Turks on the Border:
Images of Ottoman-Occupied Space in Early Modern Europe

A thesis

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Abstract

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Europe were a period of heightened European anxiety over the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire. The successful incursion of the Ottomans into the West posed a viable threat to the borders of Europe. Previous scholarship on early modern images of occupied cities has focused on the ways in which Western artists effaced or diminished the Ottoman presence in order to reappropriate these cities for Christianity. In my thesis, however, I consider three case studies that acknowledge the Ottoman presence in three different regions: the Holy Land, Byzantium, and the Peloponnesus. All three represent the challenges faced by Western artists in portraying these contested sites. The inherent tensions between East and West, Christian and Muslim, and past and present generated city views that depicted the physical features of the site as well as its variegated cultural and historical layers. The three case studies in my thesis demonstrate how the uncertainty and anxiety plaguing early modern Europeans stimulated new and provocative ways of portraying a world that was constantly in flux.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Crosses and Turbans on the Border

In a detail from a 1553 woodcut series depicting a panorama of the Ottoman Empire, a cross and turban bookend the first sheet in the series (Figures 1 and 2). The setting of the print represents the very outskirts of the Ottoman Empire in the mountains of Slavonia, a formerly Christian territory until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1529. The turban and cross serve as markers of Christian and Muslim space. The cross, situated on the far left of the print, implies the Christian territories that lay just to the west of Slavonia. The turban, on the far right below the sleeping figure, initiates a visual itinerary toward the core of the Ottoman Empire. The cross and turban, however, do not set up a categorical division of Christian and Muslim space. The cross marks the boundary of Slavonia; yet its function as a tombstone also memorializes a lost Christian territory. Palmira Brummett, in her article on early modern maps of the Ottoman-Hapsburg-Venetian frontiers, writes that:

> …for those narrating the division of space, historical claims and imagined possession were just as valid as actual occupation in determining whose space was whose. Hence boundaries were absent, mutable, contested…[1]

Throughout the entire woodcut series, crumbling antiquities and Christian tombs serve to merge the region's Christian and Byzantine past with its Ottoman present.

The cross and turban represent the challenges faced by early modern artists in producing images of contested spaces. For example, how did European

[1] Palmira Brummett, "Turks and Christians: The Iconography of Possession in the Depiction of Ottoman-Venetian-Hapsburg Frontiers, 1550-1689," in *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions 1400-1660,* ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2008), 114.

artists picture the Ottoman presence in formerly Christian territories? Moreover, how would they negotiate the desire to reappropriate these sites with the current geopolitical realities? The cross and turban are drawn from one of the first of the three case studies that I will use to address these questions. The three case studies, Pieter Coecke Van Aelst's woodcut series *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (1553), Giovanni Stradanus' *Jerusalem* tapestry (1570), and Vincenzo Coronelli's prints of *Coron* (1686) and *Candia* (1690), were all created during a period of heightened European anxiety over the ever-expanding Ottoman Empire. The successful incursion of the Ottomans into the West posed a constant threat to the borders of Europe. The three case studies in my thesis feature three different cities and regions conquered by the Ottomans: Constantinople (1453), Jerusalem (1517), and the Peloponnesus (1645-69). The city views depicted in these three examples illustrate the ways in which Western artists conceptualized Christian space under Ottoman dominion.

Cartographic Modes and Urban Topographies

In an article on the nature of maps, Matt Edney explores the various definitions of cartography by arguing that maps should be viewed as manifestations of different cartographic modes, rather than as part of a monolithic cartographic exercise.[2] He defines the cartographic mode as "a set of specific

[2] Matthe H. Edney, "Cartography Without 'Progress': Reinterpreting the Nature and Historical Development of Mapmaking," *Cartographica* 30:2-3 (1993): 54-68.Also see M. Dodge, C. Perkins, and R. Kitchin, "Mapping Modes, Methods, and Moments: A Manifesto for Map Studies" in *Rethinking Maps: New Frontiers in Cartographic Theory*, eds. M. Dodge, R. Kitchin, and C. Perkins (London: Routledge, 2009), 220-243.

relations which determine a particular cartographic practice."[3] He claims that there are three cartographic modes: cultural, social, and technological. According to Edney the cultural mode determines how "each human culture perceives space in its own way…[The cultural relations of cartography] confer both cognitive and symbolic meaning on spatial configurations; they define the most fundamental constitution of geographic information."[4] Early modern images of occupied cities were charged with the political tensions between European and Ottoman powers. Western artists perceived formerly Christian cities as sites of contestation years after they were conquered by the Ottomans.[5] The belief that Ottoman cities could still be reappropriated for Christianity generated city views that depicted both the physical features and the variegated cultural and historical layers of these sites.

City "views" and city "maps" are terms often used interchangeably. Scholarship on early modern city views has focused on maps of cities captured from a vantage point high above the town. [6] Scholars have categorized the many types of city views, which range from the perspective plan to the bird's-eye view to the panorama. The images from these three case studies are all examples of the

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[3] Edney, "Cartography without Progress," 57.
[4] Ibid, 57-58.
[5] Brummett, "Turks and Christians, "114.
[6] Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76:1 (1994): 105-128; John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004); Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo de Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60: 3 (Sept 1978): 425-274; Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 41-64; Richard Kagan, "Philip II and the Art of Cityscape," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17:1 (Summer 1986): 115-135

early modern city view. They do not resemble the view of a city that is seen in the autonomous city maps of the period, such as Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Theatrum* (1572). However, the three case studies are more akin to city maps than the images of cities that only serve as backdrops to the larger narrative. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Giovanni Stradanus, and Vincenzo Coronelli all drew on first-hand experiences of the respective cities in their images in order to represent the space.

The frontispiece for *Ces Moeurs et fachons* bears the inscription: "Ces moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz avecq les Regions y apperienarites, ont efte au vif contrefaitez par Pierre Coecke d'Alost…" (The Manners and Customs of the Turks and the corresponding landscapes. Drawn from life by Pieter Coecke van Aelst…)[7] The verb "contrefaitez" is employed as a claim to the truthfulness of the series. Peter Parshall has argued that during the sixteenth century the Latin term *contrafactum* and its cognates were used to designate an image as "a bearer of visual fact," particularly in portraiture, topography, and studies of the natural and supernatural.[8] According to Parshall, *contrafactum* suggested "…a more forceful presence than the image…implying a substitute for the thing itself as much, or instead of, a portrayal or representation of it."[9]

The inscription from the frontispiece signals to the viewer that the Coecke van Aelst woodcut series possesses a certain truthfulness that could not be found

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[7] It is unclear why Coecke's Flemish workshop included a French inscription for the series. It is perhaps due to the French tapestry firm that hired Coecke to travel to Constantinople.
[8] Peter Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16:4 (1993): 555-79.
[9] Parshall, "Imago Contrafacta," 561.

in images that were not "*au vif contrafaictez*." A similar pictorial device is used in contemporary maps of cities, where the artist depicts himself in the act of portraying the city (Figure 3 and Figure 4). While Coecke had actually traveled to Constantinople, however, Giovanni Stradanus and Vincenzo Coronelli never travelled outside of Europe. Therefore, they drew on the first-hand experiences of pilgrims and travelers for their images of Jerusalem and the Peloponnesus. Stradanus looked to early pilgrimage maps of the Holy Land while Coronelli consulted official military maps on the Venetian-Ottoman wars in Greece.[10]

Ryan Gregg writes, "the practice of capturing attainable views through on-site sketching, offered a transference from artist to viewer of the perceived experience. Its verisimilitude portrayed the character of the topography, without the specificity of cartography."[11] *Ces moeurs et fachons*, the Jerusalem tapestry, and the prints of Coron and Candia are best described as urban topographies. The word topography literally means "the tracing of place." It applies to visual descriptions of the physical contours of natural places, but, according to Edward Casey, it can also "[describe] these places in ways that are true about them in terms of their identity, history, and various qualitative characteristics."[12]The scope

[10] The reliance of Stradanus on early pilgrimage maps is the subject of my second chapter. The role of military plans in Coronelli's compositions has already been demonstrated by Leonora Navari, "Vincenzo Coronelli and the Iconography of the Venetian Conquest of the Morea: A Study in Illustrative Methods," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 90 (1995): 505-519 and Brendan Dooley, "The Wages of War: Battles, Prints, and Entrepreneurs in Late Seventeenth-Century Venice," *Word & Image* 17:1-2 (2001): 7-24.

[11] Ryan Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History: Vasari and Stradano's City Views in the Palazzo Vecchio" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009), 167.

[12] Edward S. Casey, *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 156.

of the physical topography differs in each of the three case studies. *Ces moeurs et fachons*, for example, portrays an expansive panorama of the Ottoman Empire whereas the Jerusalem tapestry only depicts a partial vista of the city. However, all three case studies adhere to the definition of topography put forth by Casey because they picture boundaries that are more diffusive than divisive. The three case studies depict more than the physical topography of contested spaces, but also a topography that reveals the layers of multiple binaries: East and West, Christian and Muslim, and past and present.

The Ottoman Absence/Presence

Scholars working on early modern images of Ottoman-occupied cities have relied on Harley and his theory of silence in maps as an expansion of political power.[13] In his 1988 article "Silences and Secrecy," Harley focuses on what early European map discourses excluded, rather than articulated.[14] He asserts that there are two kinds of cartographic "silences": (1) intentional silences due to politically motivated secrecy and (2) unintentional silences due to social, ethnic, or political attitudes.

[13] See for example: Naomi Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance* (London; New York: Continuum, 2003); James P. Krokar, "New Means to An Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of An Anti-Ottoman Crusade," *Imago Mundi* 60:1 (2008): 23-38; Ian Manners and M. P. Emiralioglu, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World, 1500-1750 : Maps From the Collection of O.J. Sopranos* (Chicago, Ill.: Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, 2007); Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999).
[14] J.B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76.

Ian Manners draws on Harley's theory of silences to analyze early modern European maps of post-1453 Constantinople under Ottoman rule. [15] Manners argues that despite the fifteenth and sixteenth-century advances in topographical accuracy, these maps carry both deliberate and unintentional symbolic meanings. Manners points out the "silenced" Ottoman presence in maps of Constantinople. By emphasizing the Christian presence, the cartographers mute the Ottoman transformations of the city, thereby creating maps that reappropriate the city for Christianity.[16]

The sociopolitical dimension studied in maps by Harley and other scholars addresses only the European control of power. In these maps, Europeans reassert their control over cities by ignoring or diminishing the presence of the non-Christian rulers. The focus of scholarship on these types of maps, however, belies the complex dynamic of early modern Ottoman-European relations. The balance of power was not always in favor of the Europeans; the Ottoman incursions into Eastern and Western Europe posed a serious threat that could not always be denied through propagandistic cartography. The three case studies I consider acknowledge the Ottoman presence in three different regions, Byzantium, the Holy Land, and the Peloponnesus. Furthermore, all three studies depict the Ottomans in an attempt to reconcile the Ottoman occupation of these sites with a desired Christian reality.

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[15] Ian R. Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Boundelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87:1 (March 1997): 72-102.
[16] Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City," 96.

Turks on the Border: Three Case Studies

In my first chapter, I examine Pieter Coecke van Aelst's woodcut series *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* published in 1553. The series was created after Coecke visited Constantinople in an attempt to solicit a tapestry commission from Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. It has been suggested that the woodcut series derived from Coecke's failed tapestry project.[17] Various details, however suggest that the cycle was later edited to suit a Western audience. In the series, Coecke presents a panoptic view of the Ottoman Empire stretching from the mountains of Slavonia to the cityscape of Constantinople. Minarets, turbans, and crescent moons are interspersed among stony crosses and crumbling antiquities, all underlining the current Ottomanization of the previously Christian Byzantium. The vivified atlantes and caryatids framing the suite are portrayed as a hybrid of classical motif and exotic figure, further highlighting the shift from Christian to Ottoman. Coecke uses the crumbling antiquities and transforming statues to set up a dialectic of the past greatness of Byzantium with its present deterioration under Ottoman rule. Furthermore, drawing on well-established parallels between Constantinople and Rome, the woodcut series suggests the

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[17] Larry Silver, "Triumphs and Tragedies: Printed Processions of the Sixteenth Century" in G*rand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian*, ed. Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff (Wellesley, Mass: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, 2008), 26; Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 120; Emine Fetvaci, "The Grand and the Terrible: European Visions of the Ottomans," in *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints,1500-1825*, ed. James Clifton and Leslie M. Scattone. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008),35.

possibility of a Turkish threat to Rome and the rest of Europe, as the borders of the Ottoman Empire continue to creep westward.

My second chapter focuses on Giovanni Stradanus' *Jerusalem Tapestry* commissioned by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in 1570. The tapestry depicts the renovation of a pilgrim hospital in fifteenth-century Jerusalem under the patronage of Duke Cosimo I's predecessor, Cosimo il Vecchio. The tapestry memorializes Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage in Jerusalem. Stradanus' designs reveal that the tapestry evokes contemporary European anxiety over the increasing threat of Ottoman hegemony. In this chapter, I demonstrate both the identity and location of the depicted hospital through a comparison with early pilgrimage maps. Furthermore, I argue that the location of the hospital in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher created a meditative space in which Duke Cosimo I could contemplate Jerusalem's past and present.

The third chapter examines Vincenzo Coronelli's maps of Coron (1686) and Candia (1691) printed during the Venetian-Ottoman conflict over the Peloponnesus, known as the Morean War. Coron and Candia were key cities during the conflicts. In both prints, Coronelli uses images of fictive tapestries to display maps of the respective cities. Although the two prints depict both actual and potential Venetian victories over the Ottomans, the persistent threat of the Ottomans tempers their evocations of Christian triumph. The maps are not stable, but instead are plagued by cracks in the surface, fictive breezes, and Turks lingering on the edges. The notions of ephemerality and fragility in the two prints

evince the ever-changing fortunes of war, where the borders dividing Venetians and Ottoman are constantly shifting.

From the seemingly ever-expanding Ottoman borders in Coecke's woodcut suite to the image of the Turk on the literal edge of the Coron print, the Ottomans exist on the borders and edges of all three case studies. The physical borders are often unstable; the very presence of the Turks evokes the possibility of further encroachment. The three different chapters, viewed together as a whole, become a compelling study of potential and virtual movement, both desired and feared. In *Ces Moeurs et fachons,* the Ottomans threaten the possibility of movement towards Rome, while in the Jerusalem tapestry they stroll through the city, moving towards the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The potential and virtual movement of the Ottomans mirrors the viewer's own experience of the different media. The viewers are encouraged to turn pages or to cognitively enter the pictorial space of a tapestry. The borders and movement shown in these three chapters correspond with the continuous expansion of the Ottomans into Europe and the constant shift of control over contested sites. The three case studies in this thesis demonstrate how the uncertainty and anxiety in early modern Europe stimulated new and provocative ways of recreating space in a world that was constantly in flux.

Chapter II
Mapping Transformation:
Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz*

A Flemish Artist in Constantinople[18]

In 1533, Pieter Coecke van Aelst travelled to the court of Sultan Suleyman in Constantinople.[19] Coecke was hired by the Dermoyen tapestry firm in Brussels in an attempt to acquire a tapestry commission from Suleyman. While a commission from the Sultan would have been quite a lucrative achievement, the trip also provided Coecke with the opportunity to learn the secrets of the Ottoman textile industry, particularly their coloring techniques.[20] The venture was ultimately unsuccessful; Coecke never procured a commission from the Ottoman court. Scholars have suggested, however, that a woodcut series by Coecke titled *Ces moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* derived from his tapestry designs for the Sultan (Figure 5-11).[21] The monumental woodcut series is a fifteen-foot panoptic

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[18] In this paper, I will use the term "Ottoman" instead of "Turk," unless specifically referring to the ethnic group of Turks.

[19] For Pieter Coecke van Aelst see: William Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in MDXXXIII: A Series of Drawings Made That Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst* (London: [n.p.], 1873); Theodor Wiegand, "Der Hippodrom Von Konstantinopel Zur Zeit Suliemans Die Große," *Jahrbuch Des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 23 (1908): 1-11; Georges Marlier, *Pierre Coeck D'Alost: La Renaissance Flamande* (Brussels: [n.p.], 1966); Max J. Friedländer, *Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst* (Leyden: Sijthoff, 1975).

[20] Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde, *Europa und der Orient, 800-1900* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 240.

[21] Larry Silver, "Triumphs and Tragedies: Printed Processions of the Sixteenth Century" in G*rand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian*, ed. Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff (Wellesley, Mass: Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, 2008), 26; Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 120; Emine Fetvaci, "The Grand and the Terrible: European Visions of the Ottomans," in *The Plains of Mars: European War*

view of the Ottoman Empire and its diverse inhabitants. Coecke seamlessly weaves figure into place, a landscape teeming with Ottoman activity and peppered with ruins of antiquities strewn about the city and country.

Ces moeurs et fachons was published posthumously by Coecke's widow, Mayken Verhulst, in 1553, two decades after his trip to Constantinople. It is unclear how much of the series derives from Coecke's original tapestry designs that he tried to sell at the Ottoman court. On the one hand, the descriptive quality of Coecke's representation of the expansive Ottoman Empire and its inhabitants engaged in a variety of activities indicates the intended purpose to procure a commission from Suleyman. Yet the series is also filled with subtle humorous criticisms that would not have been well received at Suleyman's court. In the third sheet depicting soldiers resting, for example, Coecke groups together a urinating Turk with several prostrate Turks who are praying (Figure 8a). There is a visual parallel in the figures' derogatory positions close to the ground and even the trickle of urine seems to playfully mirror the river flowing past the praying individuals. Details that are irreconcilable with an Ottoman patron suggest a shift in the intended audience. After Coecke's designs for a tapestry series did not elicit an Ottoman commission in 1533, it is possible that additions to the series were made in order to make Coecke's failed designs more suitable for a Western audience twenty years later.[22] The result is a polysemous series evocative of its

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Prints,1500-1825, ed. James Clifton and Leslie M. Scattone. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008),35.

[22] Except for the final sheet depicting the procession of Suleyman, the series is not at all celebratory or adulatory of the Sultan. Perhaps it is the series' focus on the

original purpose but also indicative of a growing anxious interest starting in the 1540's regarding the state of Roman and Byzantine antiquities in the Ottoman Empire.

