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A Mediterranean Other

Images of Turks in Southern Europe and Beyond (15th – 18th Centuries)

Edited by Borja Franco Llopis and Laura Stagno

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Foreword

Borja Franco Llopis, Laura Stagno

In recent years, terms such as "otherness", "alterity" "hybridity", "diversity", "ethnicity" and "identity" have loomed large in diverse scholarly and public conversations. Whether in the field of history, literature, history of art, cultural studies, philosophy or anthropology, the need to define, or re-define, the relations and encounters – which included clashes, but went so much beyond – between the members of multicultural societies who lived together in one period has emerged as crucial for our understanding of the past and its significance for the present. In the Early Modern Mediterranean world, the language used to articulate difference, hybridity, confrontation and assimilation was overwhelmingly visual. Pictorial or sculptoral representations, architectural monuments and material culture converged with, but sometimes also resisted, literary depictions, to cast otherness in physical form. Engaging with these visual objects – their characters, status, function and impact – can contribute to shed new light on that multi-confessional world and provide us with an increasingly complicated and nuanced image.

The aim of this book is to present significant examples – through the in-depth analysis of specific case studies – of how the interrelations between Christians and Muslims were negotiated in the field of images and objects in the Mediterranean area during the Early Modern age. By looking at the ways otherness and diversity were envisioned and visually communicated at the time, we can reconstruct a plurality of narratives, interwoven with all kinds of written texts – devotional literature, poetry, tracts and official documents among them – which frequently tell stories that diverge, at least partially, from the one-binary interpretative model of simple opposition.

This collection of essays stems from the international conference that took place in Genoa on June 6-8, 2018, entitled *Figure dell'alterità. Immagini dell'Islam. Incontri e scontri (da Lepanto a Matapan) – Picturing Alterity: Images of Islam, Encounters and Clashes (from Lepanto to Matapan)*. The con-

ference, which we organized with the help of Giuseppe Capriotti (University of Macerata), was one of the many initiatives promoted in the frame of the Spanish-based multi-national research group *Before Orientalism: The Images of Muslims in Iberia and Their Mediterranean Connections* (HAR2016-80354-P. IMPI. *Antes del orientalismo: Las "imágenes" del musulmán en la península ibérica (siglos XV-XVII) y sus conexiones mediterráneas*). In that occasion, researchers with diverse national and disciplinary backgrounds came together to address a number of relevant subjects, with two main foci: Lepanto and the figure of the captured and enslaved Turk on the one hand, and the visual reflections of Christian-Ottoman encounters in a much broader context, on the other hand. Contributions centred around the first focus of interest have been published recently by Leuven University Press (*Lepanto and Beyond. Images of Religious Alterity from Genoa and the Christian Mediterranean*, Laura Stagno and Borja Franco Llopis eds. 2021); while we have included in this book a selection of the presentations pertaining to diverse facets of the construction and circulation of the Ottomans' images (and the Ottomans' artefacts) in the Christian Mediterranean.

A short introductory chapter by Lauro Magnani gather reflections on the key terms of "alterity" and "image", the latter defined, from the relevant point of view, as a crystallisation of the "face-to-face with the other" in which we can recognise ourselves and feel compassion, or deform the reflected semblance into absolute alterity. Looking back to the Early Modern period, familiarity with the other – though in a context also permeated by fear and the rhetoric of hate – is detected as the crucial feature revealed by the verses of renowned poet Gabriello Chiabrera and by great works of art produced in two global Mediterranean metropolises of the time, Genoa and Palermo.

The first section of the book comprises contributions addressing the reflections and representations of a variety of "encounters" with religious otherness. The starting point is a Flemish illuminated *fabula* and *Bildungsroman* (1464) commissioned by the bibliophile Louis de Gruuthuse, Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The work recounts the adventures of his avatar, the nobleman hero Gillion de Trazegnies, who undertakes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and dreams of joining a crusade and experiencing perfect love. Maria Vittoria Spissu's essay investigates the recurring themes of guilt and (masculine and feminine) conversion in the narrative, as they are manifested in the characters' use of disguise and disavowal, and examines the conflicts triggered by fluctuating religious identities; it analyses the rich illuminated scenes in

which upheavals and plot twists, oriental costumes and eastern settings provide a broad sampling of the Burgundian (and European) conventions for depicting alterity widespread around the middle of the fifteenth century.

A completely different narrative, directly rooted in a close and harsh reality – but still invested, in some measure, with mythical or at least conventional characters – is that of the documents recording the Turks' landings in Liguria in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (it has to be noted here that throughout the book "Turk" and "Turkish" are used in the broad sense in which the terms were used in the Early Modern Christian Mediterranean, encompassing references to different peoples comprised in the Ottoman empire). In the climate of pan-Mediterranean tension engendered by the expansionist agendas of both the major empires of the period, the Spanish monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, the predatory raids conducted by the Barbary States (an area that had been recently annexed to the sultan's sphere of influence) targeted the coasts of Christendom, including Liguria, in search not only of material goods but also of captives who could either be brought to Africa as slaves or be ransomed back to Europe. This "corso mediterraneo" grew to be so prevalent that it became a real obsession for the inhabitants of the Ligurian shores. Raids were reported beginning in the 1530s on both sides of the Ligurian coast, but they became widespread in the second half of the 1500s and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Paolo Calcagno' s and Luca Lo Basso's joint chapter examines unpublished primary source containing accounts of these military incursions, particularly letters sent by the coastal villages' local authorities to the Genoese Senate, in which the attacks are described in vivid terms and a clear image of the "Turk" (characterized using both first-hand, objective knowledge and stereotypical traits) emerges.

In the third essay, by Iván Rega Castro, the focal point is the image of a Christian leader shaped by his victorious encounter with the Ottomans, in the early eighteenth century. The painting *John V of Portugal and the Battle of Matapan* attributed to Giorgio Domenico Duprà, which commemorates the Battle of Cape Matapan (June 1717), was directly related to the propaganda campaign developed by the Braganza dynasty. The portrait was destined to forge a new image of the Portuguese king as a Catholic hero and to demonstrate his support for a religious war against Islam, an idea which continued to thrive throughout Europe. The paper sheds new light on this phase of the Portuguese-Turkish conflict, analysing it not in strictly military terms but in cultural or propagandistic terms, with the help of unpublished documentation.

The central section of the book is dedicated to geographically diverse case studies in the creation, use and dissemination of the Ottomans' image in the Christian Mediterranean area, as well as the circulation of Ottoman artefacts. This latter topic is at the centre of Loredana Pessa's contribution, focused on the Genoese context. Following on the complex set of relationships established during the Middle Ages between Genoa, the Mediterranean, and the Black Sea, the flow of Ottoman objects to Liguria continued during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite political and diplomatic crises. The Genoese, who were involved in trading various Ottoman items such as Turkish carpets, also bought objects for their private houses and sometimes purchased luxury cloth, in some cases in order to make ecclesiastical vestments. Based on ongoing research, this chapter attempts to give an overview of the varied Turkish objects that were present in Liguria at the time, on the basis of a few extant items as well as pictorial and archival evidence.

Examples of the reception and function of the Turks' image are investigated in the subsequent contributions both with reference to specific areas – Spanish (and later Austrian) Lombardy, Venice, Croatia – and with a wider, sovra-national perspective.

Sara Rulli offers a transversal itinerary through the rich and fascinating body of textual and visual sources devoted to the everyday life, customs and costumes of the Turks, produced in the West since the 1450s and greatly enriched in the sixteenth century. Following the Turkish conquest of Constantinople, interest in the Ottoman Empire and its population peaked in Christian Europe. Knowledge of the Ottoman ways of life was conveyed to the Western public through a plurality of channels, and Rulli's chapter presents a selection of seminal instances, including, among others, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia universalis* and Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Customs and Fashions of the Turks*.

Giampaolo Angelini focuses his attention on the fortune of "Great Turks" series in Lombardy. The starting point of this iconographic genre is the well kown gift of twelve portraits of the Sultans by Turkish admiral Khayr al-Dyn – Barbarossa – to Virginio Orsini dell'Anguillara, commander of the king of France. The Orsini paintings were copied for Paolo Giovio (and for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, too). Giovio's series, incorporated in his Museum and replicated by Cristofano dell'Altissimo for Cosimo I de'Medici (while left out of the copies ordered by Cardinal Federico Borromeo for the Biblioteca Ambrosiana), became an important model in Spanish and early Austrian Lombardy, though the Counter-Reformation church objected to the display of

portraits of heretics, as Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane* makes clear, a stance that explains their exclusion from Cardinal Borromeo's collection. Angelini's contribution examines instances ranging from the hitherto unresearched portrait gallery created by Pompeo Litta, first Marquis of Gambolò, in his castle in Lomellina (remarkable both for its architectural style and for the presence of the effigies of the Great Turks, attested by early seventeenth-century inventories), through the small but important collection of portraits of the sultans in the Borromeo palace on Isola Bella, to the representations of mid-eighteenth-century battles in the Ottoman-Habsburg wars, now held at Belgioioso castle.

With Francesco Sorce's essay, the focus of attention shifts to Venice. This paper explores the semantic function of the Turks included in sixteenth-century Venetian artworks depicting "suppers" from the Gospels (the Last Supper, but also the wedding at Cana, the supper at Emmaus, the feast of Simon the Pharisee). It aims to show that the Turks "at the table" should not be interpreted as mere ornament, reflecting a taste for the exotic, or exclusively as a sign of either curiosity or détente between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, as has been previously argued. Rather, they should be seen in the light of the ideas regarding the status of otherness in the history of salvation that were circulating at the time, and considered as emblematic personifications of the "infidelity" conceptually linked to the idea not only of slavery, but, in broader terms, of domestic servitude of any kind.

Ivana Čapeta Rakić contributes to the long-standing debate on Marko Marulić's epic poem *Judith* as possibly to be read, at a symbolic level, as part of the anti-Ottoman corpus of Croatian literature. The earliest literary work in Croatian, this epic poem was written in 1501, during the Second Ottoman-Venetian War (1499-1503), when the Turks had already started to plunder the Fields of Kaštela and had reached the walls of Marulić's native Split. The author analyses the visual narratives provided by the xylographies printed in the second and the fourth editions of the poem, dating back to 1522 and 1586 respectively. She investigates the origins, characters and connection to the text of the two series of illustrations, neither of which was originally designed for this specific work: the first was produced for the 1516 edition of Joachim of Fiore's *Expositio in librum Beati Cirilli*; the second – here for the first time taken into consideration in the frame of this discussion – illustrated Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, whose plot builds on the general theme of war between the Christians and the Saracens.

The three essays in the last part of the book zoom in on occurrences of Ottomans' images in connection to explicitly religious Catholic contexts. Valentina Fiore's essay deals primarily with ex votos. As Didi-Huberman wrote, an ex voto firstly "represents the evil that a person is imploring his or her god to be released from". In Ligurian ex-votos with seafaring themes, in a number of cases that evil is unequivocally represented by the Turk. The votive object – whether represented by a "real" object, like the 600 Ottoman arrows offered at the shrine of Our Lady of Mercy in Savona, or by a pictorial or sculptural artifact, such as the votive paintings depicting corsair attacks – expresses the feelings of the person that offers it; significantly, the analysis of the surviving images and of the written sources linked to popular devotion shows that collective fear of the Turk was particularly intense in villages and towns along the coasts of the Riviere di Ponente and di Levante, which faced a more direct threat of attack by corsair ships than Genoa, and which, not coincidentally, were often home to confraternities devoted to the redemption of slaves, sometimes involved in the commission of works of art with related subjects.

Both Valentina Borniotto's and Arianna Magnani's contributions address themes connected to the role of the Jesuits and their missionary efforts.

Borniotto concentrates on Saint Francis Xavier's iconography. Xavier became an exemplary model of the thrust toward global evangelization and the conversion of all kinds of "infidels". In both visual and textual sources, Xavier's missionary activity – which had led him to India, Japan, and China – was invested with universal symbolical meanings. The saint's relation to religious alterity, understood in the widest possible way, was a crucial component of his image. He was often depicted preaching to people of different ethnicities, in some cases characterized by a shared, generic Turkish character marking them as "exotic" and "other" (in the example of Domenico Piola's fresco in Genoa, depicting Xavier's encounter with the Japanese King of Bungo, both the sovereign and his people are clearly portrayed as Ottomans); these representations can sometimes ovelap with the allegorical iconography of the conversion of the Four Parts of the World.

The book's last essay takes a particularly broad view in tackling the topic of the construction of religious – more specifically, Islamic – otherness. Arianna Magnani reflects on the concepts of 'Turkish" and "Muslim" as described by two "Others" with which the Ottoman empire was confronted: the Mediterranean Catholic world and the Chinese Empire. This two-fold

comparison is made possible by the presence in Italy of sources in Chinese, such as illustrated Encyclopaedic books, that describe and represent the foreign populations with which China had contacts during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), including Muslim populations. These texts, mainly dating to the seventeenth century, came to Europe by way of the Jesuits, who acquired them in their missions to China, a testimony of their effort to learn about different cultures. Along with these books, the Jesuits also brought their own Chinese writings, which contain descriptions of the Ottoman Empire as they portrayed it to the Chinese. This chapter thus aims to analyse the creation of the image of the Turk from a panoramic perspective, from West to East and back.

To sum up: this book gathers a number of in-depth analyses which deal with the visual problem of the representation of the Ottomans from a variety of angles, choosing to investigate different geographical areas, chronological periods and artistic media. Hate, fear and rejection, but also curiosity and fascination, are the collective feelings that underpinned the construction of the images of the Turk in the Early Modern Mediterranean (and beyond), generating a richness of nuances and meanings which were for a significant part specific to places and times: the perception and communication of alterity was – and still is – the product of the circumstances and agendas that shaped it, and adding new tesserae to this complex mosaic is the main path toward a better understanding of the multi-faceted image of the Muslim other in Early Modern western societies.

An Introduction Touching on Literature and Image

Lauro Magnani, University of Genoa

"Alterity" and "Image": two of the key terms in the title of the conference held in Genoa in June 2018, *Figure dell'alterità. Immagini dell'Islam. Incontri e scontri (da Lepanto a Matapan) – Picturing Alterity: Images of Islam, Encounters and Clashes (from Lepanto to Matapan)*[1].

In a context of relationships between societies and cultures, the first term is one of those words that aim to signal the characters of a contemporary approach which defines itself in opposition to a different, traditional one typically taking a single point of view: the implied reference is to a past in which to assert oneself often meant to project a derogatory vision of the other, defining that other as different and inferior. It is equally clear that the historical gaze prevailing at the Genoa conference also implied an unexpressed reflection on current circumstances and the political situation of our own time, when the affirmation of the differentness of the other seems to have resumed its place in the public sentiment (a sentiment, though, from which intellectual élites generally seem to want to distinguish themselves).

Our nature as art historians drives us to study images as evidence of the past that we are analysing. But the image is – itself – other: like the reflected image of our faces, it allows us to recognise ourselves, or it induces us to assign features that can define a difference. Through the image, we crystallise this "face-to-face with the other" in which we recognise ourselves and feel compassion and sympathise, or instead deform and transform into alterity the resemblance that we share with others.

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[1] *Figure dell'alterità religiosa Immagini dell'Islam Incontri e scontri (da Lepanto a Matapan) – Picturing Alterity: Images of Islam, Encounters and Clashes (from Lepanto to Matapan)*, University of Genoa, Palazzo Balbi Cattaneo, 6-8 June 2018, directed by L. Stagno, with the collaboration of B. Franco Llopis and G. Capriotti.

The series of probes into the past presented at the conference was wide ranging, as the eassays gathered in this book attest. Here I would like to limit myself to a brief reflection, dictated by the experiences of my visual bulimia and rooted in the images produced by artists in Genoa, a Mediterranean metropolis of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries which had a tradition of being exceptionally open to the world.

Specifically, I detect – after Lepanto, the military episode that seems to have concluded a period of immense, vague fear[2]; and prior to the opening of the eighteenth century, locally characterized by Magnasco's acute visual critique of the condition of the subjugated others[3] – an extraordinary familiarity with the other in Genoese seventeenth-century painting, a closeness that is found continuously in the representation of objects, clothing and faces that testify to contact, trade and attention: in short, a real knowledge, certainly not limited to a stereotype of denigration and rejection of the other.

