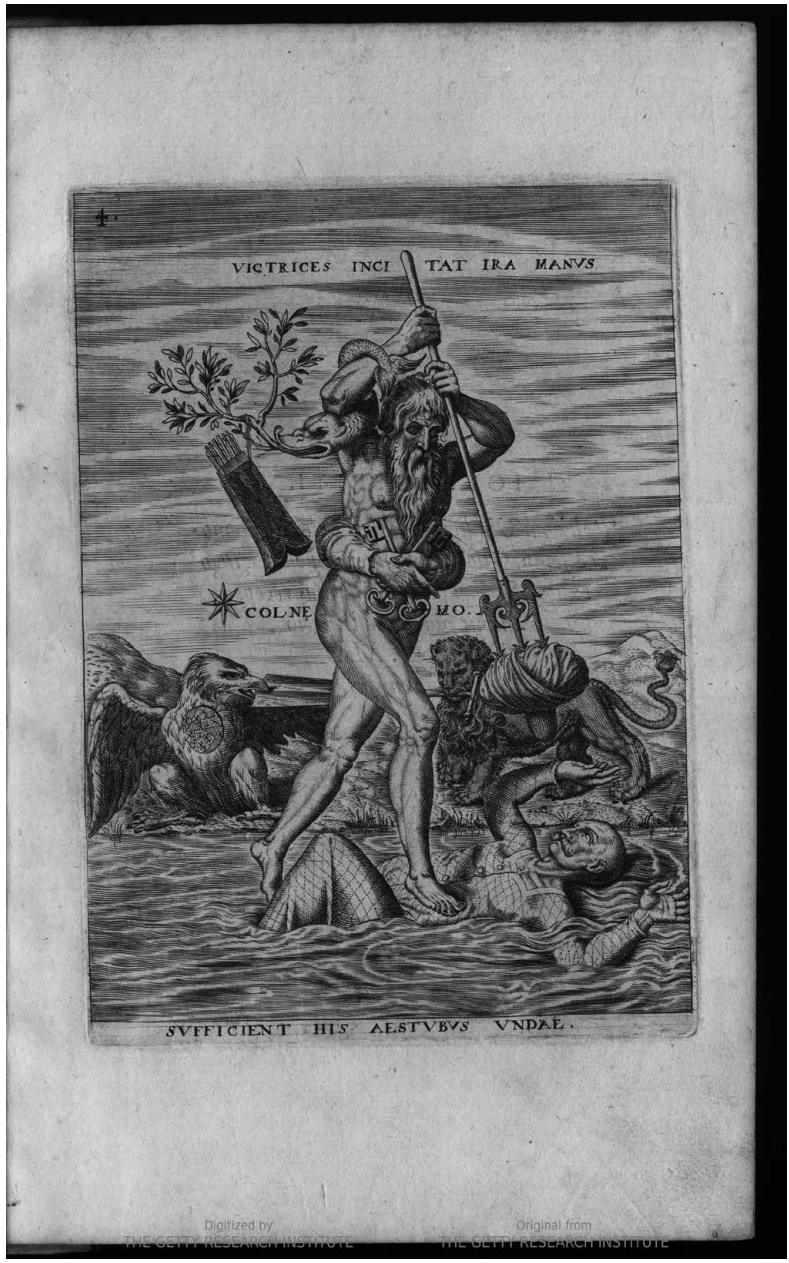
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Figure 7.3. *Thvrca desper.*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

fickleness — and the moon in a stormy sky, as if harbouring bad omens for the Ottoman Empire. Here we should comment on the relevance of identifying the stag with fickleness and fear. This was a recurrent reference in Western, allegorical tradition, from Virgil and John Chrysostom to modern emblems, as conveniently noted by Pizarro Gómez.[18] Sambucus himself even published similar references in emblems some years prior to this one.[19] In the emblem titled *Temeraria Ignorantia*, he includes a stag in the background behind the hero, and the corresponding epigram explains that the deer is hiding, spitefully concealing his horns among the grass, fleeing from defeat. Tamar Cholcman gave another interesting interpretation: allegories of the four elements in the gods at the top of the arch, and also in the side pillars, and a global sense indicating the damages of war, as the Ottoman desperation in the title was, in fact, affecting both sides.[20] Traditional Christian representations of the Battle of Lepanto tend to include a double typology, either with two fleets facing off, describing the actual confrontation, or changing them into cultural mechanisms that include the heavenly participation of Christ, Our Lady of the Rosary, or Saint James as defenders of the Holy League in the battle.[21] In this case, it seems that Sambucus makes use of a similar strategy, but in a more old-fashioned way, in that in the allegorical confrontation and defeat of the Turks, an open Olympus is shown on the attic of the arch, with Neptune, Jupiter, Erichthonius, and Juno all present, along with their symbols.

The fourth emblem, *Neptvn. Vltor*, shows a Neptunian sea giant carrying a dolphin with an olive branch and quiver as he prepares to strike a Turk, who is sinking into the sea, with his trident (Fig. 7.4). On one side of the figure is the Habsburg eagle, and on the other is the Venetian lion. Two arms with interlocking hands hold the keys of Saint Peter around his waist. This visual device could be interpreted as an allegory of the Holy League itself, which would be personified in the Neptune figure and his trident, supported by allegories of the three main states in the League: the keys of Saint Peter, the lion of Venice, and the eagle of the Hispanic monarchy. It may also represent the defeat of the infidels at sea, as it shows, in the lower part of the print, a Turk sinking into the water with the help of the Christian religion, which is referenced by the arms holding the keys of Saint Peter around the Neptunian figure's waist. However, we believe that the essence of this emblem lies in the title of the epigram. Here, Sambucus changes the traditional Roman advocation from *Mars Ultor* to *Neptun Ultor*, that is, Neptune the avenger. As spelled out in the rest of the epigram, the piece is likely a warning to Turks that they should not continue to provoke conflict with Christianity via their corsair raids: 'If I am provoked, I shall attack, I shall overwhelm, and I shall not

18 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero', p. 158.
19 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, pp. 66–67.
20 Cholcman, '"Make Peace, Not War"', pp. 161–62.
21 Mínguez, *Infierno y gloria en el mar*.



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Figure 7.4. *Neptvn. Vltor*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



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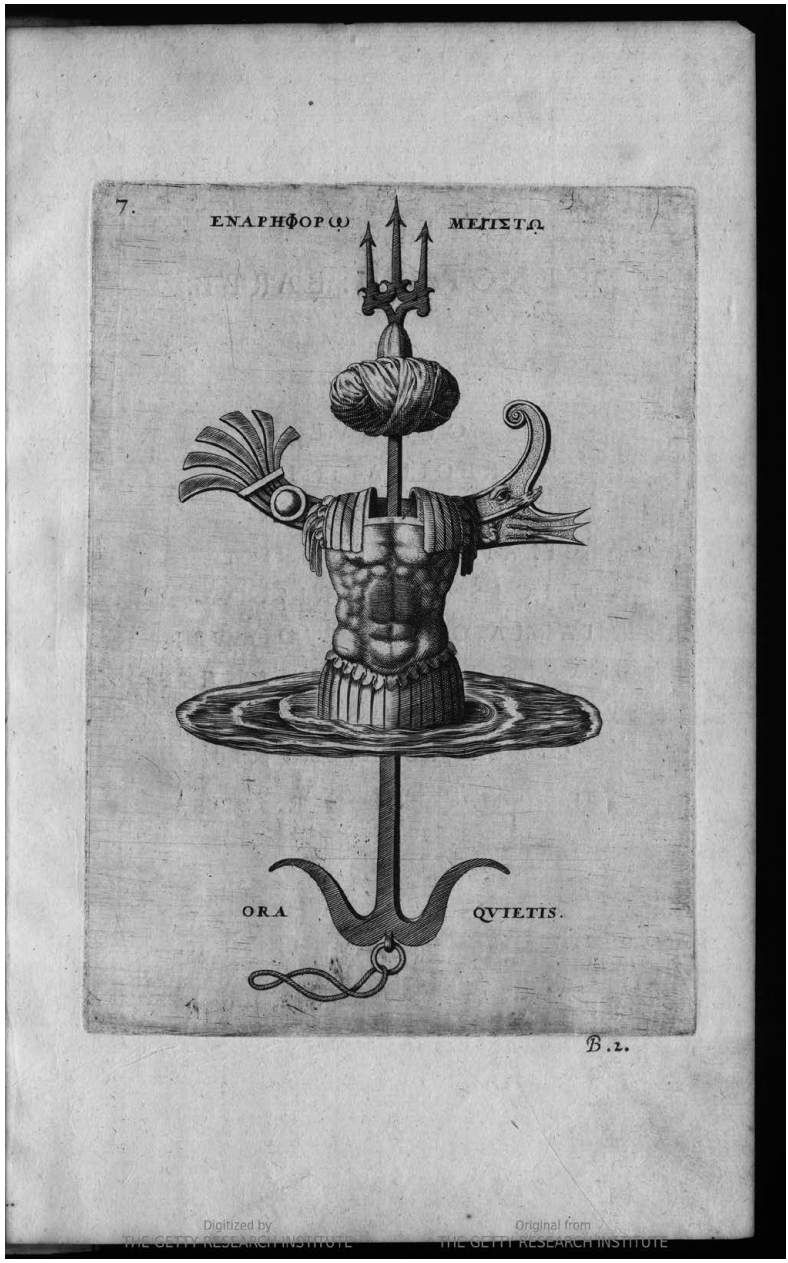
Figure 7.5. *Fvulmini bethico, Iano Avstriae*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

cease'.[22] This warning is probably a reference to the other symbol of Neptune, the dolphin, that we can see wrapped around the godlike figure's right arm, presenting the Turk with two options: peace (the olive branch) or war (the quiver of arrows hanging from the branch).

The fifth emblem, *Iovi sospiti*, shows a Corinthian-order arch with the inscription *Iove et astris* across the top. In each of the spandrels of the arch we can find a swan, and under the arch a Jovian eagle flying triumphantly in front of an eclipsed moon. This arch is in line with the general direction of the whole volume: the great victory of the Holy League and the eclipsing of Ottoman powers, represented in the eclipsed moon and the turban that appears on the attic of the arch. The inscription and epigram allude to a saviour Jupiter, represented here in the form of an eagle with lightning bolts in his talons, which could be understood to represent the monarchy, a traditional allusion from the times of the Roman Empire and one that is very present in modern age celebrations, for example, its abundant use in ephemeral triumphal arches. *Fvlmini bethico, Iano Avstriae*, the sixth in the series, focuses on a Corinthian triumphal arch topped with a representation of Janus in a scallop shell, with two faces, but transformed into the giant Atlas (Fig. 7.5). Under the arch we find the goddess Diana with her two symbols, the spear and the deer, Acteon. Between the two columns on either side of the arch are elephants accompanied by lions. The gods on the attic and under the arch give way to the eclipse of the empire of the infidels: Atlas holds up the head of a Turk in his right hand while Diana reins in the deer with her hands, another allusion to fickleness and maliciousness. The pachyderms allude to John of Austria's subsequent campaign in Tunis after his victory at Lepanto, and the lions to the strength of the Hispanic monarchy, safeguarding Christianity against its future enemy.

The emblem *Orae Qvietis* is a military trophy in the style of a classical rostral column, made of armour and parts of a ship (Fig. 7.6). The tradition of Roman military trophies originated on the battlefields, when the legions built triumphal structures with the weapons of defeated armies. These structures would then be shown in processions in the streets of Rome during republican triumphs. For naval battles, rostral trophies would also be built, as Sambucus demonstrates in this image. Its relationship to the sea is further emphasized with the representation of a body of water, an anchor, and a trident. Two elements highlight its link to the Battle of Lepanto: first, the turban speared by the trident, and second, the anchor with its surrounding text, an allusion to the stabilization of the Mediterranean after the battle. The eighth emblem, *Cenotaph. Barbb*, shows a triangle with Latin phrases written in its sides, and in its centre the inscription *VICTOQVIETVRO*. On the top vertex of the object there is a hand in the act of blessing, and at the two base vertices there are spheres: one is accompanied by a weasel — a reference to bad omens and misfortune — and the other makes reference to regretting

22 Sambucus, *Arcus aliquot triumphal.*



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Figure 7.6. *Orae Qvietis*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

recklessness. According to the epigram, Sambucus wanted this image to symbolically represent a cenotaph for the Ottoman Empire, the barbaric enemy of the Christian empire, successor of the Scythians, and whose fame and glory was eclipsed at Lepanto.

We find a rusticated triumphal arch in the ninth of the images, *Aeqvoris omnipotenti* (Fig. 7.7). On the attic we can see a rudder in front of an armillary sphere between opposing obelisks, one with laurel and the other with ivy. The pilasters are decorated with fish, and in the spandrels opposing figures seem to be crowning with laurels a quail emitting manna under the intrados of the arch. The land and the sea are represented both in the attic, with the armillary sphere and the rudder, and in the base, with representations of the ocean and Cybele, and thus, they are the protagonists of this emblematic construction. We understand that this arch is an allusion to the Christian mastery of the land and the sea after the victory of John of Austria at Lepanto, spreading peace, like manna, throughout the Christian world. Javier Pizarro wisely gave meaning to the plant-based elements winding around the obelisks: the victory over the Turks is the laurel, and the need to remember is the ivy.

The tenth composition, *Principi Ivvent et avrei saecvli.*, shows a Doric-order arch with a crow with an arrow through his eye on the attic, while in the frieze the winds blow. Under the intrados there is a stork that has captured a serpent standing on the temple of Janus. After John's victory, shown clearly in the defeat of the crow and the snake, the temple of war has its doors closed. The crow, associated with royalty according to Andrea Alciato, is an allusion to the defeated sultan, as is the serpent being devoured by the stork, a symbolic victory over evil that appears in Saint Augustine's writings and in medieval bestiaries. Cholcman added to this emblem another interesting meaning, linking the crow with an arrow in its eye to a visual tradition used in the fourth triumphal arch for the entry of Charles V in Milan, in 1541,[23] and by Andrea Mantegna in the fresco of the *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher* in the Eremitani Church, as a reference to the blind and unjust leader, a new allusion to the unfairness of wars.[24] Also of note here is the form Sambucus used to head the emblem, with the title *Principus Iuventutis*, or prince of youth, which was mostly used during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and which we believe may give new meaning to this volume.

Temeritas gethica is the title of the next emblem, which shows a Doric arch topped with a Cerberus chained to and framed by obelisks, one decorated with an eye and the other with a star (Fig. 7.8). Under the arch is an allegory of Victoria with wings and a laurel, and on either of the shafts of the two columns are hung emblems, one showing a Medusa and the other a spindle in their *pictura*. As a whole, the arch is dedicated to the victory of the Holy League over the Turks: the composition is centred around the figure under

23 Checa, 'La entrada de Carlos V en Milán', p. 27.
24 Cholcman, '"Make Peace, Not War"', pp. 166–67.



Figure 7.7. *Aeqvoris omnipotenti*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



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Figure 7.8. *Temeritas gethica*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

the arch, the representation of victory itself, while the right side of the arch is dedicated to the Christian belligerents and the left side to the Turks. In the obelisk on the right, the star alludes to Divine Providence, while the spindle on the column foreshadows the connection between the Christians and the defeat of the Turks. Then, the left-side obelisk with an eye, which is understood by Pizarro Gómez to symbolize vengeance, and the Medusa on the column represent the horrors created by the infidels.[25] Thus, it is no surprise that the vengeful, barbarous, hellish Cerberus is shown defeated and chained to the obelisk on the left.

The following construct is *Irae et cavssae ivstiss*, an arch with Doric pilasters, and topped with an obelisk with a crescent moon at its apex (Fig. 7.9). There are animals on the shafts of the columns, and an allegory of justice under the intrados: a rider with the sun as his head holds a sword in one hand and a scale in the other while mounted upon a stag. As victory was the predominant element in the previous arch with the winged Nike, in this arch it is the triumph of justice, the rider, over the volatility of the infidel, the stag, which Sambucus uses on other occasions to reference barbarians and the Turks. Additionally, this triumph of justice and virtue over the Ottoman Empire is universal and includes Africa and Asia, as stated on the arch's inscription and as shown in the plants from these continents in the vases on either side of the obelisk topped with the crescent moon.

A triumphal column decorated with astrological symbols for the moon, Venus, and Mercury, transformed into a lighthouse that is unable to illuminate the night, is the figure we see in the thirteenth image under the title *Neptuno potente*. This column likely makes reference to the ephemeral power acquired by the Ottoman Empire over three hundred years, but which would be no more than a lighthouse without light, erased in an instant — five hours — in the Gulf of Patras by the Christians' naval might.

Each of the next two emblems shows, once again, triumphal arches. First, *Virtvti christianae*, a Corinthian-order arch topped with a unicorn in a curvet position, shows a Christian galley ploughing through the sea, following the course marked by a star — Providence — under the arch (Fig. 7.10). In the galley are the new Argonauts, the captain John of Austria (labelled with the moniker *Labor*), and rowers, as symbols of their varied virtues: diligence, strength, guidance, and swiftness. The triumph of Christian righteousness is the central theme of this arch created by Sambucus, allegorized by the Christian galley leading to a new golden age for Europe beneath a unicorn, the symbol of profit and virtue in all modern emblems, including those by Sambucus.[26] *Libertati Religione*, the following emblem, shows a Corinthian arch with a cross and a sword framing the Phrygian cap of liberty on its attic. Under the arch, allegories of Asia, Greece, and Africa make sacrifices at an altar upon

25 Pizarro Gómez, 'Entre la emblemática y el arte efímero', p. 158.

26 Sambucus, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*, pp. 166–67.



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Figure 7.9. *Irae et cavssae ivstiss*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



Figure 7.10. *Virtvti christianae*, in Johannes Sambucus, *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* (Antwerp, 1572). The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Photo courtesy of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

which we find a serpent, symbolizing public health, the common welfare. On the side columns we see bees and a combat helmet. This composition is inspired by two of Alciato's emblems: no. CXLIX and no. CLXXVII.[27] On the one side, the bees highlight the important role of peace, necessary for the proper functioning of the public health of the states, which is opposed by war, symbolized in the combat helmet on the other column. Tamar Cholcman provided a deep and accurate interpretation of this emblem, linking it to the benefits of peace and the damages of war.[28] Finally, *Genio victoris* shows a triumphal column topped by Geryon riding a dolphin and holding up the head of Medusa in one hand and a basilisk in the other. On the shaft of the column, we can read two words, *Panico* and *Terrori*, both associated with the terror cultivated around the Mediterranean by the Turks, which has now been stopped thanks to John of Austria, who is associated here with Geryon, because of his naval feats.

As we have discussed, various studies have linked the object of our present consideration to the far-reaching dissemination of emblematic literature during the second half of the sixteenth century and to the apologetic literature that overwhelmed Italian, Hispanic, and central European printers after the Battle of Lepanto. Other authors, like Tamar Cholcman, have interpreted it as a text demanding a peace process with the Ottoman Empire.[29] In our study, in addition to providing new interpretations of some of the emblems considered, we aim to add a link to the world of symbolic Habsburg creations,[30] which were spurred on by the invention and popularization of the moveable-type printing press.[31] The political and cultural link between the first large printers and the House of Habsburg explains, in part, their relevance in the propagandized spread of ideology by members of this dynasty. Since the reign of Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor, any possible advantage was taken of the enormous capacity brought about by modern printing to copy and disseminate text and images. The relevance of Gutenberg's invention for Maximilian I's reign and as part of the general political strategy of the House of Habsburg has been noted by a great number of academics, from Fernando Checa to Larry Silver.[32]

Here, we should note that engraving truly became the artistic medium most linked to the Habsburg's expression of power. This central-European house knew, like no other, how to take advantage of printing and the fact that the cities most on the forefront of publishing belonged to their states. This also encouraged the most famous artists of the day to take to engraving, so much so that in the mid-fifteenth century, we can find only basic, unremarkable examples, and by the end of the century and into the beginnings of the

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27 Alciato, *Emblematum liber*.
28 Cholcman, '"Make Peace, Not War"', pp. 155–56.
29 Cholcman, '"Make Peace, Not War"'.
30 Mínguez and Rodríguez Moya, *El tiempo de los Habsburgo*.
31 Clair, *Historia de la imprenta en Europa*.
32 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*; Checa, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe*.

sixteenth century we can find works by noted artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Holbein, and Albrecht Altdorfer. Under these favourable circumstances, and despite not giving up extensive programmes promoting sculpture and series of paintings, first Maximilian and then his grandchildren Charles and Ferdinand invested great effort in spreading knowledge of their glory and ideology via engravings, a medium that would serve a truly global empire in ways painting and sculpture could not.

A good example of this is one of the most thought-provoking projects from this time, one envisaged by Johannes Stabius (1450–1522)[33] from 1515 to 1518, known universally as *The Triumphs of Maximilian*, a large number of prints that make up a triumphal arch, a triumphal carriage, and an enormous procession. What differentiates these projects from other celebratory manifestations is that they are inventions: in reality intellectual exercises that aim to provide support for the policies and government of the Habsburgs, not just text and engravings that show specific ephemeral celebratory constructions. Rather, they were designed to enhance the image of Maximilian, and they were sent to other princes and monarchs and kept in the major European libraries as an example of the bold and righteous spirit of the emperor as well as his support of the arts. To arrange the thousands of concepts that Stabius came up with for these complex rhetoric programmes, a veritable legion of artists, engravers, and publishers were hired to work together intensively over many years.[34]

We believe the object of the present study, the *Arcvs aliqvot trivmphal* by Johannes Sambucus, is singled out by the way that it carries on the tradition of celebratory Habsburg inventions — which started with the *Triumphs of Maximilian* and continued with Charles V's large *Triumphal Carriage* — and that with emblems, it turns a series of invented, ephemeral constructions that were never built into powerful propaganda and ideological weapons to praise the achievement at Lepanto, extol the House of Austria, and promote, perhaps even as a possible successor, the figure of John of Austria. In it, we find arches, obelisks, columns, and cenotaphs that showcase not only the great virtues of the young commander, but the impact his achievements had on bringing peace to the Mediterranean and his role in the beginning of a new golden age for Western Christianity. Along this line, we believe that one of the emblems, the tenth, may offer an additional meaning that would result in a new understanding of Sambucus's book. In its title, we see the Roman expression *Principis Iuventutis*, or prince of youth, which was used mostly in Julio-Claudian times to refer to an heir who, though not officially, was considered to be the successor to the emperor. In fact, the title was held (until their deaths) by the children of Agrippa, princes of youth in the times of Augustus. In 1572, when this volume was published, the heir Charles of

33 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, pp. 41–45.

34 Michel and Sternath, eds, *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*; Matilla, ed., *Durero*; Huidobro, *Durero, grabador*.

Habsburg had been dead for nearly four years. Although Prince Ferdinand was born on 4 December 1571, he was born after the Battle of Lepanto, and until 1573 he would not be officially recognized as the Prince of Asturias. This print, and the whole book itself, while obviously offering him praise, might be subtly nominating John of Austria as the best option for succession, perhaps as a young prince of a new golden age.

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NAZ DEFNE KUT

On the Other Hand

The Battle of Lepanto in Ottoman Sources

The Battle of Lepanto, which was fought on 7 October 1571 between the Ottoman Empire and a coalition of major Catholic states, namely the Holy League, has acquired a symbolic character as a legendary victory of Christianity, Catholicism in particular, over the Ottomans. Over the centuries, this battle became not only the symbol of halting the Ottoman advance in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century, but also a symbol of Catholic unity and strength all around the world. As the European chroniclers frequently reflected upon, the 'Lepanto victory' had profound social, religious, and political consequences for Europe, and it constituted a source of literary and artistic inspiration for European writers and artists for centuries to come. For the last 450 years this battle has been celebrated in different artistic and cultural spheres around the Catholic world, keeping the memory of the battle vivid in society. In contrast with the European effort to keep the battle's memory alive, the battle's literary and visual reflections in the Ottoman world have been minimal. This study aims to show how the Ottoman court, chroniclers, historians, and artists experienced, imagined, and narrated the 'Lepanto defeat' through an examination of Ottoman imperial documents, Ottoman historiography, and art.

The sixteenth century provided two simultaneous challenges for Catholic Europe: Ottoman expansionism and the Protestant Reformation. The Battle of Lepanto seems to have addressed both. The sixteenth century has been characterized as 'the golden century' of the Ottoman Empire, as this is the period of its territorial expansion to almost the fullest extent, with the result of having turned the Mediterranean into an 'Ottoman lake'. Following the conquest of *Kostantiniyye* ('the City'), the Ottoman Empire, under powerful sultans like Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and Suleyman I (r. 1520–1566), there followed a successful policy of aggrandizement in all directions. With Suleyman's death in 1566, Selim II (r. 1566–1574) was enthroned, and even though he is traditionally not considered as successful as his predecessors, he still managed to continue

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 181–194
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the territorial expansion of the empire. In this period, the main challenges to Ottoman supremacy were Venice, the Habsburgs, and the papacy — the spiritual leader of Catholic Europe, but with strong political influence and aspirations. The Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War began in 1570 upon Selim's hegemonic ambitions, and the Ottomans conquered the Port of Famagusta on the island of Cyprus by defeating the Venetian forces within a year.[1] This strategic success in the Mediterranean led major Western European forces to intervene, since the Ottoman control of the high seas, particularly in the Indian Ocean and the eastern Mediterranean, was a direct threat to the commercial interests of the former hegemonic powers of the region, who were more or less rallied around the unifying symbol of Catholicism since the time of the Crusades.

In such an environment, the ongoing Venetian conflict with the Ottomans and Venice's need for assistance from the pope triggered a succession of events that would eventually become a symbol of victory for the Catholic Holy League, salvaging its reputation and establishing its supremacy over all heretics, Muslims, Jews, and Protestants alike. In this sense, one can argue that this battle — or, from the Catholic perspective, the 'victory' — of Lepanto could not have taken place at a more historically opportune moment for the Holy League. By effectively closing the western Mediterranean to Ottoman naval domination, the Catholic coalition acquired a historic advantage, both symbolic and real, against its rivals. Accordingly, it inspired many examples of commemorative representations in the field of art, both as a part of the celebration immediately after the battle and in the centuries to follow.

Before moving on to analyse the reflections of Lepanto in the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Court), one should comprehend the self-confidence and self-esteem of the Ottoman sultan on the throne. Selim II, after more than a quarter-century of peace between the Venetians and the Ottomans, decided to take control of the strategic island of Cyprus, which had been held by Venice for the last eighty-one years. In March of 1570 the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha sent the following message via the sultan's emissary Kubad Çavuş to the Venetian authorities:

> Selim, Ottoman Sultan, Emperor of the Turks, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Shadow of God, Lord of the Earthly Paradise and of Jerusalem, to the Signory of Venice:
> We demand of you Cyprus, which you shall give us willingly or per force; and do not awake our horrible sword, for we shall wage most cruel war against you everywhere; neither put your trust in your treasure, for we shall cause it suddenly to run from you like a torrent.[2]

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1 The Ottoman forces eventually breached the fortifications and broke into the citadel of the last Venetian stronghold in Cyprus, Famagusta, in July 1571. Upon the surrender of Famagusta after eleven months of resistance, the island of Cyprus was officially under Ottoman rule.

2 Norwich, *A History of Venice*, p. 464.

This highly assertive ultimatum from the Sublime Porte was rejected by the Venetian Senate, amounting to a declaration of war, which resulted in the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War (1570–1573), in which the Cyprus campaign had become a major victory for the Ottomans and the Battle of Lepanto had become a major devastation. However, the war ended in favour of the Ottoman Empire. According to the Ottoman-Venetian Peace Treaty of 1573, the Ottomans would keep control of the conquered territories, including the town of Lepanto, while Venice had to pay war indemnities as well as various tributes to the Ottomans.[3]

The clear result of the combat in favour of the allied Catholic forces resulted in the Holy League's declaration of a historic triumph at the naval Battle of Lepanto. The allied powers of the Holy League slowed down the Ottoman advances, put limits to its dominance in the Mediterranean, and thus, in Braudel's words: 'the spell of Turkish supremacy had been broken'.[4] In consequence, the symbolic value of the Catholic victory at Lepanto was enormous in that in many sources it was interpreted as the triumph of Christianity over Islam. It was equally of great symbolic importance to the Catholic Church in a period when Christian Europe was involved in bitter disputes over faith as a result of the Protestant Reformation. Philip II of Spain emerged as the 'Most Catholic King', defending Christianity against Islam and, incidentally, against any other 'heretical' challenge.

Giampietro Contarini, in his very detailed listing of the battle formations in his 1572 account, describes the Battle of Lepanto as the greatest success since the famous naval Battle of Actium, where Octavian claimed victory over Marc Anthony, almost at the same place.[5] This is a quite popular analogy drawn

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3 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 300 bin düka olarak takdir edilen Kıbrıs seferi masrafını, Venedik Cumhuriyeti üç sene zarfında ödeyecekti. Kıbrıs adasında Venedikliler elinde son nokta olan Soboto, toplarıyla beraber teslim olacaktı; Zante adasına mukabil Venedik'in Türkiye'ye verdiği senevî 500 dükalık vergi 1500'e çıkarılacaktı. Kıbrıs zaptedildiği için, Venedik Kıbrıs için her sene verdiği 8000 dükalık vergiyi artık vermeyecekti. Kanunî devrinde aktolunan muahede tecdit olunacak, Dalmaçya hududu harpten evvelki şeklinde muhafaza edilecek; her iki taraf, harp münasebetiyle eşyalarını zaptederek zarar verdikleri diğer tarafın tüccarlarına tazminat vereceklerdi'. (Venice would pay 300,000 Venetian ducats in three years as a war indemnity covering the cost of the Cyprus campaign. Soboto, the last fortification in Cyprus held by Venetians, would surrender; the Venetian tribute for Zante would be tripled from 500 ducats to 1500; the Venetian Cyprus tribute of 8000 ducats would be abrogated; the border in Dalmatia, which was established by a treaty in the period of Suleyman, would be restored, and both sides would compensate each others' merchants who suffered damage during the war.) *Mecmua-i Muahedat*, II, 130, transliterated by Koçu, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 47–48. All translations are by the author, unless stated otherwise.

4 Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, p. 1088.