Coecke's panoramic view is often compared with Melchior Lorich's panorama of the city, which also derived from his visit to Constantinople from 1552-1559 (Figure 3).[23] Lorich pictures himself drawing the sweeping cityscape before him, accompanied by an assistant dressed in Turkish garb. Lorich uses the juxtaposition of his assistant's Turkish clothing with his own European style to create the distinction between himself, the Westerner, and the Turkish 'other.' However, Coecke, according to his biographer Karel van Mander, represented himself in the first sheet dressed as a Turk.[24] (Figure 5) The "Turkish" Coecke brandishes his arm as if encouraging the viewer's virtual movement through the rest of the landscape.[25] Coecke bookends the series, with the self-portrait of the artist and the Sultan at either extreme. A lone cross is located to Coecke's left at the edges of the sheet. The cross marks the boundaries of West and East,

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quotidian activities of Suleyman's subjects, rather than Suleyman himself, that accounts for Coecke's failure to procure a commission.

[23] For more on Melchior Lorich's panorama see: Selen Morkoc, "City and Self in Three Accounts of Istanbul: Lorichs' Panorama (1559), Le Corbusier's Travelogue (1911), and Pamuk's Memoir (2005)," *METU JFA* 24:2 (2007): 83-104; Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth R. Dark, and Rene van Meeuwen, "Constructing Melchior Lorich's Panorama of Constantinople," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69:1 (2010): 62-87.

[24] Karel van Mander, *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, ed. Hessel Miedema, from the 1st edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604) (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994): 74

[25] Whether the central figure in the first sheet really is a self-portrait is not important. What is most interesting is that his contemporaries saw it as a self-portrait and that they understood this transformation of a Western artist into a Turkish soldier.

juxtaposed by the placement of a turban on the opposing corner. Coecke has crossed the threshold into the Ottoman Empire and has consequently been transformed from a Western artist into a Turkish soldier. He initiates a series of shifts, or transmutations, that occur throughout the woodcut suite.

Coecke visited Constantinople during a period of increasing anxiety over the Ottomans' ever-expanding empire. Sultan Suleyman sacked Buda in 1526 and laid siege to Vienna in 1529, only a few years before Coecke made his trip. Sixteenth-century antiquarians who travelled to Constantinople bemoaned the destruction of Roman and Byzantine monuments.[26] Drawing on the rich scholarship on Renaissance antiquarians and Byzantine antiquities, one can see how *Ces moeurs et fachons* reflected contemporary anxieties over the 'Ottomanization' of conquered Byzantium. Coecke produced another woodcut panorama from his trip to Constantinople titled *Description de la court du Grand Turc*, also published posthumously by his workshop in 1553. The second series focuses solely on Suleyman's court in Constantinople, including scenes of Suleyman receiving a group of Venetian ambassadors, Suleyman's palace, and a procession of Suleyman and his cortege. Ottoman quotidian activities are the themes of both series, however, *Ces Moeurs et fachons* is unique in its employment of atlantes and caryatids as a framing device. The anthropomorphic columns, therefore, are not inconsequential ornamentation, but instead play a larger role in the woodcut suite. Focusing on the framing atlantes and caryatids

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[26] See Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) on the range of responses to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

demonstrates how the cartographic idiom used by Coecke organizes the topographical view and charts the changes to space effectuated by the Ottoman expansion and their destruction of antiquities.

Recent Scholarship on *Ces moeurs et fachons*

Scholars, such as Larry Silver, have viewed the series as a counterpoint to the abundant Northern woodcuts of cruel and exotic Turkish warriors. Coecke's renderings of the Ottomans' quotidian activities differs greatly from the visual stereotypes of the Turkish menace, exemplified by Edward Schön's woodcut of a horde of fierce Turks dragging captives along their triumphal route and trampling a baby seen supine on the ground at the left of the scene (Figure 12).[27] Silver has also examined the series' triumphal procession of Suleyman in the final scene of *Ces moeurs et fachons*, although he ultimately concludes that the series is "less a triumph than a travelogue."[28] The documentary or ethnographic quality of the images has led to the association of the series with the tradition of sixteenth-century costume books. In the typical fashion of the early modern printing industry, Coecke's costumes were repeatedly copied in later works.[29] The procession of figures adorned in a wide variety of different costumes serves as a compendium of the assorted ethnic groups that constituted the Ottoman Empire, akin to the costume books that offered a sartorial encyclopedia of the world. Furthermore, the elaborate and exotic costumes functioned as "a marker of

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[27] Larry Silver, "East is East" in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750,* ed. James Harper (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 196-197

[28] Silver, "Triumphs and Tragedies," 26.

[29] Bronwen Wilson, "Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37:1 (2007): 109.

alterity," not only differentiating between the various ethnic groups, but also highlighting the distinction between the "self" (the viewer) and the "other" (the subject).[30]

Gülru Necipoğlu's article on Suleyman's patronage of non-Islamic imperial regalia discusses Coecke's excursion to Constantinople, though she does not specifically discuss *Ces moeurs et fachons*. She argues, using Coecke's attempted tapestry commission as support, that the cultivation of luxurious European status symbols under the Grand Vizierate of Ibrahim Pasha (r. 1523-1536) was directed to a European audience as an expression of Ottoman imperial power.[31] Tapestries, as has been noted in recent scholarship, were the ultimate luxury objects in Europe.[32] Their portability, monumental size, and great expense aggrandized a ruler's imperial status through their connotations of wealth and power. Necipoğlu concludes that Coecke's failure to procure a tapestry commission highlights the transition of power from Ibrahim Pasha to a more conservative faction at court. This power shift ultimately led to an exaggerated decline in Suleyman's patronage of European artists that coincided with the execution of Ibrahim Pasha in 1536.[33]

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[30] Emine Fetvaci, "The Grand and the Terrible," 35.
[31] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin.* 71:3 (1985): 401-427.
[32] Thomas B. Campbell, ed., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002); Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," *Art Journal* 48:2 (Summer 1989): 123-129; Colin Eisler, "Flying Pictorial Carpets: Tapestries' Transalpine Agendas," in *Cultural Exchange Between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600)*, ed. Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes (Brepols: Turnhout, 2007), 87-111.
[33] Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent," 419.

Amanda Wunder, like Larry Silver, views Coecke's *Ces moeurs et fachons* as a complication of the European perception of the Turk as barbaric warrior.[34] She situates the woodcut series in the larger context of sixteenth-century antiquarian accounts of Constantinople, such as those by Pierre Gilles (1561), Nicholas de Nicholay (1568), and Augier Ghislain de Busbecq (1581).[35] While some of the literature perpetuated prevalent stereotypes of the Turkish menace, others, according to Wunder, prefigured the exoticizing rhetoric and imagery of nineteenth-century Orientalism. Wunder's assemblage of literary and visual antiquarian accounts of the city has been essential to the purpose of this chapter, however this chapter will challenge her assertion that Coecke "incorporated the Turks into scenes with the antiquities of the East [in order to show] them as timeless, unchanging peoples of the past."[36]

Ces moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz

Coecke's woodcut suite is a frieze of ten sheets depicting the following seven scenes from left to right: Turkish soldiers in the Serbian mountains; a traveling caravan in the Balkans; Turks eating, praying, marching, and voiding; a celebration of the new moon; a Turkish burial; a feast of the circumcision; and a procession of the sultan in Constantinople.[37] The figures wind their way through a vast landscape leading the viewer's eyes on a virtual journey West to East from

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[34] Amanda Wunder, "Western Travelers, Eastern Antiquities, and the Image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Early Modern History* 7:1/2 (2003): 89-119.

[35] The three antiquarians travelled to Constantinople respectively in 1547, 1551-52, and 1554-62. See originals!

[36] Wunder, "Western Travelers," 119.

[37] The summary of the woodcut suite's narrative derives from descriptive inscriptions located in a separate register below the pictorial space.

the outskirts of the Ottoman Empire to its epicenter. The sense of dynamism is heightened by the processions shown in every sheet, from the formal march of Suleyman and his cortege to the caravan passing through the Balkan landscape. The series possesses an almost cinematographic quality; the scenes transition smoothly from country to city, from night to day. The only demarcations of a new sheet are the eight peculiar atlantes and caryatids that frame the entire suite.

The detailed topography of the empire in *Ces moeurs et fachons* was part of the sixteenth-century development of the perspective city-plan that was "expected to give a total knowledge of the town…bring[ing] together in what appears to be a record of one glance all the glances that the eye can take…"[38] Coecke gives 'a total knowledge' not only of Constantinople, but of the entire empire including its rich array of inhabitants. The series prefigures Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572-1617) that pictures the corresponding town's inhabitants as a logical element of a comprehensive city atlas, creating a visual knowledge that includes both person and place. Braun and Hogenberg, however, include only a few individuals that are separated from the place they inhabit. Instead, Coecke's seemingly infinite inhabitants are integrated into the urban and rural landscape. *Ces moeurs et fachons* appears to be a hybrid of sixteenth-century city-views, costume books, and prints of triumphal processions. Coecke's series differs from Lorich's panorama (1559), Schön's woodcuts (1523), and Nicholas de Nicholay's costume illustrations (1568) because of its comprehensive profusion of visual data. Coecke maps out the *entire*

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[38] Lucia Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76:1 (1994): 109

Ottoman Empire, including every rock, river, turban, tombstone, and person. His map is as much ethnographic as it is topographic.

Perhaps the singularity of Coecke's series derives from his firsthand experience of Constantinople and the surrounding empire. Most of his contemporaries depicted the Turks without ever having travelled to the Ottoman Empire. The frontispiece of *Ces moeurs et fachons* attests that these scenes were drawn "au vif." (Figure 12) As Wunder and Silver have pointed out, there are many pictorial elements that corroborate this claim. Coecke's most well-known sheet, *The Procession of Suleyman*, likely represents the sultan's weekly Friday procession to the mosque (Figure 11). Luigi Bassano, in 1530, witnessed the procession describing the "two thousand Janissaries on foot…and the same number of Spahis and Solacks on horseback…Then come fifteen or twenty led horses…Near the Great Turk himself no one rides, but four grooms, walking on either side of him…"[39] The correlation between Bassano's account and the final sheet of the series suggests Coecke could have witnessed Suleyman's Friday ritual during his visit to the city.

Coecke and the Anxious Antiquarians

Coecke was an avid antiquarian and was known by his contemporaries for his pivotal role in introducing classical architecture to the Low Countries. Dominicus Lampsonius, in his poetic inscriptions for Hieronymous Bosch's *Effigies*, addressed Coecke, writing "…by your [Pieter's] manifold arts you achieved great works and built beautiful homes. This did Serlio teach his countrymen, and you

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[39] Cited in J.M Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Suleyman the Magnificent* (London: British Museums Publications, 1988): 50

have done the same for your own people…."[40] (Figure 13) Karel van Mander, in his seventeenth-century biography of Coecke, wrote that through him "the right method of building has come to us…and we are dropping the modern [i.e. Flemish or Germanic] style."[41] In 1539, Coecke published two books on the classical orders: *Die inventie der colommen*, based on Cesariano's commentaries on Vitruvius, and a Dutch translation of Sebastiano Serlio's *Regole generali di architettura sopra le maniere degli edifici*.[42] Through his publications of Serlio, Coecke has been credited for introducing the word "architecture" replacing *metselrije*, or mason's work.[43] Furthermore, his publications initiated the elevation of architecture in the Low Countries from mere artisanal craft to an aristocratic and scientific pursuit.[44] His introduction to his translation of Serlio titled, *Aenden liefhebbers der Architecturen* (To all Lovers of Architecture), indicates an intended audience that not only included craftsmen, but also antiquarians. His predilection for the classical style is evident in his commentary on Serlio. He praises it in comparison to his own native tradition writing "we call [the classical style] antique, because our own style is so 'imperfect.'" He justifies

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[40] The poem accompanies Lampsonius' portrait of Pieter Coecke from his *Pictorum alliquot celebrium Germainse inferiorits effigies* published in Antwerp in 1572.

[41] Van Mander, "Lives," 74-75.

[42] Coecke would go on to publish another edition in Flemish as well as translations in French and German. For more on Coecke's translations of Serlio see: Herman De La Fontaine Verwey, "Pieter Coecke Van Aelst and the Publication of Serlio's Book on Architecture," *Quaerendo 6:*2(1976): 167-194 and Krista de Jonghe and Koen Ottenheym, *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1500-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

[43] De Jonghe and Ottenheym, *Unity and Disunity*, 44.

[44] Ibid, 41

his preference for this style because "of its sureness and the reasonableness of its symmetry…"[45] It is possible that Serlio's treatise on classical architecture resonated with Coecke's own firsthand experiences with antiquities during his trip to Constantinople.

Coecke's antiquarian interests correlate with later travelers to Constantinople who wrote letters and books describing the collection of antiquities in the city and surrounding empire. The French scholar Pierre Gilles and Habsburg diplomat Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, who traveled to Constantinople respectively in 1547 and 1554-62, wrote of the multiplicity of the city's past and present layers. Besides a common interest in describing the city of Constantinople, both Busbecq and Gilles shared their horror over the perceived Ottoman disregard and destruction of the antiquities in Constantinople. Their accounts are part encomiastic and part documentary, yet both devoted a considerable amount of time to the woeful state of city under Turkish rule. Gilles exclaims "but barbarous men have toppled and buried in barbarous buildings these ancient, heroic works of the city's art, using them to embellish their pathetic little dwellings to such an extent that the vestiges of ancient foundations remain only in a few places."[46] Their description of the melting down of antique coins and dismantling of classical columns demonstrated to Busbecq and Gilles that "the Turks did not…share the 'Renaissance sense of the past' of these traveling antiquarians, and

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[45] Cited in Verwey, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst," 176

[46] Translated in Kimberly May Byrd, "Pierre Gilles' *Topography of Constantinople and its Antiquities*: A New Translation with Commentary" (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2002), 301.

these made them dangerous caretakers for the antiquities of Constantinople."[47] It is important to note that these antiquarians did not view Constantinople and the rest of the Empire as a static, immutable entity but one that "seemed[ed] to lament its fate and the neglect and scorn of its barbarian lords."[48] Busbecq and Gilles conveyed an image of a land in a state of transformation, a degradation perpetuated by the supposedly barbaric Ottomans.

Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet

Sometime before Coecke's trip to Constantinople, Coecke traveled to Rome where, according to Van Mander, he studied the architecture and sculpture of antiquity.[49] His time spent in Rome during a period of heightened interest in recovering the past layers of Rome would have primed him to compare the various temporal layers of Constantinople. Coecke presents not just Constantinople, but the entire Ottoman Empire as a palimpsest. Many of his configurations reveal the empire's past and present. Coecke intertwines explicitly Turkish figures, complete with veils and turbans, with Greek and Balkan types. This can be seen mostly clearly in a detail from the sixth sheet. A group of veiled Turkish women file past two unveiled, Greek women in the foreground (Figure 10). One woman turns her head toward the viewer, her face unobscured by a veil.

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[47] Wunder, "Western Travelers," 101. For more recent scholarship on a Renaissance 'sense of the past' see Christopher Wood and Alexander Nagel, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).

[48] Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters*, trans. Edward Seymour Forester (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927, Reprint: 2005), I. 26

[49] Van Mander, "Lives," 74. The exact date of Coecke's trip to Rome is unknown. It likely occurred before his entrance into the painter's guild in 1527.

The juxtaposition of concealed and revealed women highlights the multiethnic constitution of the Ottoman empire.

Coecke's exposure of the empire's various temporal layers, however, is most evident in his depictions of architectural remains. Coecke uses architectural elements as a tool to mark the layering of empires. The buildings in the background seem Byzantine in their style except for the additions of crescents and minarets, reflecting the actual Ottoman appropriation of Christian buildings for Islamic purposes.[50] Remnants of classicizing structures are strewn throughout the landscape, barely discernible in the mass of figures that make their way through the series (Figure 9a and 10a). The viewer's eyes comb through the landscape picking up bits and pieces of a column or marble fragment here and there, engaging in a sort of mental excavation. Coecke uses these fragments to present a scene similar to modern archaeological sites; his placement of classicizing remains amongst the empire's current inhabitants indicates clearly a passage of time.

The surviving sculptural and architectural ruins in the final sheet function in a similar way through their associative qualities. Coecke uses the signifying power of these remains to reveal the temporal layers of the city. The buildings simultaneously elicit the Ottoman present as well as Byzantium and Rome; however, it is not an objective evocation. Coecke's use of ruins recalls the inscription on the upper cornice of the frontispiece to Serlio's Book III: "How

[50] Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 165-176.

great Rome once was is taught by her ruins" (Figure 15).[51] The inscription invites the viewer to use the ruins of antiquity as a lens through which to contemplate the splendor of Rome's past. The frontispiece depicts a graveyard of antiquities; the foreground is strewn with fragmented marble and the dilapidated arch frames a crumbling monument. Coecke likewise uses the ruins in *Ces moeurs et fachons* as a didactic tool that instructs the viewer not merely about Byzantium's past, but about Byzantium's past magnificence. Coecke thus sets up a dialectic of a past greatness with a presumedly present deterioration. This process is echoed more explicitly in the later travel accounts of Gilles and Busbecq.

The Classical and Byzantine Monuments in Constantinople

Coecke's visit to Rome and his antiquarian interests inform his depiction of ancient and Byzantine monuments in the final sheet of *Ces moeurs et fachons*. The most prominent urban site, the Hippodrome, occupies a third of the pictorial space and provides an impressive backdrop for Suleyman's procession (Figure 11). The site becomes a stage for the procession of Suleyman and his retinue, recalling the Hippodrome's past function as a circus. Moreover, the specter of Rome haunts both the Hippodrome and its surviving monuments: the Theodosian obelisk, the so-called Walled Obelisk, and the Serpentine column.