Here, I am thinking of the apparently vague but actually meticulously depicted oriental character evoked, with variety in the clothing and fabrics[4], in the

[2] In Catholic countries, the humiliation of the Sack of Rome and the trauma of the break of Christian unity, with the subsequent expansion of the Reformation, were combined in popular sentiment with fear of the advance of the Turks: the impact of these changes, in part experienced directly, in part mediated through the preaching of the local clergy and religious orders, must have been devastating. It was characteristic, for example, that in many cases the miraculous events that gave origin to new sanctuaries shared in this widespread feeling. This was the case for the Sanctuary of Mirteto in Ortonovo, where the Virgin fainting at the foot of the Cross in an old fresco "cried tears of blood", as a group of flagellants was able to verify "with their eyes and touch with their hands". Ambrogio Monticola (d. 1569), cleric of Ortonovo and then Dominican bishop and present at the Council of Trent, wrote of the Virgin's tears: "*Quid fles? Cur sacro sanguine fundis humum? Iratus ne Deus mundi subvertere molem cogitat, aut stricto fulmine deesse Pater? Aut potius Turchas, potius disperdere Lutherum qui tua non restat nemina conspuere?*". See Magnani 1986, 103. Among the studies of devotion in Liguria during the Tridentine period, also see Garnett and Rosser 2013, 166-67.

[3] On attention to religious and social "others" in the context of the "ideological enigma" of Magnasco's painting and in relation to the complex cultural references that distinguish his work, see Vismara Chiappa 1996, 89-98. For a more recent discussion of the artist's years in Milan, see Spiriti 2014, 316-321.

[4] On the depiction of costumes in Domenico Fiasella's fresco (illustrated in fig. 4.2), see Loredana Pessa's essay in this book.

politicised Biblical story of Esther and Ahasuerus[5]: Ahasuerus, a Persian king, a reference to an unspecific Orient or one instead defined by an artist like Fiasella in terms of the opposition between Persian power and the Ottoman Empire? I am thinking of the sophisticated "oriental" aspect of Strozzi's depiction of the classical hero Aeneas in the encounter with Dido depicted in the Villa Centurione Carpaneto (fig. 0.1); I am thinking of the precision with which Giovanni Battista Carlone filled his paintings with "alla turchesca" objects, Anatolian carpets[6] and other artefacts, and the way in which he often presented the despot who condemns a Christian martyr as a Turk[7], a richly clothed Ottoman dignitary with a large turban, bestowed with a dignified appearance. And this holds true whether it was the martyrdom of St Benignus, who was killed by Diocletian, to be represented[8], or that of St James (condemned by Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod and protegé of Caligula), whom Giovanni Battista Carlone portrays while led to his death (fig. 0.2)[9]. I just mention in passing the detailed attention to the other – and in particular to the Other's things – in the work of Grechetto, engaged in drawing us closer to the events of Jewish history.

In short, the impression one gets is that "the other" was profoundly familiar (though, often, in a climate of confrontation): a part of everyday life projected into altarpieces, paintings in private collections, frescoes and the

[5] Vazzoler 1990, 31-33; Corradini 2014, 123-246. Fiasella's fresco was painted in the years in which the clash between Persia and the Ottoman Empire had worsened. Evidence that the international situation was well known in Genoa includes the story of the Cicala family and in particular that of the aristocratic Genoese renegade, Scipione Cicala, who, having taken the name Cığalazade Yusuf Sinan Kapudan Pasha, led his troops not only on raids to Italy but also in battle against the Persians. See Graf 2017, 176-192.

[6] A significant instance is the magnificent rug spread over the steps of Herod's throne in the depiction of *St John the Baptist's "Non licet"* in the Church of San Giovanni Battista in Chiavari, dated 1644. On the trade, use and depiction of Turkish rugs and carpets in early modern Genoa, see Pessa's essay in this book (another painting by Carlone including an Anatolian carpet is illustrated in Pessa' s essay, fig. 4.4.).

[7] On the use of figures anachronistically marked by Ottoman characters in the role of villains in religious scenes, in the context of Genoese art, see Stagno 2019, 310-311.

[8] See Pesenti 1986, 229 fig. 197.

[9] The reference is to the painting by Giovanni Battista Carlone, *St James, Led to Martyrdom, Heals a Paralytic,* in the Oratory of San Giacomo della Marina, dated 1646, where the executioner is an extremely accurate representation of the "Grand Turk" or the "Muftì" as defined in Vecellio 1589, 358-359.

Fig. 0.1 Bernardo Strozzi, *Aeneas and Dido in the Cave*, detail of a vault fresco. Genoa, Villa Centurione-Carpaneto.

Fig. 0.2 Giovanni Battista Carlone, *St James, Led to Martyrdom, Heals a Paralytic*. Genoa, Oratorio di San Giacomo della Marina.

painted façades of buildings. For the sixteenth century, the uppermost registers of Palazzo Antonio Doria can be cited, or the façade of Palazzo Angelo Giovanni Spinola in Strada Nuova, where Turkish prisoners are depicted in correspondence with the figures from antiquity in the lower registers[10]: habitual apparitions in the everyday visual communication that made the city's painted façades into "screens", which of course influenced those who saw them. Deliberately I use, in this context, the term screen, referencing the phenomenon studied by today's screenology[11], which considers our continual exposure in urban space to visual communication via perennially active screens, the "media façades": this immersive form of communication is not solely characteristic of the present day.

This presence of the other, in particular the Ottoman other, in everyday life also seems to be confirmed by literature. Suffice to recall, for example,

[10] Stagno 2019, 308-309.

[11] Casetti 2014, 103-121; "displays a static, permanent image", Hutuhtamk 2006, 35.

what the recurrent capture of slaves – naturally not to be seen only from the Christian side, but in terms of reciprocity – must have represented in a situation of continuous conflict, in particular with the Barbary corsairs[12]. In his *Canzoni Eroiche*, specifically the ones about the victories of the Tuscan galleys (*Sopra alcune vittorie delle galere di Toscana*)[13], Gabriello Chiabrera, celebrating the triumphs of the Christian ships and in particular of the Medici fleet, described, in a dozen poems, the capture of about five thousand Muslim slaves, listed in each *canzone* with statistical precision alongside a smaller number of freed Christian slaves. Many Christian cities shared the presence of "Turkish" prisoners, as clearly demonstrated, for Genoa, by De Wael's engravings[14].

But Chiabrera gives us another, even more vivid image of continuous attention to the encounter/confrontation with the other (the enemy). His *Sermoni* – in particular the *Sermone Al Signor Niccolò Cuneo*, written in the 1630s and dedicated to a friend from Savona – become a chronicle, a testimony of a popular awareness that went beyond the drama of the clash to become a habit of contact in everyday life[15]. The poet was on the Legino beach, and saw some local children playing, barefoot, everyone with bare heads. They were building a city out of sand, complete with bastions, city walls and moats. They were playing war, making sounds with their mouths in imitation of bombardments, reproducing the drum roll by beating their chests and shouting "Algiers, Algiers". The game continued until a little wave washed away the sand fortress, "it attacked the fortress and dispersed it" and "took it away from their gaze". And then, Chiabrera wrote, the children drew from their chests an expression of surprise and disappointment, "a drawn-out Oh". The poet smiled at this, noting how many, "not children, no, but adults", lose themselves in constructing their

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[12] On slaves in Genoa: Zappia 2021.

[13] The twelve *canzoni* were published in Chiabrera 1619. In later editions, there are thirteen prints on this theme; see Chiabrera 1718, 182-233*, Canzoni* LXVII-LXXX. "*Stringersi in ceppi Musulmani […] Altra turba sofferse […] E nel mondo quaggiù regna vicenda: convien che altri sormonti, altri discenda*". "*Vengono imprigionati i Mussulmani*" *[…] Un altro popolo soffre […] Sulla nostra terra domina questa regola: capita a volte di dominare, altre di essere dominati* (*Canzone* LXXVII, 223).

[14] Stoesser 2018, I, 199-200; II, 608-611.

[15] Turchi (ed.) 1974, 501-503.

Fig. 0.3 Giacomo Serpotta, *Stucco Decoration of the Counter-façade: the Battle of Lepanto and other scenes*. Palermo, Oratorio del Rosario di Santa Cita.

illusions, not on the sand but in the vanity of their thoughts, "in the emptiness of the air and on the clouds"[16].

In conclusion, I would like to bring together this familiarity, this everyday, sorrowful sense of the almost inevitable and not necessarily desired clash with the other on the one hand, and the power of the image, an artist's awareness in projecting a representation of that reality for the public, on the other hand. There is an extraordinary place in Palermo (a city deeply tied to Genoa and integrated into the Mediterranean side of the confrontation with the Turk), the Oratory of Santa Zita, decorated by the great master of stucco sculpture Giacomo Serpotta in two phases, first between 1685 and 1688 and then, to complete the decoration of the presbytery, between 1717 and 1718[17]. The large space of the oratory is densely decorated with pairs of allegorical figures and putti above episodes of the joyful and sorrowful mysteries of the Rosary

[16] *Ibidem*.

[17] Palazzotto 2016, 236-245. See Pecoraro, Palazzotto and Scordato 1999; Scordato and Viola 2015. On Serpotta, besides the classic work by Garstang (2006), see also Abbate (ed.) 2017.

Fig. 0.4 Giacomo Serpotta, *Stucco Decoration of the Counter-façade: Mysteries of the Rosary,* detail. Palermo, Oratorio del Rosario di Santa Cita.

Fig. 0.5 Giacomo Serpotta, *Stucco Decoration of the Counter-façade: Two Boys*. Palermo, Oratorio del Rosario di Santa Cita.

on the side walls, in a complex composition played out between pilasters embellished with putti and racemes; whereas, opposite the altar, Serpotta covered the wall with an enormous stucco curtain, also topped by angelic putti: a large canvas (fig. 0.3), a theatre curtain perhaps, hosting the Rosary's glorious Mysteries in a series of framed scenes. We could again call them screens (fig. 0.4); "little theatres" – "teatrini" – is what they were called in contemporary sources, and they were inspired in their format by the bas-relief scenes made by Antonello Gagini for the tribune that he sculpted in the presbytery of Palermo's cathedral during the first four decades of the sixteenth century[18], demolished at the end of the eighteenth century. Among Serpotta's five scenes representing the glorious mysteries of the Rosary, the central "screen" illustrates the Battle of Lepanto. In front of it, divided by a panoply of modern weapons (which, however, also pepper the entire swath of fabric), are two

[18] Scholars have traditionally linked Serpotta's "little theatres" to Gagini, starting with Meli 1934, 48 and 145; and Carandente 1967, 30-31, and they have also studied their "solid perspective". Most recently, Di Paola 2014, 81-93.

children, two boys of the lower classes – similar to those described by Chiabrera, I would posit. The one on the left is the Christian boy, his gaze directed upwards. The other one, vexed, his hand in his pocket, almost as if beaten in a children's game, represents the other, the Turk (fig. 0.5). What is the difference between the two? A resting helmet, a turban and nothing more; they are just two children.

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PART 1
ENCOUNTERS

1. Reckoning with the Illuminated Dreams of a Burgundian Crusade: The Audacious Virtues of a Restless Christian Hero

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The *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* is a manuscript that was produced in 1464 by David Aubert[1], with illuminations by Lieven van Lathem[2]. Its patron was the nobleman and book collector Louis de Gruuthuse, also known as Louis de Bruges, an adviser to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. The volume – originating in the southern Netherlands and now held at The J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. 111, 2013.46) – tells a tale of high adventure in *Outremer* against the backdrop of the campaign against the infidel and the project to convert Muslims to Christianity.

The work features the protagonist Gillion de Trazegnies, a fictional *alter ego* of Louis de Gruuthuse. Both patron and protagonist are devoted to the same chivalrous ideals and committed to the same religious faith. The *Roman de Gillion* can be seen as a reflection of the culture and ambitions of its illustrious patron. Thus, an analysis of the miniatures and of the text that accompanies them and a comparison with other similarly themed works will shed new light on the political outlook of the Duchy of Burgundy – where Gruuthuse played an extremely prominent role – and on its expansionist aspirations in the Mediterranean.

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[1] David Aubert is the French calligrapher who transcribed the *Roman de Gillion*. He compiled and adapted courtly romances and chronicles for the court of Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, and Duchess Margaret of York. He also completed manuscripts for Antoine de Bourgogne, Philippe de Croy, as well as for our Louis de Gruuthuse.

[2] Lieven van Lathem was an early Dutch painter and manuscript illuminator. He created the eight dramatic and detailed miniatures and the 44 historiated initials that we find in the *Roman de Gillion*. The illuminated scenes with their dazzling battles and the lyrical naturalism of the landscape settings provide insight into how the Flemish imagination visualized overseas adventure and the idea of a crusade in the land of the infidels.

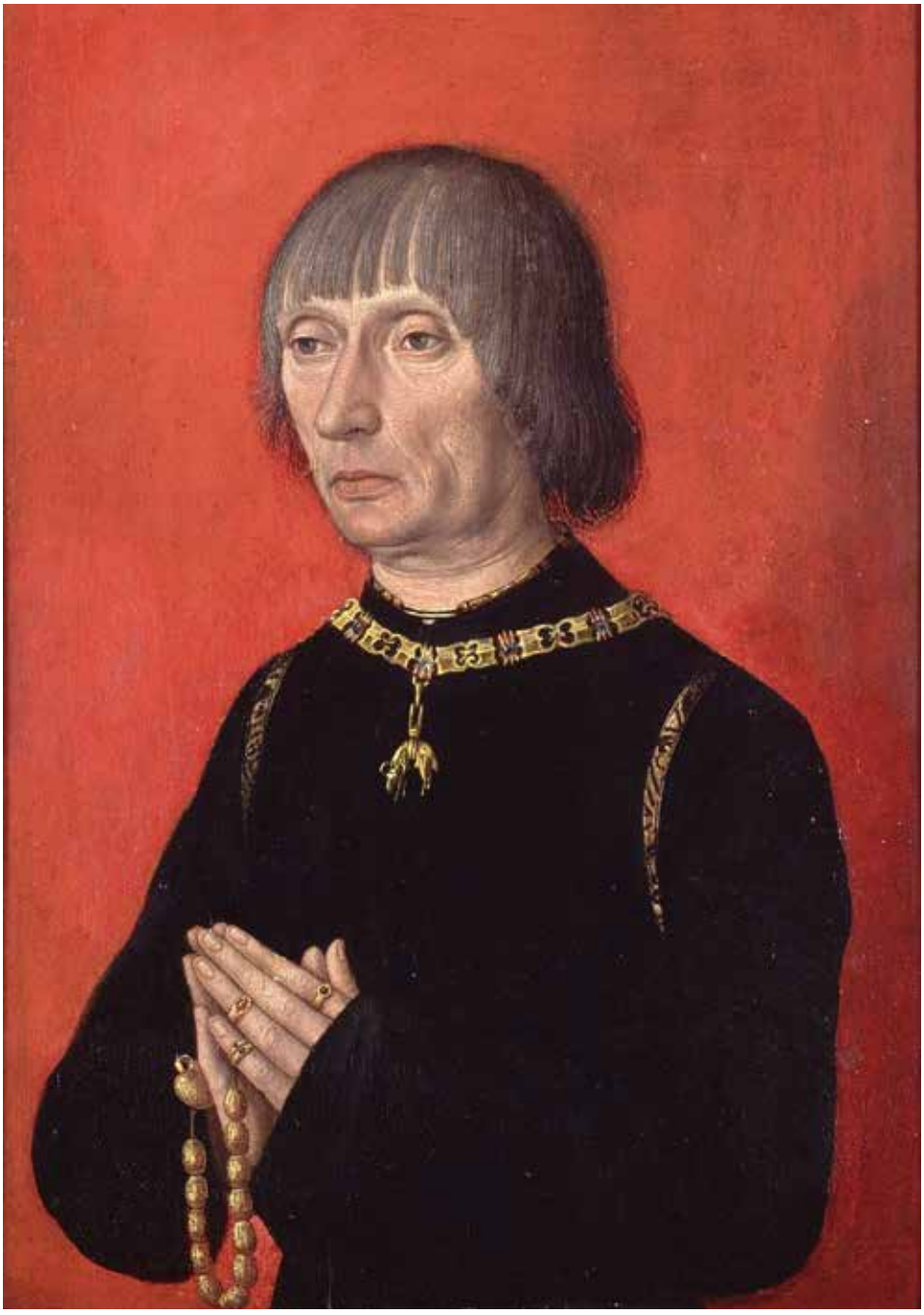

Fig. 1.1 Master of the Princely Portraits, *Portrait of Louis de Gruuthuse*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, c. 1480-1490.

For a glimpse at the personality of the patron, we can consider his portrait, now held at the Groeningemuseum in Bruges[3] (fig. 1.1). In it, the Flemish nobleman is shown in all his devotion and determination, combining political loyalty with religious faith. Both the rosary and the Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece are emblematically present. He personifies the ideal knight-general, serving his lord and eager to do battle with the enemies of the Church, but he was also a patron of the arts and a collector who amassed one of the largest and most distinguished libraries in Europe[4].