5 'Questo fu il successo della maggiore e piu' famosa battaglia navale, che dal tempo di Cesare Augusto in quale mai seguita e fu a punto quasi nel medesimo luogo, dove egli vince Marc'Antonio essendo quella stata promontorio Actio ove al presente é la Prevesa' ('This was the success of the largest and most famous naval battle, which, since the time of Caesar

by many, such as Francis Bacon, who wrote: 'To be master of the sea, is an abridgement of monarchy. […] The Battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The Battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk'.[6] Famous Spanish novelist Miguel de Cervantes, who actually lost his left arm in combat and thus became known as 'el Manco de Lepanto', recounts:

> That day which was so fortunate for Christendom, on which the world was convinced of the error in believing the Turks invincible by sea; on that day, I say, when the Ottoman pride and insolence was humbled and broke, among so many happy Christians there present (and sure those who fell were happier than the living victors!).[7]

In his 1911 poem *Lepanto*, Gilbert Keith Chesterton successfully evokes the feelings of enthusiasm experienced at the battle for a twentieth-century audience.[8] Indeed, although the battle itself lasted only four and a half hours, the fact that its impact and visibility has remained alive for four and a half centuries and all around the world is strikingly intriguing.[9]

Official reports in the Ottoman archives shed light on the information flow and intelligence on the Ottoman side before, during, and immediately after the battle. According to some of those documents, the Sublime Porte was overconfident in the aftermath of the victory at Cyprus to the extent that it neither realized the fortitude of the enemy nor expected such a loss. The registers of the *Divan* (the cabinet of ministers) which include important correspondence, orders, and decrees, show that the Sublime Porte had received only partial intelligence on a number of important issues, such as the participants of the Holy League, Philip II's involvement, and the number of adversaries' galleys or the details of their gathering in June 1571:

> Order to the Bey of Dubrovnik: In your letter, you reported that you have no information of an alliance between pope and Philip, the king of Spain; that Venetians have a total of 120 galleys in Crete, Korfos, and Kotor; and that the galleys that were supposed to come from Spain have not yet arrived.[10]

Augustus, was never followed, and occurred almost in the same place, where he defeated Marc Anthony at the promontory of Actium where Preveza is today). Contarini, *Historia*, p. 54.

6 Bacon, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', ed. by Vickers, p. 256.

7 Cervantes, 'In Which the Captive Recounts his Life and Adventures', pp. 181–83.

8 Chesterton, *Lepanto*.

9 For a detailed study on the artistic outcome of the Battle of Lepanto in European narrative, see Kut, 'Iconography of a Catholic Victory'.

10 'Mezkûrun alemlerine virildi. Fî 22 Muharremi'l-harâm, sene 979. Dubrovnik beğlerine hüküm ki: Südde-i Sa'âdetüm'e mektûb gönderüp; "papa ile Filip nâm kral Venediklüler ile ittihâd üzre olduğı ma'lûmun olmaduğı, Venediklünün Girit'de ve Körfös'de ve Kotor'da cümle yüz yigirmi pâre kadırgaları olduğın ve İspanya'dan gelecek kadırgalar henüz gelmedüğin" bildürmişsin. Ol bâbda her ne dimiş isen ma'lûm oldı. İmdi, buyurdum ki:

In September, the sultan's order to the admiral, Ali Pasha, implies the increase in awareness of the seriousness of the threat:

> Spain and Venice had fitted out all their ships including those at Crete and had decided to come to Corfu under the command of Don Juan, brother of the King of Spain [Philip II] in order to attack either the imperial fleet or a place on the coasts of our dominions. [...] Now I order that after getting reliable news about the enemy, you attack the fleet of the Infidels fully trusting in God and his Prophet [Muhammad]. [...] If you think my imperial fleet should winter by God's will in those waters as I had considered in my previous order, you may make up your mind [...] and submit to me the measures you will take so as to act consequently according to what my imperial command will be.[11]

This order, including the intelligence obtained by one of the captains sent to Messina, shows how limited was the amount of information the Porte had and portrays the situation on the Ottoman side just a couple of weeks before the battle. As of 19 October, the Porte was still uninformed about the defeat at Lepanto as permission was sent for the land forces to return home until the next campaign season. It was only on 24 October, seventeen days after the battle itself, that the Sultan received the news of the destroyed fleet from Uluç Ali Pasha.[12]

According to the eyewitness Selânikî, who served as a *rûznâmeci* (chronicler), with the commission to write the contemporary events for the Ottoman court, the news of the 'dreadful event' arrived to Adrianople (Edirne) where Sultan Selim II was residing, causing complete shock. The sultan was so affected that he repeatedly recited the different names of Allah to relieve his anguish and sorrow.[13] The news of the destruction of almost the entire navy struck Selim II hard, as he was actually expecting the return of the victorious fleet after the conquest of Cyprus. As Kantemir writes, the sultan was so sorrowful that he was not able to eat or sleep for three days and three nights, but only

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Vusûl buldukda, min-ba'd dahı Südde-i Sa'âdetüm'e olan ubûdiyyet ü ihlâsun mûcebince ol taraflara göz kulak tutup vâkıf olduğun ahbâr-ı sahîyayı i'lâmdan hâlî olmayup eyüce sahîha haber almaya sa'yeyleyesin'. *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*, order 529, p. 335.

11 İnalcık, 'Lepanto in the Ottoman Documents', pp. 188–89.

12 This report has not yet been discovered in the Turkish archives. İnalcık, 'Lepanto in the Ottoman Documents', p. 190. However, we know that the news of the defeated navy had arrived in the Sublime Porte on 24 October, in Gürkan, *Sultanın Casusları*, p. 207.

13 'Mahrûsa-i Edirne'ye varıldığı günde donanmanun haber-i muvahhiş eseri tevâtüren ve te'âkuben gelüp küllî kelâle sebeb oldı' and 'Sultan Selim Han-ı hilâfet penâh hazretleri bir vechile müte'essir ve mütezaccır olmışlardı ki zamîr-i münîr-i âyîne nazîrleri jengâr-ı tekeddür ile elem ü ızdırâbda kalup, "Yâ Fettâhu'l-kulûb ve yâ Keşşâfü'l-kurûb ve yâ Allâmü'l-guyûb ve yâ Settârü'l-uyûb" esmâsına meşguller idi'. Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, pp. 84–88. In the Quran, Allah has ninety-nine names; here Selânîki states four of them, which were reportedly recited by the sultan.

prayed.[14] Both Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli and Peçevî interpret this battle as such a horrible naval encounter that since the creation of the world and Noah's invention of the first ship, no sea had ever seen such an unblessed event.[15]

However, after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, the defeat at Lepanto was considered as an unexpected but negligible misfortune. Sultan Selim II, the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and other high officials of the Sublime Porte perceived and/or pretended to see this defeat as relatively unimportant, considering the political and economic significance of the final result of the Fourth Ottoman-Venetian War. The sultan's comment annexed to an imperial decree in the days following the news of the defeat justifies this interpretation: 'Now a battle can be won or lost. It was destined to happen this way according to God's will'.[16]

The highly influential Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha also emphasized the strength and wealth of the empire and famously asserted that the Ottoman state was rich and powerful beyond imagination, so much so that if it willed, 'it could cast the anchors of the fleet from silver, with ropes braided of silk thread and sails made of satin'.[17] Indeed, with his extraordinary efforts, the Ottoman fleet was almost completely rebuilt in less than a year with 230 galleys ready to sail off from Istanbul into the Mediterranean,[18] under the command of Kılıç Ali Pasha (previously Uluç Ali Pasha or Occhiali), the admiral who managed to save some thirty ships at Lepanto.

As a political stance, Sokollu's emphasis on the conquest of Cyprus and the significance of that Ottoman victory is apparent in his contempt when he addressed the Venetian *bailo* in Istanbul, Marcantonio Barbaro:

> You see that our courage is not lost after Lepanto: there is a difference between your loss and ours. By conquering Cyprus from you, a land as big as a kingdom, we have cut off one of your arms; [you, on the other hand] by defeating our navy at Lepanto, you have only shaved off our beard. A missing arm cannot grow again but the shaved-off beard grows thicker.[19]

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14 Kantemir, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Yükseliş ve Çöküş Tarihi*, p. 259.

15 'Mâ-lâ aynün reet ve-lâ-üzünün semi'at ve lâ-hatara alâ-kalbi beşerin ma'lûm degildür ki dünyâ turalı ve Hazret-i Nûh Nebi sefîneyi îcâd idüp rûy-i deryâda merâkib ü sefâyin nakl ü hareket ideli ol gûne müsîbet-i uzmâ ve fetret-i garîbe-i kübrâ vukû bulmış değildir'. Çerçi, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli*, pp. 81–82. Peçevî recounts the same: 'Böyle uğursuz bir savaş değil bir İslâm devletinde, Hazreti Nuh Peygamber gemi icat edeli beri dünya denizlerinde bile görülmüş değildir'. Peçevî, *Peçevî Tarihi*, p. 352.

16 İnalcık, 'Lepanto in the Ottoman Documents', p. 190.

17 'Bu devlet ol devlettir ki, murad edinirse cümle donanmanın lengerlerini gümüşten, resenlerini ibrişimden, yelkenlerini atlastan etmekte suûbet çekmez'. Peçevî, *Peçevî Tarihi*, p. 260.

18 Panzac, *Osmanlı Donanması*, pp. 7–45.

19 'Son hadiseden sonra hasarlarımızın ne derecede bulunduğunu şübhesiz ki görüyorsun; lâkin sizin zayiatınızla bizim zayiatımızın arasında büyük bir fark vardır: Sizden bir krallık yer almakla bir kolunuzu kesmiş olduk; siz ise donanmamızı mağlûb etmekle yalnız sakalımızı tıraş etmiş oldunuz. Kesilmiş bir kol yeniden bitmez; lâkin tıraş edilmiş sakal evvelkinden daha ziyâde kuvvetli çıkar'. Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 306.

Other high-level officials in the bureaucratic service of the Porte, such as Mehmed Za'im and 'Kazasker' (chief military administrator) Vusulî Mehmed Çelebi, conveniently undermined the significance of the battle in their accounts.[20] Za'im in his *Câmiü't-tevârîh* refers to the battle as an insignificant event between two victorious campaigns, caused by the discretion of God. Vusulî on the other hand, completely omits the battle in his account of the events in his *Tevârih-i Sultan Selim Han*.

Overall, it is apparent that after the initial shock and despair, the official discourse aimed to disregard the magnitude of the incident and undermine the significance of the lost battle. Still, the subsequent orders demonstrate that, although officials did not express any explicit sign of weakness, they did take the situation seriously and took immediate action to rebuild the entire fleet.

While the Sublime Porte tried to minimize the dimensions of the defeat in their official reactions, its devastating effects are notable in the narratives of contemporary chroniclers. In the Ottoman and later Turkish historiography, the Battle of Lepanto was acknowledged as the first major Ottoman defeat at sea, as a result of an inopportune battle and a great disaster caused by the change in the direction of the wind against the Ottoman navy.[21] Among the other causes cited were the unpreparedness of the fleet and the insufficient number of able seamen;[22] the misjudgement and inexperience[23] of the commander-in-chief Müezzinzade Ali Pasha,[24] as well as his impetuosity and imprudence;[25] and internal conflicts among the pashas.[26] Accordingly, the general historiographical tendency was to refer to it as the expedition of the 'defeated fleet' ('sıngun-donanması').[27]

In the Ottoman and later Turkish narrative, the battle itself appears in contemporary accounts of the chroniclers and historiographers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Selânikî Mustafa Efendi in his *Tarih-i*

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20 For a detailed study, see Sünnetçioğlu, '*Audi Alteram Partem* (Hearing the Other Side Too)'.

21 Similar to the Ottoman accounts, traditionally in European literature, the change of winds is associated with God's will to help the Catholics. As Paruta notes: 'so as it was deservedly acknowledged by the Christians, as the work of God's all-powerful hand, whereof manifest signs were seen; for on a suddain, the troubled skies became clear, and the wind, which at first stood fair for the enemy, altered to our advantage'. Paruta, *The History of Venice*, p. 143.

22 'Bu sene-i mubârekede donanma mu'tâddan mukaddemce ihrâc olunmağla kürekçisinde ve cenkçisinde külli noksan mükerrer idi'. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, p. 574.

23 'Zikri geçen kapudanın derya ilminde vukufu olmadığından başka, serdâr makamında olan Pertev Paşa'nın dahî harb ve kıtâl ilminde ihmâli bulunmakta'. Solakzâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, p. 325.

24 The admiral-general of the Ottoman fleets during the battle who lost most of his fleet and had his severed head displayed on a spike.

25 'Ammâ bu hezîmete sebeb-i zâhirî Kapudan Ali Paşa'nın nâ-mahal cür'eti ve üç fânusla zîb ü zînet-i direng cihetinden vaz-ı mahsûsla müşârün-ileyh-i bi'l- benân bi'z-zât cenge mübâşereti'. Çerçi, *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli*, p. 83.

26 Peçevî, *Peçevî Tarihi*, p. 350.

27 Beyzâde, *Hasan Bey-zâde Târîhi*, p. 208.

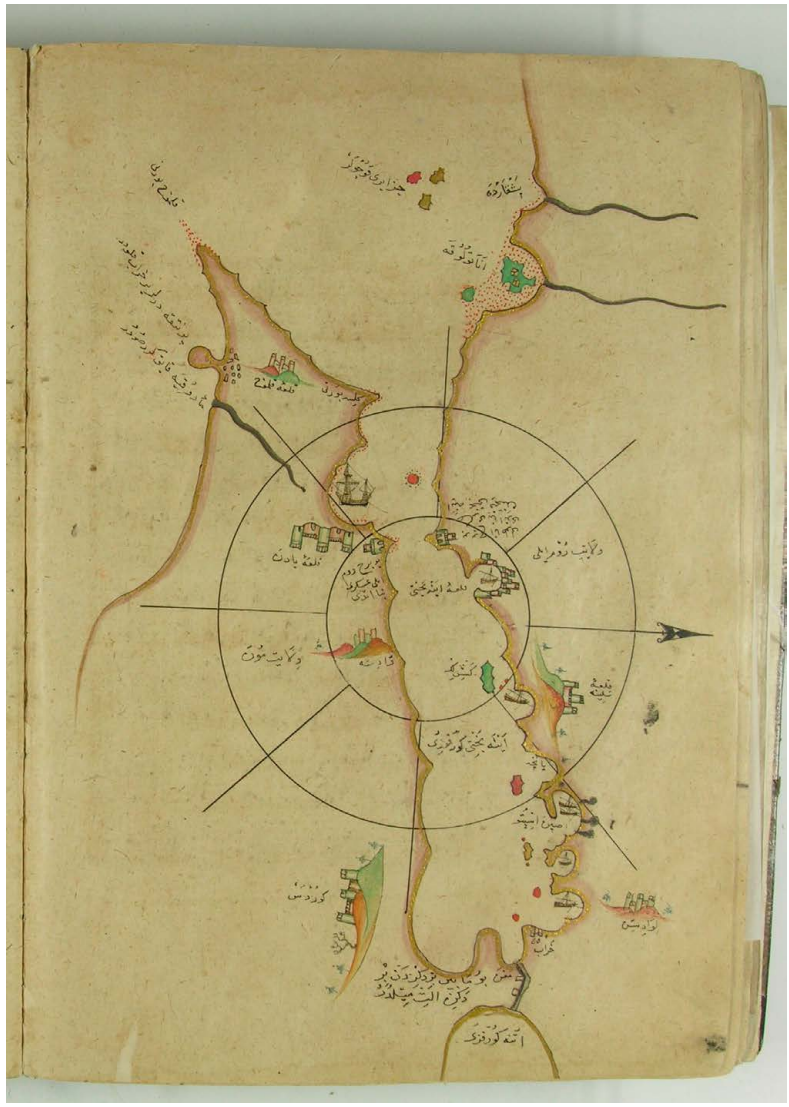


Figure 8.1. Piri Reis, 'Portolan Chart of "Lepanto"', *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye*, Topkapı Palace Museum, TSMK, H. 642, vr. 157^{b}. 1521. Photo courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

Selânikî, Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli in his *Kuhnü'l-Ahbâr*, Seyyid B. Lokman in his *Şehnâme-i Selim Hân*, İbrahim Peçevî in his *Peçevî Tarihi*, Hasan Beyzâde Ahmet Paşa in his *Hasan Beyzâde Tarihi*, Solakzâde in his *Târîh-i Solakzâde*, and Kâtip Çelebi in his *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*. Historians of the following centuries, such as Dimitri Kantemir, Saffet Bey, İsmail Hami



Figure 8.2. Matrakçı Nasuh, 'Castle of İnebahtı', *Târîh-i Sultan Bâyezid*, Topkapı Palace Museum, TSMK, Revan Köşkü, nr. 1272, vr. 21^{b}–22^{a}. *c.* 1540. Photo courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

Danişmend, Reşat Ekrem Koçu, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, and Halil İnalcık, mainly refer to these earlier histories and testimonies, and analyse the battle under the light of the official Ottoman documents.

While traditionally the historiographical documentation and visual representations of the Ottoman victories, such as the conquest of Preveza (1538) and the conquest of Cyprus (1571), are abundant in the sixteenth-century literary and visual accounts of the Ottomans, the literature on the Battle of Lepanto is minimal. Furthermore, the visual representations of Lepanto as a locality, such as miniature paintings or the portolan charts, are mostly limited to the works of the pre-1571 era. For example, in his famous book of navigation, *Kitâb-ı Bahriyye* (1521), Piri Reis depicts the castle and the port of 'İnebahtı' and describes the Ottoman arrival at its shores in 1499 while giving information about the coasts and topography (Fig. 8.1). Similarly, in the early sixteenth century, Matrakçı Nasuh illustrates the castle of 'İnebahtı' and its settlement in his manuscript *Târîh-i Sultân Bâyezid* (*c.* 1540) (Fig. 8.2).

Despite the fact that Ottoman nautical cartography flourished especially in the sixteenth century, depictions of 'İnebahtı' almost disappear following the battle. One exception that depicts the battle is a miniature painting in the illuminated manuscript of *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr* (1669) by Kâtip Çelebi, where he narrates the naval battles of the sixteenth and seventeenth

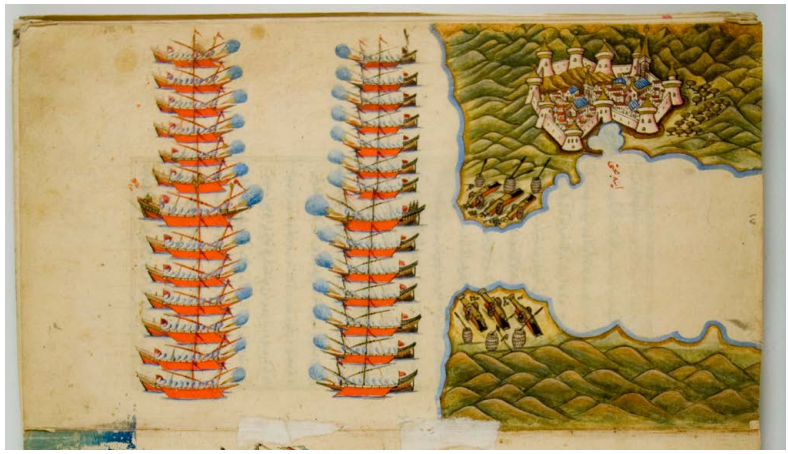


Figure 8.3. Kâtip Çelebi, 'The Battle of Lepanto', *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr Fî Esfâri'-Bihâr*, Topkapı Palace Museum, TSMK, R. 1192, vr. 17ª. 1669. Photo courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum.

centuries in the Ottoman seas (Fig. 8.3). Correspondingly, this painting illustrates the encounter of the galleys of both camps at the bay of Lepanto.

From the perspective of the Ottoman historians, the Battle of Lepanto was indeed an unexpected and unfortunate event that caused deep grief in the Ottoman court after many victorious campaigns. The general historiographical tendency is to narrate the naval operations during the battle briefly, and represent this battle as a separate, contrasting event to the victory at Cyprus.

The chroniclers and historians agree that the initial reactions of the Sublime Porte demonstrate that the rulers of the empire were upset but also determined to re-establish their naval dominance. On the other hand, not much is known about the popular sentiments as the chroniclers paid little attention to public opinion. Only Kâtip Çelebi recounts that 'all Muslims were deeply grieved by this apocalyptic defeat, and that many prayers were recited in mosques to implore God's favour upon this unpleasant surprise'.[28]

However, as Mantran argues, probably there had not been any deep turmoil, rebellions, or revolts among the public, otherwise the chroniclers would have pointed them out, as they did on previous occasions.[29] Furthermore, it does not appear that either the Janissary military corps or the civilian population in Istanbul expressed any deep or persistent concern after the defeat. The only major

28 'Bütün Müslümanlar tasalanup bu kıyameti andıran bozgunun olmasına "sübhân el-Kadir el-Hakîm, inne zelzeleti's-sâate şey'ûn azîm" diye şaşarak istircâ eylediler'. Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fi Esfâri'l-Bihâr*, p. 117.

29 Mantran, 'L'écho de Lépante a Constantinople', p. 255.

impact of the defeat was the economic one since the long-term campaigns placed constant financial burdens on the tax-paying population of the empire.[30] Still, the absence of any enemy sail in the waters close to the capital probably reassured the population and reinforced their confidence in the government authorities.

For the Ottoman Empire, the victory at Cyprus was a great one, but the defeat at Lepanto was an unexpected misfortune. Nobody in the court, or in the public, seemed to expect such a defeat. They were unprepared, and also underestimated the forces of the Holy League.[31] As a result, the sultan and the other court officials did not react publicly on this decisive defeat, but rather focused on other victories and rebuilt the naval forces. In their comments, they played down their loss and treated it as an insignificant event compared to other successes. However, the military men who participated in the war and the historians of the age were aware of the extent of defeat and how severe the devastation was, and they noted it accordingly.

Although the battle was fought for strategic purposes, the religious aspect was all too present in the narratives. Similar to the popular Catholic assertion that the 'Lepanto victory' was God's will, the Ottoman rulers and chroniclers more often than not narrated the 'Lepanto defeat' as Allah's will; and the members of the Holy League and the Ottomans each portrayed the other as 'the infidel'.[32] Their faiths and the outcome of the battle for each were different, but in accordance with the dominant zeitgeist, they both resorted to the Almighty to explain the latter, be it victory or defeat. After all, although they belonged to two different camps, both were part of the same world and the same age.

According to the report of Kapudan Pasha, 'the fleet of the divinely guided Empire encountered the fleet of the wretched infidels, and the will of Allah turned the other way'.[33] This fatalistic perception also appears in the accounts of historiographers. Selânikî Mustafa Efendi sums the battle up again with a reference to God: 'We were destroyed according to Allah's will'.[34] Similarly, the seventeenth-century historian Solakzâde interprets the result as a consequence of divine will: 'The defeat of the fleet with the order of Allah'.[35] Religion was instrumental for both sides: The Holy League was a coalition of Catholic states from the beginning, and its Lepanto victory became an unending source of inspiration for the Catholics.[36] For the Ottomans, on the other hand, God's

30 Yıldırım, 'The Battle of Lepanto and its Impact on Ottoman History and Historiography', p. 555.

31 Tabakoğlu, *Akdeniz'de Savaş*, p. 339.

32 Here, it is noteworthy that the Ottoman chroniclers do not use the word 'Christian' or 'enemy', but always use the word *kâfir* or *küffar-ı hâksâr* ('infidel' or 'Godless infidels').

33 BOA, d. 16, h. 139, in Lesure, *Lépante*, p. 180.

34 'Mülakat-ı donanma ve vuku-ı inhizam bi em-rri'llâhi ta'âlâ'. Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, p. 81.

35 Solakzâde, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, p. 325.

36 Today, numerous museums in Europe preserve religious works of art related to the battle. One recurrent imagery in them is the Madonna of the Rosary, who is believed to have guided the fleets of the Holy League towards victory during the Battle of Lepanto. Kut, 'Iconography of a Catholic Victory', pp. 45–89.

will and decision that could not be contested became the most comforting explanation for their defeat at Lepanto.

In contrast to the religious and mostly symbolic significance of Lepanto for the Catholic world, however, the ultimate Ottoman reaction to the defeat was more secular, including the building up of a new and stronger fleet, not to mention the persistent underestimation of the naval failure. Again, in contrast to Catholic fascination with Lepanto, which remains vibrant until the present day, the Ottomans predominantly chose to forget Lepanto. In Turkey today, even the history textbooks barely mention the devastating naval incident. In the high school history book published by M.E.B. (Ministry of National Education) which is required reading material, there is only one mention of Lepanto in passing: 'After the defeat of İnebahtı (Lepanto) in 1571, Venice, Spain, and the papacy alliance threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean'.[37] Similarly, supplementary books suggested by M.E.B. also pass over the significance of Lepanto in Western Europe, following the account of the Cyprus campaign: 'With the conquest of Cyprus, European states whose interests in the Mediterranean were severely damaged formed a new crusader fleet consisting of countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Venice under the leadership of the pope. Returning from Cyprus, they burned the Ottoman fleet of three hundred pieces in the battle around İnebahtı (Lepanto) area (1571)'.[38] In conclusion, whereas the European narrative encouraged the exaltation of the battle's outcome, which led to the magnification of Lepanto in the collective memory of the Catholics, the relative undermining of the significance of the battle by the Ottomans after their victorious Cyprus campaign has led to a noteworthy negligence about Lepanto in contemporary Turkey as well.

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37 '1571 İnebahtı mağlubiyetinden sonra Venedik, İspanya ve Papalık ittifakı Osmanlı Devleti'nin Akdeniz'deki varlığını tehdit etmişti'. Yüksel and Kapar, eds, *Ortaöğretim Tarih*, p. 162.

38 'Kıbrıs'ın fethedilmesi ile Akdeniz'de çıkarları iyice zedelenen Avrupa devletleri papanın önderliğinde İspanya, Portekiz, Venedik gibi ülkelerden oluşan yeni bir Haçlı donanması oluşturdular. Kıbrıs dönüşü İnebahtı mevkinde yapılan savaşta üç yüz parçalık Osmanlı donanmasını yaktılar (1571)'. Yılmaz, *Ortaöğretim Tarih*, p. 145.

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Part 3

Circulation

From Ancient to Modern, across Imagined and Secret Battles Reflected in Images

ANGELO MARIA MONACO

The Rhetorical Index in the Portraits of Mehmed II

Some Episodes between Words and Images, from the West Shore of the Mediterranean

An Introduction to the Method

> He — for there could be no doubt of his sex, though the fashion of the time did something to disguise It — was in the act of slicing at the head of a Moor which swung from the rafters. It was the colour of an old football, and more or less the shape of one, save for the sunken cheeks and a strand or two of coarse, dry hair, like the hair on a cocoanut. Orlando's father, or perhaps his grandfather, had struck it from the shoulders of a vast Pagan who had started up under the moon in the barbarian fields of Africa; and now it swung, gently, perpetually, in the breeze which never ceased blowing through the attic rooms of the gigantic house of the lord who had slain him.[1]

The incipit of Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (London, 1928) takes the reader to the heart of the matter between Christians and Muslims in the sixteenth century: a clash that has become a habit. But it is also an adequate opening

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1 Woolf, *Orlando*, p. 3.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 197–222
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to the contents of this essay from a lexical point of view: the choice of the verb 'to disguise' which alludes to the game of appearances.

The young lord plays with the head of a Moor, dangling ceaselessly from a beam in the top-floor chamber of the mighty dynastic mansion, which had belonged to the ancestor who had detached it from the bust of an Infidel and brought it back, with Virginia Woolf's words, from 'the barbarian fields of Africa'. That is, from a bloody military campaign in which many men on both sides had been decapitated. There is no mockery of what is left of the enemy in the gesture of the young lord who trains for war by striking a dry head with his dagger, like a leather ball, shaggy like a coconut, almost like those animal heads hanging on the walls after returning from a safari, but displayed without the usual solemnity reserved for a hunting trophy.

It is precisely on the changing perception of the iconography of certain 'heads' between victors and vanquished in the hostilities between the two shores of the Mediterranean between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that I will write below. On the one hand, I will focus on that of Mehmed II the Conqueror, that is, how the image of his portrait was altered along with his increasingly bad reputation on the western shore of the same sea; on the other hand, I will discuss how the image of the heads of the eight hundred citizens of Otranto, raised by the sabres of the infidels in 1480, contributed to the amplification of anti-Ottoman propaganda over a long period of time.

Warburgian scholars taught us to look at Renaissance images in a three-dimensional way.[2] In other words, viewing them as symptoms of the era in which they were conceived and as bearers of cultural information that goes beyond the two-dimensional limits of the surface they occupy and the forms they depict. The thought of a given era imbues the form with a degree of complexity that is directly proportional to the ability of the *inventor* of the iconographic programme, whether or not he is the artist, to become a receiver of the knowledge circulating in his time. I am referring in this essay to a rhetorical index, which will be as high as the sum of the meanings and references stratified in the image to which this exponent refers. But it will be a 'relative' index, since its understanding is in turn proportional to the observer's capacity to decode it. A definition of a work of art given by Umberto Eco, recently circulated on the Instagram account @RaiCultura (i.e. a medium for the circulation of knowledge that would probably amuse him), comes to mind: 'a work of art is a fundamentally ambiguous message, a plurality of meanings that coexist in a single signifier'.[3] On the other hand, even when an image is observed from a wide historical and cultural distance, as is the case with the works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the possibility of understanding its deeper meaning remains ambiguous and at the discretion

2 For an intellectual profile of Aby Warburg, see Cieri Via, *Introduzione a Aby Warburg*; within the extensive bibliography available, see Pallotto, *Vedere il tempo*.