The Hippodrome's construction began in the third century under the Roman emperor Septimius Severus. Emperor Constantine later expanded the Hippodrome and initiated its sculptural program after relocating the seat of the government

[51] Roma quanta fuit ipsa ruina docet.

from Rome to Byzantium.[52] Scholars have noted the explicit parallels between Constantinople's Hippodrome and the Circus Maximus in Rome.[53] The site's sculptural program, continued by Constantine's successors, perpetuated the Hippodrome's Roman connection through its inclusion of images of Caesar, Augustus, the Tetrarchs, and even a statue of the wolf with Romulus and Remus. As Sarah Bassett has demonstrated, the Hippodrome not only aggrandized Byzantine rule through connections to Rome's imperial past, but also asserted its own supersession of Rome as the new site of Christian imperial power. Bassett argues "no other circus in the Roman world incorporated so many images of Rome with such consistency as to proclaim itself unequivocally a new Rome."[54]

The Hippodrome's two obelisks also continued the dialogue with Rome initiated by the sculptural program, recalling "not only in number but also in placement" the Lateran and Theban obelisks in the Circus Maximus.[55] Emperor Theodosius erected the ancient Egyptian obelisk as a parallel to the previous erection of the Lateran Obelisk in the Circus Maximus. The Walled Obelisk was an imitation obelisk made of ashlar. The exact date of its construction is not known. The obelisks also had strong connotations of conquest. The Theodosian obelisk was originally raised in the temple of Amon at Thebes by Tuthmosis III to commemorate his conquest of Naharina in 1457 BCE, marking an unprecedented

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[52] Sarah Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 87-88
[53] Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome," 87-96 and Nick Henck, "Constantius Ὁ Φιλοκτίστης?" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 279-304.
[54] Bassett, "The Antiquities in the Hippodrome," 95.
[55] Ibid, 94.

expansion of Egypt's borders.[56] Emperor Theodosius's erection of the obelisk in 390 CE followed close on the heels of the emperor's triumphal procession in 389 commemorating his defeat of Maximus in 388.[57] The Latin inscription on the base asserts its triumphal function stating it was "ordered to proclaim the victory over the extinct tyrants."[58] The procession of Suleyman and his retinue through a backdrop composed of the Hippodrome and its antiquities would have resonated strongly in the minds of the early modern viewer of *Ces moeurs et fachons*. The obelisk's triumphal referent comes full circle in the further associations of the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium in 1453 and the recent conquest of Egypt in 1517.

The conscious Byzantine connections to Rome were continued under the Ottomans, initiated by the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II (1432-1481), who considered himself a "Muslim Caesar." [59] Robert Ousterhout has demonstrated that the Ottoman practice of appropriating Byzantine monuments "may be understood…as an attempt to position themselves within the larger context of world history as the rightful heirs of the Roman/Byzantine Empire."[60] The continued presence of these monuments in the Hippodrome suggests that the Ottomans desired to emphasize their suggestive connections to imperial Rome.

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[56] Eric Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1968), 9.
[57] Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile,* 12.
[58] The full inscription on the south-eastern face of the base reads: DIFFICILIS QVONDAM DOMINIS PARERE SERENIS IVSSVS ET EXTINCTIS PALMAM PORTARE TYRANNIS OMNIA THEODOSIO CEDVNT SVBOLIQVE PARENNI TER DENIS SIC VICTVS EGO DOMITVSQVE DIEBVS IVDICE SVB PROCLO SVPERAS ELATVS AD AVRAS
[59] Karen Pinto, "The Maps Are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of An Ottoman Cluster," *Imago Mundi* 63:2 (2011): 155-179.
[60] Ousterhout, "The East, the West," 166.

Ottoman illuminated manuscripts showing festivities celebrated in the Hippodrome often include depictions of the obelisks, the serpentine column, or both (Figure 20). The Hippodrome came to represent Ottoman Istanbul's civic and dynastic center after the construction of Ibrahim Pasha's palace on its western steps. The decision to build the palace of the vizier in the Hippodrome created a strong link to the city's imperial past and subsequently "appropriate[d] it by stamping the imperial topography of the city with an Ottoman dynastic structure."[61] During the Grand Vizierate of Ibrahim Pasha, the Hippodrome was a site of ostentatious civic and religious festivities, including Ibrahim Pasha's wedding in 1524 and the circumcision of Suleyman's sons in 1530.

Thus, in the early-sixteenth century the Hippodrome functioned as a site of Ottoman imperial power marking the Ottoman succession of Byzantium and subsequently Rome as well. However, for a Western viewer, *Ces moeurs et fachons* does not present an objective picture of the cycle of empires; the Ottoman appropriation of Byzantium would have seemed much more insidious. In the final sheet, Suleyman and his cortege process through the crumbling ruins of Byzantine antiquities. The degradation of Constantinople, the New Rome, under the Ottomans would have adumbrated a reality feared by early modern Europeans: the threat posed by the Ottomans to Rome and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.

The consequences of Ottoman incursions into Europe are evinced in this last sheet by a group of antique columns with three mounted bronze statues in the

[61] Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and The Making of Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Suleyman" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007), 178. See Turan's thesis for a more thorough explanation of the political decision to build Ibrahim's palace at the Hippodrome.

background (Figure 11a). The statues were looted from King Matthias Corvinus' palace in Buda during Suleyman's campaign in Hungary in 1526, brought back to Istanbul by Ibrahim Pasha, and raised in front of his palace. Accounts differ over the identity of the figures in the sculptural group. One foreign visitor identified the figures as Mars, Diana, Hercules or Apollo. However, J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward have suggested that the group most likely showed Mars, Romulus and Remus given Matthias' "own idea of himself as the reviver of the glories of ancient Rome."[62] Other sources indicate that the statues were three Hercules figures bound by a chain, or a great Hungarian King with his two sons similarly bound.[63]

The three chained male figures would have had strong political and territorial associations in front of Ibrahim Pasha's palace, who was an instrumental figure in Suleyman's defeat of Hungary.[64] However, in Coecke's woodcut, there is the faintest articulation of breasts on the second statue, suggesting that Coecke represents the Mars, Diana, and Hercules/Apollo configuration. Whatever the identity of the statues, their erection in the Hippodrome simultaneously sent a strong propagandistic message and incurred European anxieties over the ever-increasing Ottoman hegemony. The bronze statues were dismantled and destroyed by a conservative faction of Ottomans following the execution of Ibrahim Pasha in 1536. Necipoğlu has suggested that it was probably during this period of

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[62] Ward and Rogers, *Suleyman the Magnificent*, 31.
[63] Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent," 419 n. 55
[64] In Turan, "The Sultan's Favoriate," she suggests that Ibrahim Pasha actually had very little to do with this success.

iconoclasm in Suleyman's reign that resulted in Coecke's failure to procure a tapestry commission from the Ottoman court.[65]

As the viewer of *Ces moeurs et fachons* moves through the series, the edges of the various layers of the empire peek through until they are laid bare, completely exposed, in the final sheet. There is, however, no static binary creating absolute distinctions between past and present, Byzantine and Ottoman. It is not a history systematically revealing a chronological succession of empires. Instead, the final sheet shows a wrinkle in time where various layers of the palimpsest fold in on each other. The polysemic significations of the Hippodrome and its antiquities are difficult to negotiate. The scene presents a dizzying blend of past, present and future layers: the previous Byzantine city, the current Ottoman degradation of that city, and the suggested possibility of Ottoman incursions further in the West.

Atlantes and Caryatids

Eight atlantes and caryatids punctuate Coecke's series, framing each of the seven scenes (Figures 17a-17h). They are a variation of the classical herm, or the Antwerp Mannerist term figure, an anthropomorphic pillar-like form that served as a marker of boundaries and crossroads in ancient Greece.[66] In this series, the figures appear to function as a type of signpost. They mark the changes of scene and indicate movement from the ends of the Empire to its civic center. However, the figures still function as atlantes and caryatids in that they appear to support an

[65] Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent," 419.

[66] In Michael P. Mezzatesta, "The Façade of Leone Leoni's House in Milan, the Casa degli Omenoni: The Artist and the Public," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44:3 (Oct., 1985), pp. 233-249, he suggests that Leoni's designs for his herms might have been influenced by Coecke's triumphal arch erected in Antwerp for Philip II.

entablature. Coecke suggests their architectonic function in the placement of pillows on the crown of their heads. The figures also provide a snapshot of, or a closer look at, the various national types from the woodcuts, excised from the scenes and transformed into a classicizing support. The statues alternate between male and female, eyes open and eyes closed, with large swaths of fabric tied around their waists or twisted into elaborate headwear. The atlantes and caryatids are not all Turkish; some represent other ethnic groups subsumed under the Ottoman Empire such as a Tartar, embodied by the fourth atlas, identifiable by the rope around his waist, his hat, and his long mustache, an example of which can be found in Cesare Vecellio's *De gli Habiti Antichi e Modérni di Diversi Parti di Mondo* published in 1590 and a Turkish miniature from 1579 depicting the 1566 Szigetvár campaign (Figure 18 and Figure 19).[67]

The anthropomorphic columns framing the seven sheets recall classical atlantes and caryatids, yet their 'exotic' costumes showcase various ethnic groups from Tartar to Turk that made up the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire. While the classical and Byzantine monuments located in the interior of the series replicate existing antiquities, the exterior sculptural forms do not appear to refer to any one specific antiquity. Coecke's atlantes and caryatids are similar to the Byzantine construction of the pseudo-obelisk pictured in the final sheet. They are imaginative imitations of a classical prototype that are necessary to complete a set of referents.

[67] The Tartars in the Turkish miniature represent another articulation of the peculiar folded hat. The tartars are pictured in the foreground, leading the vanguard.

The atlantes' and caryatids' tapering anthropomorphic pillar form was a fixture in the decorative vocabulary of Northern Mannerism expressed by the Fontainebleau School and the engravers in Antwerp.[68] Serlio's architectural treatise spread their popularity; an example of two such figures appear in the frontispiece for his fourth book on columns, which Coecke had published in a Dutch translation with commentary in 1539 (Figure 20). These playful Mannerist caryatids were also commonly employed as framing devices in both prints and tapestries. Coecke's *Act of the Apostles* tapestry cycle, designed by Raphael in 1516 and originally located in the Sistine Chapel, employs similar classical statues to divide up the narrative in the bottom register of the tapestries (Figure 21).

Vitruvius' architectural treatise provided Renaissance architects and antiquarians with an account of the caryatid's origins. According to Vitruvius, Caryae, an ally of the Persians against Greece, was sacked by the Greeks who killed all the men and carried off their wives. Statues of the women were substituted for columnar supports so that they would "appear forever after as a type of slavery, burdened with the weight of their shame and so make atonement for their State."[69] Vitruvius also relates another account of the Greeks shaming their defeated enemies through the depiction of Persian prisoners "arrayed in barbarian costumes and holding up the roof."[70] Coecke's figures, swathed in the

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[68] Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 105.

[69] Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture,* trans. Ingrid D. Rowland (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999): I.6

[70] Vitruvius, *Ten Books*, I.7

sartorial splendor of the various inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, may not signal "barbarian" in the modern sense, but they would have indicated an exotic otherness for the contemporary sixteenth-century viewer.

Was Coecke emulating the Greek tradition as described by Vitruvius, encapsulating the foreign enemy in stone and memorializing their shame as mere beasts of burden? Was he neutralizing the real political threat of the Turks by "freezing [the most dreaded enemy of Europe] into a figure as harmless as one of the porch maidens of the Erectheum"?[71] If so, it is unclear whose enemy is being incapacitated via petrification. Moreover, the assumption of the Ottoman transformation *into* a classical, i.e. Western, form belies Coecke's depiction of the Ottoman transformation *of* classical antiquities and the Byzantine Empire itself. It is at first tempting to view Coecke's atlantes and caryatids as an attempt to neutralize a perceived enemy, yet it is a reading that relies too heavily on Edward Said's definition of Orientalism that is inconsistent with the complex dynamic of early modern Ottoman-European relations.[72] Similar to the Roman and Byzantine monuments contained in the series' interior, the framing atlantes and caryatids do not adhere to a strict binary of East and West; instead, a more polysemic model of reading is required.

Sex, Life, and Caryatids

The engagement of the atlantes and caryatids with their environs suggests that they are more than just ornamentation or a framing device. Coecke's statues do

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[71] Wunder, "Western Travelers," 110

[72] See James Harper's introduction for *Turk and Islam in the Western Eye* for a critique of the application of Said in scholarship on Renaissance Baroque images of 'Easterners.'

not share the blank emotionless stares of contemporary classicizing caryatids, such as those from the school of Fontainebleau decorative frames as seen in Antonio Fantuzzi's *Danae* from 1543-45 (Figure 22). Instead, the four atlantes and last caryatid actively look, suggesting an awareness of their surround. Their eyebrows are poised expressively as they glance alternatively to the left and to the right. The figures look across space and generate movement, despite their own immobility. The exchange of glances across the sheets between the caryatids also doubles the framework already established by their "framing" presence; their gazes demarcate the transitions between the scenes. The fourth atlas, the Tartar, glances to the right, his face twisted anxiously as he peers at the procession unfolding beside him (Figure 17g). Although unable to move independently, the active emotional engagement of the atlantes and caryatid mirrors the bustle of activity in the very scenes they are viewing. The seemingly animate fictive statues have parallels in the antiquarian travel accounts. In Pierre Gilles' account of the dismantling of the Buda statues, which he believes is a statue of Hercules, he writes:

> But after [Ibrahim Pasha's] death, [the statue of] Hercules, who not only wandered the world, vanquishing monsters while alive, but even dead had been carried here and there, escaping so many calamities, until at last he was overcome, was pulled down by the Turks, the hostile enemies of statuary and…the whole art of Vitruvius. It was these Turks who vanquished Hercules with the proposition of the thirteenth labor…Likewise [the Turks] had burned a Hercules made of wood, as the impious Diagoras did. Entering an inn and wanting wood with which to cook his lentils, he [Diagoras] found a beautiful, artfully made wooden Hercules and cut it up and built a fire, saying these words: O Hercules! He who underwent twelve labors, Go on! Suffer a thirteenth labor! Now you will cook lentils![73]

[73] Byrd, "Pierre Gilles," Book II.XIII, 331.

Gilles animates the inanimate in his rhetorical personification that ascribes to the statue with the ability to suffer, to feel. This antiquarian response was not unique to monuments of Constantinople; strikingly similar accounts of animate statues can be found in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published in Venice in 1494 complete with woodcut illustrations.

In the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, the protagonist Poliphilo seeks out his reluctant lover, Polia, in a dreamscape filled with flirtatious nymphs, lascivious satyrs, and a superabundance of antiquities. The narrative articulates ethical values implicit in the making of "classical" architecture as told by an exemplar of an antiquities lover, in every sense of the word. More erotic than elegiac, Poliphilo experiences intense emotional connections to the monuments and statues he encounters. On one occasion, Poliphilo comes across a frieze of a sleeping nymph and:

> …wondered not unreasonably whether a living being had been turned to stone…and thus petrified…Her thighs were suitably fleshy, her plump knees slightly bent, showing her narrow feet which tempted one to reach out one's hand to stroke and tickle them; and the rest of her lovely body was enough to provoke even one made of stone…[74]

Poliphilo's nymph not only appears to be life turned into stone, but she is also ascribed with the ability to evoke life from stone.[75] Coecke's atlantes and caryatids represent both transformative qualities. On the one hand, they show the petrification of living figures from within the series, no longer walking, dancing,

[74] Francesco Colonna, Joscelyn Godwin, and Stephen Conway, trans., *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of love in a Dream* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 71-72 [d8].
[75] See Fredrika Jacobs, *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) for the Renaissance artistic topos of "lifelike."

eating, or praying but immobilized as architectural supports. At the same time, they suggest the transformation of a static classical motif into a living being that seems to be brimming with vivacity. These living petrifications, or perhaps petrified beings, frame a landscape filled with stone material: from the remnants of antiquities to the petrified turbans that served as grave markers (Figure 9 and Figure 10).

Poliphilo's reaction to the enticing and seemingly living statue of the nymph resonates with two rather sexualized caryatids from Coecke's woodcuts (Figure 17b and Figure 17h). The second and fourth caryatid are indicative of Coecke's Mannerist influences in his rendering of clinging wet fabric that playfully reveals the shape of their breasts and pelvises. The wet drapery also perhaps prefigures the later European fascination with bathing Oriental women.[76] Coecke simultaneously conceals and reveals his second caryatid, whose veiled face cleverly counterpoints her clearly defined nipples. The fourth caryatid, the most sexualized, resides at the end of the Constantinople sheet where she frames and is framed by the antiquities behind her. Unlike the other three caryatids with downcast eyes, her eyes are open and look to the right, completing the series of parenthetical glances initiated by the first atlas. Her eyes glance aside while the viewer's eyes are drawn to linger on her erect nipples, the soft swell of her stomach, and the subtle definition of her pelvis.

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[76] See Leslie Leubbers, "Documenting the Invisible: European Images of Ottoman Women, 1567-1867," *Print Collector's Newsletter* (March-April 1993):1-7 and Patricia Simons, "Images of Bathing Women in Early Modern Europe and Turkey," *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migrations, and Convergence,* ed. Jayne Anderson (Carlton:The Miegunyah Press, 2009), 267-271.

The atlantes and caryatids are a dialectical construction of active subject and passive object. This juxtaposition is gendered; the atlantes are engaged with their surrounds and direct the viewer's gaze, while the caryatids, with one exception, are pictured with downcast eyes that invite the viewer to pause and gaze at their forms. But whether as subject or object, all are animated in their expressions of anxiety or their elicitations of desire. The inventiveness of Coecke's atlantes and caryatids is highlighted in his synthesis of real Ottomans, e.g. the fairly accurate depiction of a Janissary, and his imagined, fetishized, and vaguely "Eastern" caryatids.

Rebecca Zorach's study of the ornamental frames from the School of Fontainebleau has effectively demonstrated the mediating function of ornamentation as "a point of transit between the literal and the figurative, the sign that says 'take this…some way,' that is, seeing as."[77] The atlantes and caryatids function as a sort of 'point of transit' in their occupation of a hyphenated moment between Ottoman type and classicizing motif. They show the process of transformation of West into East that has already occurred in the interior of series, as announced by the Coecke self-portrait. The School of Fontainebleau ornamental frames, however, still differ from Coecke's atlantes and caryatids, which function in a framing manner but are integrated into the space they frame.