The *Roman de Gillion*[5] is one of the most significant works that Gruuthuse commissioned. The manuscript reveals values and goals that reflect the culture of the time, particularly the perception of otherness, conversion, virtue, and faith. The work lends itself to multiple readings, insofar as it contains invaluable clues for reconstructing the history of emotions relating to chivalric codes, the crusades, the war against the infidel, and even marriage. In the book we are presented with emotions elicited by questions and dilemmas both moral and spiritual. The work follows the adventures of the noble knight and Christian paladin Gillion, and the miniatures contain multiple references to the East and to the Muslim world.

Gillion has sworn an oath to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land if his wife becomes pregnant, so when God grants his heart's desire, he sets off on his journey. He plans on returning home soon to his wife, but events during his sea voyage conspire to subvert his intentions. He is captured by pirates and imprisoned in Egypt. The sultan wants to execute him, but his hand is stayed by his daughter, who has fallen in love with Gillion. She frees him so that he can save her father, who in turn has fallen into the hands of a rival emir. He saves her Muslim father, but, as he has promised her to return to prison (fol. 41v), he goes back to Cairo.

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[3] On this celebrated figure from Flemish political history, Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland in 1462-1477, who was appointed Earl of Winchester by King Edward IV of England in 1472 and who was a great lover of art, see Martens and De Gryse (eds.) 1992.

[4] On the collection of Louis de Gruuthuse, commissioner of illuminated works, see also Hans-Collas and Schandel (eds.) 2009.

[5] On Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 111 (2013.46), see Morrison and Stahuljak 2015.

Despite his continued presence in the land of the infidels, and much flattery and coaxing (fol. 48), he never converts to Islam. Instead, Gillion actually inspires the Muslim princess, whose name is Gracienne, to convert to Christianity. Having received false news that his first wife, Marie, is dead, he decides to marry Gracienne. When he returns home to the Netherlands, he finds that his wife has been alive all along and has been waiting for him to return. His second wife, now a convert to Christianity, decides at this point to withdraw to a convent, as does the Marie.

For the entire book, Gillion remains torn between two worlds, the Christian European world and the Muslim Arab world. He embarks on his own personal crusade, fighting against the infidels for many years, and makes an inner pilgrimage in which he suffers physical and moral trials and confronts questions about faith, betrayal, and redemption. The original impetus behind Gillion's departure from Flanders, and his prolonged sojourn in Egypt, both derive from his commitment to keeping his word, if necessary by taking the most arduous path, and his desire to win honor, salvation, and balance between the two worlds in which he finds himself.

In French and Flemish illuminated texts, foreign and exotic figures, and of course tales of voyages and military exploits, especially in the Holy Land, were valued both because they were a way to exhibit their sponsors' wealth and because they promoted the European monarchs' expansionist ambitions and hostility toward Islam. In the mid-fifteenth century, in an atmosphere of growing enthusiasm for a new crusade, the Duke of Burgundy and Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon reached an important understanding. Given their trade agreements, their shared artistic taste, and above all their common political vision for the Mediterranean, it is hardly surprising that an alliance was formed between the two leaders.

The aspirations of Philip the Good and the political climate of the Duchy of Burgundy must have permeated Gruuthuse's outlook. The patron who commissioned the *Roman de Gillion* was also a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece and had volunteered himself to fight against the infidel enemies of Christianity and of the duchy. For these reasons, it is useful to take a closer look at the Mediterranean contacts of Philip the Good and at his movements in Europe and beyond, in order to better understand the context in which the idea for the *Roman de Gillion* emerged. It is no coincidence that some of the books with which our illuminated volume can be profitably compared were commissioned by none other than the Duke of Burgundy.

In the miniatures in the *Roman de Gillion*, the protagonist is depicted at different times as a devoted husband, pilgrim, knight, crusader, ally, and sinner. These roles overlap and alternate, but it is clear from the start that Gillion represents for all intents and purposes the Christian hero, with whom the reader is meant to identify, and with whom Louis de Gruuthuse certainly longed to identify. At this point it is useful to reflect on the images used to construct the figure of the pious hero, in the Burgundian context but also in Iberia, which was, among all European regions, the one most strained by its proximity to the "infidel".

As a visual embodiment of the struggle against the Muslim enemy, adopted as a personal mission, the king of Aragon, Valencia, and Naples proceeds impetuously on horseback in a particular illuminated scene in the *Libro de Horas de Alfonso V el Magnánimo*[6] (Valencia 1436-1443, now at the British Museum in London, Ms. add. 28962, fol. 78r). The king (fig. 1.2) is shown commanding an army, fighting the Saracens, as a *miles Christi* and Christian hero[7]. He is reminiscent of St George, who, in the *Retablo del Centenar de la Ploma* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum)[8] defeats an army of enemies of the Christian faith (fig. 1.3), foreshadowing an iconography that would become so quickly established in the Iberian Peninsula that we might describe it as "going viral"[9]: the *Santiago Matamoros*, with which Charles V himself would later identify[10].

The details of the illuminated scene in the *Libro de Horas* mentioned above suggest that it may have been inspired by Miquel Alcañiz's *Battle of Constantine against Maxentius* (fig. 1.4), in the *Retablo de la Santa Cruz* (1410, Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia), which also depicts a clash between a crusading army and an enemy whose dark skins, turbans, and *gineta* style of riding suggest that it is an Islamic force[11]. Alfonso the Magnanimous is also shown repeatedly (fols. 14v, 38r, 44v, 67v, 106v, 281v, 312r), in the *Libro de Horas*, kneeling in devout communion with the Eternal Father, who blesses him, or before the vision of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.

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[6] Español 2003, 91-114.

[7] Ramon Marqués 2007, 98-109; Planas Badenas 2015, 211-237.

[8] Miquel Juan 2011, 191-213.

[9] I have borrowed this very fitting expression from Stephanie Porras (2016, 54-79).

[10] Van Herwaarden 2012, 83-106.

[11] Echevarria 1999; Irigoyen-García 2017.

Fig. 1.2 *King Alfonso V leading his army against the Saracens*, in Psalter and Hours, *Prayerbook of Alphonso V of Aragon*, 1436-1443, London, The British Museum, Ms. Add. 28962, fol. 78r.

This is an attempt to legitimize his push for economic control[12] of the Mediterranean, by linking it to the struggle against the infidel and presenting it as having been divinely inspired.

[12] The long-standing connection between travel, crusade, and commercial interests has recently been reexamined by Menache, Kedar and Balard (eds.) 2019. On the political strategies and the visual and literary translation of the ideologies of the Aragonese monarchical Renaissance, promoted by Alfonso the Magnanimous, see Delle Donne and Iacono 2018.

Fig. 1.3 Master of the Centenar de la Ploma (attributed to Marçal de Sax and Miquel Alcanyís), *Altarpiece of St George or Retablo del Centenar de la Ploma*, detail, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, first quarter of the 15th century.

Fig. 1.4 Miquel Ancanyis, *Battle of Constantine against Maxentius*, in the *Altarpiece of the Holy Cross*, Valencia, Museo de Bellas Artes, c. 1410.

In Northern Europe, Flemish illumination included similar visual transpositions arising from an analogous political agenda, in which veiled apologies for the Crusades, chivalric propaganda, and visions of virtue are all found in the same narratives. In them, the attentive reader can recognize the shared ideas about otherness and identity race and nation in Burgundy and King Alfonso's Spain. In the illuminated volumes of Jean Froissant's *Chronicles* that Gruuthuse commissioned[13], adventures, wars, voyages, and in particular the cruel and macabre scene of the killing of Christian soldiers by Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I in the 1396 Battle of Nicopolis take center stage[14]. Bayezid I is depicted in a turban, seated before his royal field tent, while his soldiers are haphazardly placed around him; one of the more sadistic ones has just cut off

[13] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Ms. Français 2643-2646. The Battle of Nicopolis is depicted on f. 255v of Ms. fr. 2646. On the reception of the *Chronicles* in the Flemish world, see Le Guay, 1998.

[14] The crusade ended in a crushing defeat. The allied crusader army was made up of Hungarian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, French, English, Burgundian, German, and Venetian forces.

the head of a soldier/martyr, while the prisoners themselves are depicted as sacrificial victims, stripped naked or dressed in white tunics.

Narratives, both textual and pictorial, about voyages to *Outremer* functioned as a sort of recruitment literature for war and crusade[15]. They mirrored the aspirations, expectations, and mindset of privileged art and manuscript patrons and readers like Gruuthuse. In 1454 he, along with other knights, had taken part in the Feast of the Pheasant,[16] a banquet given by Philip the Good to promote a crusade against the Turks, who had taken Constantinople the year before; those who attended, including the members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, pledged their loyalty to the Duke and their support for his crusade. Gruuthuse commissioned the *Roman de Gillion*, with its themes of a voyage to the East and the conflict with the infidel, to demonstrate that he shared Philip's eagerness to undertake the crusade.

In the library of the Court of Burgundy, it was not unusual to find manuscripts and letters concerning knights and pilgrims who had journeyed to the Holy Land, such as Bertrandon de la Broquière[17], an adviser to Philip the Good. He set out for Jerusalem in 1432, bringing back crucial information about the military tactics used by the Turks[18], the political situation in those regions, and the local customs he encountered.

An important image of Bertrandon's iconic voyage is the illuminated scene depicting the 1453 siege of Constantinople by Mehmed II the Conqueror, found in the manuscript *Le Voyage d'Outre-Mer* (Lille 1455)[19], with miniatures by Jean Le Tavernier. Bertrandon was a spy sent on a reconnaissance mission and had to bargain and negotiate, disguising himself in Eastern costumes and learning the local language; he even made friends with a Mameluke. Bertrandon's itinerary included many of the same stops as Gillion's: Ghent, Rome, Venice, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Gaza, Mount Zion, Beirut, Damascus, Mecca, Antioch, the Gulf of Alexandretta, Constantinople, the Balkans, Vienna, Basel, and Burgundy, where he presented Philip the Good with a copy of the Koran and a Life of Mohammed translated into Latin.

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[15] Ellena 2002, 78-89.

[16] Caron and Clauzel (eds.) 1997.

[17] Broquière 2010; Classen 2013, 49-57.

[18] Haarmann 2001, 1-24.

[19] BnF, Ms. fr. 9087, fol. 207v.

Fig. 1.5 *Bertrandon presenting his work to Philip the Good*, in Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Overseas travel (Voyage d'outremer)*, Jean Le Tavernier (illuminator), Lille, third quarter of the 15th century, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. Français 9087, fol. 152v.

These accounts helped to bring exoticizing views of the East and tactical information to Europe, molding the perception of the Muslim Other. The texts and images allowed a sort of visual and virtual colonization of those places, a cultural appropriation and imaginary colonization that foreshadowed the real conquest (or assimilation) planned in the crusades. Bertrandon (fig. 1.5) is still dressed in the Eastern fashion when he presents his work to Philip the Good[20], and the misleading disguise becomes a means by which to explore and culturally appropriate the Other.

Contacts between the two worlds were sometimes represented as literary disputes, such as *Le Débat du Chrétien et du Sarrazin*,[21] by Jean Germain, which presented a refutation of the false beliefs of Islam in a dialogue between two knights at the court of a Moorish emperor. The volume is dedicated to Philip

[20] BnF, Ms. fr. 9087, fol. 152v.

[21] Wrisley 2013, 177-205.

the Good, who is identified as the ideal reader: he appears in the first illuminated scene, and his commitment against the "cult of Muhammad" is praised[22].

Thus images of expeditions to *Outremer* were often included in texts whose plots wove together elements of chronicle and make-believe: in Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* historical facts are interpreted in such a way as to legitimize a new crusade, just as in the *Roman de Gillion* the fictional adventures complement the foreign policies of the time. Both of the works reflect the Mediterranean ambitions of the Court of Burgundy[23]. The hero, in our case Gillion, therefore becomes a propagandistic projection and, at the same time, a kind of avatar of his commissioner and reader, Louis de Gruuthuse, and, by extension, of Philip the Good.

The behaviors and emotions that arise from the contacts between the European Christian hero and the infidel enemy ("Saracen" in the text, understood to be Muslim Arab) form the crux of this voyage to the Eastern world. Gillion seems torn between his original love for his first wife, Marie, a Western noblewoman, and Gracienne, the Muslim princess. The whole story is infused by vacillating dichotomies: blame and shame that are transformed into reparation and solace, through baptism, conversion, vows of obedience, kept promises, and miraculous acts of courage, including the killing of a huge number of infidels. Also lurking in the story of Gillion is suspicion about renegades and converts, as well as fear of stigma, betrayal, and calumny.

So, on the one hand, we have the chronicles about *Outremer*[24], which explore all the facets of an organized journey and military campaign to redeem occupied territories[25], and on the other hand, we have our Gillion romance, in which the journey comes after a promise made to God and is transformed from pilgrimage into the stirring tale of a very personal crusade. The *Roman de Gillion*[26] contains plot twists, betrayal, presumed miracles, and contrasting emotions: Gillion meets a Muslim girl, the daughter of the sultan of Egypt, falls in love with her, and uses his powers of persuasion to convince her to

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[22] BnF, Ms. fr. 948, fol. 1.

[23] On politics and the arts in the Court of Burgundy, see Blockmans and Borchert (eds.) 2013.

[24] Delcourt, Queruel, and Masanè (eds.) 2016; completed around 1474, Sebastien Mamerot's manuscript *Les Passages d'Outremer* is the only contemporary document to describe the French crusades to capture the Holy Land; with miniatures by Jean Colombe.

[25] Jacob 2013, 185-197.

[26] See also Kren and McKendrick (eds.) 2003, 4, 223-224, 239-242, 245, 255, 315.

convert. In order to keep his word, Gillion becomes the commander of the sultan's troops; he stays at the sultan's court for a full 24 years, valiantly clashing in bloody battle against the sultan's Muslim enemies.

So this is an imaginary pilgrimage and crusade, which functions as a substitute for the promise Louis de Gruuthuse made to Philip the Good at the Feast of the Pheasant. Philip was also a great commissioner of illuminated books on the subject[27] and had his own ambitions in that regard[28]. However, both men were mere "armchair soldiers," since in actual fact neither of them ever actually set out on a crusade. Furthermore, the court of Burgundy was already well accustomed to identifying with idealized heroes[29] and to envisaging political ambitions through illuminated renditions of valiant deeds[30].

Why was the story of Gillion so well loved, and why did Louis de Gruuthuse – the owner of this manuscript – and Philip spend considerable sums on the production of such sumptuous manuscripts? They reflected the ideals and ambitions of the lord and of his family. They also belonged to a tradition of adventure narratives beginning with editions of the adventures of Marco Polo[31] and the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, a work that, like the later *Roman de Gillion*, was about an imaginary journey; indeed, the curiosity about exotic animals exhibited in Gillion's tale can be attributed to the influence of the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

Although the narration is sometimes more folkloric than epic in tone, the *Roman de Gillion* was not unlike the *Libro de Horas* that was discussed above. This work was commissioned by the Dominican cardinal Joan de Casanova in 1431 for Alfonso the Magnanimous (whose confessor he was). The works are similar in that the techniques of the *captatio benevolentiae* and the goal of self-promotion are the same in both cases. Both works are attempts by their patrons to gain favor with their lord. Casanova does this by making a gift of the manuscript to Alfonso. Likewise, Gruuthuse commissions a manuscript that reaffirms Philip's interests in order to cast himself in a good light in the eyes of the duke.

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[27] Moodey 2012, 70-72, 79-123.

[28] Blair Moore 2017, 169-182.

[29] Blondeau 2006, 27-42.

[30] Cockshaw and Van Den Bergen-Pantens (eds.) 2000.

[31] Yeager 2008, 156-181.

But the *Roman de Gillion* is unique in that the driving force behind the action is a set of moral tensions, spiritual doubts, and above all emotions[32], which inspire the protagonists to sacrifice and conversion. These emotions are engendered and shaped by chivalric and social values, such as honor and loyalty, and by religious and moral imperatives, such as demonstrating one's faith in God and the promise of marital faithfulness. Conversion[33], along with repentance and the forgiveness of sins, is one of the main themes in the *Roman de Gillion*. And in the case of Gracienne's conversion and her joining forces with Gillion's legitimate wife in Europe, we see how this is presented as an "ultimate good", or, if you like, a happy ending, because it not only washed away but more than compensated for the accidental sin of bigamy.

Gillion's inner conflict is resolved through his assimilation of the East, thanks to the conversion of Gracienne by Gillion himself. If we look specifically at the geographic aspect of the plot, we notice that the volume begins and ends in the West, in the region of Hainaut (today divided between Belgium and northern France), and over the course of the action it creates a dense network of links between the most important centers of the Mediterranean: the Adriatic, the Maghreb, Tripoli (Libya), Fez (Morocco), Cairo (Egypt), Jerusalem, Damascus (Syria), Cyprus, Rhodes, Rome, and Venice. The itinerary includes cities that are pilgrimage destinations or popular transit points to the Holy Land, and also locales that Philip the Good considered as potential battlegrounds for his crusade[34]. Thus, Gillion travels through, lives, and fights in what were the imaginary battlefields of Burgundy's politics.