3 Instagram, @raicultura (published 2 June 2021).

of the reader, their ability to retrieve historical data, to reconnect plots and restore forms of knowledge from that same era.[4] The same historical distance, however, offers today's reader an advantage over the first recipients, namely the possibility of straightening out certain aberrant deformations resulting from the rhetorical use of the same image, whether in the case of a single 'biographical profile' as in that of Mehmed II (1432–1481), or in the case of complex historical episodes, as the Turkish conquest of Otranto (1480) from which an episode of 'construction of sanctity' (bottom to top) emerged.[5]

The effigy of Mehmed II undoubtedly undergoes a process of becoming aberrant. The naturalistic features of the sultan, documented in some well-known contemporary medallions and paintings, are gradually altered towards that of a caricature, proportionate to the maturation of the process of demonization of his historical figure on this side of the Mediterranean. So the somatic features of the man in a turban take on those of a classical satyr, reinvigorated by the sense of the grotesque from which the Renaissance was not immune.[6] The enemy is necessarily the devil. Thus, Mehmed is Nero, Herod, the Pharaoh who persecutes the chosen people. He has a hooked nose and pointed ears. He is necessarily lascivious, satyr-like, merciless, diabolical, as he is described, as we will see below, by some accredited authors (Matteo Bandello, Paolo Giovio, and later Marco Boschini). In this sense, the rhetorical index of the effigy of Mehmed II (as would later happen with the infidel Turk in general) reaches an exponent as high as the anti-Ottoman propaganda in the Christian world.

I have dealt with the case of Otranto elsewhere, to the point of explicitly talking about the construction of an Otranto mythography.[7] But in this attempt to focus on the unprecedented concept of 'rhetorical index', the mythographic process of the massacre takes on a special dimension, since Mehmed II was its instigator. As is very well known, the southern Italian city of Otranto in the Kingdom of Naples, at that time ruled by King Ferdinand I, was attacked and laid to siege by the Turks commanded by Gedik Ahmet Pasha, during Mehmed II's reign, on 23 July 1480. After some weeks of resistance to the siege the city fell, and on 14 August almost eight hundred citizens were beheaded by Turks. Most European courts were shocked by the siege of Otranto since it was the first time in which Muslims landed on Italian soil to conquer a Christian city. Duke Alfonso of Calabria, the son of King Ferdinand I of Naples, was able to free the city only in 1481, due to the fact that the Ottoman Empire abandoned the idea of conquering southern Italy as a consequence of the unexpected death of Mehmed II.[8]

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4 Freedberg, *The Power of Images*.

5 Boesch Gajano, *La Santità*, pp. 77–95.

6 Battisti, *L'antirinascimento*.

7 Monaco, *La 'Gerusalemme celeste' di Otranto*; Monaco, '"Qui amicti sunt et unde venerunt?"'.

8 Bibliography on the Turkish invasion of Otranto is vast and protean in nature. For a historical overview, see Fonseca, ed., *Otranto 1480*, and Houben, ed., *La conquista turca di Otranto*. Devoid of some essential bibliography references is Bianchi, *Otranto 1480*.

The complexity of this subject of colossal proportions, that is, the parallel evolution and reception of Mehmed II's iconography on both sides of the Mediterranean, cannot be fully explored here. And some iconographic traditions remain outside the scope of this investigation. Such is the case of the iconography of the sultan in the *Oracula Leonis*, where in an oracle entitled *Μελισμός* (separation) Mehmed II is presented in the form of a bear with suckling cubs, to signify the separation of the empire upon his death. Attributed to the Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise (AD ninth–tenth century) but evidently collated over a wide chronological span, the collection of short biographical oracles, circulated in some magnificent manuscripts, was disseminated in Venice by mathematician Francesco Barozzi. He was the one who, from the 1550s or 1570s, edited an anthology in Latin and in the vernacular, translating parts of Greek manuscripts collected during his wanderings in the Mediterranean.[9] This precious oracular tradition, which includes extremely interesting aspects of iconographic culture, is excluded from the discussion that follows for geographical reasons, since its Cretan origins are still linked to the Byzantine world, and it remains linked, as far as I know, only to the codicological sphere. It will be sufficient in this essay to refer quickly to the depiction of Mehmed II, in the series of portraits of Ottoman sultans, also of Ottoman origins, in the collection of Paolo Giovio, in his famous villa on Lake Como.[10] From this collection at least the two successful series for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in Caprarola and part of the 'Jovian' for Cosimo de' Medici in the Uffizi derive. This indicates a singular episode of the geographical circulation of images between originals and copies, about which Ilenia Pittui (doctoral student at Ca' Foscari) focuses with great interpretative finesse.[11] Some other relevant iconographic traditions must also be excluded from the discussion.[12]

The Sultan's Effigy between Nature and Fear

Aby Warburg was one of the first scholars to mention the portrait of Mehmed II by Bertoldo di Giovanni as an image instrumental to a rhetorical purpose. Indeed, the particular statement can be viewed as a reverse of a famous medal (Fig. 9.1). Here the personifications of the three provinces of Trabzon, Greece, and Asia conquered by the sultan can be seen linked to a man in a turban and a cloak posing as a classic Nike (a *pathosform* in itself) standing upright high above the triumphal chariot of two horses pulled by a soldier. Warburg's idea

9 Valuable are the studies on this subject by Rigo, *Oracula leonis*; Hatzopoulos, 'Oracular Prophecy'.

10 Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*.

11 Pittui, 'Tra originali e copie'.

12 Orbay, *The Sultan's Portrait*; Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons and Jews*.



Figure 9.1. Bertoldo di Giovanni, *Mehmed II* (obverse and reverse), copper alloy, diam. 94 mm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (5129). *c.* 1480. © cat. 15a. in Aimee Ng, Alexander J. Noelle, and Xavier F. Salomon, eds, *Bertoldo di Giovanni: The Renaissance of Sculpture in Medici Florence*, exhibition catalogue (New York, The Frick Collection, 18 September 2019–12 January 2020) (New York: The Frick Collection in association with D Giles Limited, 2019), pp. 406–09.

on the reuse of that classical iconography in Bertoldo's medal concerns the application of a rhetorical index to the image.[13]

The effigy of Mehmed II made a comeback in 2019 in two major exhibitions held on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. As traced by Xavier Salomon in the excellent catalogue of the monographic exhibition on Bertoldo held at the Frick Collection between 2019 and 2020, based on a proposal by Emil Jacobs in 1927,[14] the sculptor, known as one of Michelangelo's first masters, made a medal celebrating the powerful Mehmed II Fātih — the Conqueror — possibly on commission of Lorenzo the Magnificent, around 1480, in order to repay the one he had received as a gift from the sultan himself.[15] At the same time possibly Gentile Bellini portrayed him in a very similar manner in the well-known painting (also *c.* 1480) in the National Gallery in London, signing himself 'Venetus Eques Auratus Comesq[uae] Palatinus'.[16]

13 I have seen the Italian translation of the essay in Warburg, *Fra antropologia e Storia dell'Arte*, p. 670. No reference to Warburg's mention of Bertoldo's medal can be found in the bibliography I will mention below.

14 Jacobs, 'Die Mehemmed-Medaille des Bertoldo'.

15 See a specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, diameter 94 mm, reproduced as fig. 207 in Ng, Noelle, and Salomon, eds, *Bertoldo di Giovanni*, pp. 406–09, where reference is made to Jacobs, 'Die Mehemmed-Medaille des Bertoldo' (p. 408).

16 From the National Gallery curatorial board: 'the painting is almost entirely repainted, especially in the figure. An old inscription, lower right, gives the date 25 November 1480. The lower left inscription is a more recent reconstruction; it includes the names Mehmet and



Figure 9.2. Cristofano dell'Altissimo, *Mehmed II*, oil on wood, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 2nd half of the 16th century. © and reproduced with the permission of the Ministero della Cultura.

Independently, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Rinascimento visto da Sud* (*Renaissance seen from the South*) held in Matera in the same year, Walter Cupperi provides new insights on the iconography of the same medal (a later and flawed specimen can be found in Modena, Galleria Estense, inv. 9105).[17]

Gentile Bellini. The attribution to Bellini is not proved, but the sitter is reasonably identified as Mehmet II (1432–1481). Gentile Bellini visited his court in Constantinople. There is insufficient evidence for deciding whether the picture is a copy or a very damaged original.' <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/gentile-bellini-the-sultan-mehmet-ii> [accessed 25 January 2022]. For a recent study of Gentile's portrait compared with other iconographic sources relating to the physiognomy of Mohammed II, albeit within the limits of a lack of bibliographic updating about the medals by Bertoldo and Costanzo, compare Soldi, *Al-FĀTIH*. See also Schroeder, '*Frame for a Sultan*'.

17 Walter Cupperi, catalogue entry 1.23, *Bertoldo di Giovanni, Maometto II*, post-1461, in Catalano and others, eds, *Rinascimento visto da Sud*, p. 221, with bibliography on the medal.

Of this piece, he prudently circumscribes the terminus post quem for its craft on circumstantial grounds, not without underlining the lack of documents proving the circumstances of the commission or the place where the piece was cast. The triumphal chariot surrounded by allegorical figures undoubtedly celebrates Mehmed II's annexation of the Byzantine and Trebizond Empires (1453 and 1461, respectively, and recalled in the circular inscription on philological bases), but not, as proposed by Jacobs and by Raby and accepted by Salomon,[18] the events in Otranto (1480), hence the proposed date for the medal. Indeed, as Cupperi points out, the depiction of the throne in flames on the crossbar of the chariot, rather than being one of the Aragonese heraldic figures (one of the feats of King Ferdinand, or Ferrante, sovereign from 1458 to 1494, who reigned at the time of the landing of the Turks at Otranto), would in fact be a recognized martial symbol appropriate for celebrating on the one hand the valour of the person depicted, but also his moral inadequacy: the throne in flame could be a reference to the thirteenth chair of the round table which would burst into flames if occupied by an unworthy knight.[19] In other words, the iconography does not provide evidence of the conquest of Otranto. Therefore the dating of the medal remains problematic.

As is well known, it was Mehmed II himself who asked various courts in the peninsula to send artists to the capital he conquered in 1453 — hence the 'paradox' of a conquering and ruthless sultan who was also a patron of the arts, as formulated by Julian Raby.[20] Gentile Bellini and Bartolomeo Bellano were some of those who worked for such a particular patron and lover of certain aspects of classicism, reached by Costanzo de Moysis (or di Mosè) from Padua (or Venice) who, according to a letter from the Estense ambassador Battista Bendidio dated 24 August 1485, most recently recalled by Cupperi in 2019, had been sent by King Ferrante I of Aragon as a 'pictore a Bisanzio' (painter to Byzantium) upon request of the sultan himself, who wished to have 'uno pittore de quelli dal canto di qua' (a painter of those from this side).[21] A medal bearing the portrait of Mehmed II, in profile on the *recto* and on horseback while crossing a clearing surmounted by a fortress on the *verso*, would date back to this period. A few examples are known with conspicuous epigraphic variants, including one in Washington, DC[22] (in excellent condition, Fig. 9.3) and one in

18 Raby, 'Pride and Prejudice'.

19 A very interesting topic is the circulation of imagery ascribable to the Arthurian cycle in the Mediterranean area. An early episode that has not yet been sufficiently focused on is the depiction of Rex Arturus among the figures on the mosaic floor of Otranto Cathedral, signed and dated by Presbitero Pantaleone (as he signed himself in the pavement of the basilica) in 1165. On the 'rhetorical index' of the mosaic of Otranto and its connection with preaching in the Middle Ages, see Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini*, p. 145.

20 Raby, 'A Sultan of Paradox'.

21 Sricchia Santoro, 'Pittura a Napoli negli anni di Ferrante e di Alfonso Duca di Calabria'.

22 Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, 1, pp. 162–63 (where the artist is named Costanzo da Ferrara; the inscription on the *recto* is: MOHAMETH II OTHOMANUS TURCORUM IMPERATOR SULTANUS; on the *verso*: HIC BELLI FULMEN POPULOS PROSTRAVIT ET URBES;



Figure 9.3. Costanzo de Moysis (or di Mosè), *Mehmed II* (obverse and reverse). Last quarter of the fifteenth century – beginning of the sixteenth century. © Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Bargello (inv. 5985), not perfectly moulded, dated 1481 (so cast the same year of Mehmed II's death, on display at the exhibition in Matera).[23] In any case, this is an episode of artistic patronage that testifies to the liveliness of exchanges between the Aragonese and Ottoman courts, the circulation of images on both sides of the Mediterranean, and religious tolerance when it comes to luxury goods. Thus, as in a Shakespearean comedy, three otherwise irreconcilable characters interact on the Mediterranean stage: a Christian king, a Muslim sultan, and a Jewish artist (Costanzo de Moysis's onomastic title suggests as much).

Is it possible to think of medals as a source of inspiration for a process of image caricature — beyond the conventional criteria of *ritrarre* and *imitare* in the Renaissance, as explained by Giorgio Vasari in his *Vite* (*Life of Artists*, Florence, 1550 and 1568) — whereby certain graphic solutions aimed at the grotesque are nothing more than the consequences of an exacerbation of natural facial features? 'Yet "imitating" nature was not necessarily the same as "portraying" a person', recalls Carlo Falciani in his introduction to the exhibition on the protean meaning of portraiture in sixteenth-century Florence on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[24] All the more so if nature lends itself to mockery, as in the case of Mehmed II who was endowed (according to Gentile's 'naturalistic' portraits, both in the painting and in the medal, probably devoid of any intention of derision) with a hooked nose

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in a bi-annotated table of smaller character size: CONST/ANTIUS/F).

23 Cupperi, catalogue entry 5.21, *Da Costanzo de Moysis, o di Mosè, Maometto II (1432–1481)*, in Catalano and others, eds, *Rinascimento visto da Sud*, p. 371, with the r/v epigraphic text.

24 Falciani, 'Power and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Florentine Portraiture', p. 17, also for references to the use in Vasari of the verbs 'imitare' and 'ritrarre'.

and a protruding chin. In other words, two easily derisible characteristics, to which one would add, to worsen his image, the satyr-like and diabolical pointed ears found both in the medal by Costanzo de Moysis (here more close to the natural folding of the ear lobe due to the pressure of the turban) and, as we will see, in Herod's images in three of four *Massacre of the Innocents* by Matteo di Giovanni. According to the evolution of an iconographic process of sclerotization of the evil nature of the Turk, the infidels are identified with the torturers in the Passion of Christ or his martyrs in many works in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (for example, in Tintoretto's *Miracle of the Slave*, 1545, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia). A similar situation had already occurred from the fourteenth century onwards against the Jews, represented, as Giuseppe Capriotti has pointed out, according to unequivocal physiognomic characteristics (once again feral, satyr-like) and unmistakable iconographic attributes (the scorpion on their chest, the yellow robe, the bag with the thirty pieces of silver).[25]

The Demonization of the Enemy in Images and Words (the Poisoning of the Image of the Grand Turk)

It is interesting to note the process of demystification of the historical figure and his progressive derubrication as the incarnation of evil, with the alteration of his effigy, both in painting and in literature. In the case of Mehmed II, this process is reinforced after he sowed terror by landing his troops on Italian soil for the first time in 1480. In this sense, it is useful to recall the portrait of Mehmed II described by Paolo Giovio in his *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* (Rome, 1535).[26] The codification of the physiognomy of the infidel sultan, charged with all the derogatory attributes considered, will culminate in the portrait of the Jovian series by Cristofano dell'Altissimo, around 1560, in Florence, Uffizi Galleries, possibly based on Giovio's description itself (Fig. 9.2). This is a significant compilation of the way of proceeding by accumulating disparate sources, in which all the topoi of a physiognomic nature highlighted are brought back by the humanist to the moral perversion of the person who embodies them, in the conviction shared in his time that the face was the mirror of the soul. A description without any possibility of appeal in which the imperfections already eternalized by the effigy moulded by Costanzo de Moysis, passing through those displayed by Matteo di Giovanni, exacerbate the reader's degree of intolerance towards this ambiguous character, an infidel, fratricidal sodomite, and with no faith whatsoever, cunning in replacing religious prescriptions when necessary and who in the end refused any moral law. It was a literary portrait of great

25 Paraphrasing the title of a study on the subject by Capriotti, *Lo scorpione sul petto*.

26 Giovio, *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi*, pp. 95–109. See Appendix, text 1.

success, later quoted in other sources such as in Matteo Bandello's collection of *Novelle* (first published in Lucca in 1554, but already circulating with humanists): in particular in the one entitled *Maometto imperador de' turchi ammazza i fratelli, i nipoti e i servidori con inudita crudeltà vie più che Barbara* (Mehmed, emperor of the Turks, kills his brothers, nephews, and servants with unprecedented and barbaric cruelty).[27] Giovio's text is significant in terms of the perceived image of the subject he is writing about. An atrocious persecutor of the innocent, accustomed to the most despicable practices, an avowed enemy of Christianity, yet capable of a certain generosity towards cultured and literate men, and passionate about classical culture: 'a Sultan of Paradox'.[28] It is also interesting to point out a reference to the Otranto siege in another *novella* by Bandello: part iv, number XXVIII, entitled *Fra Michele da Carcano predicando in Firenze è beffato da un fanciullo con pronto detto* (Brother Michele from Carcano preaching in Florence is mocked by a guy with a clever sentence).[29] As Elisabetta Menetti points out, in her critical introduction to a modern edition of Bandello's *Novelle*,

> Entering the Novelle of Bandello is like walking through the different places of the Renaissance courts with the impression of being projected into the heart of history. A path that not only shows the limpid and solid architecture of the ideals of the Renaissance, but also is on the whole sometimes chaotic, of absolute values and their subversion, of light and dark, of labyrinths and underground passages in which roams, perhaps a little bewildered, the modern man.[30]

In the mid-seventeenth century, Marco Boschini, following a well-established tradition of disparagement, drew on the biographies of Venetian painters Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio, both seduced by the exotic allure of the Ottoman court in the late fifteenth century (visited by the former, only imagined by the latter), to write a ruthless portrait of the 'Great Turk' in verse. A short story entered in the *Carta del navegar pitoresco* (Venice, 1660), paradoxically biblical because of the subject matter (that is, the theft of an apple), is a valid proof of the sultan's cruelty. Someone steals a single apple from his orchard and pays with his life. 'Zentile Belin', an eyewitness of what happened, has

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27 Bandello, 'Maometto imperador de' turchi ammazza i fratelli', p. 116 et passim. See Appendix, text 2, Bandello A.

28 Raby, 'A Sultan of Paradox'.

29 See Appendix, text 2, Bandello B.

30 Bandello, *Novelle*, p. 7: 'Addentrarsi tra le Novelle di Bandello è come passeggiare tra i diversi luoghi delle corti rinascimentali con l'impressione di trovarsi proiettati nel vivo della storia. Un sentiero che non mostra solo la limpida e solida architettura degli ideali del Rinascimento, ma si inoltra nell'insieme a volte caotico, di valori assoluti e del loro sovvertimento, di chiari e di scuri, di labirinti e di sotterranei in cui si aggira, forse un po' spaesato, l'uomo moderno' (my translation). By the same author, see also Menetti, *Enormi e disoneste*.

no doubts: he will soon return to his own land, far from this Nero enemy of the Christians, to Venice, 'dove alberga rason e umanità' (where reason and humanity dwell).[31]

The typological and iconographic assimilation of the infidel enemy with the harassers of Christianity had already found wide support in fifteenth-century art, with the spread of some subject matters, such as the flagellation (exceptional is the masterpiece by Piero della Francesca, *c.* 1455, Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche),[32] and the iconography of the *Massacre of the Innocents*. This is no doubt because of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, with the massacre of Christians,[33] and then for the events of Otranto in 1480.[34] This is the case in the works of Sienese artist Matteo di Giovanni (Borgo San Sepolcro, *c.* 1430 – Siena, 1495), who turned the theme of the massacre narrated in Matthew 2. 1–16 into a speciality of his catalogue, using it in a typological key and as an allegorical representation of his times, on at least four occasions: three in Siena and one in Naples.[35]

Below is a synopsis of the four *Massacres* by Matteo di Giovanni, in chronological order:

1. *Massacre of the Innocents*, based on a drawing by Matteo di Giovanni, Duomo di Siena, marble floor dated MCCCCLXXXI (1481), with inscription: 'TEMPORE F. ALBERTI. D. FRANCISCI. DE ARIGNGHERIIS, EQUITIS HYEROSOLIMITANI. MCCCLXXXI' (1481).
2. *Massacre of the Innocents*, Siena, Santa Maria della Scala (from Sant'Agostino), tempera, silver, and gold on wood, 236.5 cm × 236.5 cm, with inscription: '[O]PUS-MATEI-IOHANNIS-/ ESENS-MCCCCLXXXII' (1482).
3. *Massacre of the Innocents*, Siena, Chiesa Basilica di Santa Maria dei Servi (datable 1491), tempera and gold on wood, 233 cm × 233 cm; bezel, 110 cm × 233 cm, with inscription: 'OPUS. MAT/TEI. IOANNE:/DE SENS' (Fig. 9.4).
4. *Massacre of the Innocents*, Napoli Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte (from Santa Caterina a Formello) with uncertain dating, as I will point out below.

In the three panels in Siena, the enemy of the Innocents is no longer the pagan Herod (as happens instead in the panel in Naples) but a scary Mehmed II clearly marked by his diabolical shape and the conventional turban. The precious painting is counterpointed by the cruelty of the iconography, pushed to the limit by a painter who was aware that he had to impress, to scare, and

31 *Carta*, Vento I, 33, 28. See Appendix, text 3.

32 About the panel and its connections with the historical context, essential is Ronchey, *L'enigma di Piero*.

33 Bádenas de la Peña and Pérez Martín, *Constantinopla 1453*.

34 Please refer to the bibliography mentioned in notes 7 and 8, above.

35 References to the painter's activity in Siena can be found, in general, in Syson and Angelini, *Renaissance Siena*; Alessi and Bagnoli, eds, *Matteo di Giovanni*.



Figure 9.4. Matteo di Giovanni, *Massacre of the Innocents* (detail), tempera and gold on wood, Siena, Basilica di Santa Maria dei Servi. 1491. © Web Gallery of Art.

to strike the soul of the viewer, to turn them to pity for the victims and to indignation or terror at the perpetrator.

The panel in Naples is problematic with regard to its chronology and iconography: its chronology due the discordant dating in the sources (1468 or later);[36] its iconography because is the only one of the four *Massacres* by Matteo in which Herod is not disguised as a Turk but portrayed as an emperor 'all'antica'. The matter is not irrelevant since exactly this panel is most linked to relics from Otranto: it was after the liberation of the city in 1481 that Duke Alfonso of Calabria transferred a substantial *corpus* of almost 240 bodies from the eight hundred martyrs beheaded by the Turks the year before, to store them (where they still remain), as relics, in a reliquary chapel built in the church of Santa Caterina a Formello, where the painting was displayed at least after 1481. It will not be superfluous to note, moreover, that already in this panel (the most back-datable), Herod has pointed ears as an eloquent symbol of his wickedness.

These works were conceived in communities that had long been educated to use images for devotional purposes. Particularly in Siena the voice of Saint Bernardino still echoed, a skilful weaver of visionary prayers cast like nets over the crowds of believers. Lina Bolzoni has taught us how the technique of preaching in the vernacular makes pervasive use of the visual medium, where the typological comparison between scriptural narrative and everyday life is a rhetorical device that is widely exploited.[37] Bringing the mysteries of faith or sacred history back into the everyday sphere affects the minds of the devotees. As Michael Baxandall has taught us, it edifies thought and the spirit.[38] We would say today: it orients public opinion.

Cronaca di una Strage dipinta (Chronicle of a Painted Massacre) was the evocative title of the exhibition held in Siena in 2006,[39] in which the painter's works were observed from the aforementioned perspective. In keeping with a consolidated iconographic code according to which the beauty and ugliness of the subjects portrayed are directly proportional to the nobility or narrowness of their souls, the rubicund beauty of the little torn bodies (as if they were taken from a Donatello chancel) and the desperation of their mothers, some of whom surrendered, others fighting with their nails and teeth, but all in precious clothes and very elegant hairstyles, are counterbalanced by the grotesque and ruthless features of the torturers, exaggerated to the point of making those of Herod, caught in the act of carrying out the ancient — and pagan — gesture of *imperium*, seem clearly diabolical.[40] Anticipating the description of Mehmed II by Giovio and Matteo Bandello, that is, in a series of writings functional to anti-Ottoman propaganda, Matteo di Giovanni's Herod is threatening, with a hooked nose and pointed ears, as in the best traditions of satyr iconography.

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36 Di Majo, 'Qualche osservazione su un dipinto napoletano di Matteo di Giovanni'.

37 Bolzoni, *La rete delle immagini*, pp. 145–242.

38 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*.

39 See again note 36, above.

40 It is not considered pedantic to note the slight difference in the gesture of Herod's hand in Santa Maria dei Servi: the only one with the palm upwards, but with the index finger pointing forward like in the other images, but in the end expressing the same meaning.

According to a proposal made by Robert Henry Hobart Cust,[41] taken up by André Chastel,[42] and now widely accepted,[43] the *Massacre* in the pavement of the Duomo, dated MCCCCLXXXI (1481), was a typological image of the Massacre of Otranto and a tribute to its liberator, Duke Alfonso of Calabria, who was in Siena at the time to help fight Florence. Matteo di Giovanni's depiction of the *Massacre of the Innocents* is then both typological and devotional, as it recalls through the Holy Scriptures 'the [contemporary] horrors to be endured at the hands of the unspeakable Turk'.[44]

The massacre of Otranto was sensational in the chronicles of the time, as its political implications went well beyond the geographical boundaries of the Salento peninsula (at that time an integral part of the Kingdom of Naples, under the crown of Ferrante I of Aragon), since it was loaded with geopolitical implications that could be considered as having 'European' repercussions, on whose dynamics and 'massive symbol' we have a solid bibliography.[45] The massacre of Otranto expands, emancipating the city from its peripheral location in the international geopolitical chessboard and amplifying itself like circles in the water, until it acquires, in the contemporary anti-Ottoman imagination, the dimensions of the fall of Constantinople. This is an image supported by propaganda, which immediately includes the need to connote the citizens as martyrs — technically victims of war. Equated with the chosen people persecuted by the Pharaoh, as in the Old Testament, the people of Otranto became the martyrs of the *prima resurrectio* (first resurrection) of the Book of Revelation, in the decorations of the first chapel built to house, after the liberation of the city, the remains of the decapitated bodies, already perceived as miraculous objects, that is, as relics. All this is documented by the numerous sources and testimonies collected to constitute the ample evidentiary corpus of the long process that led to the canonization of the eight hundred Otrantines, passing through several stages: the recognition of the prerequisites for the profession of a cult at a local level; the recognition of the martyrdom and beatification of the victims in accordance with Urban VIII's decrees on the subject (of 1634) — the evidence of which is found in the ciborium of the relics — with a high 'eschatological index', bearing the name of sculptor Gabriele Riccardi and the date 1524 (Fig. 9.5);[46] and the proclamation of their

41 Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, pp. 59–60.

42 Chastel, *L'Italie et Bysance*, pp. 293–94.

43 Monaco, '"Qui amicti sunt et unde venerunt?"'; see also Argenziano, 'I santi Innocenti'.

44 Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena*, p. 60; see Appendix, text 4.

45 See note 8, above.

46 On all these issues related to the investigation for the recognition of the martyrdom of the Otrantines beheaded by the Turks, and for an iconographic and iconological analysis of the relics' ciborium, I refer to Monaco, *La 'Gerusalemme celeste' di Otranto*. On sculptor Gabriele Riccardi, see Monaco, 'Gabriele Riccardi'. On the eschatological connotation of the iconography related to the clash between Christianity and Islam, see at least Rusconi, ed., *Storia e figure dell'Apocalisse*, where, for example, consider Germana Ernst's essay, 'L'alba



Figure 9.5. Gabriele Riccardi, *Relic Ciborium of the '800 Martiri di Otranto'* (detail of a capital depicting the Apocalypse), 'leccese' limestone, gilded and painted, Otranto, Cathedral. 1524–1536. Photo by the author.

sanctity. Three stages of a very long preliminary investigation were involved that, synthesized into a timeline, saw the massacre in 1480; the liberalization of the cult at a local level in 1538; the positive conclusion of the beatification process in 1671 in which images also played, undoubtedly, a decisive role;[47] and the proclamation of Saints Primaldo and companions by Pope Francis I in 2013 (in an age significantly awakened in a clash between the two confessions after 11 September 2001). It is in this long process that the growth of an Otranto 'mythography' is nourished, which, if from a religious point of view

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colomba scaccia i corvi neri' (pp. 107–25), in which Campanella's avian prophecy is the key to interpreting a sixteenth-century portion of the mosaics in the Basilica of St Mark's in an anti-Ottoman light.

47 It is relevant to point out the documentary use of the iconographic examination of the columns of ciborium in the beatification investigation of 1770–1771, held by a Vatican commissioner and some local witnesses, in ASV (Archivio Segreto Vaticano), Congregazione dei Riti, Processus, vol. 2017, *Hydruntina VV. Antonij Primaldi et Sociorum Martijrum Hydruatinorum Processus Additionalis Ordinarius Super Fama Martyry et Causa Martyry et Cultu Immemorabili*, foll. 285 ter et seg., now transcribed and commented by Monaco, *La 'Gerusalemme celeste' di Otranto*, pp. 135–55.



Figure 9.6. Nicolò Nelli, *Superbia turchesca* (the right side is the image rotated 180°), private collection. 1572. Photo by the author.

coincides and evolves with the consolidation of a sense of devotion to the martyrs on the part of the community of believers, from a historiographic and secular perspective allows the recognition of the whole issue as an episode of 'construction of sanctity'. As I have shown elsewhere, an eloquent sign of this is the genesis of the official iconography of the siege of Otranto, modelled on the image of the siege of Paris in the illustrations of the Valgrisi edition of *Orlando furioso* (1556).[48] The 'story' of Otranto is emblematic of the long duration of certain historical processes that draw strength from images, from their circulation, from their reception. Even the iconography of the siege of Otranto takes on a very high 'rhetorical index' over time.