Similar to the Ottoman practice of adding crescents and minarets to integrate a Byzantine or Christian building into the Ottoman milieu, the synthesis of classical motif and Ottoman figures integrate the atlantes and caryatids more fully into the

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[77] Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold*, 152

series.[78] The atlantes and caryatids not only excise the national types found within the series, but highlight the changes to the space that have already occurred as well. Their microcosmic quality complicates a clear division between interior and exterior, center and periphery. There is a slight suggestion of periphery in the juxtaposition of the first's scene isolated and craggy landscape of Slavonia with the built-up and populated metropolis of Constantinople depicted in the final sheet. Yet the periphery appears to keep stretching out as the Ottoman Empire keeps expanding. The fluidity of space highlighted by the blurred interior/exterior echoes the ever-expanding borders, or makers of space, of the Ottoman Empire.

In almost cinematographic fashion, the Turks march through their ever-expanding territory amongst the people and monuments of the previous empire. To continue this cinematic metaphor, the atlantes and caryatids are the points of suture in this panoramic reel. They represent the place where the scenes are "sewn" together, but in their seamless integration they communicate continuity. The sense of continuity, of motion, and of expansion creates directionality. And in the dialogue between the represented sculptures and monuments, that implied direction is Rome. The atlantes and caryatids mediate the temporal layers of the Ottoman Empire revealed in the Roman and Byzantine antiquities. The specter of Rome haunts the figures' metamorphosis from classical motif into Ottoman figure; this shift highlights the actual territorial shifts that absorbed various Christian groups, e.g. Serbs, Albanians, etc., into the Ottoman Empire and

[78] Ousterhout, "The East, The West," 168: "…the technical similarities and reuse of materials might be better viewed as an expression of integration, rather than domination."

suggests Rome's own potential for transformation as the boundaries of the Empire creep westward.

Conclusion: Mapping Transformations

The atlantes and caryatids become a means of pulling together and reorganizing knowledge of the urban and rural spaces they both frame and ornament.[79] They capture moments of Coecke's ethnography within the series: a Turk, a Janissary, a Greek, etc. Thus, the specific forms they embody are intertwined with the classicizing elements their general forms suggest. Coecke transformed classical architectural motifs into figural representations of Ottomans as easily as the Turks broke up classical monuments to be used as building material for their architectural programs.[80] The atlantes and caryatids become a nexus between different, yet interrelated, binaries: past and present; foreign and familiar; East and West. Despite functioning as dividers, they do not maintain strict categorical divisions between the differing elements. The classical associations are transmuted by the explicit exoticness of the figures, but it is this striking transformation that encourages the viewer to contemplate what the figures are, as much as what they were.

The shift from classical to 'other' mirrors the very 'Ottomanization' of the conquered Byzantine Empire that Gilles and Busbecq so lamented, and that Coecke certainly would have witnessed during his visit. The microcosmic quality of the atlantes and caryatids singles out the most important event pictured by *Ces*

[79] David Turnball, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 5-24.
[80] Cf note 34.

moeurs et fachons: the inevitable transformation of a Byzantine Empire into an Ottoman Empire. Coecke not only presents an ethnographic showcase, but a panoptic view of the gradual subsumption of the Serbs, Greeks, Tartars, and other groups under Ottoman rule. Coecke's *Ces moeurs et fachons* facilitates a spatial understanding of the Ottoman world. Within the series, the horizon line stretches across the entire panorama and certain topographic features, such as the rivers or the mountains, continue from one scene into the next. The continuity of topography intimates an accurate plotting of space, where the viewer could move from one point to the next throughout the empire. Although the woodcut suite was based on Coecke's empirical observations of the empire, the series does not picture a static geographic reality. Instead, Coecke's series maps the transformations of space. It is a cartographic knowledge that is both spatial and temporal. The past, present, and future transformations of the Christian landscape in *Ces moeurs et fachons* create a visual itinerary that unfolds in time and over space.

Chapter III
Mapping Temporalities:
Giovanni Stradanus' Jerusalem Tapestry in the Palazzo Vecchio

In 1571 Duke Cosimo I de' Medici commissioned his court artist Giovanni Stradanus to design the cartoon for a tapestry depicting the renovation of a hospital in Jerusalem under the patronage of his great-grandfather, Cosimo il

Vecchio.[81] The tapestry was part of a larger tapestry series celebrating the lives of the elder Medici, woven by Stradanus for the Palazzo Vecchio. Responding to his patron's desire to emulate his eponymous predecessor, Stradanus designed a tapestry that emphasized the power and piety of Cosimo I. The imagery of the tapestry memorializes Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage in Jerusalem, but a closer examination reveals contemporary European anxieties over the increasing threat of Ottoman hegemony. The tapestry represents a collapsed space of past and present. The dual temporalities represented in the tapestry not only served to aggrandize Medici ducal power but also to deplore the Ottoman occupation of Jerusalem that began in 1517.

In the Jerusalem tapestry, a group of workers in the background carry and unload building materials on the ground, while others work on the roof of the hospital (Figure 23).[82] Medici patronage of the site is indicated by the large Medici crest affixed above the entryway adorned below with the fictive inscription: Cosimo de' Medici. An injured pilgrim rests on crutches outside the doorway while a standing figure appears to be inviting the pilgrim to enter the hospital. In the foreground four pilgrims in different seated poses are marked with contemplative expressions. The central pilgrim beseechingly gazes upward with his hand outstretched. Two turbaned figures on the left of the tapestry stroll and

[81] Born Jan van der Straet in Flanders, there are many Italianized versions of his name. However, for the purpose of uniformity I will only use the Stradanus spelling in this paper.
[82] Primary sources differ on whether the building was a hospital or hospice. It is certain that it served as a hospice, accommodating pilgrims who were visiting the Holy Sepulcher; however the tapestry appears to depict a hospital, apparent in the figure of the injured pilgrim entering the building. For the sake of consistency, this paper will refer to the building as a hospital.

gesture towards the central pilgrim before them while a vista of Jerusalem stretches behind them.

The tapestry memorializes Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage in Jerusalem, yet the gesturing pilgrim occupies the center of the composition; the renovation of the hospital only appears as a backdrop to the larger scene. The two strolling turbaned figures gesture towards the central pilgrim, but he does not gesture back towards them. Instead, he appears to be gesturing toward something on the left just outside the border of the tapestry. Why is the pilgrim gesturing and what is he gesturing to? How do the turbaned figures fit into this series of gestures? In order to address these questions, I will explore the influence of cartography on Stradanus' designs for the tapestry. A comparison of early pilgrimage maps of Jerusalem and the Medici tapestry will help identify the depicted hospital and its location in the courtyard of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Once the location of the hospital is established, the role of the central pilgrim as a facilitator of the viewer's virtual experience of the tapestry will become clear. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how Stradanus used a visual language established by early pilgrimage maps to recreate an image, or concept, of Jerusalem and how he created a meditative space in which Duke Cosimo I could contemplate Jerusalem's past and present.

Recent Scholarship on Tapestries and Early Modern Images of Jerusalem

Tapestries were one of the most prized luxury items commissioned by Renaissance patrons. The sheer size and portability of tapestries made them particularly effective in conveying a propagandistic message in their display at the

courts of Europe. Recent scholarship has reclaimed the preeminent place of tapestries in the Renaissance hierarchy of arts and demonstrated the efficacy of tapestries as a tool of political power.[83] Guy Delmarcel has examined the transnational weaving industry patronized by the European courts and dominated by Flemish weavers and designers, such as Stradanus.[84] The predominance of Flemish artists in Duke Cosimo I's own decorative campaign in the Palazzo Vecchio has been researched by Candace Adelson.[85] While Adelson looks specifically at trends in Duke Cosimo I's tapestry production, Janet Cox-Rearick, in her study on Medici art and propaganda, has looked at Duke Cosimo I's artistic patronage in the context of his claim to be a second Cosimo il Vecchio.[86] Both Adelson and Cox-Rearick have demonstrated how Duke Cosimo I's artistic patronage functioned as an effective tool for self-aggrandizement.

Giorgio Vasari headed the decorative campaign for the Palazzo Vecchio from 1555 until his death in 1574. He hired Stradanus who worked not only on the *Lives of the Elder Medici* tapestries, but also with Vasari on the fresco cycle of

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[83] Thomas P. Campbell, ed. *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002). Also see Chapter II in Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000) for a discussion on tapestries as symbols of power.
[84] Guy Delmarcel, *Flemish Tapestry* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000) and *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad: Emigration and the Founding of Manufactories in Europe* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.)
[85] Candace Adelson,"Documents for the Foundation of Tapestry Weaving Under Cosimo I De' Medici," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, ed. Andrew Morrogh (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 3-17 and "The Tapestry Patronage of Cosimo I De'Medici:1545-1553," (PhD diss., New York University, 1990.)
[86] Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.)

city views decorating the Salone di Cinquecento and the Primo Cortile. Ryan Gregg, in his 2009 dissertation, focuses on the relation of the frescoed city views to Vasari's merging of historiographic and cartographic practices in order to legitimate his decorative history of Cosimo I.[87] Gregg argues that "Stradano's city views, with their foundations in observation, suitably serve as "facts" for Vasari's *aphegesis* because of the recognizable topographical character of those sites…"[88] Gregg's dissertation is instrumental to my study of the Jerusalem tapestry because it demonstrates not only the processes used by Stradanus to create his city views, but also his cartographic influences.

References to the Jerusalem tapestry exist primarily in catalogues on Italian tapestries or Medici patronage. [89] Detlef Heikamp briefly mentions the tapestry in his essay on Stradanus' Palazzo Vecchio tapestries. [90] Heikamp's article, however, is purely documentary, and only discusses receipts of payment for the design and execution of the tapestry, as well as contemporary sources about Cosimo il Vecchio's hospital. There is however, a wealth of scholarship on medieval and early modern images and maps of Jerusalem. In particular, Rehav Rubin's work demonstrates how early modern images and maps mixed

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[87] Ryan Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History: Vasari and Stradano's City Views in the Palazzo Vecchio" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2009).
[88] Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History," 128.
[89] Lucia Meoni. *Gli Arazzi Nei Musei Fiorentini:La Collezione Medicea: Catalogo Completo* (Livorno: Sillabe, 1998); Alessandra Barroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet Detto Giovanni Stradano:Flandrus Pictor Et Inventor* (Milano: Jandi Sapi, 1997); and Detroit Museum of Arts, *Decorative Arts of the Italian Renaissance 1400-1600* (Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1958.)
[90] Detlef Heikamp, "Giovanni Stradanos Bildteppiche Für Den Palazzo Vecchio Mit Darstellungen Aus Dem Leben Der Alteren Medici," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 2 (1969): 183-200.

imagination and reality, creating a concept or idea, rather than an accurate image, of the Holy Land.[91] Rubin's work also raises the question of whether non-cartographic images of the Holy Land can be defined as "maps." This study of the Jerusalem tapestry will address Rubin's work by arguing that Stradanus drew on cartography to design a tapestry with a particular mapping function. The mapping qualities of the tapestry not only help to locate the depicted hospital, but also to create a virtual pilgrimage of the Holy City.

Cosimo il Vecchio's Architectural Patronage

Identification of the hospital in the Jerusalem tapestry is hampered by the lack of documentary evidence. Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage of a hospital in Jerusalem is rarely mentioned, and the few contemporary sources contradict each other.[92] Vespasiano da Bisticci, biographer of Cosimo il Vecchio, mentions the building in his chronicle of Cosimo's life:

> And there came to Cosimo certain friars of Jerusalem who told him that their house, Il Santissimo Spirito, was in ruins and wanted rebuilding. Cosimo agreed to do the whole work, and he arranged through his house at Venice that the money should be paid according to the needs of the friars by a draft on his bank. They built there a vault over their church which

[91] Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality: Jerusalem in Maps and Views* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1999.) See also Rehav Rubin, "From Center of the World to Modern City: Maps of Jerusalem through the Ages" in *Holy Land in Maps*, ed. A. Tishbi (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2001); Ibid, "One City, Different Views: A Comparative Study of Three Pilgrimage Maps of Jerusalem." *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 2 (2006): 267-290.

[92] See Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, trans. William George and Emily Waters (New York: Harper & Row, 1963); Niccolò Machiavelli, *The History of Florence, and of the Affairs of Italy, From the Earliest Times to the Death of Lorenzo the Magnificent; Together With the Prince and Various Historical Tracts* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1847); and Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull, Vol. II. (New York: Penguin Books, 1987.)

> they decorated, and anyone who may go to the Holy Land may see it with Cosimo's arms sculptured thereon.[93]

Niccolò Macchiavelli writes that Cosimo built a new hospice for 'poor and infirm pilgrims' in Jerusalem.[94] Giorgio Vasari, in his biography of Michelozzo Michelozzi, writes that the architect "…made the design and model which Cosimo sent to Jerusalem for the hospice he arranged to be built there for the pilgrims going to the sepulchre of Christ."[95]

The designs for the tapestry date almost one hundred years after the hospital was either renovated or erected. The tapestry seems to synthesize the accounts of Vespasiano and Vasari. Stradanus depicts the workers renovating the hospital's roof. There is also visual evidence, as will be demonstrated later, that the hospital in the tapestry is for pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre. As Stradanus worked closely with Vasari in the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio, it is likely that he would have been aware of the account.

Duke Cosimo I's commission for the Jerusalem tapestry should be viewed in the context of his larger artistic program, designed to draw connections between himself and Cosimo il Vecchio. Duke Cosimo I's legitimacy as a ruler of Florence was widely disputed at the beginning of his reign. He suffered humiliating challenges to his authority early in his career.[96] In order to establish his right to the ducal position, Cosimo I and his supporters claimed he was Cosimo il Vecchio reborn, a notion systematically disseminated through his

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[93] Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes, Popes and Prelates,* 220.
[94] Machiavelli, *The History of Florence*, 312.
[95] Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, II: 43.
[96] Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 18.

artistic patronage. Cosimo il Vecchio had also faced challenges to his authority during his lifetime, but by the time of Duke Cosimo I's reign he had achieved wide popularity amongst the Florentines, commonly referred to as "Cosimo *Pater Patriae."* The representation of the physical renovation of a hospital in Jerusalem under the auspices of Cosimo il Vecchio in the fifteenth century would have evoked Cosimo I's own financial and bureaucratic renovation of hospitals in Florence during the sixteenth century. The depiction of a hospital renovation in Jerusalem served as an apt tool for establishing parallels between the two Cosimos.

The architectural patronage of Cosimo il Vecchio was one of the most extensive of his time and focused primarily on ecclesiastical structures. He often played an active role in the implementation of his architect's designs. His biographer, Vespasiano, attributed his architectural charity as atonement for usury.[97] E.H. Gombrich and Dale Kent argue that Cosimo was deeply concerned with his spiritual afterlife and hoped that his patronage of ecclesiastical structures would expiate his sins.[98] Furthermore, Cosimo il Vecchio also saw his architectural patronage as an effective tool of self-aggrandizement. Vespasiano writes that Cosimo il Vecchio "was sure that, in the lapse of fifty years, no memory would remain of his personality or of his house save the few fabrics he

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[97] Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*, 217.

[98] Dale Kent, *Cosimo De 'Medici and the Florentine Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); E.H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," in *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. Ernest F. Jacob (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1960.)

might have built."[99] Cosimo il Vecchio believed that his architectural patronage would guarantee both the heavenly immortalization of his soul as well as the earthly immortalization of his family name in Florence.

In the *Life of Cosimo il Vecchio* tapestry cycle, Stradanus designed two additional tapestries celebrating Cosimo's architectural patronage. *Cosimo has the Badia in Fiesole built* depicts Cosimo il Vecchio viewing a model of the Badia while his architect presents a schematic drawing (Figure 24). In the background, workers carry building materials and are beginning the construction of the Badia. In the third tapestry in the cycle, *Cosimo has a library for the San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice built*, an allegorical figure contemplates a book in her hand while Cosimo il Vecchio directs the unloading of books from gondolas in the background (Figure 25).[100] The architectural patronage of the Medici family features in other tapestries in the Palazzo Vecchio celebrating the lives of the elder Medici. *Lorenzo having the Poggia Villa at Caiano built* by Stradanus, for example, shows Lorenzo contemplating an architectural model in a similar manner to the Fiesole tapestry (Figure 26).

The thirteen surviving tapestries from the *Lives of the Elder Medici* cycle all feature figured borders that unify the series. The borders teem with Mannerist grotteschi, fictive statues, and human figures in both sedentary and dynamic poses. The figures engage in a variety of different activities; they appear to converse

[99] Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*, 223.
[100] The fourth tapestry in the cycle depicted Cosimo il Vecchio giving aid to Francesco Sforza. According to Heikamp, the now lost fifth tapestry also showed a scene from the Sforza narrative. Heikamp, "Giovanni Stradanos Bildteppiche," 186.

with one another or to passively watch the scenes unfolding in their respective tapestries. The Jerusalem tapestry, however, is the only panel in the series with sleeping figures. The dozing figures represent pilgrims, identifiable by their pilgrim staffs and apparel. The pilgrims pictured in the borders also differ from the figures of putti or allegorical types in the rest of the series.

The three tapestries from the Stradanus cycle attest to Duke Cosimo I's awareness of the importance of his predecessor's architectural patronage and his desire to emphasize it through its inclusion in the tapestry cycle. However, the marked absence of Cosimo il Vecchio in the Jerusalem tapestry distinguishes it from the other two. The Venice and Fiesole tapestries show Cosimo il Vecchio as an active patron, contemplating a building model or overseeing the unloading of the library. In the Jerusalem tapestry, the Medici crest and inscription are the only markers of his presence. Because Cosimo il Vecchio is present in the other tapestries in the cycle, including the Sforza panels, his absence in the Jerusalem tapestry is striking.[101] Of course, one can view this absence as a strict adherence to the biography; Cosimo il Vecchio never did travel to Jerusalem. However, given the rich architectural patronage of Cosimo, it is notable that the patron and artist chose to commemorate a commission that precluded an inclusion of his personage. Moreover, the Jerusalem tapestry is the only panel in the cycle with a narrative scene that occurs outside of the Italian peninsula.

The Ottoman Presence in Mamluk Jerusalem

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[101] To the best of my knowledge in Stradanus' other tapestries series depicting the lives of the elder Medici, all of the tapestries feature the physical presence of the title figure.