The author models the account of the voyages over land through Syria and Egypt, following established trade routes[35], from Jerusalem to Gaza and Cairo, describing the necessary precautions (fol. 66v), such as having to hire a local guide to cross the desert. The story narrates an experience that becomes aspirational and collective, heroic and exemplary. Gillion's two sons follow in their father's footsteps, from Hainaut to Rome and Jerusalem, and are themselves captured in the Mediterranean by two bands of Muslim pirates. One is taken to the prisons

[32] On the link between emotions and conversion in manuscripts and books dedicated to voyages in *Outremer,* see Roumier 2017.

[33] Szpiech 2013.

[34] Paviot 2003, 213-214.

[35] Viltart 2015, 331-349.

of Tripoli, where his father was previously imprisoned, and the other is taken to Dubrovnik and offhanded over to a king described as a Slavonic Muslim. It is the younger son who will come to the father's aid and battle the infidels in Egypt.

Having already supported the Portuguese crusade against the Kingdom of Morocco, Philip the Good began building a fleet worthy of the new objectives. Later, he also deployed his ships from the North Sea to the eastern Mediterranean in response to papal encouragement to defend the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes, a European bulwark in the Aegean Sea against the Muslim advance. It is worth noting that both Philip and Alfonso the Magnanimous hoped to lead the new crusade[36]. In order to further his own plans, Philip held the Feast of the Pheasant[37]. This was organized as a celebration of chivalric values and crusader aspirations, and it included not only references to courtly culture and ancient times but also allusions to the East. During the festivities an actor dressed as a nun in white, representing the Church of Constantinople, made his entrance on an elephant led by a Saracen giant[38], who according to the chronicles was dressed as a Moor from Granada. We can picture the Saracen giant as similar to Ferragut, in the *Chroniques et conquêtes de Charlemagne* (Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. 9067, fol. 227r), and to the one depicted (fig. 1.6) in another illuminated volume, the *Regnault de Montauban* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5072 réserve, fols. 319v and 323v), in which the Moorish characters and turbaned (Turkish) figures are often shown engaged in intrigues and battles and are depicted for the most part as coarse and loutish, through caricature of their physical appearance, and reckless, vain, or disingenuous.

The love theme here serves as a pretext for bringing about the conversion of the Muslim princess. Gillion's amorous words and pleasing appearance inspire a change for the better in Gracienne. Courtly love becomes an instrument of cultural assimilation and religious conversion. In the illustration on folio 9, the crusade is depicted as tantamount to high virtue, as linked to tradition and deserving of remembrance and praise. The king of Cyprus himself adds his voice to the propaganda campaign, promising to make the fields, mountains, and valleys around the city of Cairo crawl with Christians

[36] King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily, count of Barcelona from 1416, and king of Naples from 1442 until 1458. Toscano 2007, 347-363.

[37] Cockshaw, P. *et al.* (eds.) 1996, 67-83.

[38] Boyer 2016.

Fig. 1.6 *Roman de Regnault de Montauban*, David Aubert (scribe) and Loyset de Liédet (illuminator), Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5072, réserve, tome 1, fol. 323v.

(fol. 56v). And for future noblemen, the chivalric apprenticeship is linked to achieving honor and fame in Saracen (Arab, Muslim) lands.

This correlation between nobility and crusade can be read as a reference to John of Burgundy, Philip's father. Known as John the Fearless, he led the French Burgundian forces at the Battle of Nicopolis[39] and was captured by the Ottomans. More than three hundred noblemen and knights died, between the battle and the ensuing massacre ordered by the Sultan. John's father, Philip the Bold, paid a staggering 200,000 florins to ransom him. This traumatic Christian defeat left a lasting impression on Philip the Good. It may also account for the desire for revenge in Burgundy's Eastern policy.

The duke's plans to actually take action against the Turks were hindered by the reticence of the new French king, Louis XI, the death of Pope Pius II,

[39] Kaçar and Dumolyn 2013, 905-934.

and the death of Philip himself (1467). In any case, the *Roman de Gillion* was created in the crucible of those years (1451-1464). Only one other copy is known to exist, in a private collection in Dülmen; it belonged to Anthony of Burgundy, the illegitimate son of Philip the Good.

In the work, the abilities of Gillion de Trazegnies, alias Louis de Gruuthuse, are depicted as almost supernatural and magical (fol. 225v). Particular attention is given to his incorruptible morals and his prodigious strength, wielded in the service of the Catholic faith; he is compared to "an enraged tiger" and "a maddened lion". With his devotion and bravery, Gillion expresses a positive ideal that has its antithesis in the characterization of Easterners in Burgundy and in the West[40]. His integration in Muslim lands also offers a romanticized version of real-life figures who were known at the time, like Bertrandon de la Broquière, who, like Gillion, never tarnished his soul with apostasy.

The manuscript presents its protagonist, Gillion, in a series of events that continually move him back and forth between two poles, the two women he loves: Marie and Gracienne, who in turn evoke and represent the Christian West and the Muslim East. Through the alliances he forges and the deeds he performs, Gillion connects the two worlds[41], wavering between his loyalties to one and the other. Gracienne's charm leads Gillion to overcome the initial religious otherness of the woman he loves. On the first folio of the manuscript, Gillion's funeral statue shows him lying between his two widows, embodying his role as a bridge between two worlds. This balancing act is not automatic: it requires a voluntary attitude of mediation, a temporary metamorphosis, at least outwardly, i.e., a disguise[42]. However, Gillion is never ambivalent about his religion: his unshakeable faith in Christianity contrasts with the conversion of the sultan's daughter, and this is presented as a sign of the superiority of the Western faith.

The infatuation with the East begins in the prologue and continues throughout the work. All the action and emotional experience associated with knowledge of the Other and with proving one's value ensue in the relationship with Gracienne and in the resulting plot twists that take place in the land

[40] Akbari 2012; Tolan 2002.

[41] Stahuljak 2015.

[42] Jolly 2002, 195-208.

Fig. 1.7 *The Sultan Kneeling before Gillion*, Lieven van Lathem (illuminator) and David Aubert (scribe), *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Antwerp, 1464, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 111 (2013.46), fol. 45v.

of the Saracens. When she sees Gillion, Gracienne not only falls in love with him but is also struck by the desire to convert. Despite this, Gillion is seized by remorse for having stayed for so long in the land of the Saracens and for having gone as far as consorting with infidels.

For Gillion, having fallen under the spell of the East exacts a rather high price: bigamy, the suspicion of having converted to Islam, and shame. He seeks to justify himself, to find an alibi, declaring that "the power of Egypt, pillar and refuge of the Eastern nations, is now subject to us". The *Roman de Gillion* contains repeated renegotiations of Gillion's status between East and West. The sultan offers his daughter to Gillion as a reward for his services but also to keep him at the court, even deciding to honor him by naming him his heir. On folio 159 the sultan says: "Upon my death you shall have all my lands and my domains". These are crucial moments, when Gillion's complicity with the Muslim Other borders on betrayal and corruption. Yet this is instrumental to giving prominence to his faith, which, despite everything, is not negotiable.

Nonetheless, he is tainted by the suspicion that clings to anyone who crosses the Mediterranean. The suspicion that Gillion has converted to Islam

is heightened by the fact that in the first battle he saves the sultan's life while wearing the latter's armor. This causes anyone who sees him to think they are in the presence of the sultan himself, while others consider it a miracle from Muhammad. When Gracienne presents the sultan with his savior (Gillion) dressed in this armor (fig. 1.9), the sultan actually believes it is Muhammad in person, returned to grant him the honors he deserves. The sultan even falls to his knees in veneration at the disguised Gillion's feet.

This scene is intended to ridicule the Muslim tendency to believe in illusions, such as a miracle like the epiphany of Muhammad, for the benefit of the Christian reader. This parody alludes to one of the most widespread accusations against Saracens, Turks/Ottomans, and Muslims in general: their mistaken belief that they are monotheists when in fact, according to Christians, they are idolaters. The fact that Gillion wears gold-plated armor and is admired as if he himself were a golden idol underlines the theme of idolatry; he is like the golden calf that the Israelites, blinded by error and greed, worshipped in Exodus. The scene also alludes to the bizarre and opulent display of Muslim wealth. The parody of Muslim idolatry, served up to a European readership, becomes an apology for the Crusades, which are justified as preserving the Holy Land from corruption, i.e., the practice of worshipping ridiculous and false idols[43].

The *Roman de Gillion* dispels any doubts about Gillion's faith when it has him declare that, despite his prolonged stay in those lands, he has never stopped believing, and in fact it is his intention to convert Gracienne. Gillion informs the sultan of his intent, and the sovereign still offers him the hand of his daughter (fig. 1.8), convinced that she will never renounce her religion. When the sultan frees Gillion, he is repeatedly entreated to renounce the Christian religion and to believe in Muhammad, but over and over again Gillion refuses.

However, Gillion's position in what was Mameluke Egypt hardly seems historically credible. The transformation of a Christian knight from a prisoner (or slave) into an official of the Muslim state and then the husband of a Saracen princess would have been improbable unless it were accompanied by a conversion to Islam, which however is repeatedly denied.

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[43] Bancourt 1982; Tolan 2002, 105-135; Akbari 2012, 213-260; Kinoshita and Bly Calkin 2012, 29-40; see also Cole (ed.) 2009.

Fig. 1.8 *Gracienne Taking Leave of Her Father the Sultan*, Lieven van Lathem (illuminator) and David Aubert (scribe), *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Antwerp, 1464, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 111 (2013.46), fol. 188v.

The *Roman de Gillion* allows the institution of marriage and faithfulness to one's bride to be compromised, but not the faith in one's religion. It is possible for a Christian knight to become an unintentional bigamist, but it is impossible for him to be convinced to convert. Indeed, quite the opposite happens: Gillion succeeds in converting a Muslim. The Muslim world in all this comes across as being more permeable and tolerant, insofar as it allows a non-convert to prosper. The European world, on the other hand, is clearly resistant to accepting even someone who has converted to Christianity. Gillion's companion Hertan dies an hour after being baptized. Gracienne survives but her seclusion in a convent suggests a less-than-complete acceptance by European society.

The *Roman de Gillion* goes beyond merely reflecting Europe's infatuation with the East; it presents all the different aspects of contact with the other culture and religion: attraction, blame, shame, and suspicion. The resolution of Gillion's moral dilemma also brings assimilation and separation: Gillion dies in Cairo, still in the service of the Sultan; his wives, who had voluntarily decided to separate from Gillion and enter a convent, also die, far away from the knight.

Of no less significance is the fact that the journey, despite the climate and context – both amenable to crusade – begins as a pilgrimage and not as a

military expedition. Yet even Gillion's pilgrimage is soon transformed into a crusade, through a series of battles instigated by a Muslim sultan. From this we are left with the impression of a region – part Arab, part African-Mediterranean – riven by internal conflict, in a constant state of mobilization and war where the Christian European Gillion seems to be the only faithful paladin, at least in the religious sense.

By contrast, in the medieval *chansons de geste* we often meet a fictional Saracen knight, *Fierabras*, who is just as valiant, but who instead converts to Christianity and goes on to fight for Charlemagne. The *Chroniques et conquêtes de Charlemagne*[44] were compiled and copied, with illuminated scenes by Jean Le Tavernier (Audenarde, 1458-1460; Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Mss. 9066, 9067, and 9068) for the library of Philip the Good by none other than David Aubert, the same calligrapher who transcribed the *Roman de Gillion*.

It is significant that the *Roman de Gillion* makes mention of renegades who secretly still believe in Christianity. Both Gracienne and Hertan, Gillion's companion, conceal their new faith, and outwardly still appear Muslim. Gracienne's sincere adoption of the Christian faith legitimizes the love story between a Western Christian nobleman and a Muslim princess. The question of Gillion's probable conversion to Islam is evaded and bypassed, shifting the attention to the conversion of Gracienne and Hertan to Christianity. It is the words of the Muslim Gracienne who seeks conversion that give us the clearest condemnation of her mother religion. On folio 25 Gracienne says that "The religion of Muhammad is false, hateful, repugnant, cursed, and leads to damnation for everyone who dies in it". What better way to remove any ambiguity resulting from Gillion's sojourn of no less than 24 years in a Muslim country? His prolonged stay in the lands of the infidel is instrumental in the conversion of the Muslim princess.

Another way that the text refutes the possibility of Gillion's conversion to Islam is by casting Gillion's service to the sultan in terms of crusade. Gillion, after all, is fighting against Muslims, even though he is doing so in the service of another Muslim. As head of the sultan's army, Gillion agrees to fight against Muslim and Saracen enemies (fig. 1.9), but not for example against the king of Cyprus. The paradox inherent in fighting against the infidels, but still for and on behalf of a Muslim sultan, is resolved in the ultimate goal of the salvation/redemption of Gracienne,

[44] Johan 2004, 2-93; Moodey 2012, 209-240.

Fig. 1.9 *Gillion Defeating King Fabur during the Siege of Cairo*, Lieven van Lathem (illuminator) and David Aubert (scribe), *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Antwerp, 1464, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 111 (2013.46), fol. 177r.

who, unlike Muslim women in other Christian romances, is not depicted as scheming, flirtatious, given to using magic love potions, or artfully aware of her powers seduction[45].

On the contrary, she has wanted to convert since the moment she first laid eyes Gillion, and her conversion is presented as a true spiritual inspiration and a genuine vocation. In addition, her light skin and her ready willingness to help the crusader-pilgrim Gillion, her courageous temperament, and her choice to enter the convent, all help her assimilation into the Christian and Western world; through baptism, she is incorporated into a new religious identity and into a new social community, into a new "nation".

Young Saracen women also frequently figure in the *romances fronterizos* (frontier ballads) that were composed in the Iberian world, to endorse and recall the completion of the *Reconquista*. Muslim princesses are often given as gifts, and through their submission they become the emblem of the superiority of the Christians[46]. Just as Bramimonde's decision to convert for the sake of love in the *Chanson de Roland*[47] can be seen as Charlemagne's greatest victory, so too does

[45] De Weever 2015.

[46] Mirrer 1996, 17-30.

[47] Ailes 2019, 25-38.

Gillion's pilgrimage to the Holy Land find its greatest success in Gracienne's conversion. Just as Bramimonde, through her baptism, counterbalances the betrayal of the Christian knight Ganelon[48], in the *Roman de Gillion* Gracienne is depicted as a person who is noble and worthy of respect, so much so that she decides to convert and to enter a convent, thus remedying Gillion's inadvertent bigamy.

Gracienne's conversion also evokes that of Floripas[49] in *The Sowdone of Babylone*[50]. Floripas is also the daughter of a sultan, and she falls in love with Guy of Burgundy, one of the knights who accompanies Charlemagne. In the poem she plays an active role, thinks up ploys, helps save Christian knights, is baptized, and marries Guy, who had been a prisoner of the sultan. She kills several Muslims, demonstrates her ingenuity, and finally she delivers to Charlemagne the holy relics in the Saracens' possession, even surrendering – as if it were a kind of war booty or a dowry – gold and silver from her father's treasure.

These originally Muslim feminine characters[51] are an important part of creating an emotional involvement with the Christian hero: they save him from certain death or forced conversion; they play a part in his liberation and/or military success, and in so doing renounce the religion of their fathers.

Clothing (be it a costume, a religious habit, or a suit of armor), or the absence thereof, is also an important aspect of the story. When Gracienne falls in love with Gillion and has a premonition that she wants to convert, Gillion is naked, pierced by arrows like St Sebastian. Gillion performs prodigious deeds, including when he wears the sultan's armor. To survive among the Saracens and the Moors, Gillion needs to adopt a disguise and he assumes the outward appearance of the sultan. His companion Hertan does likewise, dressing up as a Moor in order to break Gillion out of prison in Tripoli. South of the Mediterranean, mimicry and dissemblance appear to be the order of the day.

Gillion's own wives voluntarily choose a different kind of disguise, the habit (fig. 1.10), so that Gillion's bigamy can in some way be expiated. Graci-

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[48] Stranges 1974, 190-196; Ailes 2019, 73-86.

[49] "Through the fulfillment of Floripas' desire for the Christian knight Guy, the Saracen world is at once conquered (through military defeat) and assimilated (through the new lineage). She is both the frontier of cultural conflict and the fertile ground that gives rise to a Christian Self that incorporates the Muslim Other". See Akbari 2012, 173-189.

[50] Manion 2017, 132-145.

[51] Kahf 2002.