By Way of Conclusion: Mehmed II's Face Revisited

The process of 'poisoning' Mehmed II's image evolved with the escalation of the 'Mediterranean question of the Turks'. An intriguing deformation of the portrait of an Ottoman sultan dates back to 1572 and is intended to frighten the observer. In 1572 Nicolò Nelli created a reversible chalcography portrait of the personification of *Superbia turchesca* (Turkish pride), in which the now iconic features of Mehmed II may be recognized (Fig. 9.6). Looking at the image, the eye catches the portrait of the Grand Turk in a turban (threatening, protruding chin, and hooked nose). Turning the image upside down, the

48 Monaco, 'L'iconografia dell'assedio di Otranto e il frontespizio del Tancredi', pp. 253–54.

eye finds an infernal devil (threatening, pointed ears, protruding chin, and hooked nose). This is a pivotal example of a process that started with the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, followed by the conquest of Otranto in 1480, and ended with the 'Great Turk' becoming a huge symbol at Lepanto in 1571.[49]

Going beyond the cross-border geographical limits and chronological terms discussed in this essay, it is painful to acknowledge how dramatic the consequences of a different interpretation of images between the two shores of the Mediterranean can still be today. In other words, how heavy the repercussions of the interpretation of an image (and therefore the decoding of its rhetorical index) can be based on divergent cultural perspectives. It will not be rhetorical then to recall the opposite reactions (enraged reaction and/or ironical acceptation) unleashed by the caricatured depiction of the Prophet in a turban with Christ and Abraham, in August 2016. Hence a new siege of Paris 2.0 in the attack on the office of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*.

49 Gibellini, *L'immagine di Lepanto*.

Appendix of Primary Sources[50]

Text 1. Paolo Giovio

Portrait of Mehmed II in Paolo Giovio, *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi*, ed. by Lara Michelacci (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005), pp. 95–109, here pp. 95–99, 106–09. [Original edition: *Comentario de le cose de' turchi, di Paulo Iovio, vescovo di Nocera, a Carlo quinto imperadore augusto*, stampato in Roma per Antonio Blado d'Asola in le case de meser Gioanbatista di Massimi, 1535.]

Morto che fu Amurate, con estremo favore de soldati, fu cridato signore Maometto suo figliuolo, d'età di 21 anno, qual per regnare senza sospetto subito fece ammazzare il fratello. Costui fu re della fortuna e d'animo, ingegno e cupidità di gloria simile ad Alessandro magno; fu etiamdio molto crudele in guerra e nel Serraglio, di sorte che ammazava giovenetti e fanciulli, quali lui amava libidinosamente, per ogni picciola cagione, ma per contra fu liberale remuneratore di virtuosi e valenti uomini e di chi bene lo servia. Molti estimorono che non credessi più nella fede di Maometto che in quella di Cristo o de Gentili, per essere allevato in infanzia da sua matre qual fu figliuola del dispoto Lazaro di Servia, e teneva la fede cristiana e gli imparava l'avemaria e il paternostro, ma poi che fu adulto e retirandosi alla fede maomettana, si portò di sorte che non tenne né l'una né l'altra per il che non mantenea la parola se non quanto gli venea bene, e nulla cosa istimava essere peccato per adempire gli appetiti suoi. Fu grand'amatore de gli eccellenti maestri in ogni arteficio e tenne gran cura che le sue vittorie fussino scritte da uomini litterati e di giudicio e di continovo leggeva l'istorie de gli antichi. [...] Donò largamente a Gentile Bellino pittore veneziano, avendolo fatto venire da Venezia a Costantinopoli, per farsi ritrarre del naturale, e pingere gli abiti di ponenti, insomma molte virtuose parti, congionte con la buona fortuna, lo fecero degno de l'Imperio di Costantinopoli qual subito assaltò per non occuparsi in basse e poco onorevole imprese. [...] Mandò Acomat Bassà ad Otranto in Puglia. [...] La morte di Maometto fu la salute d'Italia perché li Turchi, i quali aveano in Otranto sostenute francamente le forze di tutti quasi li principi cristiani per un anno e più mesi, non aspettorno più Acomat Bassà il quale era già venuto vicino alla Velona con venticinque mila Turchi per infrescare il campo, e si reserono a patti onorevoli. Questi Turchi di Otranto mostrono essere maestri di guerra e sempre batterono li uomini d'arme nostri e ammazzorno dui eccellenti capitani: il conte Iulio [Giulio Antonio Acquaviva d'Aragona] padre del duca d'Atri, e il signor Matteo di Capua [Matteo d'Altavilla, conte di Palena, principe di Conca, duca d'Atri] [...]. Regnò Maometto trentadue anni non forniti e campò cinquantatre anni: fu nervoso e gagliardo, avea la faccia gialduccia, li occhi grifagni con le ciglia

50 All translations are my own.

arcate e il naso sì adunco che la punta parea toccasse le labbra; si trova che ne le sue guerre perirno di spada più di trecento mila uomini.

Translation:

When Amurate died, his son Mehmed, aged twenty-one, was acclaimed sultan with the support of the soldiers, and to reign without any claimants, he immediately had his brother murdered. He was a ruler similar to Alexander the Great in fortune, soul, wit, and greed. He was also very cruel both in war and in the seraglio, to the extent that he killed young men and children for every small reason, even though he had loved them with lust; on the other hand, he was liberal and very generous with the virtuous and good men who served him well. Many claimed that he no longer believed in the faith of Mohammed, Jesus Christ, or the pagans, having been raised by his mother, who was the daughter of the despot Lazar of Serbia, and who was a Christian, and who taught him to recite the Hail Mary and Our Father. But when he became an adult and converted to the Mohammedan faith, he behaved in such a way that he did not respect either one or the other, showing himself as a believer only when it suited him, believing that nothing was a sin as long as his desires were satisfied. He esteemed the best minds in all disciplines and was very keen that his military exploits should be written by learned and judicious men, and he read the histories of the ancients all the time. […] He was generous with Gentile Bellini, a Venetian painter, whom he had brought to Constantinople from Venice, so that he could have his portrait made live and painted with the customs of the Westerners. In short, many virtuous qualities combined with a favourable fate made him worthy of the Empire of Constantinople, which he immediately decided to conquer, leaving aside enterprises of lesser value. […] He sent Acomat Pascià on an expedition to Otranto in Apulia. […] Mehmed's death was the salvation of Italy because the Turks, who had resisted the military counterattack of almost all the Christian princes for a year and several months in Otranto, did not wait for the return of Acomat Pascià, who had already arrived near Valona [in Albania] with an army of twenty-five thousand men to strengthen the army, and surrendered, making honourable agreements. The Turks at Otranto proved to be masters of war, always defeating our men-at-arms and killing excellent captains: [such as] Count Iulio [Giulio Antonio Acquaviva d'Aragona] the father of the Duke of Atri, and Signor Matteo di Capua [Matteo d'Altavilla, Count of Palena, Prince of Conca, Duke of Atri] […]. Mehmed reigned for about thirty-two years and lived fifty-three: he was of sanguine temperament, had a yellowish face, rapt eyes with arched lashes, and a nose so hooked that the tip seemed to touch the lips; it is said that in his wars more than three hundred thousand men were killed by the sword.

Text 2. Matteo Bandello (A, B)

Matteo Bandello, *Le novelle del Bandello*, Letteratura italiana Einaudi (online at <http://www.letteraturaitaliana.net/pdf/Volume_4/t77.pdf> [accessed 5 July 2021]) based on the following edition: *Tutte le opere di Matteo Bandello*, ed. by Francesco Flora, vols I–II (Milan: Mondadori, 1942–1943). [Original edition: Matteo Bandello, *La prima (seconda, terza) parte de le Novelle del Bandello*, in Lucca, per il Busdrago, 1554.]

Bandello A. Part II, Novella XIII, *Maometto imperador de' turchi ammazza i fratelli, i nipoti e i servidori con inudita crudeltà vie più che barbara* (Mehmed, emperor of the Turks, kills his brothers, nephews, and servants with unprecedented and barbaric cruelty), pp. 880–91.

The story is about Mehmed II's rise to power and his immoral and cruel temperament. According to the final part of the previous novel (i.e. Novella XII: *Il marito trovata la moglie in adulterio fa che impicca l'adultero e quella fa sempre in quella camera restare ove l'amante era impiccato*, pp. 871–80 — the betrayed husband hangs his wife's lover and leaves her in the same room with the hanged man) the narrator is Ferrando of Otranto, a witness in Constantinople of many cruelties by the emperor. Bandello reuses many sources such as the description by Giovio (compare with text 1 above). Here some passages are chosen as examples.

Maometto, di questo nome secondo imperador de' turchi, fu figliuolo d'Amorato secondo, ed esso Maometto fu quello che debellò e levò ai cristiani l'imperio orientale. Egli ancora giovinetto fu dal padre, che era vecchio e molto desiderava la quiete ed il riposo, fatto signore sotto la cura di Calì […]. [p. 880] Sapeva simulare e dissimulare come voleva […]. Il principio del suo imperio comin[ciò] e consa[crò] col sangue fraterno […] [p. 888]. Ma se io vorrò tutte le crudelissime crudeltà di questo fierissimo tiranno annoverare, prima il giorno è per inancarmi che io ne possa venir al fine, perciò che ancora nel sangue ottomanno non è stato prencipe nessuno, ben che ce ne siano stati di crudelissimi, che Maometto di gran lunga tutti avanzati e superati non abbia. Egli si persuase non esser Dio alcuno: si beffava de la fede dei cristiani, sprezzava la legge giudaica, e nulla o beri poco stimava la religione maomettana, perciò che publicamente diceva che maometto, quel falso profeta, era stato servo cirenaico, ladrone ed assassino di strada, e con ferite in faccia cacciato di Persia con grandissima sua vergogna, di modo che non ci era setta alcuna che da lui non fosse sprezzata [p. 887].

Translation:

Mehmed, second emperor of the Turks to bear this name, was the son of Amorato II, and was the one who defeated the Christians in the Eastern Empire [this refers to the siege of Costantinople in 1453]. While still a boy

he was elected by his father, who was old and eager to rest, commander of the kingdom under the guidance of Calì […]. He knew how to simulate and dissimulate at will […]. He made his debut in command with an act of blood by killing his brother […]. But if I want to enumerate the heinous cruelties of this tyrant, one day before it ends will not be enough, since Mehmed II was the cruellest of the Ottoman princes. He was persuaded there was no God at all: he mocked the faith of Christians, nor he was shy of the Jewish law, and very little esteemed Mohammedan law. He publicly said that Muhammad, that false prophet, had been a Corenian servant, a bandit, and with a wounded face he had been expelled from Persia with shame. He despised any religious sect.

Bandello B. Part IV, Novella XXVIII, *Fra Michele da Carcano predicando in Firenze è beffato da un fanciullo con pronto detto* (Brother Michele from Carcano preaching in Florence is mocked by a guy with a clever sentence), pp. 1672–76.

The story tells of the Otranto massacre and the liberation of the city after the death of Mehmed II, with great relief for the pope and for the whole Italian peninsula.

Il [Maometto II] perché con armata di mare occupò e prese Otranto, città del regno di Napoli, posta nei confini di Calabria e de la Puglia, che divide il mar Ionio da l'Ausonio, e per iscontro al lito de la Vellona, con poco spazio di mare, che l'Italia dalla Macedonia divide [p. 1672]. […] Divolgata per Italia la presa di Otranto per i turchi, empì di spavento tutti i signori e popoli italiani, veggendo il comun nemico nel nome cristiano aver posti il piede in Italia e poter d'ora in ora con una velificazione soccorrere i suoi. E nel vero si dubitava forte de la rovina di tutta l'Italia, se la providenzia di Dio non provedeva, ché prima che i turchi potessero fermare il piede ed allargare l'imperio vicino ad Otranto, Maometto loro imperadore morì. Il che fu cagione che non dopo molto Otranto si ricuperò [p. 1673].

Translation:

Mehmed II conquered with a naval fleet the city Otranto, in the Kingdom of Naples, located on the borders of Calabria and Apulia, regions that separate the Ionian Sea from the Ausonian Sea [i.e. the Tyrrhenian Sea], facing the coasts of Valona, in a small stretch of sea that separates Italy from Macedonia. […] After [news of] the Turkish conquest of Otranto spread throughout Italy, all the lords and people of the peninsula were terrified, having seen the common enemy of Christians set off to Italy and quickly reach other shores by sea. And truly the worst was feared for all of Italy if there had not been a divine intervention for which, before the Turks set foot throughout the peninsula, Mehmed II suddenly died. Which shortly after allowed the liberation of Otranto.

Text 3. Marco Boschini

Marco Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (Venice: Baba, 1660).

Bellini dal Gran Turco, vento I, 33, vv. 3–30.

Zentil Belin (per dir la verità)
Fu fato degno de supremi onori
Dal gran Signor; ma i barbari rigori
L'intimoriva, e l'alte crudeltà.
Retrovandose un zorno int'un zardin
Col Gran Signor, là per recreazion,
La mala sorte fece, o l'ocasion,
O fusse efeto de crudel destin,
Che 'l gran Turco se acorse che mancava
Un pomo da un pomer de molta stima,
Per esser pomo de la classe prima;
Dove per questo efeto el rabiava.
E dito e fato, da Neron crudel
El disse: questo ha magnà el pomo certo;
Via, che a sto tristo el peto ghe sia averto;
La so dolcezza se converta in fiel.
E in fin fu vero, e 'l gramo restè morto,
E quei che viste el caso puoco manco;
Ma se a Zentil bateva el cuor e 'l fianco,
El diga quei, che intende el dreto e 'l storto.
Guarda el Ciel (tra de si disse 'l Pitor)
Che de mi tal suspeto bestial
Ghe fusse intrà in la testa a l'Animal!
L'anima mia sarave al Creator.
No no, se g'hè rimedio, voi tornar
Dove alberga rason e umanità,
A Venezia, mia Patria e mia Cità.
Tal che con preghi el se fè rechiamar.

Translation:

Gentile Bellini, in all honesty, was showered with many honours by the sultan; but he was terrified by his cruelty. One day, when he was with him in a garden to amuse himself, bad luck or chance had it that the sultan noticed that an apple was missing from an orchard of great quality, which made him angry. When all was said and done, this cruel Nero [i.e. the sultan] said: 'Take the man who has stolen the apple and open his chest, let the sweetness of the fruit be turned into bitterness'. And so it happened, the poor man was killed, as almost happened to the man who witnessed the case [i.e. Bellini himself]. But whether Gentile felt more the beat of his heart or his side, let those who

understand everything decide. 'Guess what', said the painter to himself, 'if this beast had suspected me, my soul would have already met its maker. Not at all, there is a remedy, I want to return where reason and humanity dwell. To Venice, my homeland and my city'. He begged so much that he was called back to his homeland.

Text 4. Robert Henry Hobart Cust

Robert H. Hobart Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena (1369–1562)* (London: Bell, 1901), pp. 59–60.

At this period all Italy was convulsed with horror at the awful Sack and Destruction of Otranto […]. The shock to the Christian world was so terrible that the Pope, Sixtus IV, in an Encyclical addressed to all the cities of Italy, called their attention to the disaster, pointed out to them that none of them, however remote, was safe […]. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, then living as ruler in Siena, was hastily recalled to take command of an expedition against the common enemy: and it is, I submit, not straining a theory too far, to suppose, that Matteo di Giovanni may have been directed to design these scenes on the Pavement of the Duomo […] as an object lesson to recall to the public mind, through the medium of Scriptural Tragedy, the horrors to be endured at the hands of the unspeakable Turk.

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CRISTELLE BASKINS AND
BORJA FRANCO LLOPIS

Representing Africa in the Exequies for King Philip II

Philip II died in the Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial on 13 September 1598. As the news travelled swiftly across his many dominions, arrangements for his funeral rites began. These obsequies sang the praises of a monarch who not only had defeated the Moriscos, pirates, and Turks in the War of the Alpujarras (1568–1571) but, above all, had organized the victorious Christian expedition against the Ottomans at Lepanto (1571). These episodes were key building blocks for the official visual memory of his reign which was widely publicized through various funeral obsequies staged over the following months. Although he had not been proclaimed emperor like his father and uncle, Philip was the European monarch who had developed the most robust and uncompromising expansionist policy in defence of Catholicism. His dominions had increased considerably thanks to the conquest of Portugal (1580), which had begun its expansion into North Africa and Asia far earlier than Spain.[1]

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1 See Rega Castro and Franco Llopis, *Imágenes del islam y fiesta pública en la corte portuguesa*.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 223–244
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Few studies have looked into Philip II's funeral rites — unlike his father's[2] — from a global perspective.[3] Even fewer have analysed the similarities and differences in the image of Africa and the defeat of Islam across the various iconographical programmes that were developed after his death. In this essay we attempt to address this gap.

A comparison of the funeral structures built in honour of father and son shows no major differences in their treatment of Africa, other than an obvious intention of the latter to outdo the former in ostentation.[4] The designers responsible for these programmes reviewed the iconographical types created decades earlier and brought them up to date by incorporating Philip's military achievements. For instance, after the emperor's death in 1558, the transept of Seville Cathedral was decorated with illustrations of his twelve victories, in chronological order; these may have been inspired by the *Triumphs* designed by Martin van Heemskerck, engraved by Theodore Volkerstszoom Coornhert, and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1556.[5] On Philip's death, the humanist clergyman Francisco Pacheco recreated this historical sequence in the transept of Seville Cathedral with a set of battle paintings, among other allegories and royal portraits, linking the figure of the king to the *miles Christi*.[6] These representations had a documentary purpose and were painstakingly crafted to produce an accurate image of each event, while using every possible means to show the contrast between the richly dressed, strategically arranged Christian troops and the vanquished infidels and heretics who conveyed nothing but sorrow, disarray, and misery.

These types of paintings were first used as a key propaganda tool in Charles V's obsequies in honour of his grandfather in Brussels.[7] From then on this practice was systematically repeated in subsequent celebrations, with the added advantage of publicizing certain works which had been originally created for private spaces — notably the Alcázar in Madrid and

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2 Allo Manero's doctoral thesis, 'Exequias de la casa de Austria', is a key work for the study of exequies in the House of Habsburg. For a comparative study of Habsburg catafalques as a whole, see, among others, Barcia, 'Pompa fúnebre de Carlos V'; Bonet Correa, 'Túmulos del Emperador Carlos V'; Checa Cremades, *Carlos V*; Hernán Ramírez, 'Las relaciones fúnebres sobre la muerte de Carlos V'; Bost and Servantie, 'Joyeuses entrées de l'empereur Charles Quint'. More recently, Merchandisse, 'The Funeral of Charles V'.

3 Laura Fernández-González's *Philip II of Spain and the Architecture of Empire* has a section on Philip's funeral obsequies; we are grateful to the author for discussing it with us pre-publication. For a concise view of Philip's exequies, in relation to his father's, see Bonet Correa, 'Las exequias de Felipe II'; Mínguez and Rodríguez Moya, *El tiempo de los Habsburgo*, pp. 203–32 and 427–44.

4 García Bernal, 'Triunfos reales y Teatros funerarios', p. 68.

5 For this suggestion, see Ramos Sosa, *Fiestas reales sevillanas*, p. 231.

6 García Bernal, 'Memoria funeral de los Austrias', p. 681. More recently, Cartaya Baños, '"La mayor demonstración que jamás se haya hecho"', p. 148.

7 Sommer-Mathis, 'Teatro de la gloria austríaca', p. 56; Pascual Molina, 'Exequias de Fernando el Católico'.

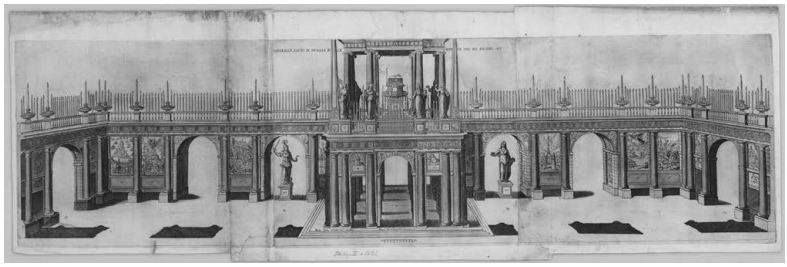


Figure 10.1. Samuel Hoochstraten (engraver) after Diego López Bueno (designer), *Catafalco fatto in Siviglia per la morte del Re Filippo III* [*sic*] (Antwerp, 1600, reissued 1621), engraving, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Reproduced with the permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek via Creative Commons.

other noble palaces — which were not easily accessed by commoners. Local artists adapted works by Italian court painters such as Luca Cambiaso and Titian to the different requirements of each catafalque,[8] a feature we shall return to later.

A further outcome of these obsequies was the standardization of symbolic and allegorical images in which mythology[9] and religion combined to exalt the figure of the monarch as a champion of Christianity in the face of its enemies.[10] The creation of a common symbolic code for the different obsequies arose from the need to show the role of a universal monarchy, administered from Madrid, to very diverse populations in very far-flung places. These iconographies were learned, repeated, and passed on from place to place through prints, a factor that might explain how the iconographical programmes developed in various regions of the Hispanic territories, since the exequies did not take place simultaneously in all locations.[11]

Against this methodological and conceptual background, we turn to Philip II's catafalque in Seville, erected for the funeral held on 24–25 September 1598 (Fig. 10.1). We will compare this lavish funerary structure to examples made in other cities, with a focus on two aspects. The first is the representation of *Africa Victa*, or conquered Africa, a personification of the entire continent, but in terms of Philip's military conquests, one that had particular reference to North Africa or the Maghreb. The second turns the spotlight on battle painting, and specifically on the illustration of the conquest of the Peñón de Vélez, to explore the dialogue between allegory and history on the one

8 Allo Manero, 'Dirigismo y propaganda en las exequias reales de la Casa de Austria'.
9 Allo Manero, 'La mitología en las exequias reales de la Casa de Austria'.
10 On the creation of the image of Islam in ephemeral art, see Franco Llopis, 'Images of Islam in the Ephemeral Art of the Spanish Habsburgs'.
11 Rivero Rodríguez, 'Una monarquía'. See also Osorio, 'Ceremonial y proyección'.

hand, and between ekphrasis and extant illustrations of the catafalque on the other. The Seville funeral is one of the rare examples from the period for which images have come down to us.[12]

Africa Victa and the Seville Catafalque

Ephemeral decorations for royal entries across the Habsburg territories included, from a very early date, images of vanquished Africa. The earliest can be dated to the triumphal entry of Emperor Charles V into Naples in the wake of his victory at Tunis (1535). On that occasion, *Africa Victa* appeared on the stylobate of the Porta Capuana.[13] It was repeated thereafter in many of the Spanish Crown's iconographical programmes as an example not just of territorial victory but of the triumph of Christianity over Islam.

In early modern ephemeral decorations, Africa is usually portrayed as a seated female figure in a sorrowful attitude, a posture borrowed from ancient Roman coins depicting the subject province of Ifriqiya.[14] The figure bemoans, first and foremost, the loss of her territories. The theme of defeat is usually enhanced by depicting Africa in chains, as she appears, for instance, in the catafalque erected in honour of Charles V in Alcalá de Henares.[15] But chroniclers report a second reason for Africa's grief: she weeps because she fears that, on the king's death, both his protection against her enemies and the conversion of the infidel may come to an end.

This iconography remained unchanged throughout the reign of Philip, but the emphasis shifted to the latter meaning: now Africa bemoans the king's death because it jeopardizes the conversion to Christianity of the inhabitants of his conquered lands, especially since the conquest of Portugal led to the annexation of new North African territories and the intensification of the

12 See, among others, García Bernal, 'Las exequias a Felipe II en la catedral de Sevilla'; Moreno Cuadro, *Arte efímero andaluz*, pp. 33–34; Pérez Escolano, 'Los túmulos de Felipe II y de Margarita de Austria'. Allo Manero, 'La estampa original del catafalco', demonstrates that Diego López Bueno designed the print, *Catafalco fatto in Siviglia per la Morte del Re Filippo III* [*sic*], cut by Samuel Hoochstraten and published in 1600, reprinted in 1621.

13 *Il triomphale apparato per la entrata de la cesarea maesta in Napoli*, p. 3.

14 Spicer, 'The Personification of Africa'.

15 Checa Cremades, 'Un programa imperialista', pp. 378–79, and Campos Fernández y Sevilla, 'Exequias en la Universidad de Alcalá', p. 110. In works created for other events, such as Elizabeth of Valois's entry into Toledo, the chains suggest that their purpose is to prevent flight, even if they are not explicitly described: 'Debaxo de la España estava una Africa […] en forma de quien tiene temor: mirando por do avia de huyr' (Beneath Spain was Africa […] in the attitude of someone who is afraid, looking for an escape route). Gómez de Castro and de Ayala, *Recebimiento*, p. 51.

expansion into Asia.[16] In this context, the description of the catafalque in S. Maria Novella in Florence reads: 'dall'altro canto era l'Africa, che il novello Re invitava à soccorrerla per dare la fede de Popoli al vero Iddio, & i popoli ritenere per se stesso' (on the other side was Africa, which the new King invited to help bring her people to believe in the true God, and keep the people for himself).[17] The idea that the king defended the faith and led the infidels of recently conquered lands to convert was echoed in other Italian cities such as Chieti, as well as in Alcalá de Henares and Saragossa in the Iberian Peninsula.[18]

The personification of Africa usually appears accompanied by war trophies and/or North African *adarga* shields adorned with crescent moons which are sometimes described as the 'sweet rewards of war' (Dulces Premios de la Guerra).[19] The custom of representing war trophies next to the vanquished enemy dates back to Antiquity and was an obvious image of political power. Trophies feature in most of the architectural structures erected to welcome Charles V on his return from the Tunisian campaign. Arrows, quivers, and shields — the weapons used by the conquered people[20] — featured both in Charles's Roman obsequies and in Philip's at Saragossa and Seville, to mention a few examples.[21] Such weapons appeared in the battle scenes that decorated funeral catafalques, whose purpose was to show the outcome of the conflict, but they also featured prominently in allegories of African lands to illustrate how fierce fighting led to an eventual Christian victory.

Another distinguishing element of this allegorical representation is skin colour. Formats such as prints, treatises, or maps might show Africa with dark skin, but this was not always the case in ephemeral art. Skin colour is not directly mentioned in royal entries or exequies during Charles V's reign, but in Philip II's funeral rites we find allusions to it. Thus, a description of King Philip's funeral celebrations in Saragossa states that 'el rostro traya muy quemado, con la fuerça del sol porque sus provincias las abrasa de ordinario la fuerça del planeta' (her face looked very burned by the force of the sun because her provinces are ordinarily scorched by the power of that

16 See, among others, Bethencourt and Ramada Curto, eds, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*; Blackmore, *Moorish*. Regarding ephemeral art, see Scott, 'The Catafalque of Philip II', p. 116.

17 Funeral held on 22 December 1598. See Biondi, *Essequie*, p. 23.

18 Pansa, *Essequie*, p. 19. See the catafalque erected in honour of Margaret of Austria in Granada (1611), in which 'África muestra pasión | porque le suspende y quita | la muerte de Margarita | su vida y su conversión' (Grief-stricken Africa | mourns Margaret's death | That has taken from her | Her life and the new faith), Rodríguez Ardila, *Las Honras*; Morata Pérez, 'Honras granadinas en la muerte de la reina Margarita de Austria', p. 9.

19 Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma*, pp. 145–46.

20 Martínez, *Relacion*, p. 115.

21 Here we refer exclusively to images of weapons surrounding the allegories of Africa. They also appeared scattered on the ground in other parts of the catafalque, such as in the battle scenes.

planet).[22] Similarly, in the funeral decorations on the façade of S. Lorenzo in Florence, the image was described as *bruna* (brown).[23] In this case, colour was used to define the geographical origin of the personification of Africa and, by extension, of her people as different from their Western conquerors.[24]

Descriptions of attire were also significant in allegories of Africa because they gave clues to her identity. In Italian and Hispanic territories the garments were described as *a la morisca* / *a la moresca* (Moorish style) or, less frequently, *a la turquesca* (Turkish style). In Flemish prints and cartography books, in contrast, Africa usually appeared semi-nude — a feature we have explored elsewhere.[25] In the obsequies for the emperor's death in Alcalá,[26] as well as in those for his son Philip in Chieti and Seville, Africa wears a *marlota* (a loose-fitting robe made of velvet, damask, silk, or wool) and an *albornoz* (burnoose, or hooded cape). Other sources are more succinct in their descriptions, but they suggest a similar type of dress, as in the Florentine exequies at S. Lorenzo, where it is said that 'per necessità in qualche parte della vita pareva che si coprisse'[27] (it seemed she covered herself when life circumstances made it necessary), in reference, perhaps, to the well-known *almalafa*, a typical Morisco garment that covered half the face. Clothing was a distinguishing factor which pointed to geographical origin. Dressing Africa in this way made her easier to identify for an audience which, while being unfamiliar with the full symbolism surrounding that personification, could certainly relate her clothes to sartorial customs in neighbouring Islamic lands.[28] This explains the differences between images of Africa created in the Iberian Peninsula, which had an important Muslim past, and those from Flemish sources, which were far less familiar with that tradition.

The catafalque erected in honour of Philip II in Seville is a perfect showcase of the different elements that appear in that king's obsequies worldwide.[29] In the right corner of the catafalque, as shown in the Hoochstraten print, there

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22 Martínez, *Relacion*, p. 115; Scott, 'The Catafalque of Philip II'. This was not the first time the African continent was represented in this guise during Philip II's reign. In an account of Elizabeth of Valois's entry into Toledo the figure was described as 'dark' in colour. Gómez de Castro and de Ayala, *Recebimiento*, p. 51.

23 Funeral held on 12 November 1598. See Goldenberg Stoppato, 'Le tele con le storie della vita di Filippo II di Spagna', p. 128.

24 In all the royal entries and exequies erected around the world during the reign of Philip III, especially in Italy, Africa appears as a black woman following the model created by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconology* (1593).

25 See Franco Llopis, 'África Victa y Asia Capta'.

26 Checa Cremades, 'Un programa imperialista', p. 378.

27 See Goldenberg Stoppato, 'Le tele con le storie della vita di Filippo II di Spagna', p. 128.

28 This iconographic type began to change during Philip III's reign, adopting North-European patterns, not only in the context of triumphal entries but, particularly in his obsequies, notably the one in Rome. See Fernández de Córdoba, *Relación*, p. 35.