The singularity of the Jerusalem tapestry raises questions about its role in the larger decorative program. Why did Duke Cosimo I commission a panel that did not directly portray Cosimo il Vecchio? Why did he commission a tapestry with a narrative that occurred far outside the realm of Medici power? And why was a hospital in the city of Jerusalem significant enough to merit a panel devoted to the subject? Jerusalem, of course, carried considerable significance as the Holy City for Christianity, but it also played an important role in Florentine civic identity. According to scholar Donald Weinstein, Florence believed itself to be a new Jerusalem, a "center of rebirth and Christian renewal."[102] The past city of Jerusalem would have evoked the present city of Florence, dovetailing with Duke Cosimo I's attempts to fashion himself as the rebirth of Cosimo il Vecchio.

The date of the tapestry also coincides with the recent Italian victory over the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto. Documents indicate that Stradanus was paid in February 1572 for his cartoon designs while the weaver, Benedetto di Michele Squilli, was paid earlier in December 1571.[103] Only a few months before the tapestry was paid for, the Holy League defeated the Ottomans in the Battle of Lepanto, a relatively inconsequential but highly celebrated victory for the Italians. The chronology of the dates attests that Stradanus designed the tapestry in the victorious aftermath of the battle, during a general period of heightened awareness of the Ottomans. During the years leading up to and after the Battle of Lepanto, the Ottomans incited much fear as they continued to expand their empire,

[102] Donald Weinstein, "The Myth of Florence," *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Nicolai Rubenstein (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 15-44.
[103] Heikamp, "Giovanni Stradanos Bildteppiche,"Anhang I-III, 198.

threatening the borders of Europe. The Ottomans had also conquered Jerusalem in 1517 about fifty years prior to the production of the tapestry. The Ottoman control of Jerusalem was a source of anxiety and embarrassment for the Western Europeans, particularly the Florentines who believed Florence was a modern model of the Holy City.

The fifteenth-century setting of the narrative depicted in the tapestry indicates that the two strolling turbaned figures on the leftmost side represent Mamluks, who ruled Jerusalem from 1280 to 1516. However, the turbans are styled in the Ottoman fashion. Mamluk turbans were elongated with horizontal folds, while Ottoman turbans were wrapped vertically around a knot, or tāj (Figures 27 and 28).[104] The turbans in the Jerusalem tapestry clearly delineate the Ottoman tāj on top. The anachronistic presence of two Ottomans in a fifteenth-century Jerusalem setting recalls the late sixteenth-century geopolitical environment in which the tapestries were produced.

Pilgrimage Accounts of the Holy Land

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a large number of pilgrimage accounts of the Holy Land circulated throughout Europe. These accounts often included detailed textual descriptions and maps of the Holy Land that provided a visual source for artists depicting a city they had never visited. Stradanus is described by biographers as travelling throughout Italy as well as Flanders and

[104] Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1982), 40. See the corresponding images for the differences between the Mamluk and Ottoman turbans.

Germany, but there is no mention of him ever travelling to Jerusalem. [105] In fact, it is highly unlikely that Stradanus could have ever travelled there. [106] By 1517, travel to the city had become extremely dangerous. Territorial disputes between the authoritative powers within the Holy City as well as the Turkish conquest of cities critical to pilgrimage travels, such as Modon, Coron and Rhodes, exacerbated the already perilous pilgrimage route to Jerusalem.[107] Stradanus and other artists, therefore, had to rely on earlier pilgrimage maps for visual information. The maps, however, should not be read as a direct source but rather as providers of a recognizable visual language for imagining Jerusalem. Stradanus used an architectural vocabulary established by earlier pilgrimage maps to recreate the architecture of Jerusalem.[108]

Although pilgrimage to Jerusalem had declined in the years leading up to the production of the Jerusalem tapestry in 1571, a veritable golden age of

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[105] Marjolein Leesberg and Huigen Leeflang, ed., *Joannes Stradanus*. Ouderkerk Aan Den Ijssel (Amsterdam: Sound & Vision Publishers, in Co-operation with the Rijkspretenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, 2008.)

[106] By the sixteenth century, very few artists travelled to Jerusalem. Two exceptions are the Flemish artists Jan Provoost and Jan van Scorel. See Molly Faries, "Jan van Scorel's Jerusalem Landscapes" in *In detail: New studies of Northern Renaissance Art in Honor of Walter S. Gibson*, ed. Laurdina Dixon (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pgs? Mordechai Lewy has also suggested that Pieter Coecke van Aelst traveled to Jerusalem during the same trip that brought him to Constantinople. See M. Lewy, "An Unknown View of a Mt. Zion Monastery by the Flemish Old Master Pieter Coecke van Aelst," *Liber annuus* 55 (2005): 315-326.

[107] F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 20.

[108] Maps would have been readily available at the Palazzo Vecchio when Stradanus was working on the tapestry cycle. Francesca Fiorani has demonstrated Egnazio Danti and Stefano Bonsignori's reliance on cartography for the map murals in the Guardaroba Nuova (1563-1586). See Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps,* 105-31.

pilgrimage had existed in the previous centuries. On February 11, 1229, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II and Sultan Al-Kamel signed the Treaty of Jaffa, stipulating Latin Christians safe access to, but not control over, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth.[109] This treaty brought about an influx of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as well as a proliferation of travel narratives written during and after these peregrinations. The introduction of the printing press in 1440 facilitated a wide dissemination of these pilgrimage accounts throughout Europe, providing not only textual evidence of the Holy City but visual as well, primarily via the medium of cartography.

The most influential and famous of these pilgrimage accounts was Bernhard van Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, first published in 1486. A cardinal from Mainz, Breydenbach travelled to the Holy Land in 1483-4 with a large retinue of pilgrims. Assisted by the artist Erhard Reuwich, Breydenbach created a literary and visual narrative of his experience.[110] The *Peregrinatio* was widely popular and easily accessible throughout most of continental Europe; it was issued in numerous editions and translated into at least six other languages.[111] The *Peregrinatio* still had long reaching effects even after the decline of pilgrimage in the sixteenth century. F. Thomas Noonas writes that

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[109] Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem*, 19.
[110] On the illustrations see Hugh Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483-4: A Bibliography* (London: J. & J. Leighton, 1911); Elizabeth Ross, "Picturing Knowledge and Experience in the Early Printed Book: Reuwich's Illustrations for Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486)*" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004); Ibid, "Mainz at the Crossroads of Utrecht and Venice: Erhard Reuwich and the *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486)" in *Cultural Exchange Between the Low Countries and Italy (1400-1600),* ed. Alexander-Skipnes Ingrid (Turnhout:Brepols, 2007), 123-144.
[111] Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, i.

"in demonstrating that place so convincingly, so lavishly, it fortified pilgrimage to Jerusalem against the coming age when such devout travel would cease to be such a newsworthy item and no longer be the only or obvious or most noticed and prestigious way to go far from home."[112] The illustrations in these accounts, particularly the panoramic maps, provided those unable to travel to Jerusalem with a virtual experience of the city. Reuwich's panoramic map of Jerusalem, explicitly emphasized as 'drawn from nature,' would have a facilitated a mental pilgrimage for the readers at home (Figure 29).[113]

It is conceivable that Stradanus looked to early pilgrimage accounts, particularly Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, for his depiction of Jerusalem considering their wide dissemination and immense popularity.[114] A series of prints by Stradanus on the new technologies of the early modern world indicates his interest in cartography. Alice McGinty, in her dissertation on this series, demonstrates Stradanus' interest in navigation and the other scientific advancements that led to "the discovery of the New World, [which he believed was] the major event of his time."[115] In one print, *Longitudes of the Earth Found from the Deviation of the Magnet from the Pole*, Stradanus illustrates the Dutch teacher of cartography and navigation, Peter Plancius (Figure 30).[116] In the print, Plancius utilizes a compass and the position of the sun to determine longitude.

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[112] Noonan, *Road to Jerusalem*, 45.
[113] Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach*, xxi.
[114] See David Woodward, *Maps as Prints in the Italian Renaissance: Makers, Distributors & Consumers* (London: British Library, 1996.)
[115] Alice Bonner McGinty, "Stradanus (Jan Van Der Straet), His Role in the Visual Communication of Renaissance Discoveries, Technologies and Values," (PhD diss. Tufts University, 1974.)
[116] McGinty, "Stradanus," 51.

This illustration of Plancius reveals Stradanus' own knowledge of the scientific developments in cartography.

There are precedents for the influence of Breydenbach and similar pilgrimage accounts on early modern tapestries. Haim Gorem convincingly demonstrates how a pair of German sixteenth-century tapestries was constructed using pilgrimage maps to the Holy Land as reference (Figure 31 and Figure 32). [117] Prince Otto Heinrich of the Palatinate, commissioned these two tapestries, twenty years after a pilgrimage he made to the Holy Land in 1521. [118] The tapestries present panoramic views of Jerusalem and Palestine. Gorem postulates that Otto Heinrich used Breydenbach's and other pilgrimage maps to recreate Jerusalem in order to highlight his own religious devotion in light of his recent controversial conversion to Protestantism. Gorem's article effectively demonstrates an artistic reliance on pilgrimage cartography that spanned across media. Gorem describes the combination of a pilgrimage map and tapestry as "much more than a regular cartographic document. It is a targeted map, depicting an event, an experience and a *Weltanschauung.* In its unique way, it presents a defined space within two different and not necessarily connected times."[119] While the tapestries in the Gorem article feature expansive maps of the Holy Land, the Jerusalem tapestry only shows a truncated view of the city. However, a comparison of the topographic details in the tapestry with pilgrimage maps will

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[117] Haim Gorem, "Pilgrimage, Tapestries, and Cartography: Sixteenth-Century Wall Hangings Commemorating a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 489-513.
[118] Gorem, "Pilgrimage, Tapestries, and Cartography, " 490.
[119] Gorem, "Pilgrimage, Tapestries, and Cartography," 513.

not only show the influence of cartography on the tapestry designs, but also provide compelling evidence for the location of the depicted hospital.

Cartography as a Visual Language

Ryan Gibb has argued that Vasari hired Stradanus for the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio because of his affiliation with the Antwerp School. The Antwerp School was known for their topographical city views and landscape drawings that were drawn from life.[120] Vasari chose Stradanus because his practice of drawing city views from observation:

> [presented] not only recognizable but powerfully verisimilar settings for each historical event…The views acted as artist-performed eyewitness research…The cartographic inheritance of city views added its discourse of accuracy to Vasari's panegyric, and thereby through visual rhetoric his narration gained the appearance of history.[121]

Gregg focuses on the fresco cycles of city views by Stradanus in the Palazzo Vecchio. However, the verisimilitude of these city views can also be observed in the urban settings of the tapestries designed by Stradanus.

Stradanus depicts a vista of Venice in the upper left of the San Giorgio Maggiore tapestry (Figure 25a). The Piazzetta di San Marco is instantly recognizable by the two columns of St. Mark and St. Theodore flanking the quay and the Campanile on the left (Figure 25b). Stradanus does not portray an impression of Venice; instead, he pictures the view of Venice exactly as it would be seen from the San Giorgio Maggiore, located on an island across the canal. The verisimilitude of the view in the tapestry can be verified by a current Google map (Figure 25c). While Stradanus created most of his city views in the fresco cycle

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[120] Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History," 64.
[121] Ibid, 126-127.

from life, it is unclear whether he also created this view of the Piazzetta in the same manner. Gregg, however, has demonstrated that Stradanus relied on maps and landscapes by other artists for his frescoes of cities that he was unable to visit.[122] The view of the Piazzetta from the San Giorgio Maggiore would have been accessible from contemporary maps of Venice, such as Jacopo de Barbari's woodblock map of the city from 1500 (Figure 25d).

Stradanus uses a similar truncated city view in his Jerusalem tapestry. The vista of Jerusalem, also in the upper left of the tapestry, appears to be a view of the Dome of the Rock from the west, most likely from an area in close proximity to the Holy Sepulchre. The image is orientated from a location close to the Holy Sepulchre so that the viewer is facing the rear of the Dome of the Rock (Figure 29a and 29b). The peculiar onion-shaped dome visible in the tapestry was a common feature of the Dome of the Rock in medieval illustrations and cartography.[123] A crescent affixed to the top of the dome is barely discernible. The hemispherical domes crowding around the Dome of the Rock are similar to those present between the Dome of the Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, not only in Breydenbach's map but others as well.

The Jerusalem tapestry does not explicitly depict the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. However, similarities can be found between the architectural style in the tapestry and other illustrations of the Holy Sepulcher, such as Breydenbach's print from the *Peregrinatio* (Figure 33). The illustrations in the Jerusalem tapestry

[122] Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History," 175-179.
[123] For a thorough discussion on the medieval depictions of the Dome of the Rock, see Caroline Herselle Kriskey, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem Before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33, (1970): 1-19.

and the *Peregrinatio* both feature flat walls with elevated rectangular windows that flank the clustered group of buildings. The thick cornices with protruding square accents in the tapestry, decorating the building on the far right behind the mounted Ottoman figure, are also apparent in the Breydenbach illustration. In addition, the shape of the windows and arched entryways are almost identical.

The hospital in the Jerusalem tapestry most likely represents the Muristan hospital, located in the former Hospitaller's quarter, southwest of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Although the former hospital is now in ruins, it has been excavated by archaeologists and can even be seen on a current Google map of the city (Figure 34).[124] The hospital was originally established in the ninth or tenth century, known as the Hostel of Charlemagne.[125] Muslim institutions temporarily occupied the hospital after the sack of the city in 1244 by the Khwarezmian Tartars, but the care of the hospital was transferred back to the Hospitallers at the beginning of the Mamluk reign.[126] From 1340 to 1480, the Muristan hospital was the sole lodging place of Western pilgrims inside the city walls.[127] Later pilgrimage accounts from the sixteenth century indicate that the hospital was still in use at that time.[128]

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[124] Claude R. Conder, "Claude R. Conder's Reports," *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (April 1875): 83-94 and Denys Pringle, "The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital: Further Thoughts and Suggestions" in *The Military Orders: On Land and By Sea,* ed. J.M. Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 91-108.
[125] Conder, "Reports," 78.
[126] Pringle, "The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital," 99.
[127] Many pilgrims were forced to lodge in one of the hospices outside the city walls, such as the Mt. Zion or Mamilla hospice.
[128] Sylvia Schein, "Latin Hospices in Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages," *Zeitshrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101 (1985): 84-91.

Denys Pringle, in his reconstruction of the layout of the hospital, cites a charter from 1168 confirming that the hospital faced the road running south from the entrance of the Holy Sepulcher.[129] Multiple pilgrimage accounts also confirm the hospital's close proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Furthermore, numerous pilgrimage accounts from the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries complained of the squalid state of the hospital.[130] In 1403, the Sultan of Egypt granted the Hospitallers permission to rebuild the hospital and its surroundings.[131] The date of the Sultan's granting of permission falls only a few decades before Cosimo il Vecchio's renovation of a deteriorating Jerusalem hospital sometime in the early to mid-fifteenth century. It is therefore probable that the Muristan hospital was the intended hospital of Cosimo's patronage.

The Muristan hospital frequently appears in early pilgrimage maps, most likely due to the many pilgrims who resided there during their stay in Jerusalem. A Florentine map from 1469-1472 marks the Muristan hospital with the inscription: "*Hospicium peregrinorium.*" (Figure 35) Breydenbach also marks the general vicinity of the hospital with the inscription: "*Hospital in quo peregrine Jerosoliman venientes reponuntur.*" (Figure 29b) There is no documentation to support the claim that Stradanus sat down with Breydenbach's map or any other specific pilgrimage account and directly copied from it. However, the identification of the Muristan hospital through the comparison of the topographic

[129] Pringle, "The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital," 94.
[130] Sylvia Schein, "Latin Hospices," 84-86.
[131] Ibid, 90.

features of the tapestry with early pilgrimage maps suggests a cartographic influence.

Cosimo I's Mental Pilgrimage

In Rehav Rubin's seminal work on the realistic and imaginary maps of Jerusalem he writes:

> Most of the maps of Jerusalem were not created to fill the utilitarian purposes of modern maps. They were not drawn to help travellers find their way; some of them do not even depict the city as it existed. They served as a medium of conveying information, a viewpoint, and a concept...the singular status of Jerusalem as a Holy City, the focus of interest and of strong religious attraction, led to the creation of many maps depicting that city, often more through concepts rather than as an actual geographical object.[132]

If Jerusalem was mapped as a concept, does the Medici tapestry serve a similar purpose? Because the construction of the Jerusalem tapestry was based on a cartographic vocabulary, the tapestry, in a way, functions as a map itself. Tapestry would have been a viable medium for this 'translation' of cartographic imagery. The large and wide format enables an easy reading of the image in a similar manner to viewing a map. Furthermore, the immense size and richness of tapestries demonstrated the patron's power.

The legibility of the Jerusalem tapestry as a pilgrimage map places the tapestry within the larger context of the medieval and early modern phenomenon of mental pilgrimages.[133] A number of media, but particularly the pilgrimage map,

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[132] Rubin, *Image and Reality*, 15.
[133] Kathryne Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context: The Imaginary Pilgrims and Real Travels of Felix Fabri's "Die Sionpilger," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 25 (2008): 39-70 and Kathryn M. Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliotheque deL'Arsenal Ms. 212," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschicte* 63 (2000): 494-515.

could facilitate a viewer's virtual experience of a holy place without leaving the comforts, or confines, of their residence. Breydenbach's map of Jerusalem was a widely popular guide for a mental pilgrimage of the Holy City.[134] On one level, a mental pilgrimage served as a means for the devout unable to travel to procure indulgences, "where "performing" the circuit through the Holy Land is simply one more image-based exercise, highly lucrative in the spiritual economy."[135] However, the mental pilgrimage was also highly valued as a method of contemplative devotion. Felix Fabri, a late-fifteenth-century pilgrim, wrote a mental pilgrimage guide called the *Sionpilger* in 1495.[136] In the introduction to his guide, he argues that the mental pilgrim has a more beneficial experience of the city because they have "much more freedom than the knightly pilgrim. The knightly pilgrim visits Jerusalem as in a heathen city, but the Syon [mental] pilgrim visits Jerusalem as a Christian city, as though Christians possess the Holy Sepulcher."[137]

Pilgrim maps were not the only means of visiting Jerusalem without embarking on the perilous journey to the Holy Land. The phenomena of *sacra monti,* or sacred mountains, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attest to the desire of early modern pilgrims to visit and experience the Holy City, even an imagined one. The *sacri monti* were small-scale evocations of Jerusalem, made up

[134] See Elizabeth Ross, "Picturing Knowledge and Experience in the Early Printed Book: Reuwich's Illustrations for Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486)*" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004.)
[135] Rudy, "A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage," 512.
[136] Felix Fabri, *Felix Fabri, Die Sionpilger*, ed. Wieland Carls (Berlin: Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 1999).
[137] Cited and translated in Beebe, "Reading Mental Pilgrimage in Context," 44.

by a series of chapels containing scenes of the Life of Christ and other saints.[138] Annabel Wharton writes that "the spectacularity of the images in the *sacro monte* compensated for the absence of the authentic Jerusalem…[they] provided scenes that might be readily imagined at the site of their historical occurrence in the Holy City."[139] The Jerusalem tapestry is a similar manifestation of the desire to experience the Holy City. The Jerusalem tapestry would not have functioned as a mental pilgrimage guide in the traditional sense; it do not lead to procurement of indulgences. Instead, the tapestry might be better described as facilitating a virtual pilgrimage in the same manner as the *sacri monti*. The tapestry reimagines Jerusalem, inviting the viewer to cognitively enter and contemplate the pictorial space.[140] Rather than picturing a Christian Jerusalem, the tapestry shows the Ottoman inhabitants in order to draw the viewer's attention to the disparate states of past and present Jerusalem.