Fig. 1.10 *Gillion's Wives Marie and Gracienne during Mass at the Abbey of Olive*, Lieven van Lathem (illuminator) and David Aubert (scribe), *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Antwerp, 1464, Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 111 (2013.46), fol. 200v.

enne's sincere spiritual conversion is reflected in her outward transformation: we see her on folio 200v no longer dressed as an elegant princess but in the chaste habit of the convent. Gillion's shame over his bigamy weighs so heavily on him that he seeks martyrdom; but in the eyes of the Western reader this fades into insignificance because the protagonist undertakes his own personal crusade. His sojourn of 24 years in Egypt, Damascus, Jerusalem, Gaza, Alexandretta, and Tripoli, motivated by his promise to the sultan, nevertheless make him a paladin of the Christian faith, true to his word.

The dangers of apostasy, betrayal, false truths, dissemblance, and calumny are the trials that have to be overcome by the protagonists of the story, who in the end will find rest beside one other in Europe, inside a funeral monument in a Christian abbey.

Conclusion

In the *Roman de Gillion*, the narration of otherness is interwoven with political interests, as it is with *topoi* and stereotypes of medieval European literature. We find connections with ideologies, translated into texts and illuminated scenes, suitable for promoting a crusade against the infidel. At the same time the text attracts our attention for the key role given to Gracienne, who makes a very real transition, from the East to Europe, and from her Muslim father's religion to the Christianity of her beloved Gillion.

If through baptism Floripas's Saracen nature – mannish, impetuous, potentially violent – is tamed, then the integration of the milder but no less enterprising Gracienne into the world of Gillion saves the knight from suspicion of having converted in a foreign land, as well as from the sin of bigamy. In the mechanics of the telling, the conversion of these Muslim princesses transforms them into mediator figures, becoming, as it were, poster children for the utility and virtue of the crusading spirit and driving home not only the goal of military conquest but also the superiority of Europe and of Christianity, capable of absorbing and colonizing the East[52].

Finally, through Gillion's deeds, the story enables us to reflect on questions of pressing urgency for the Christian West at the time, such as pilgrimage and crusade, loyalty and betrayal, and identity and conversion. These themes are represented in the book in illuminated miniatures, and so many of them depict battles and duels that we should understand the character of Gillion as a *miles christi* and the text about him as a "militant" volume. Although the whole story apparently revolves around questions of love, in reality these are without exception resolved in the hero's favor: his value as love object is such as to almost spontaneously induce the conversion of Gracienne, the Muslim princess, and cements her moral communion with Gillion's first wife, Marie.

We can say, therefore, that the volume was intended as a handbook for the pious knight (and also for the crusader and for the noble soldier): in its pages loyalty to chivalric values is conflated with loyalty to the Christian faith. The miniature in which Gillion lies between his two loves signals a new beginning and brings with it an idealistic reconciliation of religious tensions and a resolution of the clash between civilizations. The solution to these conflicts

[52] Akbari 2010, 105-126.

is brought about through the necessary conversion of the Other and the testing of the valor of the Christian soldier. Religious otherness, represented by Gracienne, is incorporated into a new community, while its previously alien potential is neutralized by her entering a convent.

In conclusion, through the dilemmas the protagonist confronts and the great feats he undertakes, we can glimpse a projection of the plans and ideas of the patron who commissioned the work, and also of the circle to which he belonged, the Burgundy court, and more generally of Catholic Europe immediately after the fall of Constantinople.

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2. The Barbary Obsession: The Story of the 'Turk' through the Reports of Incursions in Liguria in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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The period between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century undoubtedly saw the greatest expansion of the corsair or privateer war in the Mediterranean, the "Mediterranean *corso*" as it is referred to by historians Michel Fontenay and Alberto Tenenti[1]. From the beginning of the modern age, privateers were regularly hired by different European states to fight their battles by proxy[2], but most pillaging of goods and men – whether on land, near the coast, or on the open sea – took place in the *Mare Nostrum* area for reasons that were (at least officially) religious. On the one side were the "Christian" privateers, including the knightly orders of Saint John and Saint Stephen[3]; on the other were the "Muslim" corsairs, with their main bases in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli (the so-called "regencies"). During the centuries of the *ancien régime,* there were constant raids that are abundantly documented in "European" archives, in literature, and in other artistic manifestations[4]. Even today, the exclamation "*mamma li turchi*" (mama, the Turks) is still used – though only in play – persisting as an echo of the centuries-old nightmare that gripped the populations of the northern coasts, especially the northwestern coast, of the Mediterranean.

As we have just said, Christians were also actively engaged in corsair activity in areas under Ottoman jurisdiction. However, the actions of Berber or Turkish pirates have been described by their victims in much greater detail, making it possible for us to understand how the latter perceived the "infidel" (as he was generally referred to in the documents) and how this perception was codified within the culture of that period. In particular, this paper will deal with the case of Li-

[1] Fontenay and Tenenti 1975, 197.

[2] Canosa 1997, 93-107; Bono 2019, 160-178.

[3] Guarnieri 1960; Fontenay 1988; Brogini 2006, 253-332; Lenci 2006, 71-84.

[4] Bono 1964; Karray 1990; Heers 2003; Buti 2009.

guria, because in the historical period under consideration here, it was constantly under attack by Muslim corsairs, and also because of the strong alliance between the government of the Republic of Genoa – which ruled the entire Ligurian coast – and Spain under the Catholic Monarchs[5]. Letters written by the magistrates of the Genoese Republic, or by those administrative officers who were dispatched to the communities of Liguria's western and eastern rivieras, reveal an obsession with the corsairs (sometimes disparagingly called pirates) from the Barbary regencies. These letters thus show the frequency with which the stereotype of the cruel "Turk" was invoked and the ways it was embellished[6]. This obsessive focus on the Other was a strategy for stoking fear, which as in every era, was intended to divert attention from other and more important political problems. This fearsome stereotype suffused the collective imagination to such a degree that it survives to this day in various Ligurian coastal towns, in the form of historical re-enactments and village festivals.

To discover the roots of that "little war", or "low-grade war"[7], motivated partly by religious fanaticism and partly by economic and material necessity[8], we need to go back to the beginning of the modern period – at least as it is understood by historians of western Europe. The conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 and the completion of the *Reconquista* of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492[9] were watershed moments in the consolidation and expansion of two great empires whose influence and ambitions extended beyond the lands they held and into the maritime domain. At the end of the fifteenth century the Mediterranean became a battleground. Swept along by the excitement generated by the expulsion of the "Moors" from the Iberia Peninsula, the rulers of Castile and Aragon, Isabella and Ferdinand, carried out a series of offensives on the North African coast and succeeded in establishing a number of bases between Melilla and Tripoli. In retaliation for the expulsion of the Ottomans' coreligionists from Andalusia, the sultan

[5] Giacchero 1970; Fedozzi 1998; Biagioni 2001.

[6] About this issue see, among others, Capriotti and Franco Llopis 2017, 7-23; Feliciano 2011, 243-265; García Arranz 2012, 231-259; Kimmel 2012, 21-38; Soykut 2001; Soykut (ed.) 2003; Curatola 2006; Cardini 2008; Ricci 2009; Tolan *et al.* 2013.

[7] Braudel 1953, 940; Mafrici 2001, 76.

[8] Bono 2019, 25-29.

[9] About the polemical use of term "*Reconquista*" see, among others: García-Sanjuán 2018, 127-145; García-Sanjuán 2019, 306-332.

encouraged Muslim corsairs to make incursions into the western Mediterranean, attack the coasts, and if possible establish permanent settlements. It became increasingly clear that, in the conflict between the two opposing blocs, the conquerors of the Byzantine empire were gaining the upper hand: in 1516-1517, Syria and Egypt fell to the Turks; during those same years the skilled corsair Khayr ad-Din, or Hayreddin (the sole remaining member of the "Barbarossa" clan), conquered Algiers, which would become the first *pachalik* as well as the command center of the Barbary corsair war; and in 1522 the Knights of Saint John were driven out of Rhodes. Meanwhile, despite Charles V's efforts to defend them[10], the Italian and Spanish coasts were constantly targeted, in an escalation that went hand in hand with the conquest of the Spanish settlements in the Maghreb and with the gradual organization of the Barbary corsair ports. Khayr ad-Din, who was appointed supreme admiral of the Ottoman fleet in 1533, was the most prominent figure during this phase of the conflict, and five years later he won an epic naval battle against the Christian fleet off Preveza, Greece[11]. His Algiers became the capital of a "corsair state", on which the other two regencies would later be modelled: Tripoli, captured from the Knights of Saint John in 1551; and Tunis, which ceased to be a Spanish protectorate in 1574[12].

Assisted by their access to French ports (due to agreements between Suleiman and Francis I that were later renewed with Henry II), the Maghrebi corsairs became the worst nightmare of seafarers and those living on Europe's southern coasts. Barbarossa made his last great incursion against the Tyrrhenian coast in the 1540s[13] and thereafter was replaced by Dragut (Turgut Reis) – actually of Turkish origin – as the great scourge of the Spanish and Italian territories; after some initial raids from Tunisian bases, he settled in as the new regent of Algiers (and later also of Tripoli)[14]. At the same time that the two empires were fighting for hegemony in the Mediterranean, in naval clashes unprecedented in scope (Gerba, 1560; Malta, 1565; Lepanto, 1571), the predatory activity of the corsair fleets continued, following established patterns. In effect, the corsairs constituted an auxiliary force to the galley squadrons. Turning our focus back to Liguria, in the summer of 1546,

[10] Pellegrini 2015.

[11] Bradford 1972; Bunes Ibarra 2004.

[12] Fisher 1957; Boubaker 2013.

[13] Mafrici 2003.

[14] Moresco 2014.

Dragut and his men landed in Laigueglia and captured more than 250 people (including the Genoese *podestà* or chief magistrate), and in 1563 the assault on the communities of Celle and Albisola resulted in widespread looting, followed by intense negotiations in the harbour of Vado to ransom the captives[15]. However, the corsairs also obviously attacked the coasts of southern Italy and the Adriatic up to Abruzzo[16]. Indeed, the battle of Lepanto[17], decisive in appearance only, coincided with a further upsurge in corsair activity, on both sides. Having escaped the fury of the *Lega Santa* (Holy League) fleet in Lepanto, Uluj Ali (also known as Uccialì or Occhiali), the new rising star of Barbary privateering, began to coordinate the raids in the western Mediterranean (in addition to obtaining command of the Ottoman fleet, with which he reconquered Tunis in 1574). And the Christian corsairs – in this case the Knights of Malta – carried out several incursions, including some devastating attacks (against Hammamet in 1602, against Bona in 1607, and at the Kerkennah Islands in 1611), in which they took several hundred prisoners[18]. In fact, the two blocs were no longer engaged in clashes in the Mediterranean, and were now focused instead on other geopolitical theatres; corsair incursions continued in Sicily between 1578 and 1606, though they now had weaker religious overtones. In Liguria also, the attacks multiplied, leading to a state of constant panic: the new Algerian *reis*, or leader, Occhiali, took part in a spectacular assault on the small village of Sori, east of Genoa, in the summer of 1584; four Barbary vessels came ashore on 8 August 1598 and caused significant damage to the community of Ospedaletti (near Sanremo); and in 1637, in the most memorable attack of all, Ceriale was plundered, more than 300 people were captured, and the interior of the local church was mercilessly destroyed[19].

The heyday of the "Mediterranean *corso*" spans the 1570s and the end of the seventeenth century, though each stretch of the coast, even each individual coastal village, experienced moments of fear that were specific to it. The fact that the corsair phenomenon lasted so long is due to the presence, in the Maghreb, of a strong "war party" that came from the Levant to fight the Christian enemy. These Muslim corsairs sought to improve their social standing by becoming lords in

[15] Fedozzi 1998, 39-41.

[16] Bono 2019, 20 and 124.

[17] Capponi 2008; Barbero 2010.

[18] Lenci 2006, 75-76; Bono 2019, 131-132.

[19] Biagioni 2001, 74; Giacchero 1970, 89 and 93-96; Lenci 2006, 54-55.

the Barbary regencies, which shows the benefits that accrued from pillage and plunder at all levels of the regencies' societies.[20] Furthermore, these corsairs gained legitimacy as a new ruling class by virtue of their status as champions of Islam, which was threatened by the Habsburg "blockade", and because they were able to secure a significant degree of autonomy for the regencies within the the Ottoman Empire. For these reasons, the peace between the two warring empires was seen as an annoying obstacle by the North African centres that for decades had supported themselves with raids and pillaging. Thus, the only way to support their weak economies was to detach themselves, at least formally, from the sultan, to become – in the words of the Venetian dragoman Giovanni Battista Salvago – the "free lands of the Ottoman empire"[21]. For the people living on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, the Barbary corsairs, in that they were automatically connected to Istanbul, acted as pirates (and were often so defined); but in truth, the regencies autonomous status and the fact that there was an official accreditation system for corsair activity through "commissions" made them regular privateers.

It is true that the three regencies (Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis) were obliged to accept a representative of the "central" power, the *pasha*, who was mainly responsible for collecting taxes and administering justice (he was the one who issued the aforementioned commissions to the corsairs, among other things); but on the political-diplomatic level, starting at the end of the sixteenth century, the *pasha* acted without consulting the sultan. This allowed the regencies to maintain a permanent state of war with most of the Christian states or to agree to temporary truces or to negotiate more-permanent peace terms with other powers (accepted in exchange for large sums of money, defined as "donations")[22]. The corsair war revolved around two power cores within the regencies: the captains of the corsair ships (the *reis*) and the Turkish militia defending the territory (the Janissaries). The former were part of a corporation, called the *taifa*, and were for the most part ethnically distinct from the local populations. Often they were Levantine or Balkan, and there were quite a few as well from Christian lands, who were kidnapped during some raid and had renounced the Catholic faith (to refer to them as "Turks", which documents of the time did, was completely misleading). The Janissaries, guarantors of the security of the three "pirate states", constituted an

[20] Bono 2019, 127; Lenci 2006, 26; Tabak 2005; Greene 2000.

[21] Lenci 2006, 26.

[22] Mantran 1970; Lenci 2006, 35-36.

exclusive military aristocracy at the top of which was a supreme council that took the name of *divan.* Largely of Turkish extraction, the members of this council subsequently mixed through marriage with local Arab notables and were not above participating in and profiting from the corsair activity[23].

When he seized Algiers, Barbarossa declared himself a "vassal" of the Ottoman Empire; moreover, he, like the other famous corsairs of the mid-sixteenth century who were mentioned earlier, assumed command of the sultan's fleet as *kapudàn pasha*. The political changes and military reconfiguration in the last part of the sixteenth century made it necessary to adopt a different approach from the one taken up to that moment. First Tunis handed command of the Janissaries over to a new figure, the *dey*, who effectively supplanted the Ottoman *pasha* (1590). This new figure was later replaced by the *bey*, who was often personally involved in corsair expeditions[24]. The same thing happened in Tripoli, though the appointment of the *dey* was opposed by Istanbul for a long time (until, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *dey* was invested with the powers of the *pasha*)[25]. Finally, in Algiers de facto power was immediately assumed by the so-called *beylerbey* (a sort of supreme governor chosen from among the members of the *taifa*), who was powerful enough to challenge the Ottoman *pasha*, but at the end of a turbulent period of internal struggle between corsair leaders and Janissaries the figure of the *dey* also emerged here as a true sovereign who was autonomous from the Ottoman Empire[26]. In a Mediterranean that disappeared from "great history" – in the words of Fernand Braudel – the Maghreb regencies carved out a leading role: taking advantage of the fact that the two opposing "blocs" were absent from this theatre (after 1571) to sow panic in the inhabitants and sailors from Christian lands. The motives were almost purely economic. Whereas "holy war" had justified economic support for the actions of the Ottoman fleet in the first seventy years of the sixteenth century, the impetus for corsair activity was now, instead, mercantile, based on the capture of men (rather than goods and chattels) and on the system of "liberation by ransom"[27].

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[23] Weissmann 1964; Merouche 2007; Bono 2019, 90-97.

[24] Bachrouch 1977.

[25] Rossi 1968.

[26] Kaddache 1991.

[27] Epstein 2001; Faroqhi 2004; Barrio Gozalo, 2006; Kaiser 2008; Fiume 2009; Bono 2016; Graf 2017; Zappia 2018; Barker 2019.