29 About this catafalque, see Franco Llopis and García García, 'Confronting Islam'.

were two canvases representing the Battle of Lepanto and its consequences (Fig. 10.2), while the adjoining short wall featured the allegories of *Asia Capta*[30] and *Africa Devicta* (Fig. 10.3).[31]

We will start with 'The Consequences of the Battle of Lepanto', in which, following the chronicler, there was represented, 'una mujer en traje turquesco con turbante en su cabeza, caído hazia un lado, de gesto tristissimo asentada sobre remeros de armas y pedazos de navios, galeras y remeros dellas' (a woman in Turkish attire, the turban on her head set askew, wearing the saddest possible countenance as she sat on piles of weapons and broken pieces of ships and galleys).[32] The woman in the painting of the consequences of Lepanto and the allegory of *Africa Victa* share some features, such as clothing and posture, and the fact that they are both surrounded by spoils of war. This suggests that they should be read in parallel, especially since the viewer, standing at the point where long portico meets the short wall of the ephemeral construction, would have been able to view them simultaneously. Christian supremacy over its enemies is therefore doubly represented, while forcefully asserting territorial domination within a unique iconographic programme of its type. The Muslims' sorrow for the loss of their territory is here conveyed in a similar manner to Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romances* or Juan del Encina's *Cancionero*, with their descriptions of Boabdil and his family grieving over the loss of Granada.[33] The same iconography was later applied to Christian victories over the Great Turk in the Mediterranean and popularized in the form of literary and visual images which were gradually used against the background of sixteenth-century inter-religious struggle.[34]

Nevertheless, the personification that has come down to us is not altogether realistic, unlike the battle paintings we shall discuss below. Francisco Gerónimo Collado's chronicle describes, next to the defeated woman in the *Consequences of the Battle of Lepanto* painting, 'tres estandartes cada uno de los escudos de sus armas y insignias de España, de Venecia y sobre todo de la

30 Reflections on the iconographic type of *Asia Capta* in ephemeral art may be found in Franco Llopis, 'África Victa y Asia Capta'. Descriptions of the allegories of Asia and Africa may be confusing. The 'scorching' sun features in the former but not in the latter, contrary to tradition, while they share the elephant, which is also used to represent Asia because of its exotic connotations. Were it not for the mottos accompanying the images, they would be extremely difficult to tell apart.

31 The phrase 'Africa Victa' was used, for the first time, by Emperor Augustus to describe his victories in North Africa. In the case of Philip II, the word 'Devicta' has a stronger meaning: the Spanish empire not only defeated the Turks but also subjugated them.

32 BCC, MS 58-3-12, *Historia de la mui noble*. See Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma*, pp. 145–46. The image of a sorrowful Africa next to some ships had appeared in Charles V's Roman obsequies. See Berendsen, 'Taddeo Zuccaro's Paintings'.

33 According to García Bernal, the figure stands for the wife of Ali Pasha, who after the defeat of the Ottoman forces, wrote several letters to Rome begging for mercy for her sons being held as prisoners of war. See García Bernal, 'Memoria funeral de los Austrias', p. 682.

34 Kimmel, 'Local Turks', p. 25.



Figure 10.2. Samuel Hoochstraten (engraver) after Diego López Bueno (designer), *Catafalco fatto in Siviglia per la morte del Re Filippo III* [*sic*] (Antwerp, 1600, reissued 1621), 'The Consequences of the Battle of Lepanto' (detail of the engraving), Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Reproduced with the permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek via Creative Commons.

santa sede apostolica, con grande gozo y alegria de los que vieron este tropheo, su disposición y valiente pintura' (three standards with the coats of arms and ensigns of Spain, Venice, and above all, the Holy Apostolic See, to the great pleasure and joy of all who saw this trophy, its disposition, and vigorous

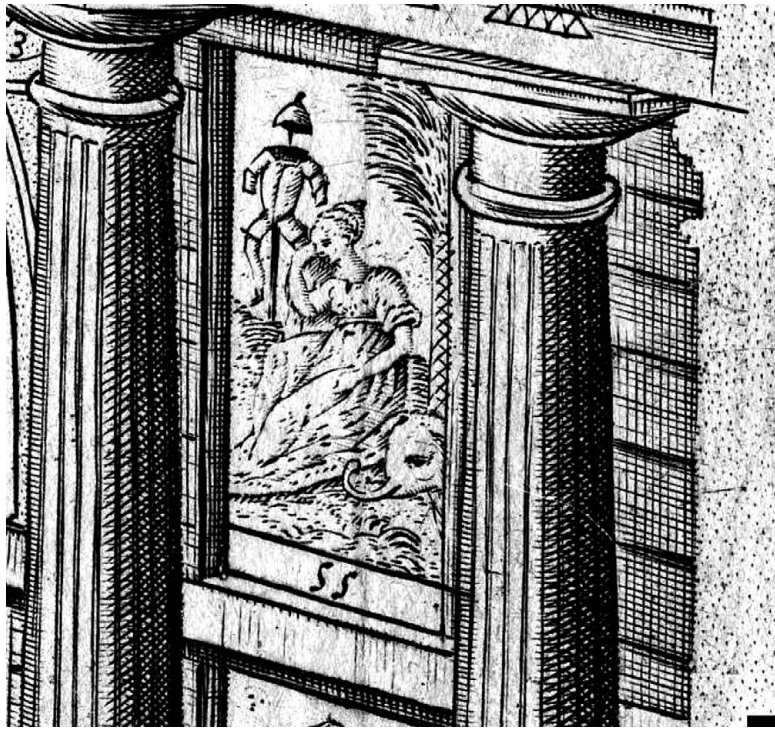


Figure 10.3. Samuel Hoochstraten (engraver) after Diego López Bueno (designer), *Catafalco fatto in Siviglia per la morte del Re Filippo III* [*sic*] (Antwerp, 1600, reissued 1621), 'Africa Devicta' (detail of the engraving), Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Reproduced with the permission of the Kongelige Bibliotek via Creative Commons.

painting).[35] But the flags of the Spanish Crown's allies do not appear in the illustration; they are replaced by a single flag which can scarcely be attributed to any of the allied territories, while the Turkish weaponry surrounding the figure is insistently branded with crescent moons. The artist did not reproduce the model of the catafalque literally, but instead condensed it down to the primary elements that would aid identification of the historical event. Two hypotheses may explain this simplification. The first is based on a comparison of the other battle paintings created for this catafalque. For example, the *Battle of Lepanto* is modelled on the Cambiaso painting commissioned by Philip II several years earlier to grace the rooms of El Escorial.[36] Similarly, and as we shall see below, the image of the Peñón de Vélez may be related to a sketch

35 BCC, MS 58-3-12, *Historia de la mui noble*.

36 See Franco Llopis and García García, 'Confronting Islam'.

by an unidentified sixteenth-century artist. In the case of the personification of *Africa Devicta*, however, no direct model has been preserved which might have helped the engraver illustrate the text. It could be that the illustration was not drawn from life but was based on Collado's chronicle and inspired by the Italian compositions mentioned above, which would explain the dissociation between text and image.

The second hypothesis assumes that the engraver simplified the image as much as possible for the sake of narrative economy, focusing instead on the female figures and spolia. In this small detail, the printmaker had to simplify the composition, as usually happens in reproductions of ephemeral decorations. While it is not possible for us today to choose between either of these options, reading the text and the image in parallel helps us understand the complexity of this catafalque and the insistence of the Habsburg 'spin doctors' on displaying the submission of Africa as a sign of the deceased monarch's power.

The Conquest of the Peñón de Vélez: History and Allegory

Let us turn from an overview of images of Africa to one case study from the decoration of the Seville catafalque. We shift our attention from the personification of *Africa Victa* to a historical victory that secured a fortress that remains a Spanish presidio to this day. Among the battle scenes represented, Pacheco's programme included two North African victories: Oran (1563, present day Algeria) and the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (1564, present day Spain, off the coast of Morocco).[37] The two canvases were originally located on the far left of the transept, facing each other on opposite walls (see Fig. 10.1). The paired sieges were part of one extended military campaign in the 1560s, and for contemporaries they shared the same message: Muslim enemies are not fearsome adversaries; rather they retreat, abandon their posts, and are easily overcome by Philip II's divinely inspired Christian forces.[38]

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37 On the detailed military victories in Philip's exequies, a 'gallery of illustrious deeds', see García Bernal, 'Las exequias a Felipe II en la catedral de Sevilla', and García Bernal, 'Memoria funeral de los Austrias', p. 676.

38 The sequence of Mediterranean battles begins with Oran (1563), followed by the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera (1564), Malta (1565), ending with Lepanto (1571). On representations of the siege of the Peñón, see Bustamante García, 'La conquista del Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera', and Bravo Nieto and Ramírez González, 'City, War and Drawing in the Sixteenth Century'. Historical overview with full bibliography in Bravo Nieto and Bellever Garrido, eds, *El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera*. Oran was represented in the funeral held in S. Lorenzo, Florence, while Oran and the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera were paired in Naples Cathedral, 31 January 1599; see Marino, 'Philip II's Royal Exequies in Two Italian Cities', pp. 217, 224.

Collado's description of the lost canvas of the *Siege of the Peñón* emphasizes masterful verisimilitude that brings the scene to life for viewers. He concludes with a *paragone*, declaring that the artist's brush is better able to represent the battle than the author's pen.[39]

> Estaba el Peñon de Velez monteado tan al vivo, y sus mares y armada real de galeras y navios tan bien designados, y con tanta furia y propriedad, que las galeras parecian romper las aguas con sus ramos, y los navios ir á la vela, y los soldados seguir por tierra sus capitanes y banderas y dar el asalto, subiendo para darle con gran denuedo, esfuerzo y ánimo, cuanto tal empresa requeria. Víase el peligro de las vidas á que se ofrecian, trepando por las peñas y ásperas subidas, por la fé y relijion, celo christiano y castigo de tantos piratas y corsarios como encubria y guarecía esta fuerza, llevando delante de sus ojos el servicio que en ganarla hacian á Dios nuestro Señor, con cuyo favor y ayuda vencieron, huyendo los Moros y Turcos desamparando la Fortaleza, que en lo alto de unas peñas parecía enexpugnable: y esto muy major dispuesto con el pincel, que con mi pluma, declarado: era finalmente la pintura maravillosa, y digna de alabanza mayor.
>
> (The Peñón de Vélez was depicted so vividly, along with the sea and the royal armada of galleys and ships so well drawn, with such force and accuracy, that the galleys seemed to be piercing the waves with their battering rams, and the ships seemed to be under sail. And on land the soldiers followed the captains and flags to begin the assault, rising up to attack with the great bravery, courage, and soul required by such an undertaking. One sees [how] they offered to risk their lives, to scale the peaks and harsh slopes, for faith and religion, Christian zeal and to punish the many pirates and corsairs hidden and protected by the fortress, laying before his eyes their service to God, our Lord, with whose favour and help they were victorious in taking [the fortress]. The Moors and Turks escaped, abandoning the fortress, that — being located on such a high peak — had seemed impregnable: and [let it be said that] this was better represented by the brush, than with my pen: it was a marvellous painting, worthy of the highest praise.)[40]

We can now connect the small scene of the siege of Vélez visible in Hoochstraten's print of the catafalque to an ink and wash drawing that allows us to understand Collado's enthusiasm for the lost painting (Fig. 10.4).[41]

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39 Collado, *Descripcion*, p. 148. The only other *paragone* occurs when Collado describes the *Discovery of the Indies*, p. 180.

40 Collado, *Descripcion*, p. 148.

41 Academia de San Fernando, Madrid, D 2136. Published in Pérez Sánchez, *Catálogo de dibujos*, p. 148 as 'Italian'; Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, pp. 996–97 as Carducho; Bustamante García, 'La conquista del Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera', p. 176, calls it



Figure 10.4. Anonymous, *Asedio del Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera*, Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, D 2136, drawing in pen, ink, and gouache. Reproduced with the permission of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

Once attributed to Vicente Carducho, the drawing's author has yet to be securely identified. It has never before been discussed in relation to the Seville funeral décor. The vertically oriented image consists of two distinct regions; the background bird's-eye view has been adapted from news maps that circulated immediately following the siege, while the foreground *repoussoir*, consisting of a hill at left, soldiers, and cannon, appears at the viewer's eye level.[42] The geographical features include, at upper left, the point of Alcalá where the fleet disembarked before the campaign. The central promontory of the Peñón indicates its impressive height as well as fortifications including the topmost Corona, various bulwarks, and four circuits of defensive walls. Note that Ottoman flags featuring crescent moons fly from the towers. Just below and to the right is the small island of S. Antonio. The many ships surrounding the Peñón give the impression of an insurmountable armada. The troops on land are also massed in battle formation; some of the men at right carry flags bearing the cross of the Spanish *tercios*, the professional army established by Charles V. An armoured general on horseback at left points his baton of command toward the sergeant at right who salutes with his lance indicating readiness to enter into combat. With reference to the captions on the map of the siege of the Peñón by Domenico Zenoi (Fig. 10.5), we can identify the leader on the rearing horse as Don García de Toledo.[43] Zenoi also names Chiappino Vitelli, Marcantonio Colonna, Marco Centurione, and Sanchio da Siena, that is, Sancho de Londoño, who all lead troops along the foreground. Many more Habsburg territories sent ships to join the armada, as listed in the long caption: Malta, Sicily, Naples, Florence, Genoa, Savoy, and Portugal. These combined forces made up a microcosm of the empire.[44] Yet, the drawing singles out García de Toledo to remind viewers that Philip had appointed him Captain General of the Sea in April 1564. In essence he was in charge of the entire campaign, one that Braudel characterized as 'a masterpiece of methodical and painstaking organization'.[45]

Zenoi's long text in the top centre cartouche explains that the siege of the Peñón was aimed at the Ottoman corsairs who used the fortress as a base for

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anonymous seventeenth century; Pascual Chenel and Rodríguez Rebollo, *Vicente Carducho*, p. 476, deny the attribution to Carducho; and Bravo Nieto and Ramírez González, 'City, War and Drawing in the Sixteenth Century', p. 238, call it anonymous.

42 For example, the Flemish artist Anton Wyngaerde made two drawings on site in 1564 that served as the basis for printed news maps; for this genre, see Maier, 'News Maps of Sieges'. The pattern was set by Domenico Zenoi, *El Pignon* (Venice, 1564), although he reversed Wyngaerde's drawing that corresponds to 5 September. Maarten Peeters (Antwerp, 1564) copied Zenoi, as did Pietro Forlani, *Il Pignon* (Venice, 1568); however, Forlani's map is simplified and leaves out many details. Forlani only names García de Toledo. Finally, Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Peñón de Vélez* (Köln, 1575), follow Zenoi but return the map to Wyngaerde's orientation; they omit captions.

43 Bustamante García, 'La conquista del Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera', p. 177.

44 Bustamante García, 'La conquista del Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera', p. 173.

45 Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, p. 999.

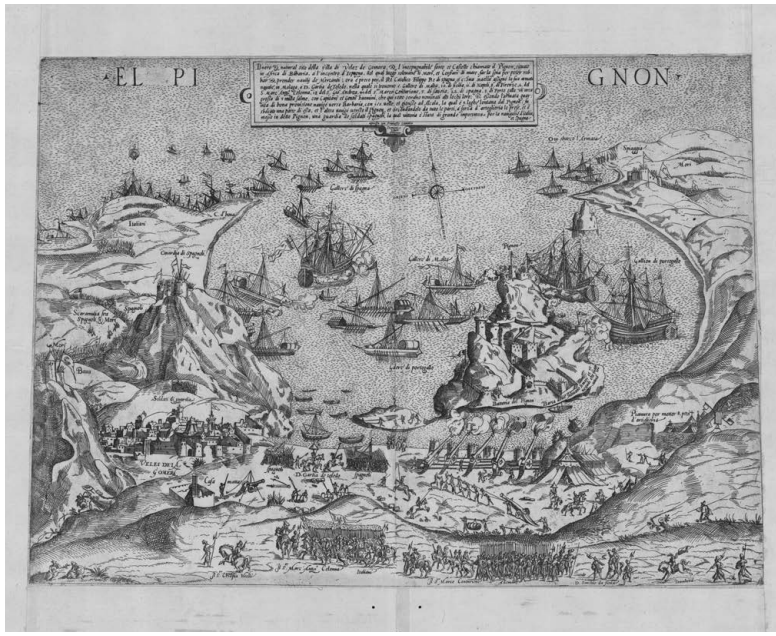


Figure 10.5. Domenico Zenoi, *El Pignon* (Venice: Giovanni Francesco Camocio, 1564), engraving, Stanford University, David Rumsey Map Center. Reproduced with the permission of the David Rumsey Map Center via Creative Commons.

spying on merchant ships and robbing them of their goods.[46] The strategic site had first been taken for Spain by Pedro de Navarro in 1508; in 1522 it fell to the Ottomans, but in the early 1550s it was governed by Abu Hassan, an exiled ruler from Fez who briefly allied with Charles V. By the 1560s Vélez was back in the hands of Ottoman sea captains. In 1563 Álvaro de Bazán the younger attempted, without success, to regain the fortress and to drive out the corsairs. The victory at Oran that same year encouraged Philip and his generals to return to the Peñón with a massive show of force. We can follow the events of the siege through correspondence, eyewitness descriptions, and chronicles.

The Spanish soldier Balthasar Collazos, who took part in the campaign, published a detailed, day-by-day account that allows us to pinpoint the event depicted in the drawing related to the Seville catafalque.[47] He tells his readers that on 4 September 1564 the Spanish gained the fort of Baba that protected

46 On the commercial value of the Spanish presidios in North Africa, see Vincent, 'Philippe II et l'Afrique du Nord'; García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el norte de África*.

47 Collazos, *Comentarios*. See also Véronne, 'Relations et bibliographie de la conquête du Peñón de Vélez'.

the city of Vélez de la Gomera on the mainland. The following day, while the Portuguese galleys were firing on the Peñón, García de Toledo ordered five cannons on the beach to join in the bombing. In the surrounding hills there were skirmishes with local inhabitants. The anonymous drawing thus represents the siege of 5 September dramatically, in medias res, rather than the victory that took place the next day. Crescent flags indicate that the fortress is still occupied by Muslims, although the few visible figures are miniscule in scale. Just three small puffs of smoke from the towers indicate that the enemy is returning fire. In contrast, the foreground bristles with energy, whether we consider the cannons with billowing smoke, Don García on his rearing horse, or the soldiers massing for combat.

The artist chose to depict the moment prior to the anti-climactic victory. Collazos explains that on 6 September, the Spanish learned that the Ottoman garrison had escaped from the Peñón during the night, abandoning their post and leaving behind some pieces of artillery. García de Toledo and his generals occupied the fortress without encountering any resistance. The fortress, once considered impregnable, was taken with remarkably little effort, after a mere three-day bombardment. Nor would the subsequent sacking of the Peñón have offered a suitable subject for the catafalque celebrating Philip's military victories. Collazos notes how the news spread among the soldiers that in the fortress 'avía paños y algunas sedas y cosas de comer y los vestidos y armas de los Turcos. Todos los quales mandó don García echar en cadena en su galera' (cloth and some silks and comestibles and the clothing and weapons of the Turks had been collected. All of it was sent by Don García to be locked up on his galley).[48] The rapaciousness of the Spanish troops was disguised and elevated by Pacheco's Latin epigram on the siege: 'LYBICAE DIRIPIUNTUR OPES' (The wealth of North Africa was laid to waste).[49] The Spanish followed up on their victory by destroying the ancient town of Vélez de la Gomera, situated on the Badis River, which triggered an angry response from the local Muslims. Before his departure on 14 September, García de Toledo fortified the Peñón, established a Spanish garrison, and appointed a governor.

In the drawing related to the Seville catafalque, the Moors of the Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera have a negligible presence; the composition seems to anticipate their eventual disappearance from the contested site. In contrast, all of the contemporary accounts, as well as the news maps, record numerous conflicts between the Muslims and Don García's troops, both before and after the victory. Zenoi's map notes 'Moors' near the fort of Alcala on the right as well as 'Skirmishes between the Spanish and the Moors' in the hills above the town on the left, where towers fly flags with crescent moons. Nor does the catafalque drawing depict the exchanges that took place between renegades, Ottomans, Moors, and the invaders. As usual, the generals received secret

48 Collazos, *Comentarios*, p. 94.

49 Collado, *Descripcion*, p. 149. See also Espinosa de los Monteros, *Segunda parte*, p. 116.

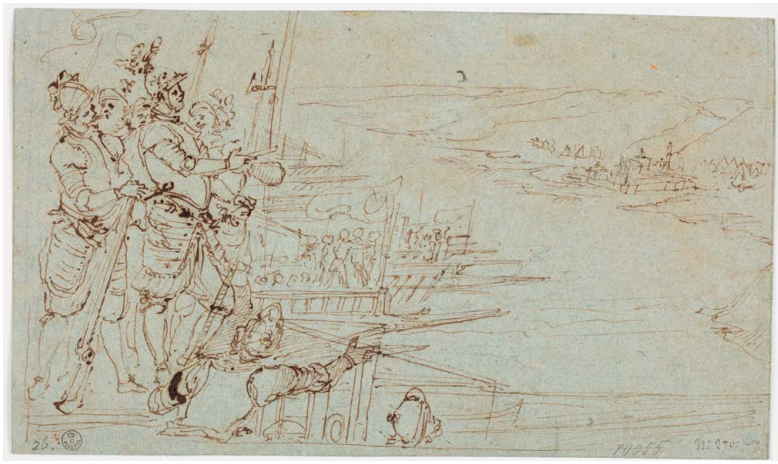


Figure 10.6. Santi di Tito, *Philip II Sends the Fleet to Liberate Oran (1563)*, preparatory drawing in pen and ink, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, inv. 10055 Santarelli. 1598. Reproduced with the permission of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.

intelligence from spies, as well as an embassy of local officials who eventually submitted to the terms of the conquest. But Muslims, whether bellicose or peaceful, hardly have a place in the drawing; they are notable for their absence.

The same rhetorical principle motivated the inclusion of the liberation of the Spanish controlled North African port of Oran, in spring of 1563, in the funeral in the church of S. Lorenzo, Florence.[50] No images of this battle survive from the decorative programmes for Seville or Naples, so the lost grisaille painting, as described by Vincenzo Pitti, suggests how those compositions might have treated the subject. 'La difesa d'Orano, dal quale il Rè d'Algieri, e Dragut Corsale, che co[n] forze grandi l'assediavano, e co[m]battevano, all'apparire dell'Armata del Cattolico senza alcun cimento di battaglia, lasciando l'Artigliere, & le bagaglie si fuggirono' (The defence of Oran, in which the King of Algiers, and the corsair Dragut, were attacking and fighting with a large armed force. When the Catholic Armada appeared, they fled without any risk of battle, leaving behind the artillery and [their] supplies).[51]

Santi di Tito's preparatory drawing for the S. Lorenzo funeral lauds Philip II for ordering his fleet to counterattack the Ottoman forces (Fig. 10.6). The artist indicates a parallel line of galleys stretching from the foreground to

50 Baskins is preparing a longer essay on Santi di Tito's representation of this North African victory.

51 Pitti, *Essequie*, pp. 44–45. See Goldenberg Stoppato, 'Le tele con le storie della vita di Filippo II di Spagna', pp. 112–13.

the background, battering rams uniformly aimed at the small, fortified city of Oran on the right. At left, a group of armed men stands on the prow of a ship; they hold long guns, lances, and pikes. The tallest man in the centre should be identified as Francisco de Mendoza, raising his baton of command, accompanied by Álvaro de Bazán and Giovanni Andrea Doria.[52] We do not see any Ottoman ships, crescent flags, or signs of hostile fire. As with the Seville drawing, Santi di Tito's composition suggests that the Muslim enemies have already fled the scene. Pitti sums up the message of the lost painting by condemning the greedy, cowardly Turks:

> Quanto poco siano da temere l'Armi di coloro, i quali non per altro, che per danneggiare, & predare si muovono à maneggiarle; per ciò che non havendo per fine principale l'Honore, & la Gloria (per cui ogni fatica, & pericolo è dolce, & grato) mà la preda; & la roba, che al vivere son destinate, comunque non siano sicuri della Vita, senza alcun' riguardo della riputatione abbandonano l'Impresa.
>
> (How little their troops are to be feared, those who only operate in order to cause damage or to steal. They don't consider Honour and Glory as the ultimate goal (by which every ordeal and danger is sweet and welcome), but only booty and goods. Things that are intended for the living do not secure [everlasting] Life. Without any regard to reputation, they abandoned the siege.)[53]

Within the cycle of paintings celebrating Philip's military victories on the catafalque in Seville, the sieges of Oran and the Vélez de la Gomera offered ample reason for the sadness of *Africa Victa*, the personification found on the opposite side of the transept. But if Philip II is an 'emperor by conquest', the taking of the Peñón reveals a gulf between pictorial realism and the rhetoric of commemoration.[54] While the soldier Collazos concludes his account with a reminder that 100–120 men were lost in the campaign to take the fortress, along with more who died from drinking tainted water, the historian Alfonso de Ulloa instead claims that the Spanish lost only four men in contrast to six hundred enemy dead.[55]

Conclusion

The Seville exequies, along with those in Florence and Naples, stand out among the many funerals held for Philip II for the scale of its ambition — size,

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52 Marino, 'Philip II's Royal Exequies in Two Italian Cities', p. 220, misidentifies the commander as the King of Algiers.

53 Pitti, *Essequie*, p. 45.

54 García Bernal, 'Memoria funeral de los Austrias', p. 677.

55 Collazos, *Comentarios*, p. 110, and Ulloa, *La Historia*, fol. 51^{r}.

number of paintings, and iconographic complexity. The artists responsible for the catafalque were faced with a challenge. Not only did they have to construct the ephemeral decoration in short order, but they also had to blend standard iconographic types, for example, the personification of Africa as one of the four parts of the world, with historical battle scenes that took place in North Africa. Unlike Saragossa or Naples, where the four parts of the world appeared at the corners of the catafalque,[56] in Seville personified Africa appeared within the cycle of narrative paintings, dialoguing with them. This double perspective in fact framed the entire transept, whether the viewer looked at the *Battle of Lepanto* adjacent to the *Consequences of the Battle* or *Africa Devicta* opposite Oran and Vélez. While it might be tempting to conclude that allegory and history are distinct modes of expression, the catafalque reveals their deep connection. The myth of divinely ordained victory over Muslim adversaries determined the treatment of historical battle scenes just as much as it shaped the personification of *Africa Devicta*. The link between history and allegory served the idea of a *Monarchia Universalis*, a central theme in the political propaganda of King Philip II. The creators of the exequies did not invent a new genre — aspects discussed here had appeared since the mid-sixteenth century — but they connected the images with a messianic theology. Even though Philip was not an emperor like his father Charles V, he aimed to restore the 'true' religion and the unity of faith not only in the Mediterranean but around the globe.

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56 In the exequies for Philip III we also find the Four Parts of the World that publicized his global domains and veiled the deep crisis suffered by the Spanish Empire.

por Balthasar de Collaços y dirigidos al illustríssimo señor don Antonio de Toledo, prior de sant Joan y cavallerizo mayor de su Magestad y de su consejo de estado y guerra (Valencia: Joan May, 1566)

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MARIA LUISA RICCI

Old and New Enemies in Ancient and Modern Battles

Anachronisms in Three Works by Mattia Preti in Malta

Introduction

Since the Middle Ages, and throughout the modern era, the Mediterranean has been the stage of a clash between the Holy Faith and Islam. One of the standout performers on the Christian side of that conflict is the Order of the Hospital of St John. From its origins in the eleventh century as a hospice for the succour of Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, it soon became a chivalric order whose functions were almost exclusively military. First stationed in Cyprus and later, from 1309, in Rhodes, the Knights Hospitaller were forced to leave the island after a Turkish attack in 1522.[1] As the Barbary States of North Africa became vassals of the Ottoman Empire and, consequently, the east and south Mediterranean moved under the control of 'infidels', the Islamic threat to Christian Europe became increasingly palpable for Charles V.[2] To contain the onslaught of Turkish and Barbary attacks on the Italian coast and to maintain Spanish control in the Tunisian Kingdom, in 1532, Charles V allowed the exiled Knights of St John the 'privilege' of moving to the Maltese archipelago, a strategic yet vulnerable point in the Mediterranean in the defence of the borders of Christendom.[3]

1 On the Knights of Malta, see Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers*; Bradford, *Lo scudo e la spada*; Sire, *The Knights of Malta*.

2 The Barbary States were tantamount to 'corsair states' along the coast of North Africa, whose economies were largely based on their status as predators of the sea. Bono, *I corsari barbareschi*; Lenci, *Corsari*; Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranee*.

3 As Fontenay explains, Malta was not only a Christian outpost for conducting a war, or, for some, a 'new crusade', against the infidels, it was above all a justification for the order's status, its privileges, and the income the knights drew from lands distributed across Europe. See Fontenay, 'Charles Quint, Malte et la défense de la Méditerranée'.

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After their victory in the Great Siege of Malta in 1565 and their defeat of Suleyman the Magnificent's fleet, the role of the Knights Hospitaller gradually solidified as guardians of the borders between Christianity and Islam. The Maltese archipelago became the bastion of Christianity in a Mediterranean increasingly threatened by the advance of the Ottoman Empire and its vassals in Barbary. After this important victory, in March 1566, the knights decided to build a new capital on the island which they named Valletta in honour of Grand Master Jean Parisot Valette, who had led the Maltese defence during the siege. The cornerstone of this fortified city in the middle of the *Mare Nostrum* was the co-cathedral finished in 1577 and dedicated to the order's patron saint, John the Baptist.[4] Over the course of the seventeenth century, Grand Masters and knights began to add treasures and works of art to the church which they commissioned from the main artists available to them, who, in particular, decorated the chapels dedicated to the eight *langues* in which the order was organized from the fourteenth century.[5] The building thus became an expression of religious fervour, military valour, and the order's wealth, through the heroic image that the knights projected of themselves.

One of the main artists in seventeenth-century Malta was Mattia Preti. After working primarily in Rome and Naples he went to Malta in 1661, where he spent his remaining years until his death in 1699. One of his reasons for moving to Malta was undoubtedly the certainty that he would obtain remunerative and prestigious assignments from Grand Masters, knights, and other clients in the Maltese diocese. Another was the chance of being elevated to the rank of Knight of Grace, having been a member of the order since 1642.[6]

Preti was a particularly productive artist. During his Maltese period, he painted many works featuring scenes from the lives of saints and heroes for churches on the island, most of which were commissioned by knights in the order.[7] Representations of the main episodes in the lives of saints, whose cult was one of the themes of the Counter-Reformation, held specific meaning for the knights, who considered themselves martyrs defending the borders of Christendom, on a par with those saints who gave their lives for their faith.[8]

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4 Hughes, *Fortress*, pp. 51–74; Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, pp. 73–76.