In the Jerusalem tapestry, the particular vantage point of the Dome of the Rock, as well as documentary evidence regarding the location of the hospital, suggest that the setting of the tapestry is in close proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The Holy Sepulcher is not represented, yet maps indicate that the Muristan hospital flanked the Holy Sepulcher's courtyard. The slight angling of the hospital to the left in the tapestry correlates with this location. If one stood next to the hospital from within the courtyard and faced the Dome of the Rock,

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[138] Annabel Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

[139] Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem*, 142.

[140] I am making a distinction between 'mental' and 'virtual' pilgrimage, where a virtual pilgrimage refers to the same cognitive journey as a mental pilgrimage, but without the associations of the specific religious act.

the Church of the Holy Sepulcher would be situated behind the viewer. This accounts for the particular westward vista of the Dome of the Rock and the absence of the Holy Sepulcher in the tapestry.

The Dome of the Rock on the horizon functions to identify the Muslim space, emphasized by the affixed crescents. It is situated in a divided space, separate from the other two-thirds of the tapestry. Stradanus uses the slightly curved palm tree to create a collapsed space of 'Muslim otherness.' The plunging perspective toward the Dome of the Rock draws our gaze to the mounted Ottoman in the background and to the strolling Ottoman pair in the foreground. The larger Christian space on the right side of the tapestry almost crowds the Muslim space out of the frame. Stradanus depicts the Christian pilgrims and the pious patronage of the hospital renovation on the right and in the foreground of the tapestry.

The orientation of the view and the division of space are further complicated by the uncanny location of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. If the tapestry represents a hospital within the courtyard of the Holy Sepulcher with a westward view, the Holy Sepulcher would thus be located towards the left and outside of the frame in the viewer's own space. It cannot be a coincidence then that the central pilgrim gazes and extends his hand in the same direction. The pilgrim appears to be begging for alms from an invisible entity. The projected exterior location of the Holy Sepulcher in relation to the tapestry explains his pose. The pilgrim, seated on the ground and looking slightly upward, prays to or supplicates the imagined presence of the Holy Sepulcher. The praying pilgrim illustrates the chain of custody in the Holy Land. He gestures toward the

Franciscan supervised Holy Sepulcher and is simultaneously gestured to by the pair of Ottoman figures, who represent the power in control of Palestine. [141]

The projected location of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher outside the frame of the tapestry merges the viewer's space with the pictorial space. The viewer thus becomes a part of the series of gestures designed to recall the Ottoman control over the Holy Land. The upright pilgrim in the foreground faces inward with his shoe slightly off the ground as he walks towards the hospital. This pilgrim serves as a peregrine guide, inviting the viewer into the tapestry. The construction of a visual space projecting its geography outside of the tapestry provides the necessary framework for reading the tapestry as a map. In the same way that Europeans experienced maps as mental pilgrimages to an inaccessible location, the Jerusalem tapestry transported viewers to the Holy City.[142]

Conclusion: Mapping Temporalities

Ernst Knauf writes that one "did not visit Jerusalem in order to see what was there but to imagine what had been there."[143] Within the larger context of a room in the Palazzo Vechhio decorated with frescoes and tapestries celebrating

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[141] Hanna Kildani, *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land: Development of the Structure of Churches and the Growth of Christian Institutions in Jordan and Palestine* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2010), 214-215. In 1291, the Holy See granted the Franciscans supervision over the Holy Sites in Palestine, which the Franciscans subsequently bought.

[142] Mark Trowbridge, "Jerusalem Transposed: A Fifteenth-Century Panel for the Bruges Market," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 1:1 (2009). An interesting study of how Flemish panels were viewed as a means of transposing Jerusalem to the city of Bruges. Although not specifically related to tapestries, the article is important when considering the notion that other mediums besides cartography could be used for mental pilgrimages.

[143] Ernst Knauf, "Ottoman Jerusalem in Western Eyes," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917 (*London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 73.

the life Cosimo il Vecchio, the Jerusalem tapestry would have functioned as an instrument of virtual pilgrimage not only to a distant location, but also to a time when present and past are collapsed.[144] The ostensible narrative occurs during the fifteenth century, at the height of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in contrast with the tense relations with the powers in control of Palestine and the gradual decline of pilgrimage during Cosimo I's reign.[145] Rather than an exclusive depiction of Cosimo il Vecchio's patronage, as in the other two tapestries of the Palazzo Vecchio cycle, the construction of the Jerusalem tapestry functions as an invitation to reminisce. The tapestry visualizes a Jerusalem from a better time, allowing Cosimo I to recall the past through his experience of the site.

On the other hand, the gesturing pilgrim and Ottoman pair suggest that the tapestry is about more than a longing for the past. The central pilgrim acts as a nexus between Muslim and Christian space, inviting the viewer to reflect on the present state of Jerusalem under Ottoman control.[146] Perhaps Cosimo I would have seen the supplication of the pilgrim in relation to the 'Muslim space' as a call to release Jerusalem from its 'barbarous' rulers. Although the border of the tapestry contains uniform decorative elements consistent with the other tapestries in the series, the sleeping pilgrims appearing on the top and bottom of the frame differ from their parallel border figures in the rest of the tapestry cycle. Unlike the

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[144] Ugo Muccinni, *The Apartments of Cosimo in Palazzo Vecchio* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1991.)
[145] Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "The Political History of Ottoman Jerusalem," in *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517-1917* (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000), 26.
[146] It should be noted that European images, including maps, that show Ottoman possession of the Holy Land are quite unusual at this point in time.

other active border figures, Stradanus portrays the reclining figures in the Jerusalem tapestry border asleep. The border figures function similarly to the gesturing pilgrim in the central scene. The sleeping pilgrims represent the dormant state of Christianity in the Ottoman controlled Jerusalem.

The absence of Cosimo il Vecchio in the Jerusalem tapestry would have facilitated Duke Cosimo I's own virtual pilgrimage into the pictorial space. However, his musings on Jerusalem's past would have been tempered by the presence of the two turbaned figures on the left. They do not dominate the composition; nevertheless, they recall the present state of Jerusalem under Ottoman rule. Even on the edge of the tapestry, the two strolling Ottomans evoke a series of tensions: Christian and Muslim, real and virtual pilgrims, the elder and younger Cosimo, past and present. Stradanus recreates an image of Jerusalem that draws on an idyllic past of Christian pilgrimage, while admitting the reality of the present Ottoman occupation.

Chapter IV
Mapping Triumphs: Vincenzo Coronelli's Maps of Coron and Candia

Coronelli's Prints of Coron and Candia

In 1686, Vincenzo Coronelli published a print of Coron, part of his larger work *Le conquiste della serenissima republica di Venetia*.[147] (Figure 36) The print represents a distinct layering of Turk, map, and tapestry: the edge of a fictive tapestry displaying a map curls up to reveal the cowering figure of a Turk bound in chains. Coronelli's print was made two years after the spring of 1684, when Venice had declared war on the Ottoman Empire and commenced a campaign to recapture previously held territories in the Morea, also known as the Peloponnesus. Coronelli, one of the most prolific printers of the time, had been

[147] For general bibliography on Coronelli see: E. Armao, *Padre Vincenzo Coronelli. Cenni sull'uomo e la sua vita, Catalogo ragionato delle sue opera* (Florence, 1944); C. Messi, *P.M. Vincenzo Coronelli dei Frati Minori Conventuali, 1650-1950* (Padua, 1950); and *Vincenzo Coronelli, cosmografo della Serenissima, 1659-1718, nel terzo centenario della nascita* (Venice, 1950).

hired by the Signoria to direct the production of illustrated accounts of the Morean War. The prints were intended to maintain public enthusiasm and thus allow the government to continue taxing the people to pay for the war.[148] His map of Coron represents only a small fraction of the hundreds of prints he published during this time, ranging from topographical views, fortress plans, battle scenes, to allegories of the war. This chapter will focus primarily on Coronelli's print of Coron, as well as a similar print, a map of Candia from the *Atlante Veneto* (1691).[149] (Figure 37)

The cities of Coron (Koroni) and Candia featured prominently in the Morean conflict between the Venetians and Ottomans. Coron is a seaside fortress town on the southwest corner of the Gulf of Messina in the Peloponnesus (Figure 38). Candia was the capital of Crete, located on the northern coast of the island (Figure 39).[150] Coronelli printed numerous maps and other images of both Coron and Candia. These two particular prints of 1686 and 1691, however, represent subtly different syntheses of tapestry and map. Both prints depict fictive tapestries that display maps of the respective cities. The map of Coron combines topographical details of the surrounding area with a bird's-eye view of the fortress. The map of Candia, in contrast, is a two-dimensional schematic plan of the fort; it

[148] Leonora Navari, "Vincenzo Coronelli and the Iconography of the Venetian Conquest of the Morea: A Study in Illustrative Methods," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 90 (1995), 506.

[149] As far as I could establish, these were the two printed books in which the prints first appeared. Coronelli's constantly reused old material in his publications and switched prints for different editions making it difficult to compile a complete catalogue of his material.

[150] Candia was also the official name of the entire island of Crete during the period of Venetian control over the island.

includes a plan of the city, showing the various buildings and roadways that occupied the area within the fortified walls. Giorgios Tolias, in his discussion of late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Venetian maps of Greece, argues that:

> …this cartography is linked with the efforts of Venice to preserve the network for her eastern possessions…this laudatory and propagandistic cartography celebrates victories and announces to the European public the valiant deeds that took place in the Venetian 'regni' of the East.[151]

The propagandistic qualities described by Tolias are certainly evident in Coronelli's work on the Morean War. However, although Coronelli mapped the triumphs of Venice in the East, these triumphs were not fixed. The prints of Coron and Candia present the changing borders of the Peloponnesus, a world in which the Ottomans are a persistent and pervasive threat. Coronelli's prints construct a visual experience of the constantly shifting possession of territories in endless war, allowing contemporary Venetian viewers to celebrate their victories in Greece while not forgetting the ever-present Ottomans looming on the borders.

Recent Scholarship on Coronelli and His Prints of the Morean War

Vincenzo Coronelli performed many different roles during his lifetime: Franciscan monk, cartographer, geographer, cosmographer, engraver, ambassador, encyclopedist, and publisher. In addition to this impressive list of activities, Coronelli was a shrewd businessman whose publishing successes led to his position as official cosmographer to the Venetian Republic. He is perhaps most well-known today for his expansive celestial globes that he constructed for various European courts; both his globes and other cosmographical work have

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[151] Giorgio Tolias, *Challenged Territories: Cartographies of Greece and the Levant During the Ottoman Era* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 14.

been studied by scholars such as Denis Cosgrove and Adam Mosley.[152] The only comprehensive biography of Coronelli in English scholarship can be found in James Fuchs' dissertation, "Vincenzo Coronelli and the Organization of Knowledge."[153] Fuch's dissertation focuses on Coronelli's role in the developing form of encyclopedism in the late seventeenth-century and how it produced new methods of disseminating knowledge. Fuchs has described Coronelli's personality as frenetic; he was an unashamed self-promoter and responsible for a torrential production of printed material.

Leonara Navari discusses Coronelli's Morean prints in the context of his printing practices.[154] She convincingly argues that Coronelli was constantly changing, adapting, and exchanging prints according to the patron or the progression of the war. In the prints of Coron and Candia, Coronelli illustrated different points of the war, creating images that would have strongly resonated with contemporary Venetian viewers who were yearning for up-to-date information. Mario Infelise and Brendan Dooley also mention Coronelli in their work on the popularity of military gazettes in Venice during the Morean conflict.[155] They both study Coronelli's prints in the larger context of visual

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[152] Denis Cosgrove, "Global Illumination and Enlightenment in the Geographies of Vincenzo Coronelli and Athanasius Kircher," in *Geography and Enlightenment*, ed. David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 33-64; A. Mosley, "Vincenzo Coronelli's *Atlante Veneto* and the Diagrammatic Tradition of Cosmography," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 42:1 (2011): 27-53.

[153] James L. Fuchs, "Vincenzo Coronelli and the Organization of Knowledge : The Twilight of Seventeenth-Century Encyclopedism" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1983).

[154] Navari, "Vincenzo Coronelli," 505-519.

[155] Brendan Dooley, "The Wages of War: Battles, Prints, and Entrepreneurs in

material produced to meet the demands of a public ravenous for any information on the war. Dooley concludes that the advent of military gazettes and the subsequent wealth of information readily available, visual or otherwise, gave rise to a new visual culture that mirrored the ever-changing boundaries of the world. He argues that this new visual culture was formed "from constantly changing and often dramatically strange and different images, indicating that the basic premises of life today might no longer be the same tomorrow."[156]

Palmira Brummett addresses a topic introduced by Dooley at the end of his article.[157] Her essay, "'Turks' and 'Christians,'" focuses on how early modern Europeans mapped Ottomans along the Ottoman-Habsburg-Venetian frontiers. She argues that while territories might be designated simply as "Christian" or "Turkish" space, these divisions were complicated by "a broad, noncontiguous zone of border territories in between, inhabited and governed by those whose religious allegiance might be ambiguous or changeable." [158] Brummett demonstrates that despite the use of an "iconography of possession," such as crescents, crosses, and battle standards, battles were often indeterminate and categorical divisions of Christian and Turkish space unstable. The constantly disputed and shifting borders described by Brummett provides an instructive

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Late Seventeenth-Century Venice," *Word & Image* 17:1-2 (2001): 7-24; Mario Infelise, "The War, the News, and the Curious: Military Gazettes in Italy," in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Baron. (London; New York: Routledge, 2001),216-236.

[156] Dooley, "The Wages of War," 24.

[157] Palmira Brummett, "Turks and Christians: The Iconography of Possession in the Depiction of Ottoman-Venetian-Hapsburg Frontiers, 1550-1689," in *The Religions of the Book: Christian Perceptions 1400-1660,* ed. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2008): 110-139.

[158] Brummett, "Turks and Christians," 113

framework for viewing Coronelli's prints. In both print and reality, borders in the Morea were mutable, subject only to whoever had momentarily gained the upper hand.

Venetian-Ottoman Conflicts in Greece

Coronelli's prints were a product of the late-seventeenth century Venetian wars with the Ottomans. The Coron (1686) and Candia (1691) engravings both depict maps of important fortresses on fictive tapestries; yet there are also striking stylistic differences between the two. The Coron map is topographical, it shows a battle narrative, and the defeat of the Turks is explicitly shown through the bound Turk struggling behind the tapestry. On the other hand, the map of Candia is a flat city-plan and the only Turkish presence, a lone turban and crescent-bearing shield, is hidden beneath the edges of the tapestry. (Figures 37a) How could two key cities in the Morean War be presented so differently? The specific role of the two cities in the two different phases of the Morean War helps to clarify these differences.

The Morean War (also known as the Sixth Turco-Venetian War) was part of a larger European conflict commonly referred to as the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), fought between the Ottomans and an alliance of the Venetian Republic, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[159]

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[159] For a general bibliography on the Morean War see: Kenneth Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991); Stephen R. Turnbull, *The Ottoman Empire, 1329-1699* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Ivan Parvev, *Hapsburgs and Ottomans Between Vienna and Belgrade* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004).

The Morean War had its origins in an event forty years before Venice declared war against the Ottomans in spring of 1684. In the summer of 1645, Sultan Ibrahim sent a fleet to attack the Venetian island of Candia (Crete). Although there is still scholarly debate on the impetus for the Sultan's decision to attack Candia, it is generally thought that this action was in response to an attack on a Turkish galleon in September 1644 by a fleet of the Order of St. John.[160] The Knights of Malta had captured around 380 prisoners, including a lady of the sultan's harem and her young son, rumored to be the son of the sultan. The Knights of Malta made their way westward back to Malta with their prizes, briefly stopping overnight at Kalismene on the southern shore of Crete, which had been under Venetian rule since 1204.[161] Although the Knights of Malta were the perpetrators, the Sultan blamed the Signoria for not intervening when the Knights landed on Venetian soil in Crete.

On June 26th 1645, Turkish troops disembarked on the shores of the bay of Gogna, only a few miles from one of the principle cities, Canea. It only took two months before Canea surrendered to the Turks.[162] The Turkish invasion of Candia initiated what would be called the Cretan War (1645-1669). The war would last for almost 25 years; it was fought mostly in Crete, but also around the Aegean Sea and in the Dardanelles. The Venetians won some important victories, particularly in the later years, but for the most part the war was a series of embarrassing losses

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[160] See Thomas Freller and Dolores Campoy, *Padre Ottomano and Malta* (Sta. Venera, Malta: Midsea Books, 2006) for a critique of the assumption that the attack triggered the Cretan War.

[161] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks,* 111.

[162] The ease of the Turkish capture of Crete was partially due to the widespread dislike of the Venetians among the Cretan inhabitants.

for the Venetians, effectuated by incompetent leaders, plague, bad weather, and unreliable allies. Moreover, the long war had a crippling effect on the Venetian economy, which was so dependent on its role as an important entrepot between the Ottoman Empire and the rest of the Europe.