Sea *brigandage* was an ancient practice among all Mediterranean peoples, and it developed further during the modern age. The increasing numbers of corsairs who set sail from ports in North Africa in the sixteenth century were not the only ones operating in the *Mare Nostrum* (as mentioned, Europeans also practiced privateering against North Africa and even among themselves), but they certainly were an important force, not least because of the special features of their kind of privateering. The peculiarity of Barbary privateering was that it constituted the foundation of economic life in the territories where it was based; it was the fulcrum of all local society[28]. In Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, this kind of activity was an enterprise that was supported by a solid political organisation and the financial contribution of many individuals and entities. Before setting sail, the *reis* had to obtain a regular commission (the "letter of quest" or "letter of marque"), which bound him to respect any peace treaties signed by the state authority issuing the letter; in addition, a series of certifications, called "passports" or "safe conduct", were issued by the "European" consuls, which protected the *reis* from being hindered by naval vessels flying the flags of those "nations". In principle, corsairs would fly the flag of the regency that issued the commission, but in fact we know from several sources that they carried with them the flags of European powers in order to surprise their victims, at sea or on land. As was true of maritime trade in the northern Mediterranean[29], the corsair expedition relied on loans from multiple different sources, from Janissaries, military officials, and wealthy merchants to artisans, shopkeepers and other people of more modest means, who saw in this activity an enticing investment opportunity. When the *reis* returned, his arrival was announced by blank cannon fire, the number of shots reflecting the value of the spoils. First, an inventory was taken of the ship's haul (of both goods and people) in front of the *pasha*, and then the spoils were divided among the crew members and the various investors. Only rarely was the enterprise financed by a single person, such as the *reis* himself or the governor of the regency[30].

Although the Magrebi corsairs were inspired by more than just religious motives, the violence described in the Christian sources is connected in part to their religious zeal. Moreover, the corsairs performed a series of rituals prior to their departure: the *reis* would go with his crew leaders to a local *marabutto* (a pious man,

[28] Manca 1982.

[29] Lo Basso 2016a; Lo Basso 2016b.

[30] Lenci 2006, 38-45.

a living saint) to beseech his protection; an imam would perform a ceremony during which the blood of sacrificed rams was smeared on the deck and along the hulls of the wooden ships; and they would set sail only on Saturdays (after the Friday holiday), following a purification ceremony after which they were forbidden to return home even for a moment, lest they be tempted to "caress their wives"[31]. To decide which route to follow, a six-sided die was cast, and the letter on the die indicated a verse from the Koran which was to serve as a guide. Of course, not everything was entrusted to prayer and providence: the corsairs constantly monitored the weather conditions and gathered information about the places they planned to attack and the movements of the vessels they planned to pursue (as well as the fleets they needed to avoid). Moreover, they often took Christian slaves along who – knowing the routes and coasts well – could help them to plan the best ambush. The best time to undertake the journey was spring, but according to the Venetian diplomat Giovanni Battista Salvago the Barbary corsairs were not averse to a second outing during the autumn. In winter, however, the regencies' wooden ships were certain to remain ashore. The trip needed to be completed in about 40-50 days by sea, because the food reserves would not allow for any longer. It was difficult for Muslim corsairs to be able to enter a port or land along the coast to buy food, and therefore they limited themselves to the necessary stops to stock up on fresh water, often in inlets and on small islands known to them[32].

Algiers was certainly the most aggressive of the Barbary states: in 1580 it had 35 galleys, about thirty very agile two-sailed brigands and many large vessels (the so-called "round ships", whose number reached one hundred in the 1620s). Second to Algiers was Tunis, which had a smaller number of galleys (never more than eight), but on the other hand had several dozen sailing ships; while Tripoli, a smaller city both in size and population, had about fifteen vessels, tartanes and other smaller tonnage ships in the mid-seventeenth century[33]. Not that the Europeans were outdone: take, for instance, the fact that the number of commissions in Malta rose from 24 in 1585 to 76 in 1595, and in the first quarter of the following century almost 300 were issued[34]. What interests us here are the Barbary corsairs, or rather the way they were perceived by the victims of their incursions.

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[31] Bono 2019, 80-81.

[32] Bono 2011.

[33] Sebag 2001; Aurigemma 1932.

[34] Brogini 2006, 181.

What we need to consider is the fear that they aroused in the people living along the coast, because this is the key to understanding the success of these predatory practices. European states were much more advanced, organised and stable than the North African regencies, and yet their people felt at the mercy of the corsairs. The latter's success was based on the element of surprise, along with their clamorous war-cries (*whey*, *whey*, in the words of the witnesses), which terrified the townspeople into surrendering or fleeing. Thus, the corsairs acquired a reputation as fearsome warriors, and the Europeans came to believe that the "Turkish" corsairs were militarily superior. In reality, it was their lightening strikes that made it possible to avoid artillery fire from ships and fortifications on land. In any case, the stories told about them from generation to generation produced a kind of psychological conditioning that worked to their advantage[35].

Some stories strained credulity, to the point sometimes of being preposterous. One example comes from beyond the Mediterranean, in far-off Iceland. In describing a devastating incursion that took place in 1627, a Lutheran pastor claimed that Algerian corsairs had claws instead of teeth, that they spat fire and sulphur, and that long knives protruded from their chests, elbows and knees[36]. In contrast, other legends served to reassure Christians that the wicked actions of the Barbary marauders were severely punished by God: when, in 1575, a group of Muslim corsairs landed near Livorno, where they planned to plunder the Marian shrine of Montenero, they were said to have been struck blind and were therefore checked and taken prisoner. Another legend tells how, during an attack on their ship, three Mercedarians travelling from Cagliari to Villafranca in 1634 raised an image of the *Madonna della Mercede* that caused their North African assailants to faint[37]. Still today in Tollo, located on a hill in the interior of the province of Chieti – proof that the incursions penetrated deep into the peninsula's interior – a popular festival commemorates the apparition of an angel in the form of a child that averted a corsair attack in 1566. According to tradition, the providential apparition was due to the intercession of the *Madonna del Rosario*, who is also known, not surprisingly, as *Madonna dei Turchi*. Given this framing of corsair incursions as attacks by bloodthirsty and cowardly men on innocent and helpless townspeople, along with the portrayal of the exploits of the Knights of Malta and

[35] Bono 2019, 30-33.

[36] Bono 2019, 136.

[37] Bono 2019, 128 and 137.

Saint Stephen as heroic deeds, Barbary privateering came to serve as – and for some, to a large extent, continues to represent – a historical justification of nineteenth-century European colonialism[38].

Even today, local myths and celebrations in Liguria transmit stereotypes based on the period of corsair activity. And this is despite the fact that, as we have said, Ligurians themselves also participated in privateering and/or piracy[39]. The image of the "Turk" in Liguria can be reconstructed from letters exchanged by local officials with the Genoese Senate. This was the most powerful political body of the Genoese state, and together with the Chamber – whose functions were strictly financial – it assisted the doge in governing Genoa. Made up first of eight and later twelve "governors", it had extensive judicial and police powers, but it also had the power to regulate (and if necessary) modify the statutes of the communities concerned: hence it had a close relationship with outlying areas, from which it regularly received reports and information[40]. In fact, its archive contains, in addition to decrees and deeds (requests, petitions, decisions on various matters), a large number of letters from the administrative districts into which the Domain of the Republic was divided, where special officials were sent to monitor compliance with Genoese law.

These officials were the ones who gave articulation to the emotions of the people who experienced the pirate raids. They were the ones who formulated a sort of "rhetoric of the enemy", which makes their letters less a source of information on how Barbary corsairs operated than an excellent window into the mentality of the early modern age and particularly of the men charged with dealing with the people's fear. Starting with the organisational plan, the letters describe corsair operations that were extremely efficient, that were planned in minute details, and that had closely studied the coastline and the defences of the coastal villages. As has already been mentioned, the so-called renegades performed an important role in collecting information and even apparently tried – for unknown reasons – to use the raids to take revenge on some of their former countrymen. However, we cannot discard the possibility that the North Africans also had informants in the ports of call on the other side of the Mediterranean.

One tried and true strategy used by the Barbary corsairs was to lie in wait in bays or inlets and on islets close to the community that was to be attacked, and to

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[38] Lenci 2006, 37-38; Bono 1999, 63-120; Bono 2019, 90.

[39] Antunes, Halevi and Trivellato 2014.

[40] Forcheri 1968, 67-73.

wait until night to catch the local population unawares; the same "surprise effect" could be achieved if the attack coincided with a religious holiday, when military vigilance was relaxed. Let us proceed now to look at one of the events that we referenced at the beginning of this study. On July 25, 1546, just a day after Giannettino Doria's imposing fleet sailed along the coast, some small galleys (galiots) commanded by the well-known corsair Dragut appeared off Liguria's west coast. According to archival documents, at five in the morning six of them attacked Laigueglia; the galleys approached the beach, and many men were sent ashore (perhaps more than a thousand, but the exaggeration of the enemy's forces is typical in the correspondence of Ligurian officials), and at dawn on the following day they were joined by six other reinforcement galiots. This resulted in an exchange of fire lasting many hours. Though the corsairs were driven back to the beach, three quarters of the inhabitants died or were taken prisoner[41]. Evidently, in this case the success of the North Africans was due to the fact that the village was unprepared; in other cases, however, the communities were able to organise themselves, especially if they received timely reports from the authorities and the armed forces sent to Corsica. On 28 April 1560, for example, the second-lieutenant of Bastia's commissioner, Nicolò Pinelli, wrote that ten galiots were heading towards the two rivieras, "intending to [do] damage". In all, on that occasion, the enemy force was estimated to be 800 men strong and made up of "mostly Janissaries"[42].

The landings are always described in dramatic terms with an emphasis on the confusion and violence that ensued, in particular the brutality that was committed against people and the fury unleashed against churches and other buildings. To summarise another episode mentioned above, at 9 a.m. on 1 August 1563, some "500 or 600 Turks" under the command of the corsair Occhiali – note both the use of the term *Turk* to refer to the corsairs and the lack of precision with respect to the number of attackers, an indication that they are exaggerated – came ashore at the small coastal town of Celle, in western Liguria, which they proceeded to sack: they set fire to the houses, destroyed the vineyards and rebuffed a few handfuls of rescuers who came from neighbouring communities. A young Moor captured by the Ligurians revealed that there were also two converts (renegades) of Ligurian origin on the attacking vessels[43].

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[41] Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASGe). *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 418; Fedozzi 1998, 40.

[42] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 464.

[43] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 470; Fedozzi 1998, 82-83.

The system of defences developed by the Genoese Republic and coastal communities included patrols by the galleys of the State military fleet (established in 1559)[44] and a series of watchtowers and alarm signals to warn inhabitants of the arrival of marauders and to provide a first line of defence[45]. However, Genoese officials also recount attempted attacks that were foiled by the inhabitants themselves, who were mobilised by the sound of church bells. This happened in Bogliasco, on the outskirts of the capital city, on 18 July 1550 (note the tendency to attack in the summer, when crossing the Mediterranean is safer), when "three galiots and a *fusta* (half-galley) of corsairs" arrived at dawn (as was customary) and were repelled by the bold men of the village "with the help of God"[46]. It is impossible not to read between the lines of these letters and find an exaltation of the heroism of the unfortunate subjects of the coastal villages: in the description of the raid that took place on 19 May 1557, the mayor of Recco paused to praise those who remained near the beach to try to prevent the 600 "Turks" from the nine galleys from landing, some with arms and some with stones[47]. The outcome of the corsair actions depended on the attackers' forces or on the effectiveness of the local defences and their ability to remain unified (many reports speak of heads of families intent on fleeing to higher land with their families, instead of contributing to the attempt to repulse the invaders). A letter written from Sanremo on June 29, 1561 recounts the extent of the devastation occasioned by "a great Turkish artillery". In a different attack, in 1550, the day before attacking Recco (i.e. July 17), the corsairs fled San Fruttuoso – today the jewel of the renowned *Golfo Paradiso* on Liguria's eastern riviera – as soon as they heard the ringing of the local abbey bells[48]. In 1562, an imposing square-based watchtower was built to defend the small village and still dominates the bay.

On the other hand, the North African enemies who landed on the beaches of Liguria were described as perfectly trained warriors or as members of gangs dedicated to raiding who, if necessary, were prepared to withdraw without honour to minimize their losses. In the account of the *podestà* of Recco, the assailants were well armed, organised into orderly formations, and preceded by a flag bearer,

[44] Borghesi 1973; Lo Basso 2003, 206-252.

[45] Lenci 2006, 84-94.

[46] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 428.

[47] Biagioni 2001, 61.

[48] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 428 and 466.

drummers and other musicians. Half of them were deployed in the center as a first impact force; the other half was arranged to protect the army's flanks and rear. On 21 August 1563, however, the 700 Turks who attacked Bordighera, on the far west riviera, sacked in a disorderly way (they burned small boats on the beach, devastated vineyards and vegetable gardens); confronted by the locals, they were forced to beat a disorderly retreat (hastily retrieving their dead from the field) and "left shamefully"[49].

Surprisingly – though perhaps less so, given the tense climate that the coastal populations lived in – the local inhabitants sometimes imitated the signals of the corsairs. On November 9, 1560, the mayor of Varazze expressed bewilderment when recounting an episode that occurred on "a recent night" along the beach of Albisola (a coastal village that was part of the *podesteria* of Varazze): frightened by a rumor that had begun circulating about some incoming Muslim *fustas* (half galleys), the inhabitants reacted by sending up "a great commotion", only to discover that the alarm had been triggered by a gondola belonging to some seafarers from Albisola itself. Pretending to transport passengers to Vado, the crew members at some point, completely incomprehensibly, started to "make lights, fires and corsair signs" (which were answered by artillery fire from the nearby Priamar fortress). These were certainly feverish times: on June 18 of that same year the Genoese government had given dispensation to the Albisola community to build a fort "for the conservation of their people and goods": the justification was "the suspicion of the Turks' wooden boats, which infest these seas every day"[50].

The year 1560 was one of great fear, especially for the western riviera. The new "champion" of Maghrebi privateering was Occhiali, a former Christian from Calabria who had been enslaved during a raid and converted to Islam. As was mentioned above, Nicolò Pinelli had anticipated the arrival of Occhiali from Bastia as early as 28 April. At the beginning of May his ten vessels attacked Voltri and Cogoleto, near Genoa; and at the end of the month other attacks were made on some small towns near what is today Imperia. It was precisely for this reason that on 18 June the *podestà* of Cervo – a village near those attacked by Occhiali between May and June – developed a defence plan: given the "great danger due to the actions of these privateers", he ordered fifteen men to sleep every night in the community building, while the other villagers "fit for arms" were to stay to at

[49] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 470.

[50] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 464; Fedozzi 1998, 76.

home to protect their families and their property, so that if necessary they could save themselves (as a last resort, escape was completely legitimate). Commissioner General Gaspare Doria, sent by the Republic to visit all the "border posts on the sea", had approved the action of the *podestà*, who had provided the fifteen soldiers with "comfortable rooms for their need". And on 2 June, by ordering some shots to be fired from the local fortress, the captain of Ventimiglia took credit for having saved the nearby centre of Menton, which had no guards and whose doors were wide open, from nine "infidel" vessels that surely would have otherwise landed[51].

In my opinion, however, more important than the measures taken to defend against the incursions is the way in which the attackers and their actions are described. A long and detailed letter sent by Giacomo Filippi from Algiers – where he was evidently taken and enslaved – provides a series of indications about a forceful attack on the community of Taggia, in western Liguria, which occurred in the summer of 1564. He wrote to his brother-in-law on July 20 explaining that Occhiali's men, who had returned to the Algerian regency after a voyage to the Upper Tyrrhenian Sea, were disappointed that they had not been able to capture the village of Taggia, but that at the same time they were recounting the devastating attack carried out on the local Dominican convent. The corsair crew had removed the organ pipes, the books from the convent library, even the moulds to make the consecrated hosts. Some of them, however, had paid dearly for their arrogance in desecrating the Catholic place of worship: two Turks who had dared to pierce the eyes of the statue of the Madonna were hit right in the eyes by harquebus shots fired from the Catalan coast, where Occhiali's fleet had sailed following the raids in Liguria[52]. This story demonstrates how the reports of the corsair raids alternated continuously between fact and myth (a topos that returns in the episode of the Sanctuary of Montenero in Livorno).

Paradoxically, with the passage of time, corsair activity lost its religious overtones for the Barbary people and came to be understood in strictly economic terms, whereas for the Christian populations of the northern Mediterranean the clash continued to have other ideological connotations, such that this form of guerrilla warfare between the opposite sides of the Mediterranean (which was completely reciprocal, as we now know) was considered a sort of "clash of civ-

[51] ASGe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 464.

[52] AGSe. *Senato Senarega*, Litterarum, f. 472.

ilisations"[53]. This can be seen very clearly in another type of legend, about the atrocious fate of the Ligurian converts (renegades) who were said to have led the corsair attacks. Suffice to cite the story of the young man from Borghetto (a village on the west coast) who had abjured the Christian faith while in Africa and who on the night between 1 and 2 July 1637 led a team of Algerian marauders in an attack on the beaches of his native village and the neighbouring community of Ceriale. According to an early version, the man – who wanted to take revenge because he had not been granted the hand of a girl he had fallen in love with – was hit by a vase of flowers that had fallen from above and died an hour later on a corsair galley anchored off Ceriale; but according to a slave who was a native of Bordighera who wrote from Tunis a few years after the incident (September 20, 1641), the young Ligurian Muslim was found to be drunk during Ramadan and punished with 500 lashings before being fed to rabid dogs[54]. This was the last major assault against the Ligurian rivieras by the enterprising Maghrebi corsairs: a great booty (as we have already said, about 300 people captured) and the usual damage to homes, goods, fields and the local church. From this moment on, the corsair war will take the form mostly of boardings, along trade routes and near the coasts.