5 The eight 'langues' that lived in the monastery represented the provinces of Europe whence the knights had come: Provence, France, Auvergne, Aragon-Catalonia and Navarre, Castile-Leon and Portugal, Italy, Germany, and the Anglo-Bavarian *langue*. Starting from 1603–1604 each *langue* was assigned a chapel inside the co-cathedral. The *langues* vied with each other to boast the most richly decorated and ornate chapel. Guido, Mandarano, and Mantella, 'Della Maggior Chiesa Conventuale di San Giovanni Battista'; Guido and Mantella, *Mattia Preti*, pp. 36–60; De Giorgio, *Mattia Preti*, pp. 36–37.

6 On Mattia Preti in Malta, see Spike, 'Mattia Preti's Passage to Malta'; Spike, *Mattia Preti* (1998); De Anna, 'Mattia Preti'; Sciberras, *Mattia Preti* (2020).

7 Guido and Mantella, *Mattia Preti*; De Giorgio, *Mattia Preti*, p. 7.

8 Cosma, 'Paintings for the Knights of Malta', pp. 468–73.

Three Knight Saints by Mattia Preti

Two works, in particular, make plain the connection that the Knights of Malta established with certain saints. These are *Saint George on Horseback* (1659)[9] in the chapel of Aragon and *Saint James Defeats the Moors at Clavijo* (*c.* 1661)[10] in the chapel of Castile (both kept in the order's co-cathedral). As we will see, these works present this aspect through the battle scenes they portray.

In this essay a third work will be analysed in a comparative key, that is, *Saint Paul Liberating Malta* (1682–1688)[11] in St Paul's Cathedral in Mdina, which, although not linked to the commissioning of the Knights of Malta, presents, as we shall see, the same peculiarities of the works preserved in the co-cathedral.

From an iconographical point of view, the three works are similar: the saint is depicted in battle riding a white horse and is armed with a sword or a lance, as he engages in the destruction of the army of infidels. The battle episodes make reference to the miracles of which the three saints are protagonists in Spanish and Maltese tradition. In Saint George's case, the reference is probably to one of the numerous battles with the Saracens. Saint James is presented in the most famous of his iconographies, namely in combat with the Moors at Clavijo in AD 844. Lastly, Saint Paul is depicted driving back an incursion of North Africans at the gates of the Mdina fortress in 1429. What these three works have in common is not only that they feature saints that are 'knights', but also that the enemies in these ancient battles, namely the Arab dynasties of North Africa, are portrayed as contemporary Ottomans. This striking anachronism can be linked to the ongoing wars with the Ottoman Empire, in which Malta and the Knights Hospitaller were perennially engaged. These include the Cretan War (1645–1669) and the Morean War (1684–1699), which were being fought during the years in which the works were commissioned and produced. The not-always-positive outcome of these clashes (as in the case of the Cretan War) and the interest certain European states had in establishing peace treaties with the Ottomans risked marginalizing the knights in their role as defenders of the Holy Faith against the infidels.[12]

Saint George on Horseback for Martin de Redin

The first work we examine is *Saint George on Horseback*,[13] which Mattia Preti was commissioned to produce by the Grand Master Martin de Redin

9 On Saint George, see Didi-Huberman, *Saint Georges et le dragon*.
10 On Santiago Matamoros, see Cabrillana Ciezar, *Santiago Matamoros*.
11 On Saint Paul, see Azzopardi, 'San Paolo nell'iconografia ecclesiastica'.
12 Fontenay, 'Corsaires de la foi ou rentiers du sol?'.
13 Spike, *Mattia Preti* (1999), p. 320; Guido and Mantella, *Mattia Preti*, pp. 40–41.



Figure 11.1. Mattia Preti, *Saint George on Horseback*, Valletta, St John's Co-Cathedral. 1659. By permission of the St John's Co-Cathedral Foundation.

for the altar of the chapel of the Langue of Aragon, to replace the painting of the same subject by Francesco Potenzano (Fig. 11.1).[14] The work was most likely commissioned during the painter's first trip to the island, where he personally met de Redin, for whom he had already made two paintings for the same chapel: *Saint Francis Xavier* and *Saint Fermin*.[15]

The work depicts the triumphant saint on horseback just as he has plunged his lance into the now lifeless body of the dragon. The beast and the princess, who is seen on the right, allude to the famous episode that gave origin to the main iconography of Saint George.[16] The saint is looking towards an angel in flight, who is pointing at two putti waving the flag of the Crown of Aragon. In the mountainous background, which is framed by the horse's body, a battle is raging: astride his white horse, Saint George heads the Christian army as it rushes

14 On de Redin's patronage of the chapel of Aragon, see Cosma, 'Mattia Preti e Martin de Redin'; Aymonino and Cosma, 'Gran Maestri committenti di Mattia Preti'.

15 Cosma, 'Mattia Preti e Martin de Redin', pp. 31–33.

16 On this episode, see *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Varagine, who was the first to describe the story of Saint George and the Dragon. See Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*, pp. 316–22.

the army of infidels.[17] From the topography of the landscape, Sandro Debono interprets this scene to be the Battle of the Puig, which took place in 1238 just before Christian troops conquered Valencia with the saint's divine intervention. On the far right of the battle scene, Saint George can be seen talking to a soldier holding a shield with the cross of the Knights of Malta. According to Debono, although we cannot be certain that the Knights of the Order of St John took part in the Battle of the Puig, we do know that they played a decisive role in the conquest of Valencia, a victory closely linked to the victory at El Puig.[18]

Another interpretation that has been suggested by Alessandro Cosma is that the scene represents the saint's miraculous intervention during the Crusades to capture Jerusalem. The author links the scene to the epigraph on the funerary monument of de Redin, which mentions a new crusade campaign (which never took place or for which there is no documentary evidence) to liberate Jerusalem, as Godfrey of Bouillon had done centuries earlier.[19]

In the Aragonese tradition, the saint also appeared in defence of the Christian army at other battles, like the Battle of Alcoraz in 1096 for the conquest of Huesca, the Conquest of Mallorca in 1232, and the Battle of Alcoy in 1276.[20] His numerous miraculous interventions at the side of Catalan/Aragonese troops made Saint George the protector of the Crown of Aragon.[21] It is difficult to establish precisely which battle Preti was alluding to, but it is interesting to note that the Saracen enemies were depicted as contemporary Ottomans flying the red flag with the crescent. Although an ancient Islamic symbol, the flag with the crescent was used with increasing frequency and then continuously by the Ottoman Empire from the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[22]

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17 Devotion to Saint George is often linked to anti-Turkish contexts, beginning with the Crusades, as we will see. See Tiberia, 'San Giorgio', pp. 150–51.

18 Debono, 'El lienzo de San Jorge en la Batalla del Puig de Mattia Preti', pp. 85–86.

19 Cosma, 'Mattia Preti e Martin de Redin', p. 35; Aymonino and Cosma, 'Gran Maestri committenti di Mattia Preti', p. 237. In a note, the author points out that other scholars before him had already interpreted the battle as the first Crusade for the liberation of Jerusalem.

20 Olivares Torres, 'Imágenes de caballeros santos representados en pareja', pp. 96–97. In Catalan/Aragonese tradition, the Battle of Alcoraz is linked to the First Crusade. It is said that, during the siege of Antioch, the Duke of Montcada found himself in difficulty and so called on the help of Saint George, who immediately appeared at his side. Defeated by the Muslim troops, the duke and a number of Christian knights began to complain of having to fight on behalf of far-off, hostile lands, rather than their own. The saint decided to transport the duke and the other soldiers out of the Holy Land to Aragon, where the Christian troops achieved victory over the Moors and liberated their land. See Masala, 'San Giorgio e l'Islam', p. 165.

21 The Crown of Aragon reinforced not only the image of Saint George and the Dragon, but also his miraculous deeds in battle. In Iberia, the monster was linked to the centuries-old clash with the Saracen infidels, in which the dragon represented the Muslims. At the same time, Saint George came to be associated with Christian warriors accruing victories for the conquest of the peninsula. See Massip Bonet, *La monarquía en escena*, p. 46; Alcoy, *San Jorge y la princesa*, p. 34.

22 See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, p. 108; Chwalkowski, *Symbols in Arts, Religion and Culture*, p. 85.



Figure 11.2. Mattia Preti, *Saint James Defeats the Moors at Clavijo*, Valletta, St John's Co-Cathedral. *c.* 1661. By permission of the St John's Co-Cathedral Foundation.

It is clear, in this writer's view, that Preti's client wanted to equate the victorious outcome of one ancient battle with another that was contemporary to him. De Redin's ascent to Grand Master in 1657 brought glory to the order at a time when the knights were basking in the victory of the Dardanelles. In fact, as Preti was painting the work, the island was brimming with the triumphant atmosphere resulting from the positive outcome of the Battle of the Dardanelles in 1656 (in the Cretan War) in which the Knights of Malta had defeated the Turkish forces despite being outnumbered by them.[23] *Saint George on Horseback* is not the only work of art in which this kind of anachronism is seen.

Saint James Defeats the Moors at Clavijo for Thomas de Hozes

A lunette in the chapel of Castile, Leon, and Portugal depicts the scene in which *Saint James Defeats the Moors at Clavijo* (Fig. 11.2); here Preti portrays the saint's apparition in the famous Battle of Clavijo of AD 844, led by Ramiro I of Asturias against the Saracen army. The renovation of the entire chapel, according to the same model as the chapel of Saint George, was commissioned by the

23 Sciberras, *Mattia Preti* (2012), p. 21.

Spanish knight Thomas de Hozes, bailiff of Lora, who died on 3 March 1661 without seeing the end of the works.[24]

The legend that is portrayed here is that, after the Muslim conquest of the Aragonese territories, the Christian kings were required to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred virgins. This harsh levy drove Ramiro I to face the army of infidels in battle near Albelda (La Rioja) in AD 844. Surprised by the strength of the enemy army, the king retreated to Clavijo to prepare for a new battle the next day. During the night, Saint James appeared to him in his sleep. Astride a horse, like a soldier of Christ, the saint encouraged him to face the Moors with determination and courage, as he himself would be appearing on the battlefield the next day and would help them defeat their enemies.[25]

The image shows Saint James astride his white horse, whose reins are held by a winged cherub. He is followed by two more armed angels with swords unsheathed, ready to strike the infidels.

The enemy can be seen in the foreground of the painting lying lifeless, having been thrown to the ground from their horses, pierced through by lances and swords and struck by horses' hooves. On the far right, several Spanish chargers are advancing in compact formation onto the battle scene.

Once again, a connection is drawn between the old and new enemies of Christianity: the infidels are not depicted as Moors or Saracens, but rather as contemporary Ottomans, some with shaved heads, tufts of hair, and long moustaches (characteristic of galley slaves). One example is the Muslim on the left of the painting who is about to be struck by the horse's hooves. Another Ottoman very similar to this one is seen in the lunette in the counter-façade of St John's Co-Cathedral, in which Preti represented the complex *Allegory of the Order of St John*. In the centre of the image is found the personification of the Religion of the Order in the form of an armed Minerva running victorious on top of the bodies of three prisoners in chains. The slave in the centre with shaved head and characteristic tuft of hair, portrayed semi-nude with a hideous, terrified expression on his face, seems to be the same one featured in *Saint James Defeats the Moors at Clavijo*.[26] Again, as this work was being produced, the knights were supporting Venetian ships in the Cretan War (1645–1669). This was five years after the victory in the Dardanelles Strait, Grand Master de Redin was dead, and his successor, Raphael Cotoner, was faced with the approaching defeat of the Christian side in the conflict.

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24 On this work, see Guido and Mantella, *Mattia Preti*, p. 51; Sciberras, *Mattia Preti* (2012), p. 165.

25 Olivares Torres, 'Imágenes de caballeros santos representados en pareja', p. 98, particularly n. 18.

26 Capriotti, 'Il pericolo turco nella committenza dei Cavalieri di Malta'.



Figure 11.3. Mattia Preti, *Saint Paul Liberating Malta*, Mdina, St Paul's Cathedral. 1682–1688. By permission of the Metropolitan Chapter of Malta.

Saint Paul Liberating Malta for Don Antonio Testaferrata

The last painting that we examine is found in St Paul's Cathedral in Mdina and is part of a series of works depicting several episodes from the life of Saint Paul. Preti completed *Saint Paul Liberating Malta* (Fig. 11.3) in 1682–1688, under commission from Don Antonio Testaferrata, a leading member of the chapter and one of the wealthiest people on the island.[27] Along with this painting, Testaferrata commissioned a further three works from Preti, all featuring miracles performed by the saint in Malta. Located in the left transept of the church, the painting shows Saint Paul appearing on the bastions of Mdina during a raid by North Africans on the island in 1429.[28] This story became rooted in Maltese

27 The client's coat of arms is shown on the right side of the painting.

28 On the activity and works of art commissioned by Don Antonio Testaferrata, see Guido and Mantella, *Mattia Preti*, pp. 118–26; Sciberras, *Mattia Preti* (2012), pp. 355–56.

popular tradition and helped solidify Saint Paul's status as the patron saint of Malta. Saint Paul is portrayed riding a white horse and wearing a blue garment dotted with stars, as he descends from heaven brandishing a sword, accompanied by a putto in flight. He is dressed in the garb of a knight and is defending the Faith to defeat the infidels. Seeing the knight descend above their heads, the enemy are depicted fleeing while trying to protect themselves with their shields. A semi-nude Turk is clearly visible in the foreground, with characteristic shaven head, tuft of hair, and moustache, and appears to be screaming in terror. Red flags with crescents can be spotted among the Muslim army, and the fortress of Mdina features red and white flags, which could allude to the Maltese army, and the flag with the eagle of the Kingdom of Sicily. Once again Mattia Preti uses the same strategy of representing the enemy in an anachronistic key. He portrays the enemy — the Hafsids, a North African Berber dynasty, who as yet had no alliance with the Sublime Porte — as Ottomans with the features already described. It is interesting to note that the anachronism only applies to the enemy, who are made contemporary, whereas the banners on the fortress of Mdina would seem faithful to the historic event that Preti is depicting. In fact, the Swabian-Sicilian flag, quartered per saltire and featuring the eagle and the red and gold Bars of Aragon, is a reference to the Crown of Aragon's rule of the Maltese archipelago since the thirteenth century.[29]

Although it was not a commission from the Knights of Malta, during the realization of the work the Morea War was being fought, triggered by the Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, which, for the Venetian, papal, and Maltese navies, was reminiscent of the years of the Crusades. As was also the case in the early battles against the infidels, during this clash, the Christian allies had achieved a series of important victories against the Ottoman Empire.[30]

Conclusion

In the light of what has been discussed so far, it is this writer's opinion that representations of these ancient battles actually refer to contemporary conflicts that were ongoing as the artist was producing the paintings; likewise, there is a link between the protagonists and the Knights of Malta (in the cases of the works representing Saint George and Saint James).

After Lepanto, the religious ideology that had characterized the fight against the infidel throughout the sixteenth century gradually went on the decline. So too did the central role of the Knights Hospitaller who, by defending the Holy Religion, had established their very existence.[31] It is in this context that, during the seventeenth century, piracy and privateering became the real protagonists

29 Castillo, *The Maltese Cross*.

30 Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, p. 94; Bono, *Schiavi*, pp. 91–94.

31 In general, see Capriotti, 'Il pericolo turco nella committenza dei Cavalieri di Malta'.

of the *Mare Nostrum*, in what Fernand Braudel defines a 'lesser war', that is, one that is no longer imbued with politics and religion alone, but rather is intended to create financial profit.[32] The predatory maritime activities of the Knights of Malta had a similar function to that of the Maghreb corsairs, namely, bringing considerable amounts of plunder and a large number of slaves to their 'miniature court'.[33] It is clear, therefore, that the idea of the 'holy war' and the 'crusade against the infidels', which the knights had championed, gradually waned during the seventeenth century, and the knights' role became increasingly marginalized. Also, other European states had begun questioning the power and respectability of the order and had confiscated some of its lands scattered across Europe, known as *commendaries*, as well as the knights' privateering activities, which had soured the peaceful relations between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire.[34] It was a privateer attack by the Knights of Malta on the *Sultana*, an Ottoman galley carrying the sultan's court, that triggered the Cretan War, which, despite a number of important victories, like the already mentioned Battle of the Dardanelles, revealed itself to be a complete failure for the Venetian and Maltese fleet.[35] Malta again came to the aid of her former Venetian enemies during the Morean War to drive out the Turks from the eastern Mediterranean. This time, however, the outcome was different, with the Europeans achieving a series of victories between 1684 and 1694, until the final victory in 1699.[36]

The Knights Hospitaller saw these wars as an opportunity to demonstrate the importance of their role in the vanguard against Islam, as evoked in the paintings under discussion. It is no coincidence that the saints chosen to represent this were three warriors who, according to tradition, descended to earth to succour Christian troops against the 'enemies of the Holy Faith'. They are Holy Knights, *milites Christi*, represented in the images with all the attributes given to knights and their virtues since the Middle Ages. One of these is the white horse, a symbol of nobility and the heroic superiority of the medieval hero. White stands for the warrior's purity and his faith which remains uncontaminated by the infidel's. It is also the symbol of the individual's spiritual power, the ability to subdue his primary animal impulses in order to protect his people. The sword is another of the quintessential symbols of the warrior and, according to the Rule of the Military Order of St James, of the four cardinal virtues, as well as being a typical attribute — alongside the lance — of Saints George, James, and Paul.[37]

The decision to represent these three saints stems not only from their links to the clients' places of origin, that is, their status as patron saints of Aragon, Castile, and Malta. They are also the embodiment of the knights themselves

32 Braudel, *Civiltà e imperi*, p. 919; Fiume, *Schiavitù mediterranee*, p. 7.
33 Lenci, *Corsari*, pp. 72–77; Fontenay, 'Il mercato maltese degli schiavi'.
34 Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté*, pp. 489–516.
35 Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*, p. 51.
36 Lenci, *Corsari*, p. 76.
37 On the attributes (the horse and the sword) and the virtues (purity and faith) of knights since the Middle Ages, see Cabrillana Ciezar, *Santiago Matamoros*, pp. 27–41.

(in the works commissioned by them), who saw themselves as new martyrs, sacrificing their lives to defend the Faith. This idea of equating the Knights of Malta with Christian martyrs is manifested, as Giuseppe Capriotti has observed, in the lunette in the counter-façade of St John's Co-Cathedral, where Preti painted the lifeless corpses of young Knights Hospitaller above whom angels in flight are delivering the traditional palm branch of the martyr.[38]

Furthermore, in the two battles depicted, the saints come to the aid of the Christian army to defeat the infidel enemies, just as, during the Ottoman-Venetian wars of Candia and Morea between 1645 and 1699, the Knights of St John came to the aid of Venice in battle and, more generally, to the aid of Christianity.

Mattia Preti's works thus reflect the glorification of the order's role: just as the intervention of the saints had been decisive in battle, so, too, was the knights' intervention alongside the European powers fundamental and necessary in driving back the Ottoman threat in the wars that marked the slow decline of Maltese exploits at sea and the final curtain on the ideological and religious conflicts staged in the Mediterranean.

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38 Capriotti, 'Il pericolo turco nella committenza dei Cavalieri di Malta', pp. 137–39.

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FRANCESCO SORCE

‘Macometto in Una Nugola Nera’ (Muhammad in a Black Cloud)

The Imaginary War of Giovanni da San Giovanni (and Ferdinando II de’ Medici) at Palazzo Pitti

> Quanto più si comprende una cosa e si cape, tanto se ne sente maggiore il diletto, essendo vero che, sì come l’ombra seguita il corpo, così la dilettazione segue la notizia e l’intelligenza.
>
> *Gregorio Comanini, Il Figino*

This essay examines anti-Turkish elements in the cycle of frescos painted by Giovanni Mannozzi (known as Giovanni da San Giovanni, 1592–1636) in the so-called Salone degli Argenti at the Palazzo Pitti. Its main purpose is to explain the meaning of the denigratory motifs deployed by the artist, and their function within the monumental decorative project. In fact, in spite of their notoriety, these images from the Medicean palace have not yet been systematically examined in the context of the rhetoric of conflict studies. It is, however, worth mentioning that this interpretive focus is merely one of the layers of meaning contained within this artwork — and the only one we will address here.

The large room — which derives its name from its collocation inside what is today the Museo degli Argenti — was mostly likely used as an antechamber, where visitors to the grand duke were greeted before being admitted to the meeting room proper.[1] The public nature of the room justifies the encomiastic

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1 About the room and its decorations, see, among others, Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, pp. 190–99; Casazza, ‘Gli affreschi delle Sale di Rappresentanza’; Mosco, ‘L’Appartamento d’Estate dei Granduchi’; Acanfora, ‘Palazzo Pitti, piano terreno, appartamento degli Argenti’.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 259–277
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and 'propagandistic' tone of the iconography, which celebrates a specific aspect of the glory of the Medici family.[2] Nonetheless, as noted by Caroline Callard, the frescos can also be interpreted as a sort of 'mirror for the prince' (*speculum principis*): it is plausible, that is, that this grand scenographic representation was put together to present to the grand duke an example of the virtues of Lorenzo the Magnificent, painted on the walls.[3] At any rate, the cycle of frescos was conceived in preparation for the wedding of Ferdinando II de' Medici and Vittoria della Rovere, celebrated publicly in July 1637.[4] The painter, hired by the Medicean court in 1635, worked in the room until December of the following year, when he died. After Giovanni da San Giovanni's death, the work was completed by Ottavio Vannini, Cecco Bravo, and Francesco Furini, significantly altering the original iconographic plan. The author of the thematic design remains disputed. According to Filippo Baldinucci, the court had commissioned Francesco Rondinelli, Ferdinando II's librarian, but Giovanni Mannozzi had subsequently been requested and received by the grand duke for the privilege of coming up with the subjects for his frescos himself.[5]

Many scholars consider the artist's crucial contributions to the plan quite plausible, in light of a letter he sent to Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio's Master of Ceremonies, in Rome, dated 19 May 1635. In the letter, Giovanni da San Giovanni describes the iconography in detail, adding: 'quali inventioni son tutte di mia fantasia con soddisfatione di Sua Altezza e degli intendenti' (such inventions are all products of my imagination, with great satisfaction of His Highness and the intendants).[6] The text also contributes essential information about the scenes that were subsequently eliminated from the project.

The work of the painter from Valdarno is highly complex, both in its iconography and because of the presence of three inscriptions accompanying the images. The epigraphs in verse, particularly, enrich the semiotic structure and, while not perfectly matching the visuals, offer a sort of lyrical commentary to the composition.[7] The main idea expressed in the frescos, in short, is the

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2 About the use of the concept of propaganda as it relates to the Modern Age, see, for example, Rospocher, 'Propaganda e opinione pubblica', particularly pp. 62–63.

3 Callard, *Le prince et la république*, p. 200. In n. 34, the scholar rightfully remarks on the oscillation of meaning with regards to the room's function.

4 The wedding was first celebrated privately in 1634, before being repeated in public in July 1637. On this, see Campbell, 'The Original Program of the Salone di Giovanni da San Giovanni', p. 18.

5 Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, p. 254. See, among others, Campbell, 'The Original Program of the Salone di Giovanni da San Giovanni', p. 6. Recently, Baldinucci's opinion has also been expressed in Hansen, '"Pro Bono Malum"', p. 65.

6 About the letter, see Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni*, pp. 93–95.

7 The three inscriptions read, respectively: 'L'aeree vie sopra demonio alato | scorre Maometto, e'l crudel bra[n]do ha in ma[n]o | e di grand'ira orribilmente insane | minaccia Europa, e'l ciel bestemmia e'l fato' (The airy ways above the winged demon | Muhammad flies, and the evil blade he brandishes | of great anger horribly mad | he threatens Europe, and Heaven and Fate he curses). 'Le muse, il pegaseo, Dirce, | Ippocrene | ludibrio sì di barbaro tiranno |

(implicit) praise of Lorenzo the Magnificent, celebrated as the man who saved classical culture from the destruction of Time and the threat of Islam, fostering a new golden age in Florence, the new Athens.[8] Conceived as an allegory, the painting divides its material into three large lunettes, which tell the story — through a structure that helps the viewer recognize chronological and causal links — of how and why the Arts made their new home in Tuscany at the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent.[9] Before delving into interpretation, it will be worth offering an analytic description of the images: the identification of the figures is supported by the aforementioned letter addressed by the painter to Cardinal Bentivoglio's Master of Ceremonies, as well as in Filippo Baldinucci's relevant observations about the room.[10]

The first lunette introduces the 'efficient cause' of the historical process depicted: Muhammad, flying on a cloud and accompanied by two harpies (one of which is holding the Quran), appears to be leading from above an army of semi-beastly beings, who are laying waste to the vestiges of the classical era, symbolized by books and statues (Fig. 12.1). Father Time devouring a volume is an emblematic and original representation of the destruction that is taking place. Centre stage in the piece, this figure perfectly embodies Ovid's notion of *Tempus edax rerum*, connected here to the idea of the Prophet's destructive actions.[11] Near him, satyrs and satyresses are shown handing him and themselves damaging books, parchments, and other signs of ancient culture — such as the medal of Alexander the Great in the hands of the monster bearing the Roman Empire insignia.

In the background of the second lunette, the army of monsters, accompanied by one of the flying harpies and the Furies, attacks mount Parnassus

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contro all'empio furor schermo | non hanno, | e son di fere alberghi Argo, e | Micene' (The muses, the Pegaseum, Dirce, | Hyppocrene, are made a mockery by the barbaric tyrant, they have no | shield against his foul fury, | and homes of beasts are Argo, and | Mycenae made). 'D'un generoso eroe la fama, e'l grido | cui son teatro angusto, e mare, e terra | virtu, che si nasconde esule, et erra | chiama in Etruria à farse eterno il nido' (Of a generous hero the fame, and the scream | to which land and sea are but a narrow stage | virtue which hides away in exile, and wanders | calls to Etruria to find its eternal home).

8 The golden age theme had already been largely utilized in a propagandistic and epideictic way by the Medici family. Ferdinando II, then, is inscribing himself in the family tradition, declaring himself the heir of the triumphs of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is worth noting, incidentally, that in Mannozzi's work the reference to Lorenzo is only implicit, while it would get completely transparent in the work of his successors. For a recent survey of the use of the golden age myth in the construction of the Medici family image, see Myara Kelif, *L'imaginaire de l'âge d'or à la Renaissance*, particularly pp. 183–263, 310–15, 323–24. On the notion of Florence as a new Athens, see, among others, Reszler, *Il mito di Atene*, pp. 16–44.

9 Kliemann, *Gesta dipinte*, p. 194, rightfully considered this subject, as a whole, as an example of the theme of the so-called *Translatio artium*.

10 Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, pp. 257–59. About the letter, see Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni*, pp. 93–95.

11 On the conception of time as a destructive force, see, for instance, Cohen, *Transformations of Time and Temporality*, particularly p. 33.



Figure 12.1. Giovanni da San Giovanni, *Muhammad Causes the Ruin of Ancient Letters*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti. 1635–1636. Courtesy of Gallerie degli Uffizi.

(Fig. 12.2). With stones and the threat of fire, the monsters banish from the mountain its rightful inhabitants: the Muses (barely visible at the foot of the peak) and, closer to the viewer, Pegasus and some of the greatest intellectuals of ancient times. The mocking of the Parnassus is figuratively represented by the actions of the satyrs, who are labouring to tear down the trees at the mountain's peak, and pulling down from the branches a string instrument (Apollo's *lira da braccio*?) to replace it, it seems, with Pan's flute. It is worth noting how, in a staggeringly vast textual and iconographic tradition, these two instruments figure as eminent signs of the dualism between the Apollonian



Figure 12.2. Giovanni da San Giovanni, *The Furies and the Satyrs Drive the Poets and Philosophers out of Parnassus*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti. 1635–1636. Courtesy of Gallerie degli Uffizi.

and the Dionysian, order and disorder, harmony and dissonance, civilization and savagery.[12] Within the context of Palazzo Pitti, then, they offer a shorthand image for the clash between two worlds seen as incompatible, right in the

12 The story of the contest between Apollon and Marsyas and Pan constitutes the canonical representation of the allegorical antithesis between the two instruments, and the values attached to each. The bibliography on this theme is extremely vast. See, for instance, Wyss, *The Myth of Apollo and Marsyas in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*.

middle of the three lunettes. On the forefront are the poets and philosophers of the classical age. We recognize among them Dante, the only 'modern' one, then Plato and Aristotle, then Sappho and Homer, the latter portrayed as if he were directly entering the room, thanks to a sophisticated visual illusion. The poetess from Lesbos, instead, is about to be whipped by a Fury. To the left, Pegasus is horribly bitten by two harpies that force him to the ground, in an unnatural and decidedly undignified pose. Behind the winged horse, we see a fountain surmounted by a statue of Athena/Minerva, possibly evoking, somewhat liberally, the Hippocrene spring formed by the touch of the hooves of Pegasus — a spring sacred to the Muses, from the waters of which poetic inspiration flowed. Not coincidentally, a last satyr, to the left, is moving against the effigy of the goddess shrouded in a symbolic dark shadow, probably signifying the momentary eclipse of knowledge.

The third lunette concludes the narrative (Fig. 12.3). In the background we see the ancient intellectuals, led by a winged Virtue before the personifications of Munificence and of Tuscany, which tower over the composition. Next to them is the Marzocco lion, symbol of Florence, and an eagle,[13] while at the foot of the staircase the Greek philosopher Empedocles cries for the destruction of his (and probably other people's) works. Overseeing the arrival of 'the Letters' in the new Athens is Athena who, from above, constitutes a visual and conceptual counterpart to the figure of Muhammad, creating an immediate and effective opposition of Good and Evil.