Throughout the Cretan War, the city of Candia was the most important stronghold; it was the capital city and also the only place the Turks had not yet defeated by 1648, when the majority of the island was in Ottoman possession.[163] For the Venetians, Candia represented the fate of the entire island; since Candia had not fallen, the Ottomans did not possess Crete.[164] An engraving by Marco Boschini from *Il regno tutto di Candia* (1651) attests to Candia's position as the last bastion against an Ottoman victory (Figure 40). The Lion of St. Mark dominates the composition of the print, brandishing a broadsword as he hovers protectively over the island of Candia. Candia is represented as a topographical map of the island drawn from a bird's-eye perspective, as it might be seen from the Lion of St. Mark's own perspective. The image is reassuring; the lion is well-armed, well-muscled, and there is also a notable absence of any crescents, turbans, or tughs that might indicate the presence of enemies. The reassuring allegory of the Boschini print differs from the eerie remnants of war littering the later-seventeenth century map of Candia by Coronelli (1691). The two images of Candia demonstrate the fate of the city in different periods of war. In 1651, Candia was still a Venetian stronghold, a well-protected deterrent to complete Ottoman victory in the Peloponnesus.

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[163] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 150.
[164] Turnbull, *The Ottoman Empire,* 87.

The Turkish siege of Candia, begun in 1648 and lasted until 1669, was one of the longest sieges in history.[165] The Cretan War culminated at Candia in June 1669, when French reinforcements joined the Venetian fleet led by Francesco Morosini in a counterattack against the Turks who had been making significant headway in their destruction of the city. The attack ended rather embarrassingly for the French. They lost their commander in a botched counterattack and accidentally blew up their largest and most expensive ship.[166] Discord was sown between the two allied forces, compounded by bad supply lines and widespread illness. Finally, on August 20th, the French withdrew, leaving Morosini with a sickly and decimated fleet, depleted supplies, and a well-entrenched Turkish army.[167] Morosini, realizing the futility of continued efforts against the Turks, surrendered Candia on September 5th, 1669.

The loss of Crete was a devastating blow to Venice. Not only had Crete been its most lucrative colony, but the Ottomans had also reached the zenith of their territorial expansion in their conquest of the island.[168] It took another fifteen years before Venice was capable of launching a campaign to retake the lost territories. In September 1683, the Ottomans suffered a devastating defeat at the Battle of Vienna against an allied force of the Hapsburg Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In response to what was perceived as an opportune moment of Ottoman weakness, an alliance known as the Sacra Lega, or Holy League, was formed on March 5th, 1684 between the Hapsburg Empire, the

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[165] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 145.
[166] Ibid, 226.
[167] Ibid, 228
[168] Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire,* 22.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the Venetian Republic under the titular protection of Pope Innocent XI.[169]

With the Ottomans preoccupied in Central Europe, the Venetians decided to attempt to recapture their lost territories in the Aegan and Dalamatia. On April 25th, 1684, Venice declared war on the Ottoman Empire with Francesco Morosini as head commander.[170] The aim was to win back territories they had recently lost in the Cretan War as well as other territories that Ottomans had conquered in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. After a string of successful victories in the Ionian Islands, Morosini landed with 10,000 trips on June 25th, 1685 outside of the former Venetian fort of Coron. After fourty-nine days, the fort surrendered to Morosini, one of the first major victories of the war.[171] Morosini swept through the region over the next few years and by August of 1687, the Venetians controlled all of the Morea except for the fort of Malvasia, which held out until 1690.

Coronelli's map of Coron (1686) from *Le conquiste* was published during this period of popular enthusiasm over Morosini's triumphs against the Turks in the Morea during the 1680's. The initial victories of the Venetians in the Morea

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[169] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 271.
[170] Despite the Venetian loss, Francesco Morosini remained a popular and well-respected figure in Venice. Upon his return to Venice after the loss of Candia, charges were placed against him for surrendering; however, the Signoria exonerated Morosini of all charges in the summer of 1671. Instead, the French were vilified and blamed for the loss of Candia, particularly after the Venetians discovered that the French had entered secret trade negotiations with the Sultan during the siege. Morosini was lauded by his contemporaries for his fortitude during the long siege and praised for restoring peace to the Republic through his surrender. See Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 239-243 for a full account of Morosini's trial and exoneration.
[171] Ibid, 296.

inflamed widespread popular enthusiasm. The successful recapture of Coron was celebrated with fireworks throughout the Republic.[172] Morosini was given the honorary title of *Peloponnesiacus* and elected doge in 1688.[173] During this time, military gazettes containing maps of cities, plans of fortifications, and descriptions of battles and other events reached their height of popularity; not since the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 had such an outpouring of visual material on a military engagement circulated throughout Europe.[174] In early 1686, Coronelli printed his first two books about the Morean War. Coronelli's books, *Le conquiste della serenissima republica di Venetia* and the *Memorie istoriografiche della Morea*, were filled with engravings and textual description of the course of the war in Morea, as well as Morosini's earlier successes in the Ionian Sea. The engravings depicted maps of cities, battle plans, and often included accompanying allegorical scenes. Coronelli had never travelled to Greece. Navari suggests that Coronelli must have had access to official reports made by military geographers and cartographers.[175] During the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, many of his works were reprinted in new editions and were frequently translated into French, English, German, and Dutch.

Coronelli's print of Coron (1686) not only provides a geographical map of the area, but also a map of the Venetian siege of the fort. Clusters of tents adorned with the crescent are situated in the wooded areas and against the exterior wall of

[172] Infelise, "The War, The News, and the Curious," 231.
[173] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 298.
[174] Infelise, "The War, the News, and the Curious," 216 and Dooley, "Wages of War," 23-24.
[175] Navari, "Vincenzo Coronelli," 517.

the fort. A large, presumably Venetian, fleet surrounds the fortress and is shown attacking it with cannons. Linear, graphic representations of the trajectories of the cannon spring from the ships as darkly-shaded balls crash inside the fort; the result of this action can be seen at the edge of the fort where a large cloud of dust and smoke hangs heavy over a minaret. The success of the Venetians over the Ottomans is reinforced both in the image and the text. A commemorative inscription on the bottom right corner reads: "Citta, e fortezza di Coron - Battuta e presa dall' Armi Ven[ezia]: l'anno 1685" (The city and fortress of Coron - besieged and taken by the Venetian army in the year 1685).

At first glance, it appears as if the map of Coron is simply a map. However, in the bottom right corner, the edge of map curls up, imitating the folds in a heavy piece of fabric. It appears the image is not a printed map, but a print of a map woven into a tapestry. Beneath the edge of the tapestry, a figure of a bound Turk looks away aghast as he grapples with the weight of the fabric. It is unclear whether the tapestry is crushing the Turk or the Turk is lifting up the heavy tapestry. Either way, the Turk's vulnerability and his expression of horror suggest that he is losing this particular battle. Coronelli represents the Turk as an " [intruder] into Christian space who must be identified and repulsed."[176] In this print, the single Turk repulsed by the edge of the tapestry parallels the Turkish army besieged by the Venetians ships in the interior of the tapestry. In the two previous chapters, Turks on the border or periphery also served as microcosms of the larger narrative. Like the atlantes and caryatids in Coecke van Aelst's *Ces*

[176] Brummett, "Turks and Christians," 114.

moeurs et fachons and the strolling Ottomans in Stradanus' Jerusalem tapestry, the single Turk struggling with the edge of the Coron tapestry encapsulates the defeat of the Turkish army pictured in the interior of the tapestry.

The next decade of the war was not as decidedly victorious for the Venetians, although they did gain some territory in central Greece. Later in 1692, under the new commander Domenico Mocenigo, the Venetian fleet launched an assault on Candia as part of a campaign to repossess Crete, however, this was ultimately unsuccessful.[177] The final years of the war were marked by a series of attacks and counterattacks, with neither side winning any decisive victories.[178] The war was finally concluded on January 25th, 1699 with the signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz, which ended not only the Morean War, but also the larger war between the Holy League and the Ottomans. Under this peace treaty, the Venetians were granted full territorial control of the Morea.[179] Venice's victory, however, would be short-lived; the Ottomans would recapture all their lost territory in a brutally swift campaign in 1715.

The failure to retake Candia was a significant blow to the Republic. The call to reclaim Crete had led to the outbreak of the Morean War. The inability of the Venetians to dislodge the Turks from the city recalled their humiliating defeat earlier in 1669. Coronelli's map of Candia from the *Atlante Veneto* was printed in 1691, a year before Venice's second defeat. Neither the city nor the island of Candia had been recovered by the Venetians and were still in Ottoman hands.

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[177] Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks*, 385.
[178] Ibid
[179] Ibid, 449.

Coronelli's image differs from Boschini's print of Candia (1651) seen previously, which was printed before the Venetian's initial loss to the Turks in 1669. The 1691 print does not convey the same allegorical reassurance seen in the Boschini print. Instead, the tapestry hangs precariously, tacked into the wall by two nails. The corners fold around the nails, almost as if the tapestry could be ripped from the wall at any moment. There is no bustle of martial activity depicted on the map. An uncanny stillness pervades the scene, broken only by the invisible breeze or presence ruffling the bottom edge of the tapestry.

The raised edges of the tapestry reveal a scattering of assorted martial artifacts and scientific instruments: a geometric scale, a turban, a cannon. Unlike the more explicit military activity in the map of Coron, the litter of objects beneath the tapestry is the only indication of Candia's place in the Morean War. Brummett states that "early modern maps often crafted space in terms of military encounter. They help illustrate whether the Ottoman Empire was viewed simply as a single block of infidel space or whether its territories were imagined as more diffuse, less clearly 'owned,' more subject to designation and redesignation."[180] There are no indications of Turkish occupation in the confines of the map, no towering minarets or crescent moons. The only elements that suggest Candia's Ottoman rulers are a discarded turban and a shield with crescent moons seen beneath the tapestry in the bottom left and right corners, respectively (Figures 41a). The turban and shield are barely discernible interspersed amongst the clutter of martial artifacts and scientific tools.

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[180] Brummett, "Turks and Christians," 114.

Revelations and Explorations

Coronelli's Coron (1686) and Candia (1691) prints are unified by the similar employment of a tapestry displaying a map of the respective cities. Tapestries, wall hangings, and cloths of honor appear frequently in Coronelli's work. They often serve as mediums for displaying maps or textual information. The curtains and illusionistic cloths are not unique to Coronelli's work; they were a common motif in Baroque frontispieces for printed books. Elio Brancaforte, in his book on the German cartographer and traveler Adam Olearius (1599-1671), describes these illusionistic cloths as "[denoting] a process not only of uncovering, but of discovery as well. As in a theater, the curtains are pulled back…to reveal the true subject of the work…"[181] Coronelli's frontispiece of *Le conquiste* (1686) clearly evokes this theatrical motif. (Figure 41) In the frontispiece, a personification of Venice brandishes a sword dramatically as her attendants busily arm her for battle. On the right, two putti raise a curtain, revealing the bustle of military action in the landscape. Venice directs her gaze to the background, standing with her foot on top of a crescent. Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, in their study of the development of the early modern frontispiece, argue that frontispieces were "the vehicle for the thoughts of the author on his work, but might also seek to give an indication of its scope…all the themes were carefully interwoven into the set patterns for the design of title pages…to make up

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[181] Elio C. Brancaforte, *Visions of Persia: Mapping the Travels of Adam Olearius*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 57-58.

the meaning of the whole."[182] In Coronelli's frontispiece for *Le conquiste*, the raising of the curtain not only imparts a sense of drama, but it also draws attention to the clash of armies in highly-detailed landscape, highlighting the martial subject of Coronelli's book.

The *Atlante Veneto* (1691) was an encyclopedia featuring maps and diagrams of both the terrestrial and celestial spheres.[183] Coronelli emphasizes the encyclopedic quality of the Candia print in the *Atlante Veneto* through the edges of the tapestry. The ruffled edges of the tapestry in the Candia print provide glimpses of the array of objects, but also obscure them from view. The partially emerging forms of the various objects, such as the cannon on the right or the geometric scale on the left, encourage the viewer to probe the assortment of artifacts beneath the tapestry. The scientific tools in the array evoke the cartographic process required to produce the map hanging above them. Furthermore, their partially concealed forms, as well as those of the other objects, require the viewer to probe in order to identify. By seeking and identifying, the viewer engages in a similar mental process of scientific inquiry required to produce a world atlas like the *Atlante Veneto*.

Pages and Edges

Coronelli also uses the edges of the tapestry in the Coron print (1686) to engage the viewer with the image. The struggle between Turk and tapestry has multiple valences. Is the tapestry revealing the presence of the Turk? Or is it

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[182] Margery Corbett and R.W. Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (London: Routledge, 1979), 35.
[183] See Mosley, "Vincenzo Coronelli."

attempting to conceal him? The curling edge of the tapestry also appears to mimic the action of turning the pages in a book. The three successive pages following Coron contain three maps of the fortress, city, and region. The maps appear as follows: a topographical rendering of one side of the fortress (Coron II); a flat city-plan of Coron and its nearest village (Coron III); and a flat plan of the entire region including depictions of Venetian and Ottoman battlements west of the city (Coron IV).[184] (Figures 42-44) As the viewer turns the pages, the view of Coron appears to zoom out as the maps change from topographical to flattened perspectives and become more inclusive of the surrounding area.

The curling edge of the tapestry initiates a process of revealing the layers of Coron. As the pages are peeled back, more of the geographical region is revealed, but less detailed visual information is made available. According to Francesca Fiorani, in her work on the map mural cycles of the Vatican, it is the topographical details that allow the viewer a full-bodied kinetic experience of place. She argues:

> ...the cartographic grid coexists with the perspectival views of mountains, cities, and people, which…are qualitative, descriptive, and corporeal: although the viewer is still disembodied, he has acquired a fixed place, a point of view from which to measure distances, judge directions, and evaluate sizes.[185]

The first image of Coron, with its topographical details and battle narrative, provides more visual information for the viewer to acquire a fixed point, thus

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[184] Because of the difficulty distinguishing Coronelli's four successive maps of Coron in *Le Conquiste*, I have chosen to label the three other maps Coron II-IV according to their placement after the image of Coron that is the focus of this study.

[185] Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 9.

better facilitating his virtual movement throughout the space. Furthermore, the entire image is brimming with movement, from the trajectories of the cannonballs to the collapsed walls of the fortress to the curled edge of the tapestry that invites the viewer to continue their movement through the book.

The final map of the entire region of Coron (IV) does not allow for the same movement encouraged by the first image; there is no mapped narrative of Venetian triumph. Instead, the flat plan of the city and the rest of the region is much more abstract, mostly devoid of topographical details. Dooley disusses the transition in battle schematics in the late-seventeenth century from bird's-eye perspective cityscapes to flat city-plans arguing that these representations "…were intended not only to entertain and inform and bring readers' minds out of their houses and into the troubled waters of the Mediterranean but to produce passionate involvement in the affairs of the time..."[186] Given the environment of public enthusiasm in which these prints were published, it is likely that this map of Coron (IV) would have evoked celebratory sentiments from a Venetian viewer. However, any themes of Venetian superiority would have still been tempered by the inclusion of an Ottoman encampment to the right on the edges of the map (Figure 44a). Despite the commemorative banner that appears on the bottom right corner proclaiming the Venetian victory at Coron, the Ottomans had not been eradicated. Like the Ottoman tents depicted lingering on the margins of the map, the real Turks still posed a threat along the Venetian-Ottoman borders.

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[186] Dooley, "Wages of War," 23-24.

Conclusion: Mapping Triumphs

Coronelli's print of Candia (1691), published during the waning of the Venetian victories in the Morea in the 1690's, also evokes the indeterminate nature of these battles. The city-plan, devoid of crescents or Turks, belies its possession by the Ottomans. There is still the potential for victory as the Venetian naval fleet prepares to retake the city. Yet, the Ottoman presence is not completely neutralized; a turban, crescent shield, and artifacts of war are still visible beneath the tapestry. Tiny fractures appear on the fictive pictorial frame and even on the map of the city. (Figures 37b) The cracks call to mind the crumbling antiquities seen previously in Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Ces moeurs et fachons*. Like the crumbling antiquities from *Ces moeurs et fachons,* the cracks recall notions of impermanence and transformation. The crumbling of the very fabric of the map suggests that the map is not fixed; although there is the potential for a Venetian victory, there is still the potential of further Ottoman incursions.

The reality of the threat that the Ottomans posed to the Venetian Republic pervades Coronelli's images of Coron (1686) and Candia (1691). The ephemeral and fragile qualities conveyed by the tapestries counter any sense of stability conveyed by the scientific absoluteness inherent to late-seventeenth-century cartography. The maps are displayed on tapestries, a medium that can easily be rolled up and removed. The very edges of the tapestries seem to flap about in a fictive breeze. The crumbling fabric in the Candia print and the ambiguous revealing/concealing of the Turk in the Coron print complicate simple propagandistic readings of these maps. Coronelli's prints map Venetian triumphs,

both potential and virtual. But the edges of the tapestries, the very borders of the maps, speak to the constantly shifting borders failing to divide Venetian from Ottoman territories.