The documents detailing the landings and raids of Turkish (actually of various origins throughout the Mediterranean) corsairs along the Ligurian coast therefore constitute a useful source not only for military history or for maritime history overall but also for cultural history, as they allow us to better sketch out the image of Islam that dominated in the mind of the average Christian, that is, in the minds of the many people who lived along the northern shore of the Mediterranean and for whom Muslim society was associated with corsairs from the feared regencies. This was a simple, clear image that combined objective data, rhetorical suggestion, and legends, and that gave the enemy a precise identity and created the motivations and the consensus necessary to organize defences.

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[53] Faroqhi 2001; Hershenzon 2018; Barker 2019.

[54] Lucchini 1990, 184-195; Fedozzi 1998, 129-141.

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3. 'There Was a Man Sent from God, whose Name was John'. Discourse on and Image of the King of Portugal during the Christian-Ottoman Conflict in the Early Eighteenth Century

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During the first years of his reign, John V of Portugal (r. 1706-1750) endeavoured to offer a strong image of his kingdom, which, in truth, was lacking in the Atlantic or European military context. Portugal was presented as a "maritime power" – to use a notion of the time, very popular in the *Lisbon Gazette (Gazeta de Lisboa*, since 1715) – able to tackle the Ottoman Empire's naval power. In addition, the Portuguese monarchy deployed important propaganda, especially in Rome, to highlight its commitment in the fight against Islam, and to counteract the negative opinions that arose in some Catholic countries about its alliance with the great Protestant maritime powers[1].

This essay deals with the interrelations and shifts in the imagery of power associated with the Portuguese crown in the early eighteenth century, and how it was articulated in the Portuguese propaganda that circulated in Rome during the reign of John V. More broadly, it addresses the image of the king as a Catholic monarch, characterized by a royal messianism and providentialism, which had been present in the cultural imaginary of the Portuguese court since the Restoration period (1640-1668)[2]. But the attention is focused on an analysis of how naval campaigns against the Ottoman power in the Mediterranean Sea

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[1] For the interpretation of this fact, in the context of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), see González Cruz 2002, 31-32; Cardim 2010; Cardim 2017, 362-363.

[2] For an in-depth analysis, see Boxer 1977, 42; Boxer 2001, 115-118; Torgal 1981, 315-316, Hermann, 1998, 31-33 and 199-208. For the most ambitious studies in recent years, see Lima 2010, 15-32; Lima and Megiani 2016, 1-40.

contributed to the articulation and dissemination of the image of the King of Portugal as a Christian hero in battle against the infidels (the Moors, the Turks).

The use of this type of political-religious iconography by the Portuguese court followed the Catholic imperialism's model represented by the Spanish monarchy, particularly by the legacy of Charles V and Philip II, with its image of "thalassocracy". The role of the first Spanish kings of the Habsburg dynasty as a significant model is less recognizable than that of the French Bourbon monarchy, but it is not as strange as it might seem at first glance[3]. In fact, that model of royalty wasn't perhaps so alien to John V of Portugal as it could be thought, since the latter joined the imperial house of the Habsburgs in 1708, by marrying the Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria.

Shaping a hero's image in Rome

Undoubtedly, the best place to showcase these ideas was Rome[4] – not Lisbon – because, during the early modern period, the former had become a key site in Catholic Europe for ceremonial displays of political propaganda. In this sense, the royal propaganda of John V had its culminating moment in the campaign fought against the Turks from 1715 onwards. More specifically, it peaked in the years immediately before and after the battle fought near Cape Tenaro or Matapan, on June 19, 1717, between the Turkish navy and the Portuguese navy – or rather, the Christian navy, which brought together the forces of Venice, Portugal, the Papal States and Malta[5]. The victory against the Ottoman Empire and

[3] Rodrigues 2013, 177-204; Díez del Corral 2017, 239-240. For another view, within a comparative perspective, see Franco Llopis and Rega Castro 2019, 468-470.

[4] This section is inspired by Martín Marcos 2019, 25-30. I thank the author for giving me access to the text before its publication, and to several unpublished documents.

[5] There are many chronicles or "*Relações*", mostly manuscripts, about the interventions of the Portuguese Navy in the Aegean Sea in support of the Venetian fleet, such as the lifting of the Siege of Corfu, in July 1716, and the Battle of Matapan, in June 1717. See Oliveira (1950), and Monteiro (1996, vol. 7, 97-109). Especially interesting, however, are the reports written by Pedro de Sousa of Castelo Branco, colonel of the first regiment of the Portuguese navy, who was one of the leaders of the squadron sent to the eastern Mediterranean in aid of the Republic of Venice, such as *Roteiro que fez Pedro de Souza de Castelo Branco da viagem q.do a Armada Portugueza foi a Corfu unirse com as mais esquadras*

more directly Sultan Ahmed III emphasized the imperial image of Portugal and its commitment to the "holy war" against Islam.

Much has already been written on the subject[6], but I would like to investigate this imagery of power further focusing on the *Portrait of John V of Portugal with the Battle of Matapan*, a work by Domenido Duprà from c. 1718-1720 (Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, fig. 3.1)[7]. The painting is a half-length depiction of the king, clad in armor, featuring the military attributes and the insignia that belong to the kings of Portugal (the scepter, the crown and the cross of the Order of Christ, etc.). The figure is presented against a seascape, in which a battle, with spectacular use of artillery raising clouds of smoke, takes place.

The intervention of the Portuguese monarchy in the Eastern Mediterranean coincided with the political objectives of the Papacy, highly interested in re-launching the struggle against the Ottoman Empire (c. 1715-1717). The role of Rome was as decisive as it had been in the case of Lepanto (1571) or Vienna (1683), when it formed Holy Leagues to deal with the advance of the Ottomans towards Western Europe. It is not clear to what extent the imperial image of Portugal was given credence by the Apostolic See. But the words that Clement XI dedicated to John V of Portugal in the letter he sent to him in January 1716 were not casual:

> "[…] Divine Providence […] has reserved for you only [John V of Portugal] this glory which will make your name always memorable in the Annals of the Church, in which […] it will be recorded that in defence of the whole Church, when horribly threatened […]: *Fuit homo misssus a Deo, cui nomen era Joannes*"[8].

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catholicas em socorro da Rep.ca de Veneza no anno de 1716, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), ref. MSS. 256, no. 64, and in the General Library of the University of Coimbra/Joanina Library (BGC), ref. Ms. 1552. See also Chirino, 1717, BNP. ref. D.S. XVIII-76. Also worth noting is the *Relación del socorro que el Rey Dn Juan Quinto de Portugal embia al pontífice Clemente Undécimo contra los Turcos*, translation of a Portuguese original of unknown location, recently found in the General Archive of Simancas (AGS), ref. Estado (E), leg. 7082, s. f.

[6] Delaforce 1993, 55-60; Delaforce 1995, 23-26; Delaforce 2002, 117-164; Rega Castro 2018; Rega Castro 2017.

[7] Pimentel 2013, 48-49, n. 21; Rega Castro 2018, 1-4.

[8] "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John" (John 1, 6). Sousa 1746, 154-157.

Fig. 3.1 Giorgio Domenico Duprà, *Portrait of John V of Portugal with the Battle of Matapan*, c. 1717, Lisbon, Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga, MNAA.

These were the same words that Pope Pius V had dedicated to John of Austria in October 1571, with an identical providential meaning, or those used by Innocent XI, after the victory of the second siege of Vienna, in September 1683, when referring to the King of Poland, John III Sobieski[9]. Therefore, in parallel with these messianic-providentialist invocations, we

[9] Ágoston 2009, 584-585.

would also expect a certain affinity between the *Portrait of John V of Portugal with the Battle of Matapan* and the earlier imagery of Christian heroes in the context of war propaganda and the "war of images" against the Grand Turk, such as the commemorative portraits of John of Austria, Sebastiano Venier, Marcantonio Colonna, Gianandrea Doria. A portrait typology in which the paradigmatic example is, however, the painting by Titian, *Philip II offering the Infant Fernando to Victory* (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), dated between 1573 and 1575.

Spain being the main power of the Holy League, the same degree of self-propaganda could have been expected of Philip II and the officials of the Hispanic monarchy, who might have commissioned paintings and engravings, minted medals, etc.; they might have exceeded the Papal court and Venice in the actions of commemoration and celebration of the battle of Lepanto. But examples of commemorative portraits of this type at the court of Madrid are relatively few[10]; in fact, Titian's painting is an exception, since it was the only commission made directly by Philip II, and its allegorical language was not a product of the contemporary Hispanic context[11].

Though Duprà's and Titian's paintings are quite different, similarities include the depiction of the naval battles in the background, the hero invested with a messianic-providential character featured in the foreground – consistent with the model of the *Miles Christi* preferred by the Spanish Habsburg monarchs[12] – and the table bearing significant objects.

The parallelism between the commemorative portraits by Titian for Phillip II and by Duprà for John V can raise doubts: the similarities are more immediately evident between the painting with the Battle of Cape Matapan and the portraits that depict the heroes of Lepanto in half-armour, holding the baton, a feathered helmet on one side, and a sea battle in the background[13].

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[10] García Bernal 2007, 38-39; Mínguez 2011, 267-269; Mínguez 2017, 436-448.

[11] Mulcahy 2006, 5-10; Mínguez 2016, 231-232; Mínguez 2017, 340-396.

[12] Lompart 1972; Kusche 2004; Franco Llopis 2008.

[13] See e. i. Portrait of Venier by Tintoretto, c. 1571-1572 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien), Portrait of John of Austria by an anonymous Spanish painter (after Juan Pantoja de la Cruz), c. 1575 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), or the engraved portrait by the Dutch engraver Christoffel van Sichem, c. 1600. See Gibellini 2008, 97-100; Mínguez, 2017, 409-410; Stagno 2018; Meteren 1609, vol. 1, f. 339.

This type of military portrait is an allegory of power, in which all the elements that surround the sitter have been conveniently studied, not only the signs and attributes that allow us to recognize him as a Christian admiral, but also the naval combat in the background, and even the objects on the table.

The episode of the naval battle waged between a Portuguese warship, on the far right of the canvas, recognizable by the flags with the cross and the insignia of the Order of Christ, and the Turkish enemy, identifiable by the banner with the half moon, is quite striking in Dupra's work. The importance of the image is that it is one of the first to show battles in the Mediterranean in which the cannons and the skill of the sailors of the ships, in particular the ships of the line, replaced the man-to-man combat that had characterized warfare between galleys, galliots, and galleasses in previous centuries[14].

We must also pay attention to the elements that were placed in the foreground, on the table, as an allegory of power. There are a crown and a sceptre resting on a red velvet cushion, forming an unusually cylindrical shape, which in the collective imagination of the Italians, or rather the Romans, would have had a polysemic reading. It is an object that offers an archetypal and orientalizing vision in equal parts, since it recalls the cushions that often surrounded the Turkish high dignitaries on the couch where they were sometimes depicted, as seen in some European prints or in the depictions of the Ottoman embassies of the early eighteenth century – such as the ones of Belgrade in 1723 or of Naples in 1741[15].

A similar composition is also observed in a sketch or ink drawing for a portrait of the young king by Duprà, owned by the Casa de Bragança Fundation (Museu Biblioteca da Casa de Bragança, Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa, fig. 3.2)[16]. It features a full-length portrait of the Portuguese monarch dressed in a superb armor and elegant jacket; with the right hand he holds the baton while resting his left hand on the crown on a table or more precisely, on a Roman baroque console. A large curtain covers one of the upper angles of the scene that would show the background, not outlined, on the opposite side. It is considered a study or sketch that did not translate into a painting, although Duprà depicted this composition, with small variations, at the Sala dos Tudescos, of the Paço de Vila Viçosa (Évora), of unknown date (1720-1725).

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[14] Monteiro 1996, vol. 7, 106-107; and more recently, Rega Castro 2018, 8-9.

[15] Sánchez del Peral 2003, 350; Williams 2014.

[16] Carvalho 1995, 12, n. 1; Pimentel 2013, 44-45, n. 13.

Fig. 3.2 Giorgio Domenico Duprà, *Sketch for a Portrait of John V of Portugal*, c. 1718-1720, Vila Viçosa, Museu-Biblioteca da Casa de Bragança/Biblioteca de D. Manuel II.

The drawing contains a series of formal and allegorical features that lead us to think that it could have served as a preparatory study for an allegorical portrait on the occasion of the victory of Matapan, since it represents the king of Portugal as a military man more than as a ruler. It has all the attributes that make the character recognizable, and it has a human figure which serves as a supporting element of the *console* that evokes the Roman baroque. There are few iconographic elements that are detailed in the sketch, such as the armour or cross of the Military Order of Christ on the breastplate, but Duprà intentionally outlined a Telamon, that is, one of the statues of the "Persian porticus" cited by Vitruvius (*De Arch.,* Book I, Chapter I: 6), whose chained figures recalled the Persians "in barbarian costume" being defeated and taken prisoners by the Spartans[17]. In this same sense, when Charles V entered Palermo in triumph after the victory in Tunis in 1535, through the Porta Austriaca or Porta Nuova, the ephemeral arch featured four colossal figures with turbans, and moustaches. Today remains of the Porta Nuova are still preserved, on which Muslims are represented like herms or telamons. Viewers usually assume that the figures are derogatory, meant to denigrate a Muslim Other[18].

The figure of the Telamon in Duprà's sketch can be better reconstructed through the comparison with the portrait of the first Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon, D. Tomás de Almeida, who Duprà also painted c. 1718[19]. It obviously depicts a slave or prisoner, who, despite his classicist forms, suggests, by his position and iconography, a message of subjugation to temporal or spiritual power and, by extension, metaphorizes the submission of the infidels through war. In Lisbon, this rhetorical formula persisted and was put to use in a portrait of Friar Antonio Manuel de Vilhena, Grand Master of The Order of Malta, painted by an unknown Italian artist[20].

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[17] "And there they set effigies of the prisoners arrayed in barbarian costume and holding up the roof, their pride punished by this deserved affront, that enemies might tremble for fear of the effects of their courage". See Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 1.1.6.

[18] See Checa Cremades 1987, 105; Cámara 1998, 141. More particularly, see Baskins 2019, 331-354.

[19] Teixeira 1993, 239-240; Saldanha 1995, 244-245; Pimentel 2013, 144.

[20] Teixeira 1993, 236-237.

It should also be remembered that the Portuguese expeditions in the Eastern Mediterranean, during the summers of 1716 and 1717, coincided in time with the diplomatic mission of the ambassador extraordinary of Portugal D. Rodrigues Aires de Sá Almeida e Meneses (1712-1718), Marquis of Fontes, and therefore, it is directly related to the privileges granted by Clement XI. In 1716, the Pope created the Patriarchate of Lisbon and elevated the royal chapel to the status of Patriarchal Holy Church of West Lisbon[21].

It was in Rome, between 1717 and 1718, that Domenico Duprà first made contact with the official Portuguese community in the studio of Francesco Trevisani, and it was probably through his friend, the architect Filippo Juvarra, that Duprà secured an invitation to Lisbon, to become portraitist to John V of Portugal[22]. It has not been noticed before, but Duprà possibly developed a close relationship with the Marquis of Fontes and the Portuguese artist Vieira Lusitano, another of Trevisani's pupils[23].

To sing or not to sing the praises of the man

There is no doubt that John V of Portugal was clear about how he wanted to be known and recognized by his subjects, and also how he wished to be remembered. Hence his interest in going to Rome to provide himself with portraitists and to plan an effective imperialist-militarist imagery, as well as to develop an elaborate official portrait designed largely by Duprà under the protection of the court workshop[24]. In relation to the context that surrounds the *Portrait of John V of Portugal with the Battle of Matapan*, it is notable, at least in Lisbon, a lack of information, not to say mutism, unexpected in the case of a victory of the Portuguese Navy with such a projection in the official bodies in charge of internal propaganda.

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[21] For the Portuguese royal patronage in Rome in the early eighteenth century, see Quieto 1988; Rocca and Borghini 1995. On the propaganda policy of John V of Portugal, see also Bebiano 1987; Pimentel 2002, 27-101; Silva, 2006, 89-104.

[22] Busiri Vici 1977, 1-2; Wolfe 2014.

[23] Yarker 2017, 197.

[24] Carvalho (ed.) 1962, 224-225; Sobral 1989, 29-31; Pimentel 2008, 141-143.