The original plan, altered — as we mentioned — after Mannozzi's death, included further references to the 'Oriental question' which it will be worth addressing briefly. Where today there are the frescos of Ottavio Vannini, as we know from Mannozzi's own words, Giovanni had meant to portray Galatea, Thetis, and Neptune in the act of beseeching the Knights of St Stephen to free the seas of the dangers posed by the Ottoman corsairs. A few Turkish slaves would complete the scene, offering a visual representation of the defeated enemy in accordance to a model often followed in artworks celebrating the Medici family in the first half of the seventeenth century.[14] The reference to the

13 Campbell, 'The Original Program of the Salone di Giovanni da San Giovanni', p. 9, argues that the eagle might be a reference to the German emperor, traditionally a protector of Florence.

14 'Nella terza [parete?], tutti i tritoni marini e Galatea e Teti e Nettunno [*sic*], che vadino dinanzi alla religion di san Stefano, pregandola che di gratia con i suoi cavalieri li tenga netto i mari da li corsali facendo apparir certe fuste turchesche che faccino schiavi' (On the third [wall?], all the tritons of the sea and Galatea and Thetis and Neptune, they go before the religion of Saint Stephen, beseeching her to use her knights to keep the seas clean from of the corsairs, and making it so that Turkish [fuste] would appear to serve as slaves), quoted in Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni*, p. 94. The representation of the Turks as slaves appears, for example, in the *Monument to Ferdinando I de' Medici* by Giovanni Bandini and Pietro Tacca (Livorno, 1599–1626) as well as in the fresco portraying *Cosimo II Receiving the Knights of Saint Stephen Coming Back from Bona*, painted by Baldassarre Franceschini known as Il Volterrano in the Villa medicea della Petraia (Florence, 1636–1648).



Figure 12.3. Giovanni da San Giovanni, *The Poets and Philosophers Are Welcomed in Florence by Tuscany and by Munificence*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti. 1635–1636. Courtesy of Gallerie degli Uffizi.

order of knights founded by Cosimo I in 1562 was certainly aimed at evoking the crusader values associated with their maritime ventures, in opposition to the Islamic naval forces.[15] The wall occupied today by the paintings of Francesco

15 About the symbolic value attributed to the Knights of St Stephen within the context of Medicean propaganda, see, among others, Poole-Jones, 'The Medici, Maritime Empire, and the Enduring Legacy of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano'.

Furini was meant, in the intentions of Mannozzi, to host the ideal conclusion to the story: a statue representing the Golden Age brought to the Arno River, paying a symbolic homage to the grand duke's Florence.[16] By analysing the themes of the original plan, we can see how the artwork's allegorical 'script' employs at least two elements of the stereotypical depiction of the Muslim enemy, which are (1) the Turk as an adversary to Western culture and (2) the Turk as a defeated military antagonist (as was meant to be evinced from the references to the Knights of St Stephen and the slaves).

Moreover, the intended narrative structure was meant to convey yet another idea that was very popular in the European collective imagination: that the Turks' defeat would create the conditions for a new era of universal peace.[17] As stated above, this essay will only cover the first of these elements, particularly because of the originality of the figurative solutions used by Giovanni to illustrate the theme. The idea of the alleged hostility towards Christian culture developed from the belief that the Muslim were naturally averse to letters, a notion made largely popular by medieval European controversist literature. Among the many authors who resorted to this trope, Riccoldo da Montecroce — in his *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (*c.* 1300) — contributed decidedly to its popularity, placing it squarely within the arsenal of Western hate speech.[18] In the Salone degli Argenti, however, for reasons which will be clear shortly, this motif takes on peculiar historical and axiological implications. The stated goal of the Pitti frescos, to commemorate Lorenzo the Magnificent's cultural glory, defines the context and the singular declination of this theme. By virtue of this chronological and historical frame, in fact, the reference to Islam is not generic, but directly evokes the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[19] In this context, Muhammad becomes a synecdoche for the Ottomans, and a metaphor for the conquering sultan, Mehmed II.

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16 'Arno a diacere nel suo letto con l'urna, e le ninfe d'Arno, cavando la terra, cavin fuora una bella giovane rappresentante l'età dell'oro e la portino e la conduchino a far reverenza al fiume' (The Arno lies in its bed with the urn, and the nymphs of the Arno, digging the earth, may dig out a beautiful young figure of the Golden Age, and bring her and lead her to pay her respects to the river), quoted in Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni*, p. 94.

17 The same encomiastic strategy, for instance, had been extensively utilized by the intellectuals at the court of Leo X who — by exploiting a well-established narrative from eschatological and prophetic literature — linked the new reign of Astraea to the military ruin and conversion of the Ottomans. About the spreading of the themes linked to the myth of Astraea at the court of Giovanni de' Medici, see, among others, Houghton, *Virgil's Fourth Eclogue in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 139–46.

18 This has been discussed recently, for example, by Tolan, *Mahomet l'Européen*, p. 99.

19 Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, p. 261 explicitly cites the 1453 tragedy: 'essendo ne' tempi del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici seguita di fresco la presa di Costantinopoli, tutti i letterati greci, insieme colle lettere loro, e co' libri, rifugiarono, come in un sicuro asilo, in seno a Firenze, sotto la protezione di quel gran mecenate delle lettere' (Being that at the time of the Magnificent Lorenzo de' Medici the conquest of Constantinople had recently occurred, all the Greek intellectuals, along with their letters, and their books, took refuge, as a safe haven, in Florence, under the protection of that great patron of the letters).

The association of the conquest of the Byzantine capital by the sultan's troops and the ruin of the ancient letters was well rooted in the repertoire of the Turk-phobic literature of the Early Modern Age. It is a motif also known as 'Lament for Greece', born in humanist circles after the events of 1453, and subsequently spread through the literary production of a number of European intellectuals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[20] The trope originates from the more or less fictional reports of the destruction of Byzantine libraries perpetrated by the Ottoman army once they got through the city walls. About this, the testimony of Lauro Quirini, Venetian aristocrat and humanist, is exemplary: he describes the destruction of 'more than 120,000 volumes' by the Turks, relating a story reported by Isidore of Kiev.[21] The shift from the historical to the symbolic level, anyway, was swift. The violence against books must have looked like yet another manifestation of the proverbially vicious nature of the Ottomans. What happened at the libraries of Constantinople, then, provided a new piece to the composite image of the enemy, as it was being reformulated in the second half of the fifteenth century based on the earlier tradition. During the fifteenth century, in fact, the idea took hold in the West that the 'new barbarians' were enemies not just of the Christian religion, but of European culture too.

Coarse, savage, violent, and lascivious, the Turks were then redefined — perfectly coherently — as illiterate, or worse, a people that despised letters. And — in the evocative words of Enea Silvio Piccolomini — their invasion brought about the second death of Homer and Plato.[22] The theme

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20 One the most significant expressions of the 'Lament for Greece' appears in the letter by Enea Silvio Piccolomini to Nicola Cusano (21 July 1453), published in Pertusi, ed., *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, pp. 49–61 (particularly pp. 53–55). Piccolomini's text, in fact, contains many tropes of this genre, and became a sort of model for many writers to come. About the 'Lament for Greece' and the Turks' aversion for letters, see, among others, Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces*, pp. 27–33; Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp. 286–87; Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders', pp. 121–23; Bisaha, '"New Barbarian" or Worthy Adversary?', pp. 189–92; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, pp. 65–69; Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, pp. 29, 66, 69; Poumarède, *Il Mediterraneo oltre le crociate*, pp. 63–65; Malcolm, *Useful Enemies*, pp. 18–19. About the laments for the fall of Constantinople, see Karanika, 'Messengers, Angels, and Laments for the Fall of Constantinople'.

21 Quirini's letter is printed in Pertusi, ed., *Testi inediti e poco noti*, p. 75; see also Bisaha, '"New Barbarian" or Worthy Adversary?', p. 190; Poumarède, *Il Mediterraneo oltre le crociate*, p. 63.

22 The future pope Pius II writes (published in Pertusi, ed., *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, p. 46): Quid de libris dicam, qui illic erant innumerabiles, nondum Latinis cogniti? Heu, quot nunc magnorum nomina virorum peribunt? Secunda mors ista Homero est, secundus Platoni obitus. Ubi nunc philosophorum aut poetarum ingenia requiremus? Extinctus est fons musarum (And what can we say about the books, which were stored there in very large numbers, still unknown to us Latins? Oh shame, how many names of great writers will now disappear? This is a second death for Homer, a second burial for Plato: where shall we now seek the genius works of the Greek poets and philosophers? The very source of poetry has vanished). See about this also Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, p. 66.

of these barbaric fierce enemies of the letters enjoyed a certain popularity among European intellectuals even in the following centuries, as witnessed by, among others, the works of Michel de Montaigne and Traiano Boccalini. Giovanni da San Giovanni, moreover, certainly knew Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, wherein we read, for example, of the problem of the 'barbari, capitalissimi nemici delle serenissime arti liberali' (barbarians, uppermost enemies of the most serene liberal arts).[23] At any rate, as far as I know, Giovanni da San Giovanni's work constitutes the most important (if not the only) monumental figurative representation which re-elaborates the main tropes of the 'Lament'. In order to represent the antithesis between the Muslims' *immanitas* and the Florentine *humanitas* — one of the most frequent oppositions in Western 'hate speech' — Mannozzi, as seen above, paints satyrs as the executors of Muhammad's orders.[24] The mythical monsters — hybrid beings, mostly characterized by beastly instincts and vices — are then associated with the followers of Islam, metaphorically linked by the same (alleged) semi-savage character and by their 'natural' hostility towards philosophy and the Arts.[25]

To conclude the analysis of the anti-Turkish elements in the frescos, it is necessary to take into account the representation of Muhammad (Fig. 12.4). The identification of the Prophet is proven beyond doubt by the words of the painter himself and by the inscriptions that appear on the wall's painted baseboard.[26] Some have seen in the flying figure a portrait of Mehmed II. Yet it seems clear — in light of the known images of the sultan — that this one is

23 About Montaigne, see Poumarède, *Il Mediterraneo oltre le crociate*, p. 64. Boccalini, *De' ragguagli di Parnaso* (*Ragguaglio LXXXV*), p. 393. About Giovanni da San Giovanni as a reader of Boccalini, see Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, p. 247.

24 About the contrast between *humanitas* and *immanitas*, see Tateo, 'Letterati e guerrieri di fronte al pericolo turco', pp. 32–33; Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders', p. 122.

25 About the satyrs, see, among others, Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols*, pp. 168–69. For a more systematic survey, see Lavocat, *La syrinx au bûcher*. The (denigratory) association between the satyrs and the Turks had a relevant figurative precedent in the facade painted by Polidoro da Caravaggio and Maturino da Firenze in the Piazza Capranica in Rome, around 1520, within the climate of the propaganda for the Crusade promoted by Leo X. The artwork, now lost, is visually documented by a print by Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri, published in 1581 (British Museum, 1874,0808.1580).

26 For more on the facade, see Sorce, *Maometto a Roma e crociate in piazza*. In the 1635 letter (quoted in Banti, *Giovanni da San Giovanni*, p. 94) we read: 'Giù a basso fu in testa il monte Parnaso desolato dal tempo, quale sia un vecchio alato che habbi guasto il fonte e morto il caval pegaseo e cacciato a terra gli allori e ogni cosa e Macometto, in una nugola nera, accompagnato dalle furie quali con le serpi frustino le muse e le cacciano via, le quali havendo fatto fagotto tutte piangente se ne vadino a Fiorenza et di lì entrino in una loggia' (Down is the peak of mount Parnassus, ravaged by time, seen as a winged elder who ruined the spring, and killed the horse Pegasus, and throw to the ground the laurels and everything else, and Muhammad, within a black cloud, accompanied by the Furies who whip the muses with snakes and cast them out, and these, having packed their things, leave crying and go to Florence, and there enter into a palace). For the inscriptions in the room, see note 7, above.



Figure 12.4. Giovanni da San Giovanni, *Muhammad* (detail of Fig. 12.1), Florence, Palazzo Pitti. 1635–1636. Courtesy of Gallerie degli Uffizi.

rather an 'ideal' representation, an effigy of the Prophet of Islam that stands for the Saracens, the Ottomans, *and* their ruler.[27] At any rate, this arch-enemy is characterized by a couple of significant details: the figure is holding a sword and, as stated above, is accompanied by two harpies. The Quran exhibited by one of them, clearly, is a natural visual counterpart to the 'classics' torn apart by the satyrs and Time.

The sword, on the other hand, is a functional attribute evoking the violence that — according to a certain Christian rhetoric — proverbially defines the Muslim religion and its initiator. It is on the sword, that is, that Islam is founded, as was stated by an authoritative set of European intellectuals.[28] This idea is expressed, as an excellent example, in *La Vita i costumi la forma la statura e l'oppinioni di Maometto*, a biography of the Prophet included in the edition of the *Alcorano di Maometto* published by Andrea Arrivabene. Here, we read that 'la Religione di Macometto [è] fondata i[n] violentia, e crudeltà, e non

27 Mosco, 'L'Appartamento d'Estate dei Granduchi', p. 20.

28 The connection between the sword and Islam is paradigmatically described, for example, in Pius II's famous 'Epistola a Maometto' (in D'Ascia, *Il Corano e la tiara*, pp. 217, 220, 223). About this theme, see, for instance, Saviello, 'Muhammad's Multiple Faces', pp. 102–03, n. 40. See also Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 146–50.



Figure 12.5. *L'Alcorano di Macometto*, title page (detail) (Venice [Fano?]: Andrea Arrivabene, 1547). München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

in carità & amore' (Muhammad's religion is founded on violence and cruelty, not charity and love).[29]

While a univocal and stable iconography of Muhammad doesn't exist (for reasons that are still being debated),[30] visually, the sword's presence is well documented at least in book tradition around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which contributed to the crystallization of the symbolic image of the Prophet. On the first page of the very same volume by Arrivabene, after all, the Prophet is seen wielding a long blade (Fig. 12.5). He is also portrayed with a sword by his side on the frontispiece of the *Acta Mechmeti I. Saracenorum principis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1597) as well as in one of the illustrations from the *Prophetiae* by Gregorio Giordano of Venice (Cologne, 1591, tab. VI) (Fig. 12.6).[31]

The presence of the harpies, on the other hand, is rather eccentric within the denigratory visual repertoire of the Turks. Nonetheless, their horrible appearance makes them perfectly adequate to provide a demonic tinge to Muhammad's actions.[32] However, the association between the Turks and

29 Quoted in Saviello, 'Muhammad's Multiple Faces', p. 103, n. 40. About the philological issues relative to Arrivabene's edition, see Tommasino, *L'Alcorano di Macometto*. About the legends concerning the sword of Muhammad, see, for example, Zwemer, 'The Sword of Mohammed and Ali'.

30 On this, see Higgs Strickland, 'Meanings of Muhammad in Later Medieval Art', pp. 147–53.

31 About the *Acta Mechmeti*, see Ilg, 'Religious Polemics and Visual Realism'; about the frontispiece, see also Saviello, 'Muhammad's Multiple Faces', pp. 108–11; about Gregorio Giordano, see Sorce, 'Vedere il futuro', particularly p. 129.

32 About the negative connotations associated with hybrid beings in the culture of the Renaissance, and particularly about harpies and their symbolic value, see Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols*, pp. 246–50. The association between the harpies and the Muslims in Romanesque Spanish sculpture has been surveyed by Monteira Arias, *El enemigo imaginado*, pp. 461–64. About this theme, still within the context of Spanish culture, see also Perceval, 'Space, Alterity, Identity, and Violence', p. 68, n. 57.



Figure 12.6. Gregorio Giordano, *Prophetiae seu Vaticinia XIIII Tabellis expressa […]* (Cologne: [publisher not identified], 1591), tab. VI. London, Wellcome Collection, Public Domain Mark.

the harpies is widely documented in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, where the analogy with such proverbially rapacious mythological monsters is used to disparage the Ottomans' greed for Western wealth.[33] A couple of texts chronologically close to the Pitti frescos are examples of this trope: the 'Thracian [= Turkish] harpies' pounce on Christians in *La Sardigna recuperata* by Tolomeo Nozzolini, whereas in *La vittoria navale* by Ottavio Tronsarelli the 'greedy harpies' fight on the Ottomans' side in the Battle of Lepanto.[34]

Also worth mentioning are the Furies, who push away the Muses, Sappho, and the other poets and philosophers of the Parnassus. Firstly, it's important to note how the ancient myth of the Furies underlines the persecutory function of Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera; it was almost a specific role for those demonic monsters who, in addition to causing wars, would drive their victims into exile. It is then obvious how this trait would be fully pertinent to the fresco's conceptual frame which, as stated, alludes to the tragedy of the intellectuals, both practically and metaphorically oppressed by the Ottoman Empire. Figuratively, it's remarkable how the iconography of the Furies in Giovanni da San Giovanni basically coincides with that of Heresy, codified by

33 About the harpies and the Turks, see, among others, Carafa, *L'Austria*, p. 54 ('A Selim Re de Turchi', vv. 5–8); Groto, *Oratione Funerale*, p. 121^{v}; Picca, *Oratione*, n.p.

34 Nozzolini, *La Sardigna ricuperata*, pp. 258 (octave 91), 267 (octave 79); Tronsarelli, *La vittoria navale*, p. 171 (octave 51).

Cesare Ripa and spread, for example, through several prints and frontispieces in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this way, the infernal women represent the ideal companions for the warmongering Muhammad.[35] The link between Muhammad and the Furies, imagined by Mannozzi, isn't entirely unprecedented, however. Long before the frescos of Palazzo Pitti, and right there in Florence, Bono Giamboni had used it in his *Libro de' vizî e delle virtudi*, written in the second half of the thirteenth century.[36] In Bono's allegorical tale (in Chapter XLIV), Satan holds a council in Hell to stop the spread of the Christian faith in the world, and the Furies participate. The demon Mammone suggests sending Muhammad to counter Christianity with his 'law, that is opposite to the Law of God'. In Chapter XLV, then, the prophet is taught a demonic law that 'is called Alcoran, and we call pagan law'. While we can't regard Giamboni's text as a source for the frescos, it still constitutes an interesting precedent, certifying the existence of the motif in the Florentine tradition.

In light of what we discussed, and within the frame of the studies which Géraud Poumarède calls 'antagonism culture', Palazzo Pitti offers a case study that is notable in many ways.[37] Mannozzi's frescos, in fact, are an exemplary and rather rare case of allegory about the clash of civilizations in its purest form, conceived outside of the more common representations of religious and military opposition.[38] Moreover, the decorations in the Salone degli Argenti are a clear testimonial of the value attributed to the (virtual) contrast with the Turks even in places, like Florence, that were far from the war front, and even at a time of the relative easing of the political situation in the East, especially for the Grand Duchy. For a good deal of the European aristocracy, after all, participating in the symbolic 'long war' against the Muslim enemy was a matter of pride and honour, even independently of contingent historical events or of actual military efforts. It was a social praxis, then, through which one could signal one's support for the war against the infidels, and which became, at least in certain contexts, an important element in one's public 'façade'.[39] It is through this lens that Ferdinando II must have wished to underline, even in the context of a wedding celebration, the role of his ancestors (and, implicitly, his own) in the defence of the West and its noble

35 About the Furies, see Cartari, *Le imagini*, pp. 185–93. About Heresy, see Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 265–66. The personification of Heresy appears, for instance, on the frontispiece of several editions of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* by Cesare Baronio, published between 1588 and 1607; in one of the illustrations to the *Doctrina Christiana* by Roberto Bellarmino (in Augusta, 1614, p. 7) and in an engraving by Matthias Greuter, based on a drawing by Andrea Lilio and dated around 1604, depicting an *Allegory of the Triumph of Church over Heresy* (British Museum, 1872,1012.4006).

36 Giamboni, *Il libro de' vizî e delle virtudi*, pp. 25–26.

37 Poumarède, *Il Mediterraneo oltre le crociate*, pp. 13–74.

38 For a summary of these oppositions, see Sorce, 'Conflictual Allegories'.

39 The idea of 'façade' is used here in the meaning outlined by Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*.

literary tradition. Additionally, as Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of St Stephen — like his predecessors — he had every interest in showing himself as the defender of Europe, promoting different forms of celebration of himself within the narrative of the crusader myth.[40] It is not a coincidence, after all, that the poet Marc'Antonio Bertelli, in a collection of sonnets written to celebrate his passage through Brescia in 1628, called Ferdinando II 'the screen (= shield) of Italy, and the great terror of the Tracian (= the Turks)', pinning on him his hopes for a final defeat of the Ottomans and a new conquest of the Holy Land.[41] It is significant, then, that the construction of the dynastic identity of the grand duke would go through a cultural battle fought with a paintbrush against a clearly imaginary enemy, a dialectical straw man, the perfect negative mirror to allow the Medicean virtues to shine.

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40 About the myth of the Crusade and the war against the Turks in modern age Florentine culture, see, among others, Poole, 'The Medici Grand Dukes and the Art of Conquest'; Poole, 'Christian Crusade as Spectacle'; Nelson, 'Jerusalem Lost'; Poole-Jones, 'The Medici, Maritime Empire, and the Enduring Legacy of the Cavalieri di Santo Stefano'; Roberts, 'Charting Crusade in Ferdinando II's Tuscany'; Silva, '"To the Victor Go the Spoils"'. About the anti-Turk propaganda connected to the work of the Knights of St Stephen, see Ciappelli, 'L'informazione e la propaganda', particularly pp. 144–45 about the reign of Ferdinando II.

41 Bertelli, *Al sereniss. Ferdinando II de Medici*, sonetto VIII, v. 3. The victory over the Turks is hoped for in sonnet X, titled 'Le Concepite Speranze' (The Conceived Hopes), which opens with a particularly significant quatrain: 'Gioisci Europa, ch'à rivoltar le spalle | già si prepara l'Ottoman feroce, | impallidito à la purpurea croce, | e sbigottito à le vermiglie palle' (Rejoice Europe, for already to turn his back | the fierce Ottoman is getting ready, | he turned the red cross pale, | and stunned the crimson balls).

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IVÁN REGA CASTRO

'At his Feet'

The Image of the Eastern Prisoner in Late Baroque Iberian Public Sculptures

Across the Iberian Peninsula, few commemorative monuments dedicated to kings or princes were raised in public squares and urban spaces, and still fewer equestrian statues, such as those of Philip III (1606–1616/17) and Philip IV (1634–1640/42) made by Pietro Tacca.[1] The reign of Charles II was no exception to this general trend of seeming indifference towards public statues. However, a series of equestrian statuette portraits of this king by Italian artists, and in particular that of Giovanni Battista Foggini (1698), which is conserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado, reveal a significant exception within the broader context of the iconographic construction of Charles II's image. Foggini's equestrian statuette represents the Spanish king in a heroic manner, dressed *all'antica* and displaying the attributes of a general — the commander's baton and sash along with a sword — while he holds his horse's reins as his steed performs a curvet.[2]

Today this artwork lacks its original sculpted base. This had been made of ebony and decorated with shields and trophies of war, and in each corner there were four enchained captives symbolizing heresy. At least this is how it

1 For a basic bibliography, see Brown and Elliot, *Un palacio para el rey*, pp. 114–15. Martín González, *El escultor en palacio*, pp. 150–55, 176–81; and more recently, Coppel and Herrero Sanz, *Brillos en bronce*.

2 For an in-depth analysis, see Pascual Chenel, 'Algunas precisiones en torno al retrato ecuestre'. Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de Estado durante el reinado de Carlos II*, pp. 291–95. More recently, Azcue Brea, 'Giovan Battista Foggini', pp. 244–45 cat. 61. The origin of the equestrian portrait is not exactly clear, perhaps an unrealized project for an equestrian monument; but it is known that it was a diplomatic gift of the papal nuncio Giuseppe Archinto to King Charles II.

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Images in the Borderlands: The Mediterranean between Christian and Muslim Worlds in the Early Modern Period, ed. by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and Giuseppe Capriotti, MEMEW 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), pp. 279–299
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is described in the post-mortem inventory of Charles II's possessions (1700): 'four gilded bronze high relief figures […] that represent heresy in chains […], and there are two panels of war trophies on the sides'.[3] To fully grasp the meaning and value of these figures, recourse must be made to the sources studied by Pascual Chenel, such as the life of Foggini written by Francesco Baldinucci, which was not published in his *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno* (1845–1847). His manuscript biography refers to the sculpture's base being adorned by 'four slaves'. Likewise, a preparatory drawing by the sculptor is conserved in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, depicting the figures of the slaves or 'prisoners' that formed part of the original pedestal, which may also be interpreted as the personification of the four continents.[4] Far from being an isolated case, this sculpture is part of a long tradition of using human figures to symbolize the global expansion of the Hispanic monarchy, although it was less common in baroque sculpture than in other media, such as ephemeral art or cartography.[5]

Whether depicted as an Ottoman Turk soldier or an African slave, representations of the 'other' as enchained, subjugated, and cast down at the feet of the prince were not intended as a denigration per se of the vanquished enemy, but rather as the glorification of the king, who, needless to say, was depicted in a heroic manner in military costume. The artwork that played a fundamental role in establishing this visual trope in the context of Hispanic sculptural portraits of kings was Leone and Pompeo Leoni's *Carlos V as Conqueror of Heresy* (1551–1555), which is commonly known as *Charles V and the Fury* on the basis of the Latin inscription on the pedestal.[6] The Leonis' sculpture is also linked to the long iconographic tradition of the *miles Christi*, which was developed in the Middle Ages and consisted of a rider overcoming a man or creature lying prostrate beneath the horse's feet.[7]

Regrettably, the Museo Nacional del Prado does not conserve any of the figures linked to the original pedestal created by the Leoni. However, a few decades ago a photograph of a young black slave — clearly of African origin — came to light in the Archivo Ruiz Vernacci (Fototeca del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, inventory no. VN-03064_P) that had been taken by Jean Laurent in 1868–1869 (Fig. 13.1). The whereabouts of this

3 Fernández Miranda y Lozana, *Inventarios Reales*, I, p. 86.

4 Pascual Chenel, 'Algunas precisiones en torno al retrato ecuestre', pp. 75–76.

5 Schmale, Romberg, and Köstlbauer, eds, *The Language of Continent Allegories*. Horowitz and Arizzoli, eds, *Bodies and Maps*. For another view, within a comparative approach, see Rega Castro and Franco Llopis, *Imágenes del islam y fiesta pública en la corte portuguesa*, pp. 106–20.

6 On the sculpture's iconography, see the classic work by Checa, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe*, pp. 137–40. See also Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*.

7 For details of the relationship between the *miles Christi* and the image of evil, paganism, or heresy in the early modern period, see Franco Llopis, 'El *miles Christi*'. About the origin of the Muslims' and Turks' images in the Spanish Crown's triumphal entries and catafalques, see also Franco Llopis, 'Images of Islam in the Ephemeral Art of the Spanish Habsburgs'.

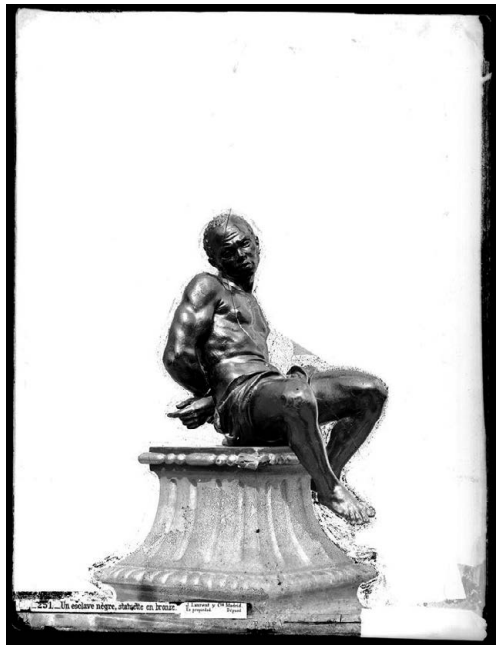


Figure 13.1. A black slave, bronze statuette, photo by Jean Laurent. *c.* 1868–1869. Courtesy of Fototeca del Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España.

figure are currently unknown.[8] With regard to the other sculptural elements that formed part of the base, historians have raised the possibility of there having been other figures of slaves, but no consensus has been reached.[9]

In any case, it seems evident that Foggini closely adhered to the model of the *Quattro mori*, the monument built for Ferdinand I de' Medici in Livorno, for which Tacca added four bronze figures of slaves (1621/1626). Although some later sources sought to identify these four figures as personifications of the continents and as the four ages of man, they essentially represent distinctive ethnic groups in the form of four 'racial' types, or supposed portraits: an old Ottoman Turk soldier, a sub-Saharan slave, a north African corsair, and a young Caucasian — seemingly Greek or Albanian.[10]

Setting aside the work of this Tuscan sculptor, as well as other Italian and Hispanic precedents, with regard to the sculptural group designed by Foggini mention must be made of the renowned *Teatro Marmoreo* in Palermo

8 Azcue Brea, 'Giovan Battista Foggini', pp. 244–45 cat. 61.

9 Pascual Chenel, *El retrato de Estado durante el reinado de Carlos II*, pp. 294–95.

10 For an in-depth analysis on the sculptural group's iconography, see Rosen, 'Pietro Tacca's Quattro Mori', pp. 46–51. See also Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist*, p. 5.



Figure 13.2. The *Teatro Marmoreo* fountain in Palermo (Sicily) as it appears today (2018). Photo by Wolfgang Moroder, CC BY-SA 2.5, via Wikimedia Commons.

(1661–1662) (Fig. 13.2). Built in honour of Philip IV by the sculptors Gaspare Guercio, Carlo D'aprile, and Gaspare Serpotta, its lower register presents the four parts of the world that had been conquered each with their respective kings, who had been subjugated by the Hispanic monarchy.[11] These kings are depicted as captives — prisoners of war awaiting ransom — not slaves.