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Figures

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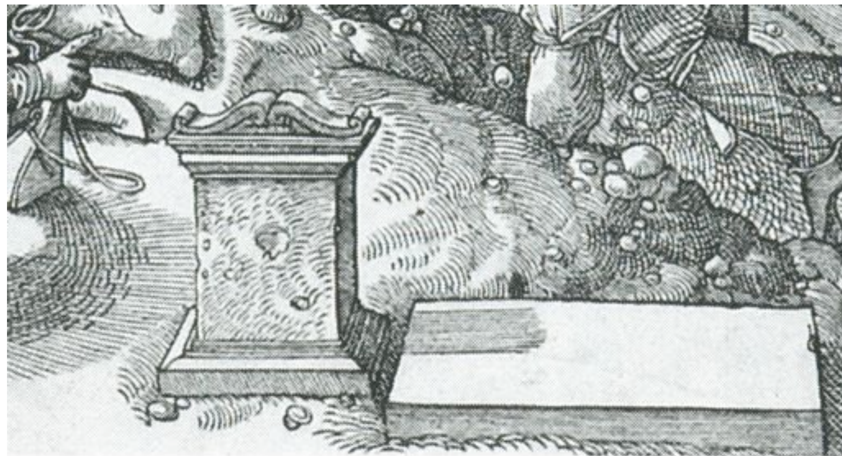

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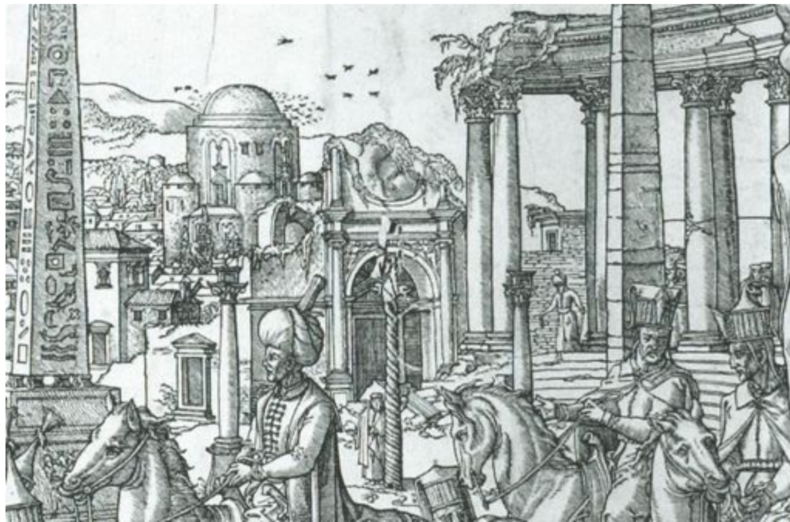

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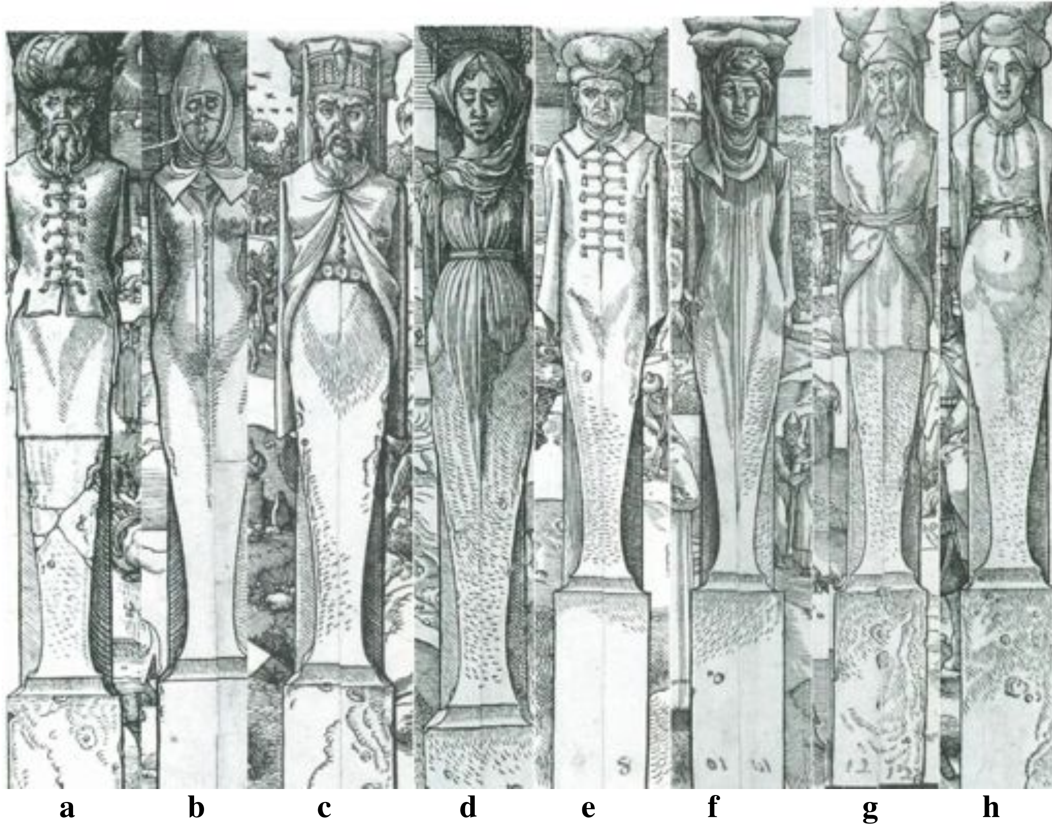

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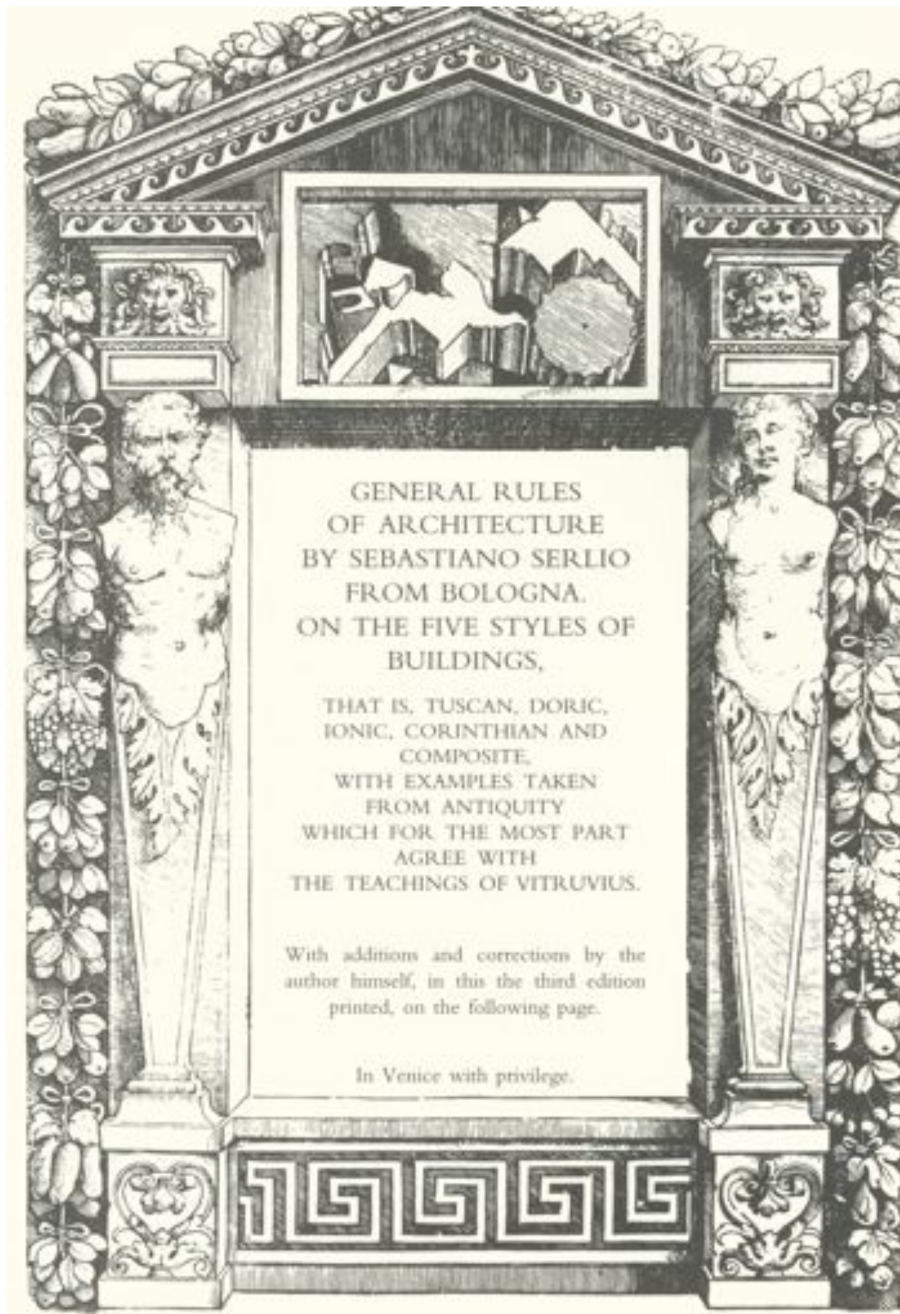


Figure 21

Figure 22

Figure 23

Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 25a

Figure 25b

Figure 25c

Figure 25d

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 29a

Figure 29b

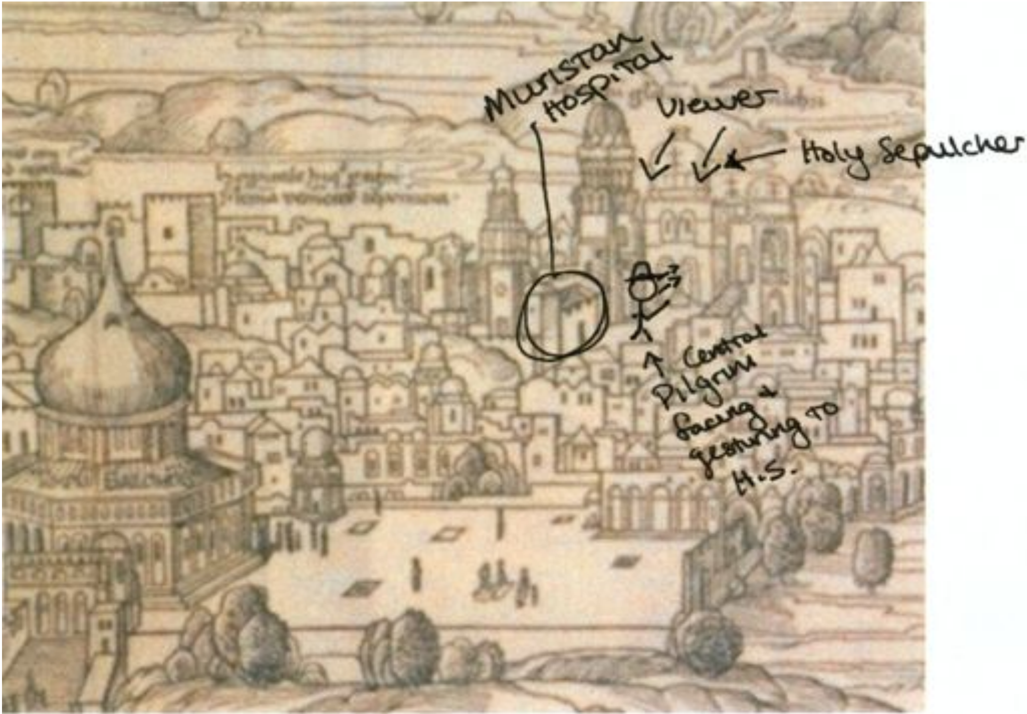


Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 33

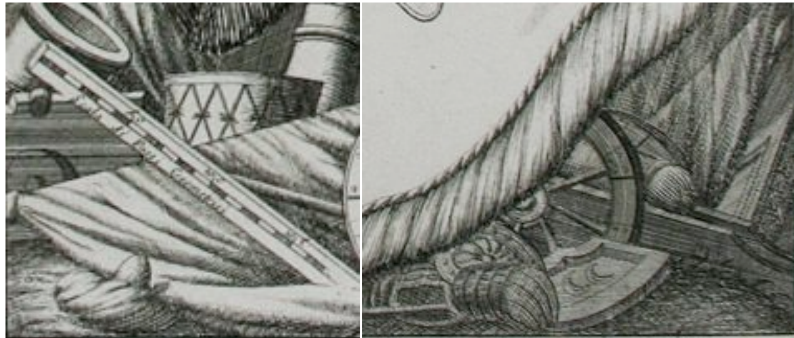
Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figures 37a



Figures 37b

Figure 38

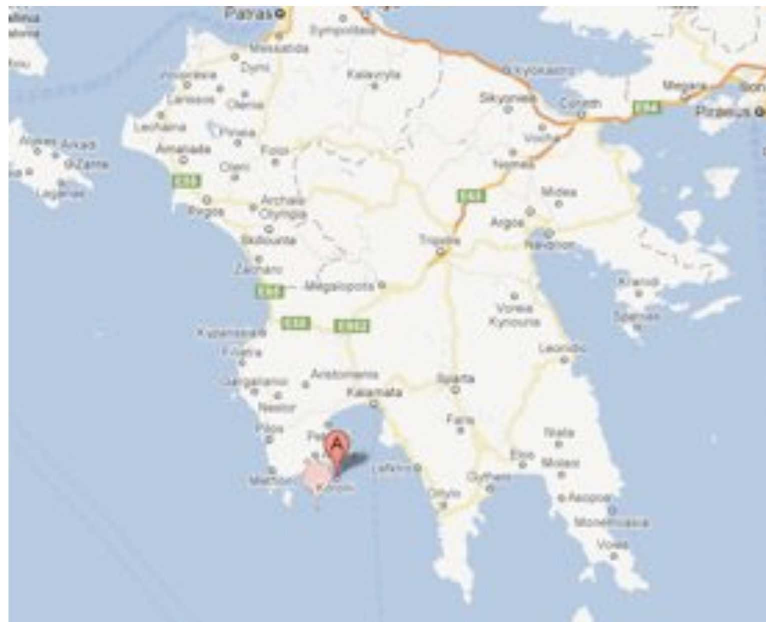


Figure 39

Figure 40

Figure 41

Figure 42

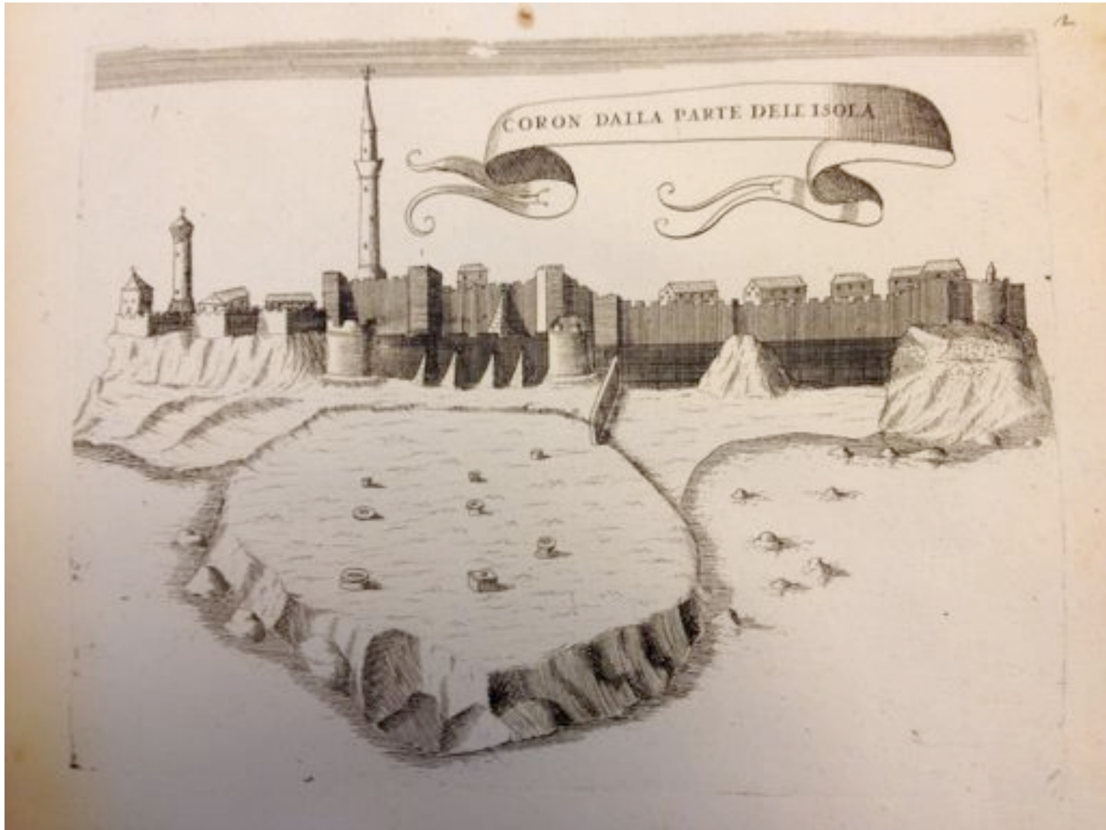


Figure 43

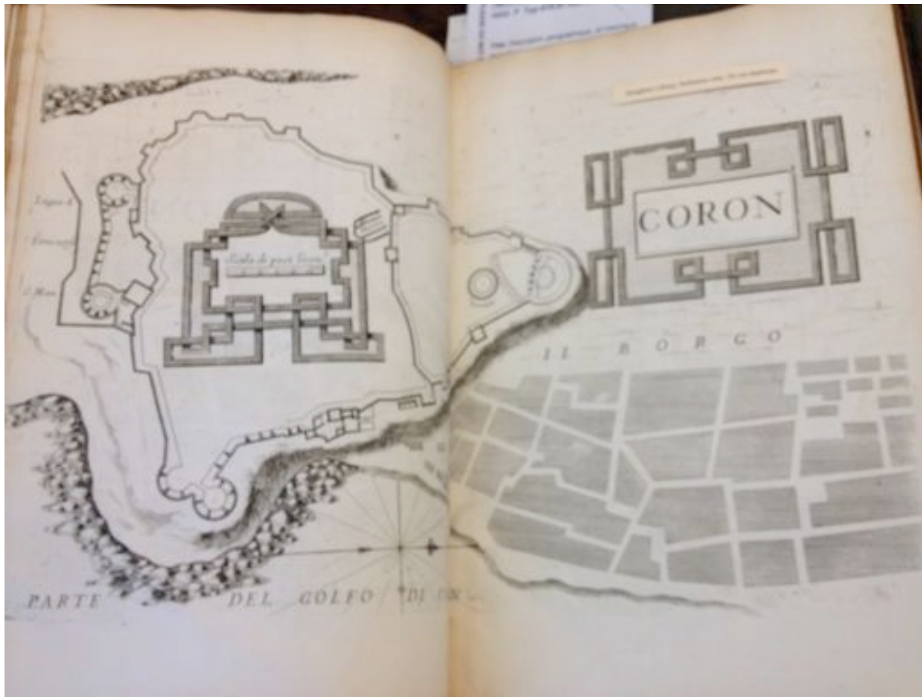


Figure 44