Three Muslim or 'Moorish' kings stand out amongst them. Boabdil, or Abu Abdallah Muhammad XII, the last king of Granada who had been defeated

11 For the most ambitious analysis in recent years, see La Monica, *Il monumento a Filippo V a Palermo*, pp. 43–46.

and imprisoned following the Battle of Lucena (1483), was depicted 'holding the shield representing Europe, kneeling [...], and naked'.[12] The King of Tremicén in Mauritania 'carried the shield with the insignia of Africa', and he was also represented on his knees 'having been captured in a humiliating manner' following the siege of Oran (1643).[13] Finally, Asia was personified by Sultan Muhammad Dipatuan Kudarat, better known to the Spanish at the time as Cachil Corralat, the 'tyrant of Mindanao', an island in the Philippines archipelago. He was also represented 'naked, kneeling on his right knee, wearing a skirt of feathers, [with] [...] a thick beard', in reference to his having been defeated and deposed in 1637, despite his 'alliance with the Moors of Borneo, and other neighbouring islands'.[14]

Essentially, this iconographic programme was based on the imperialist ideal that was developed by the Hispanic monarchy during the era of the Catholic Monarchs, and in particular following the capture of Granada (1492) and the conquest of Oran (1509). However, it went on to be reinvigorated by the military campaigns undertaken during the reign of Philip IV for the 'restoration' of a united Iberia and expansion into the Maghreb in accordance with the traditions of the Hispanic monarchy,[15] as well as the subsequent 'conquest' of territories in America and Asia.

The Ill-Fated Project of the *Fountain of Fame* at the Royal Palace of La Granja

Despite his French upbringing, Philip V of Spain respected the local Spanish tradition of reserving commemorative images of the monarch for the 'private sphere' of palace gardens, as had become standard practice during the era of Habsburg rule.[16] Nonetheless, he did commission a number of monuments to mark the deeds achieved during his reign, amongst which stood out his victory in the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1713), which was celebrated in the form of the *Fountain of Fame*. This monument was designed in 1716 by Pedro de Ribera, but it was not built until 1730–1732, and it is today in the Jardines del Arquitecto Ribera in Madrid. However, around the same time a second *Fountain of Fame* was built in the gardens of the Royal Palace of La Granja de San Ildefonso in Segovia by René Frémin (*c.* 1731–1732),[17] the official sculptor at this royal palace (Fig. 13.3); the significance of this second

12 Strada, *Dichiaratione del nuovo theatro*, pp. 73–75.
13 Strada, *Dichiaratione del nuovo theatro*, pp. 75–78.
14 Strada, *Dichiaratione del nuovo theatro*, pp. 80–81.
15 Strada, *Dichiaratione del nuovo theatro*, pp. 80–81.
16 Hellwig-Konkerth, 'La estatua ecuestre de Felipe IV', p. 239.
17 See the classic work by Bottineau, *El arte cortesano*, pp. 414 and 465; and more recently, Morán Turina, *La imagen del rey*, p. 47. For a complete state of art, see Herrero Sanz, 'Los jardines de La Granja de San Ildefonso'.



Figure 13.3. Upper part of the *Fountain of Fame* at the Royal Palace of La Granja (Segovia) as it appears today (2011). Photo by Miguel Hermoso Cuesta, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons.

monument must be interpreted with specific regard to contemporaneous events. Between 1730 and 1732 preparations were underway for a Spanish expedition to recapture the North African fortresses of Oran and Mers El Kébir, and this was undertaken in the summer of 1732.[18]

18 Among the most recent studies, see Fé Cantó, 'El desembarco en Orán en 1732'. For a more extensive discussion in imperial and colonial contexts, see Rodríguez Mediano, 'Iberia, North Africa, and the Mediterranean'. For an art-historical study, see González García, 'Minerva en el telar'. See also Rega Castro, 'Tejiendo la memoria del otro', pp. 257–69.

The motives behind the plan and ideas for Frémin's design of this second *Fountain of Fame* remain unclear.[19] Important archival documentation has been lost, and the few extant pieces of documentary evidence shed little light on this project. Nevertheless, everything seems to indicate that the conceptual design of this section of the palace gardens was not completed until 1731,[20] even though its lake began to be built in the summer of 1728.[21]

A key piece of evidence for this project is a design or sketch conserved in the Archivo General de Palacio, which records an unidentified fountain intended for the gardens of the Granja de San Ildefonso, but that was never built (Fig. 13.4).[22] The drawing has clear Italian stylistic characteristics. In this preliminary study, the monument is conceived in the form of a commemorative column, and it represents a male figure in the upper part, who, despite the looseness of the drawing can clearly be identified as dressed in a French manner. The large pedestal or plinth is shown as richly adorned with an inscribed panel. A noteworthy feature on either side is the two figures of prisoners — or, perhaps, four prisoner figures, one in each corner — shown with their hands behind their backs. Given the striking turban-like apparel they wear, they are undoubtedly Moors or Turks. Two other winged, probably female, figures sit on the large base, and they carry attributes that allow them to be clearly identified as allegories of Fame and Victory. Therefore, it seems probable to suppose that this is a 'lost' design for a monument, or else a rejected or unbuilt plan for the second *Fountain of Fame*.

Had it been completed, this monument would have been the first example in the Iberian Peninsula of a commemorative column crowned by the figure of a king, while his vanquished foes, in the form of Turks or Moors, were enchained at its base. However, this is not a completely novel composition. On the one hand, it draws on the long-established iconographic tradition that can be traced back to the images made to commemorate the victory of Lepanto,[23] in particular Titian's painting of *Philip II Offering the Infante Fernando to Victory*, which is also known as the *Allegory of the Victory of Lepanto* (1573–1575) and is conserved in the Museo Nacional del Prado. In addition, a

19 Sancho, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales*, p. 465. See too Digard, *Les jardins de La Granja*, p. 277 cat. 173. Bottineau, *El arte cortesano*, p. 505 n. 187. Among many others, see e.g. Callejo Delgado, ed., *El Real Sitio de La Granja de San Ildefonso*; Morán Turina, ed., *El arte en la corte de Felipe V*.

20 Sancho, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales*, p. 502.

21 Sancho, *La arquitectura de los Sitios Reales*, pp. 493–95.

22 Design for an unidentified fountain for the gardens of the Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia. Elevation. Madrid, General Palace Archives (AGP), sign. Planos 1004, sketch or ink drawing, *c.* 1730, Pérez Gallardo and Simal López, eds, *El Real Sitio de La Granja*, p. 357 cat. 4.34.

23 Capriotti, 'Dalla minaccia ebraica allo schiavo turco', pp. 367–68. Capriotti, 'Defeating the Enemy', pp. 370–73. See also Rega Castro, 'Vanquished Moors and Turkish Prisoners', pp. 228–31; and more recently, Rega Castro, '"There Was a Man Sent from God, whose Name was John"', pp. 77–84.

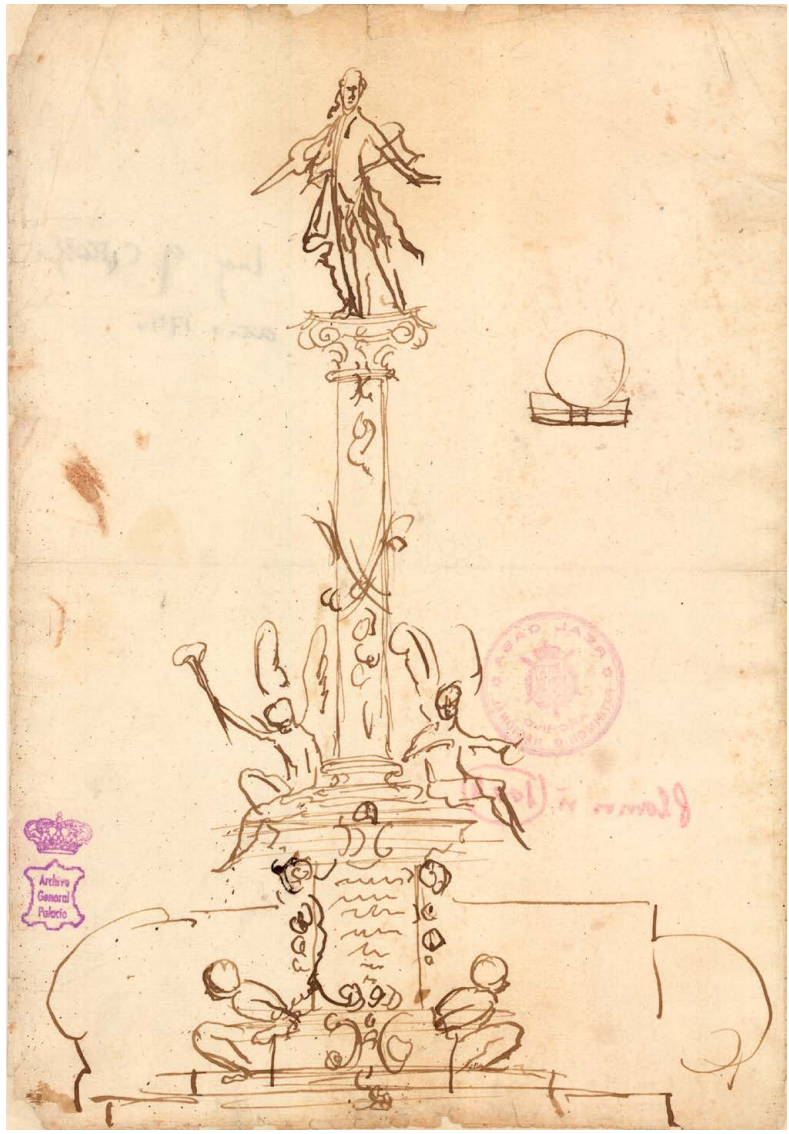


Figure 13.4. Design for an unidentified fountain for the gardens of the Granja de San Ildefonso, Madrid, General Palace Archives. *c.* 1730. Reproduced with the permission of the General Palace Archives.

number of more recent French[24] and Portuguese iconographic precedents can be cited.[25] On the other hand, this composition recalls the 'all'antica column' designed for John V de Portugal by Filippo Juvarra during his stay in Lisbon (1719). The latter monument had been intended to be crowned by a statue of the monarch and it was to have been located on the north bank of the Tagus as a monumental lighthouse at the base of the — never built — royal palace of *Buenos Aires*. Historians have identified this monument in a '*pensiero*' or '*veduta*' by Juvarra in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino.[26]

The Unfinished Project of the Equestrian Statue for John V of Portugal

The ethno-cultural context of Lisbon during the reign of John V was not that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — the golden age of Iberian expansion. Moreover, the image of this capital city as the principal centre for the slave trade continued to be present in the collective European imagination well into the early eighteenth century.[27] Western society continued to link Lisbon with the slave trade, or at least this is what may be deduced from the study of iconography concerning Portugal that appears in a number of foreign visual sources. Let me share one of many examples: the title page to volume IV of *Les delices de L'Espagne & du Portugal* (1707) depicts a statue of King Alfonso I, founder of the kingdom and monarchy of Portugal. He is represented in front of the Paço da Ribeira and with the Ribeira das Naus in the background.[28] He is accompanied by a family with African racial features and dark skin, who can be identified as slaves, and thus as a metaphor for Portugal's African territories. The wealth obtained from these possessions — the trade in slaves and gold — is represented by the cornucopia and the pitcher of gold coins shown in the lower right-hand corner.

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24 See e.g., *Drawing of the stern of the Royal-Louis*, *c.* 1680, by studio of Charles Le Brun, or Pierre Puget, ink drawing, inv. no. O.180, Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. An in-depth study by Martin and Weiss, 'A Tale of Two Guns', pp. 27–29 figs 2.1, and 2.2. See too Martin and Weiss, '"Turks" on Display'. For the general contexts, see Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs*.

25 See e.g. *Emblem for the Coach of the Conde das Galveias*, engraving in De Bellebat, *Relation du Voyage*, w/o no., p. 38. For the study of the carriages that composed the procession, see Pereira, *Viaturas de aparato em Portugal*, pp. 77–91; Pereira, Rebelo Correia, and Carvalho Dias, eds, *Arte efémera em Portugal*, pp. 172–73 cat. 59. More recently, Rega Castro, 'Vanquished Moors and Turkish Prisoners', pp. 228–31.

26 Turin, BNT, Ris. 59.1, fols 22^{v}–23^{r}, sketch or ink drawing, inv. no. 17. See Rossa, 'A imagem ribeirinha de Lisboa', p. 1333 fig. w/o no. More recently, Rossa, 'L'anello mancante', pp. 191–92 fig. 5.

27 On the trade and presence of slaves in early modern Lisbon, see Saunders, *História social dos escravos*; Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal*; Reginaldo, 'África em Portugal'; Rijo, 'Os escravos na Lisboa joanina'.

28 Alvarez de Colmenar, *Les Delices de L'Espagne & du Portugal*, vol. IV, frontis.

Likewise, consideration must be given to the carriages used for the formal entry made into Rome in July 1716 by the Portuguese ambassador, the Marquis of Fontes,[29] in particular the second carriage, which symbolized the king's title of 'Lord of Navigation'.[30] The rear of this carriage was decorated with a relief showing the female allegorical personification of the city of Lisbon accompanied by trophies of war and two prisoners — once again, an Ottoman Turk and a Moor — depicted at her feet.[31] The prisoners are traditionally interpreted as representations of Africa and the Orient.[32] An earlier relief with a similar theme was created for the rear panel of the coach used by the Count of Galveias for his embassy to Rome in April 1709. It was adorned with an allegorical programme that had at its centre the personification of Religion enthroned between two figures representing Africa and America. While all these images were made by anonymous Roman artists or artisans,[33] the latter female allegorical figure was clearly subjugating a Turkish slave, who is easily identified by his shaven head with the tuft or lock of hair left on top as can be observed in the engraving illustrating the book published to record this embassy, although in this latter text this figure is generally referred to as a 'Moor'.[34]

In light of these examples, there can be no doubt that John V of Portugal had a clear idea of how he wanted to be seen by the European powers — hence the recourse to imperial imagery — and this does not seem to have been overly different to how he wanted to be recognized by his subjects in Portugal. However, in Lisbon it would not be until much later that the idea of creating a commemorative statue in a public space began to be explored,[35] although all the evidence suggests it never came to fruition.

In addition, there are accounts of two other projects having been planned as the culmination of the water supply network that was built for the capital, commonly identified with the building of the *Aguas Livres* aqueduct. A series of designs were created by the architect Carlos Mardel, and *c.* 1745 he presented

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29 Apolloni, 'Wondrous Vehicles'. Delaforce, 'Giovanni V di Braganza', pp. 23–26. Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, pp. 117–64.

30 Cf. *Distinto raguaglio*, pp. 15–16. See too, Levenson, ed., *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal*, p. 422. Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, p. 141.

31 *Distinto raguaglio*, p. 15.

32 Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, pp. 141–43.

33 Its design has attributed to the Maltese architect Carlos Gimac, in collaboration with the Portuguese artist Vieira Lusitano; see Pereira, *Viaturas de aparato em Portugal*, pp. 56–57; Pereira, Rebelo Correia, and Carvalho Dias, eds, *Arte efémera em Portugal*, pp. 172–73 cat. 59. Levenson, ed., *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal*, p. 291, no. 115; Delaforce, *Art and Patronage*, pp. 141–43.

34 De Bellebat, *Relation du Voyage*, p. 39.

35 One Portuguese historian recorded a complex equestrian monument having been designed by the sculptor Giovanni Antonio Bellini da Padova (*c.* 1737) in honour of John V, but it was never completed. See the description of the project in Belline, *Descripçam da Engenhosa Maquina*.

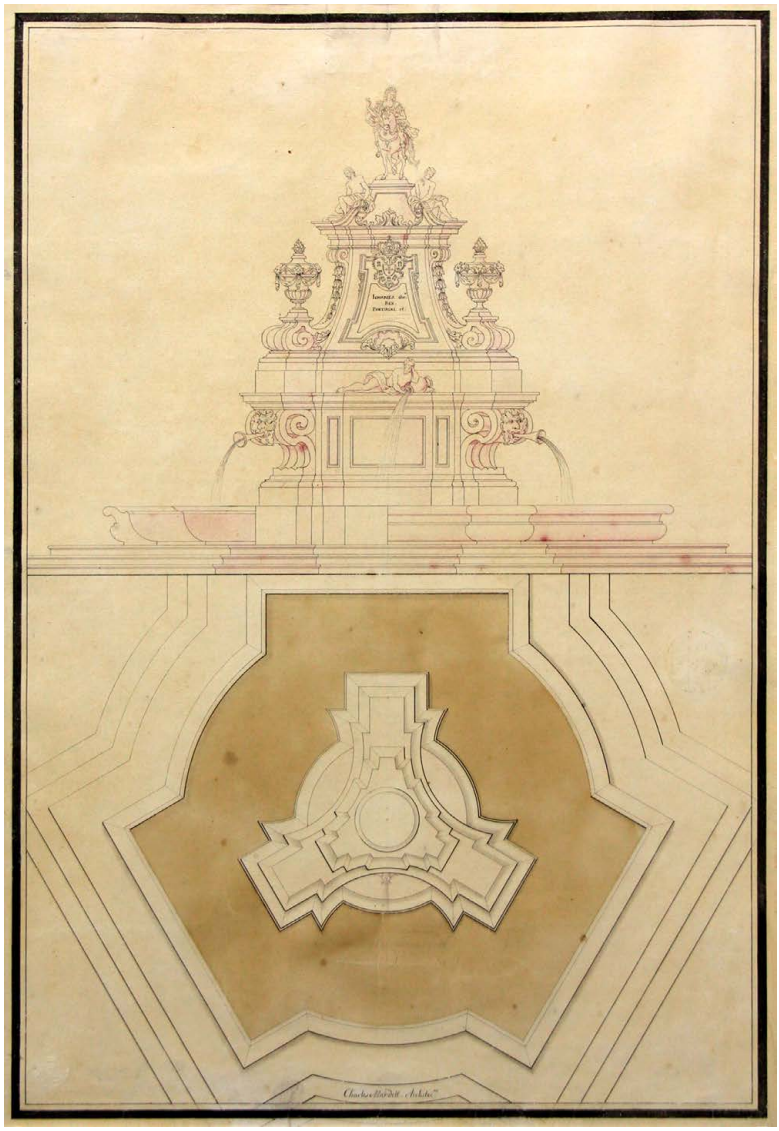


Figure 13.5. Carlos Mardel, *Project of the Equestrian Statue for John V of Portugal*, Lisbon. Courtesy of the Museum of Lisboa (Colecção do Museu de Lisboa / Câmara Municipal de Lisboa – EGEAC).

two models of royal statues, one a standing full-length figure, the other an equestrian portrait (Fig. 13.5). In both of these designs the king was represented in a classical Roman military costume. Undoubtedly the most interesting is the equestrian monument of the monarch, who is shown clad in armour and

with the general's insignia — a sash around his waist, a sheathed sword, and the commander's baton. Furthermore, the statue's base has two figures with their hands tied behind their backs, in the form of captives or prisoners, but without any clear physiognomic or corporeal features.[36]

There is another aspect that is especially striking about the plans for this monument, which is the fact that despite the creation of these designs, it would not be until after the 1755 earthquake that the idea of an equestrian statue of Joseph I would finally be created in the Praça do Comércio, in Lisbon. This later monument, made by the sculptor Joaquim Machado de Castro (1770–1775), provided a key opportunity to redress the disinterest shown towards this type of royal representation, and not only in Portugal, but also in Spain.[37] The programme was completed with a sculptural paean, designed by Reinaldo Manuel dos Santos (before 1760). The statue of the king was flanked by two groups: on the left there was a representation of Triumph, accompanied by a horse that advances over the 'plunder of the [military] campaign', while the right-hand group was formed by the figure of Fame leading an elephant 'trampling prisoners underfoot'.[38] The prisoner lying on the ground clad in a feather skirt has been identified as a personification of America, but in reality this was merely an iconographic convention to represent a generic 'savage'.[39] The fact that Fame is accompanied by an elephant raises the possibility of this figure being interpreted as an allegory of Asia or Africa as conquered by the Portuguese,[40] and not America.

Undoubtedly this and other related images codified the idea of a profoundly Catholic messianic imperialism, which had by no means fallen into oblivion. Instead, it continued to be actively promoted by the Portuguese monarchy as a propagandistic justification for their imperial project.

Epilogue: Iberian Ephemeral Architecture in the Late Baroque Era

Without wishing to deny the influence of French models for the construction of the official image of Philip V of Spain, or John V of Portugal — as has been discussed by Bottineau and França — it is clear that the Italian artistic tradition continued to shape Iberian royal iconography in the eighteenth

36 See e.g. Teixeira, ed., *O triunfo do Barroco*, pp. 236–37.

37 For an in-depth analysis, see Faria, 'A Estátua Equestre'. See too Faria, '6 June, the King's Birthday Present', pp. 71–78. On the projects for royal monuments for Lisbon in the reign of João V, see Faria, 'Praças Reais em Portugal', pp. 460–61.

38 Castro, *Descripção analytica*, pp. 327–28.

39 Faria, 'A Estátua Equestre'.

40 For an in-depth analysis on the polysemic significance of the image of the elephant as an allegory of the Orient, see Rega Castro and Franco Llopis, *Imágenes del islam y fiesta pública en la corte portuguesa*, pp. 63–64.

century.[41] Likewise, for representations of the struggle between East and West recourse was frequently made to Italian models — aside from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593) — and this influence was felt not only in the Iberian Peninsula, but also in France during the reign of Louis XIV.[42] On the other hand, without denying the importance of the aforementioned precedents for Iberian court culture, the group of royal images studied over the course of this chapter should not be understood solely in terms of the circulation of foreign artistic models, but also with regard to local iconographic traditions. In this sense, another key source to undertake a deeper reading of this image is ephemeral architecture, which was also frequently based on Roman and French Baroque visual culture.

Indeed, a number of contemporaneous examples merit consideration, such as the pyrotechnic castles created on the *Terreiro do Paço* in Lisbon for the wedding of Joseph I and Mariana Victoria of Bourbon (1728), which are well known thanks to the engravings by Pierre Antoine Quillard.[43] In particular, the second of these *macchine* represented the temple of Artemis in Ephesus — thus, in Asia — 'one of the seven wonders of the [ancient] world',[44] which had been razed to the ground by Herostratus, a shepherd who became responsible for the destruction of Artemision. This allegory, which was intended to burst into flames before the eyes of the Portuguese court, foretold a future time 'when the sovereign Prince [Joseph] [...], would use sword and fire to destroy the Moslem Mosques, that bear the [Islamic] moon, which may be deduced as the same as that of the [pagan goddess] Diana'.[45] Although the half-moon does not appear on Diana's forehead in the engraving, the goddess's attribute and the crescent of the Turkish Empire were, according to the chronicle, conflated as metonyms. Therefore, this ephemeral monument was seen as a metaphor of the future king fighting against the enemies of his faith and monarchy. There can be no doubt about its royal-political meaning, which was also underscored by the figure of Fame, who crowned the façade and blew a trumpet with one hand, while offering a crown of laurels with the other. Furthermore, this figure was accompanied

41 Among many others, see e.g., Bottineau, *El arte cortesano*, pp. 247–551. França, 'O retrato na época joanina', p. 97. For another view, within a comparative-historical approach, see Rodrigues, 'Os horizontes bourbónicos'; Díez del Corral Corredoira, 'Juan V de Portugal, Felipe V de España y la Roma de Clemente XI', pp. 239–40; and more recently, Rega Castro, '"There Was a Man Sent from God, whose Name was John"', pp. 77–84.

42 See e.g. Martin and Weiss, '"Turks" on Display'.

43 This was one of the engravings made by Théodore Andreas Harrewyn, following a design by Pierre Antoine Quillard, entitled *Diana in the Temple of Ephesus* (Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal/National Library of Portugal (BNP), E. 65. R) and *The Capitoline Jupiter* (BNP, E. 1107 V), in Pereira, Rebelo Correia, and Carvalho Dias, eds, *Arte efémera em Portugal*, p. 127, cat. 42. See also Garcia and Zink, eds, *Fogo de artifício*, pp. 52–55, cat. 6 and 7.

44 Natividade, *Fasto de Hymeneo*, p. 32.

45 Natividade, *Fasto de Hymeneo*, p. 67.

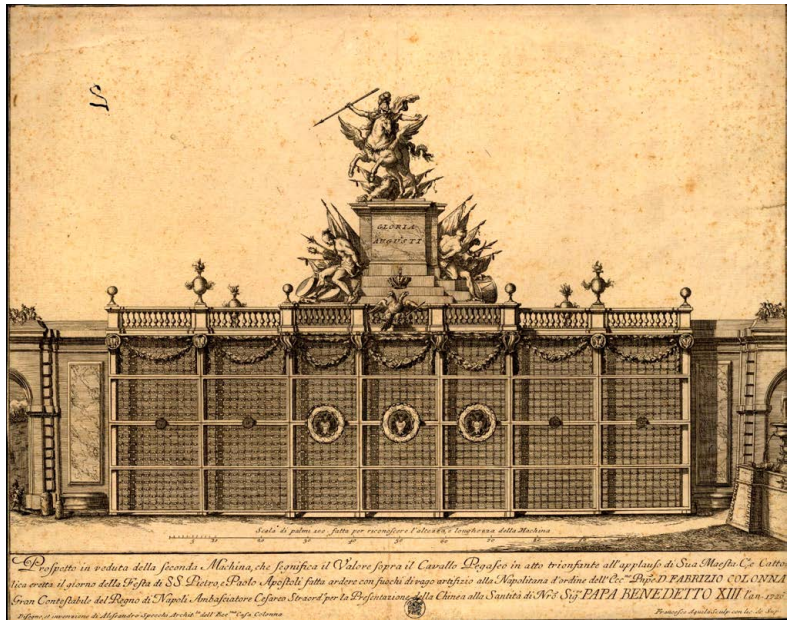


Figure 13.6. Francesco Faraone Aquila, after Alessandro Specchi, *The Seconda Macchina for the Chinea of 1726 (Valor Riding Pegasus)*, Lisbon, National Library of Portugal. *c.* 1726. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Portugal.

at her feet by two enchained prisoners, one of whom was clearly depicted as the archetypal Turk, with his shaved head and long moustache.

In a similar vein, mention should also be made of the pyrotechnic *macchine* designed by Alessandro Specchi to celebrate the Roman *Festa della Chinea* — during which the viceroy of Naples had to pay homage to the pope — and this tradition would have most certainly inspired the aforementioned architectural precedents. In particular, attention must be paid to those built for the presentation of the *Chinea* to Pope Benedict XIII, in June 1726 in the Piazza Farnese, above all a *macchina* that personified 'Valour astride the Horse Pegasus', and at whose feet lay military triumphs and two Turkish prisoners (Fig. 13.6).[46]

The Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal conserves an example of this print (BNP, E. 912 A.), whose similarities with a number of the equestrian statues

46 The inscription reads: '*Prospetto in veduta della seconda machina, che segnifica il Valore sobra il Cavallo Pegaseo in atto trionfante all'applauso di Sua Maestà Cesarea, e Cattolica* […] *per la Presentazione della Chinea alla Santità di Nro. Sig.re Papa Benedetto XIII l'an. 1726*', Roma, s.n., 1726. BNP, E. 912 A, in Garcia and Zink, eds, *Fogo de artifício*, p. 43 cat. 3. On its cultural and artistic significance, see also Temple, 'Festa della Chinea'.

discussed above, as well as the *Fountain of Fame* at La Granja, are, in my opinion, by no means fortuitous; not only are a number of iconographic elements repeated — Pegasus, the military triumphs, the iconography of the 'victorious knight', etc. — but there are also a number of comparable compositional elements.

The circulation of engravings such as these between the two Iberian courts would most likely have taken place via diplomatic connections, either through the Spanish and Portuguese agents in Rome, or else through Naples, which was then under Austrian rule, and John V of Portugal, who maintained close ties with the imperial court.

Finally, following the death of the King John V in 1750, almost all these ideas were articulated in a number of ephemeral decorations that were displayed on the altars of the Church of the Congregation of the Mission at Rilhafoles, in Lisbon, popularly known as the Paules. In the published account of the funeral celebrations held during October 1750, it is described how, on the first altar, an allegory was used to commemorate John V of Portugal's 'triumph over Ottoman power in the Levant seas'. A full-length depiction of John V showed him presenting himself to the king, while at his feet, a personification of Victory offered him a 'naval crown'.[47] The content of the image was explained by an inscription that read 'IN SINU LACÓNICO CLASSIS TURCICA DISSIPATA ANNO MDCCXVII',[48] and this was complemented by another inscription, which appropriately read 'LUNA SUB PEDIBUS EJUS'.[49]

Within a Marian context, the use of one of the various symbols identified with the Woman of the Apocalypse requires little explanation, although the parallel that was seemingly established between King John V and Archangel Michael is a striking development. It was the warrior archangel who saved the mystical figure of the woman who gave birth at the coming of the Apocalypse; she symbolized the Virgin and the Church fighting against the seven-headed dragon. The dragon is not the incarnation of the devil in *stricto-sensu*, but an elliptical image of the Turkish enemy,[50] and, similarly, the motto the 'moon under his feet' does not refer to the Virgin Mary, but instead to the deceased king. This emblem or *enigma*, to use the contemporaneous term, is a metaphor for royal power and a kingly hero with a messianic-providential nature capable of subduing the Ottoman Empire symbolized by the crescent moon; this hero was clearly inspired by the model of the *miles Christi*, which in turn highlights the aforementioned parallel drawn to Saint Michael.

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47 *Relação das solemnes*, p. 8.

48 'In the Laconian Gulf, the Turkish fleet was dispersed [by the Portuguese] in the year 1717'.

49 'The moon under his feet' (Apoc. 12. 1).

50 Sorce, 'Il drago come immagine del nemico', p. 173. For more recent studies, see Franco Llopis, 'Images of Islam in the Ephemeral Art of the Spanish Habsburgs', pp. 97–99; Rega Castro, 'Alegorías, emblemas e imágenes del Islam', p. 105; and more recently, Rega Castro and Franco Llopis, *Imágenes del islam y fiesta pública en la corte portuguesa*, pp. 67–68.

It is evident that these allegorical images underscored the specific political idea of a 'holy war' against the Islamic peoples, as well as the East–West struggle more generally. Once more this imagery highlights how the ideal of messianic imperialism continued to be a key element of royal propaganda in both Iberian courts during the eighteenth century.[51]

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51 See also a previously published paper, by Franco Llopis and Rega Castro, 'Del imperialismo mesiánico de los primeros Austrias al de Juan V de Portugal', pp. 468–77. For an in-depth analysis in the Portuguese historical context, see Lima, *O Imperio dos sonhos*, pp. 211–26.

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