According to Mulcahy, this also characterized the attitude of Philip II and the Spanish court after the victory of Lepanto[25].

What could be expected was an allegorical composition similar to *The Battle of Imbros, 1717* (or *An Allegory of a Naval Victory*), by (or attributed to) Giovanni Raggi, dated 1733-1741 (fig. 3.3)[26]. The episode represented refers to the naval battle between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, which occurred in June 1717, just before the Battle of Matapan, near the island of Imbros, at the entrance to the Dardanelles Strait, where the captain of the Venetian war navy, Lodovico Flangini, died. An event that was reported in a few Portuguese chronicles or *Relações*, and which also echoed in the reports of diplomatic legations of the Catholic nations[27]. In this sense it is interesting to bring up the pungent opinion of the secretary of the Spanish embassy in Venice in the summer of 1717, who comes to clearly illustrate the role of official propaganda and art in the states of the modern era. Despite the facts, which suggested a Pyrrhic victory, the *Serenissima* had taken the decision "[…] to publish a dreamed victory" with which to emphazise the military action of Flangini and "to encourage this poor deceived people […]"[28].

The painting, which was done years after the Turkish-Venetian war, represents – against the naval battle background that occupies the upper half of

[25] In relation to this lack of information, it has to be noted that the preserved correspondence of the Portuguese diplomatic legation in Rome, during the reign of John V, is scarce and fragmentary. For this reason it is necessary to resort to diplomatic correspondence from other European monarchies, such as France or Spain. In this case, the correspondence by the Marquis of Capecelatro, extraordinary envoy of Felipe V in Lisbon, has been very useful. AGS. E, legs. 7082, and 1783. On Spanish celebrations after Lepanto, see Mulcahy 2006.

[26] Noris and Bossaglia (eds.) 1990, vol. 3, 65; Day and Sturges (eds.) 1987, 58-61, n. 41.

[27] Described in *Relação do suceso que teve a Armanda de Veneza unida com as Esquadras Auxiliares do Papa, de Portugal e de Malta na Costa da Móréa contra a Armada do Turco no anno de 1717 / Feita por Pedro de Sousa Castelo-Branco…* BGC, Ms. 1552, 367. See Oliveira 1950, 50. See also the Ambassador of Spain in Rome, the Marquis of Capecelatro's correspondence with D. Luis de Teves, in charge of the Embassy of Spain in Venice, 1717 (24 July). This includes an Italian letter, without signature, 1717 (July 1), "Informazioni sulla battaglia di Imbros avvenuta il 12, 13 e 16 luglio 1717, vicino a Imbros, nel Mar Egeo". The text reads as follows: "[…] *Fu in questa ultima azione ferito mortalmente nel collo il Capitano Lodovico Flangini, la sua nave pue dell'altre fue danneggiatta*". AGS. E., leg. 7083, s. f.

[28] AGS. E., leg. 7083, s. f.

Fig. 3.3 Attributed to Giovanni Raggi, *The Battle of Imbros, 1717* (or *An Allegory of a Naval Victory*), c. 1733-1741, Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum.

the canvas – the ancient Greek goddess Athena, as an armed and victorious female figure, who is really the personification of Venice, recognizable by the red flag of the *Serenissima*. Accompanied by Heracles – that also symbolises the Venetian military power –, this figure is supported on a pedestal, sur-

rounded by allegorical figures and military triumphs[29]. Two Turkish slaves are chained to the aforementioned pedestal[30]; the one depicted in the foreground has a close-cropped head with the characteristic tuft or lock of hair at the top, which in this case appears to be braided.

This kind of allegorical composition could not be found in the Iberian Peninsula in the early eighteenth century, but it has parallels with – for example – the engraving produced by the German artist Jakob Andreas Friedrich to commemorate the feats of the *Infante* D. Manuel, younger brother of King John V of Portugal[31] (fig. 3.4). He distinguished himself in the Hungarian campaign of 1716[32]. This printed image presents similarities with the painting not only for the use of an allegorical language, which is foreign to the Portuguese artistic and cultural environments, but also for the aristocratic or warrior model it advertises. In 1715, Manuel ran away from Lisbon. Ordered by his brother King John V of Portugal to return home, he disobeyed and went to Paris, then on to Germany. In August 1716 he offered his services to Prince Eugene of Savoy, to fight the Turks in Hungary. There he fought in the Battle of Petrovaradin and the Siege of Temeşvar (Hungary), where he was slightly wounded but excelled throughout. His "exploits" were praised by artists and panegyrists not only in Lisbon, for example by one of the most outstanding members of the Royal Academy of Portuguese History, the religious oratory scholar, bibliographer and polymath Diogo Barbosa

[29] In this sense, the key to the interpretation of the allegorical figures might be a reference to the theme of the Trojan War and the characters connected to it: Athena and Heracles, in the foreground of the painting, and the Trojan hero Hector and Apollo – a dubious identification –, against a landscape background.

[30] It is an allegorical composition that has parallels, in terms of the symbolic-allegorical language, with the hieroglyph that adorned the carriage of the Count of Galveias, extraordinary envoy of John V before Clement IX in 1709; a front panel presided over by the personification of "Lusitania represented as Pallas Athena" sitting on an orb or globe and accompanied by Hercules, at whose feet there were "barbarian prisoners bound by strong chains". For the study of the carriage, see Pereira, 2000, catalogue n. 59, 172-173. See also Rega Castro, 2017, 28.

[31] Teixeira 1993, 165.

[32] See *Höchste Welt- und Krieges-Häupter* 1718, 28-33. Published by the Jesuit college of Dillinger, it is a chronicle of the events of the Austro-Turkish War in 1714-1718. On the one hand, the events are chronologically narrated; on the other hand, in most chapters, a high-ranking person involved in the main battles is praised, such as the Prince Eugene of Savoy, Charles Albert of Bavaria, or the *Infante* Manuel of Portugal.

Fig. 3.4 Jakob Andreas Friedrich, *Emanuel Regius Princeps Portugalliæ* [Portrait of D. Manuel, *Infante* of Portugal], c. 1718, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

Machado[33], but also in Rome, where Portuguese circles also celebrated them[34]. They even considered him to captain the fleet gathered by the Portuguese in the summer of 1716[35], and they didn't lack support in official sectors. According to the Spanish ambassador, the warrior spirit and the determination of D. Manuel "has been generally applauded"[36]. In this same sense, in the lower part of the engraving, the pedestal shows a battle scene, and the Ottoman-Islamic spoils of war, according to the usual iconographic types found in the Italian artistic context.

We do not know when or where the *Portrait of John V of Portugal with the Battle of Matapan* was depicted, but all the evidence points to its commission in Rome to celebrate the victory at Matapan against the Turks, as part of the patronage and action propaganda by the Marquês de Fontes. He was probably the one who came into contact with Duprà during these years, through Filippo Juvarra or the painter Vieira Lusitano, a *protégé* of the Portuguese diplomat. In fact, Juvarra and Duprà left together for Portugal in 1719; they could even have traveled together with Vieira Lusitano, who also returned

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[33] Machado 1717, 26.

[34] In the Joanina Library, part of the General Library of the University of Coimbra, a series of Roman printed texts with sonnets dedicated to the *Infante* Manuel de Portugal are preserved. See, e.i., "*All'Altezza Reale del Serenissimo Principe/ D. Emanuele Infante di Portogallo/ Ferito in una Gamba da Palla di Cannone nell'apertura della Trinciera sotto Temesvar il di. 2 settembre 1716/ Sonetto / Dedicato All'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo signore Don Rodrigo Annes de Saa, Almeida e Meneses, Marchese di Fontes*" [Printed document, anonymous author: "Umiliss. Serva"]. BGC. ref. Ms. 674, f. 26. "*All'Altezza Reale del Serenissimo Principe/ D. Emanuele Infante di Portogallo / Per la Ferita nel piede sotto Themesvar / Sonetto / Dedicato All'Illustrissimo, et Eccellentissimo signore Don Rodrigo Annes de Saa, Almeida e Meneses, Marchese di Fontes*". [Printed document, author: Saverio Maria Barlettani Attavanti (Accademia degli Arcadi or dell'Arcadia,)]. BGC. ref. Ms. 674, f. 27.

[35] See, e.i. "*All'Altezza Reale di / D. Emanuele Infante di Portogallo / Che si desidera fatto Generalissimo della Cristiana Navale Armata contro del Turco./ Sonetto*" [Printed document, anonymous author]. BGC. ref. Ms. 674, f. 30. See also the Ambassador of Spain in Rome, the Marquis of Capecelatro's correspondence, 1716 (28 April); "[…] *aunque aseguran que no quiere volver sino es que/ se le de el mando de la escuadra de Navíos que dicen debe formarse para el socorro que ha solicitado su Santidad (que a mi entender será tarde, más y nunca) y si no piensa proseguir su primer intento de pasar a Viena, y hacer las campaña contra los turcos*". AGS. E, leg. 7082, s. f.

[36] Correspondence of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, 1716 (29 July). AGS. E, leg. 7082, s. f.

to Lisbon in the same year[37]. It is logical to think that in the execution of the commission or in the conceptualization of the commemorative portrait, Vieira Lusitano himself also participated. On the other hand, the fact that D. Rodrigo Anes de Sá returned to Lisbon as early as January 1718, suggests an order made between 1717 and 1718 immediately after the battle of Cape Matapan. What is also clear is that the significance of this work would increase Duprà's prestige in Lisbon before his arrival.

The victory at Matapan was celebrated in Rome with a medal minted at the initiative of the Marquês de Fontes himself to highlight the role of the Portuguese monarchy. On the obverse the bust of the king was represented, with the inscription "JOANNES V. REX PORTUG. ET ALGARB."[38].

Unfortunately, no graphic documentation is preserved for the reverse, but all written sources describe a ship that navigates between the columns of Hercules[39], with the motto "QUA DATA PORTA JUVAT"[40] and the inscription, below, "FUSIS. FUGATISQUE TURCIS. LUSIT. CLASSIS SUBSID. AD TAENARUM P. [ROMUNTURIUM] 1717"[41]. It seems evident that both its design and its authorship, unknown to this day, should be related to another medal designed by Vieira Lusitano and dated between 1716-1717, which was dedicated to "RODERIC ANNESIUS DE SAA MARCH FONTESIANUS". On its reverse, a warship was also shown sailing against the wind, towards a safe harbor (Lisbon), with the motto "INGENIQUE LABORE" [or "INGENIUM ET LABOR"[42]] / MDCCXVII"[43]. It was inspired by the most popular Spanish seventeenth-century emblem books.

An explicit allusion to the columns of Hercules, in the first of the medals, made it clear that Emperor Charles V was the ultimate goal of the comparison, something emphasised even further in the emblem books, like the one by Lorea[44]. In the *pictura* of *In otio labores* (I, 1), the columns of Hercules on the sea are also

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[37] Calado 1989, 525; Yarker 2017, 197.

[38] "King of Portugal and the Algarves".

[39] See Sousa 1738, vol. 4, 492-493

[40] "Where a passage is given, [it] brings help" (the first three words of the motto are from *Aeneid*, I.83).

[41] "As Turks fled, the Portuguese fleet headed for Cape Tenaro in 1717".

[42] "Reason and hard work".

[43] Brazão 1937, 182; Delaforce 2002, 135; Rega Castro 2018, 4-5.

[44] Lorea 1674, 8-22.

represented with the motto of Charles V, *Plus ultra*. Here the Emperor is a model of kings whose virtue consists in innovative and heroic actions: "To live like many is not a particular glory. To discover new directions, is to seek and open the door to immortal fame […]"[45]. In addition, the motto "PORTA JUVAT" ['the door helps'], which evidently alluded to the columns of Hercules, becomes the counterpoint in the west of the Sublime Porte, also known as the Ottoman Porte, that is, the metaphor that traditionally served in diplomatic circles to name, by way of metonymy, the government of the Ottoman Empire and, by extension, the Empire itself.

The last image of the king[46]

This type of political discourse, in texts or images, is not observed in Lisbon in the court festivals[47]. However, it is found in the funeral and elegiac imagery that we find after the death of John V of Portugal in July 1750[48]. This is the case, for example, of the funerals held in the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Casa da Misericórdia) of Lisbon in October 1750, which consisted of a catafalque built in the middle of the church, which was "adorned with different paintings where the glorious triumphs which His Majesty achieved against the Ottoman power and that of several Asian kings were represented"[49].

An ephemeral piece of architecture in the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra was built on the occasion of the last of his funerals, held in Portugal in April 1751. Its program clearly refers to an imperial project in which the use of

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[45] The relevant part of the text reads: "*Vivir como muchos, no es gloria particular. Descubrir nuevos runbos, es buscar, y abrir puerta a inmortal fama. Llegó aquel barbaro a fixar las Colunas en Cadiz, dándose por contento a que no avia mas mundo que ver, y a que allí se terminavan sus enpresas* […], *diciendo a sus azañas Non plus ultra. En el Enperador Carlos V dio Dios a España un exemplar de Principes* […]". See Lorea 1674, 8-9.

[46] This section is derived from a previously published paper, Franco Llopis and Rega Castro 2019, 468-477.

[47] Rega Castro and Franco Llopis 2021, 105-106, 149-153.

[48] See Smith 1955, 11-36, and, for a comprehensive bibliography, see Tedim 2000, 237-279.

[49] The text reads as follows: "[…] *estava ornada* [the Holy House of Mercy, Lisbon] *de diversos quadros, em que se representavão os gloriosos triunfos que Sua Magestade alcançara da Pontencia Otomana, e de varios Regulos da Asia*". *Noticia* 1752, Biblioteca Real da Ajuda (BA), cota 55-II-22, no. 28, 48. See Smith 1955, 6-7; Tedim 2000, 237-238, note 10.

Emperor Charles V's iconography takes on a renewed meaning. In the vicinity of the catafalque, a "column 25 spans high" was raised and it was adorned by a phylactery or band of silver. This held the inscription "*Non plus ultra*" [sic], which was also adorned "[…] with military flags and trophies in which were represented the triumphs that His Majesty attained from his enemies"[50]. As is evident, this decoration is inspired by the columns of Hercules and the motto "*Plus ultra*", but in this case, in addition to emphasizing the Portuguese maritime power and the very project of messianic imperialism, the slogan "no further" clarified, in some way, the limits of the Portuguese influence area in the Mediterranean basin[51]. It also underlined the determination to face the expansionist aspirations of the Ottoman Empire towards the western Mediterranean.

Likewise, in this context, one could expect some more or less implicit reference to the victory of Lepanto, with Philip II (Philip I of Portugal) as a model, since he was the Catholic and orthodox king *par excellence* in the contemporary imagery. But Portuguese sources are silent on the matter; only one, entitled *Diario e relação da armada que foy a Italia em socorro dos venezianos* (c. 1717)[52], mentioned the battle of Lepanto as an example of the military endeavours undertaken in the defence of Christendom, similar to the triumph of Matapan. Despite the absence of exemplary references of the Portuguese past, this relationship was intentionally omitted from the political and propagandistic sources, both contemporary and later, created by the Portuguese. In fact, a widely circulated letter, attributed to Pedro de Sousa Castelo Branco, one of the Portuguese fleet's commanders, and published in Messina in 1717, by Vittorino Maffei, cited as a precedent King Manuel I (r. 1495-1521), when he sent naval help to Venice in its struggle against the Ottomans in 1501. Evidently, this rhetorical *parangone* was understood as a revival of the Manueline period's crusader spirit, and of its imperial project, as the document underlines: "the kings of Portugal were always the first […] that came to dye it [the sea water] of the blood of the infidels"[53].

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[50] *Noticia* 1752, 73.

[51] In fact, the *motto* is the same than the device of Alphonse V of Portugal (1432-1481), known as Alfonso *The African* ("ALÁ MÁIS"; trans. "further", "beyond"), see López Poza 2019, 47-74, cat. 68.

[52] Soares, c. 1717, f. 41v-43r. BNP, Cod. 271/1.

[53] The text reads as follows: "[…] *E sendo certo que os Reis de Portugal foraò sempre os primeiros que naò sò molharaò a púrpura nas ondas […] ou nas agoas; mas os que que chegaraò a tingilla*

References to Lepanto disappeared from the Portuguese documentation. They were not even contemplated in the *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, by António Caetano de Sousa, published since 1735 under the auspices of the Portuguese Royal Academy of History (Academia Real de História Portuguesa), whose purpose was to highlight the prestige of the Portuguese Crown, in its political and historical dimension[54]. This omission was the result of an interested and well-calculated concealment, a kind of *damnatio memoriae* motivated by the dynastic interests of the Braganzas, logically more interested in recognizing and claiming kinship to figures such as King Manuel I or other ancestors of the House of Aviz.

In this sense, it is interesting to note how from the very beginning the *topoi* or tropes of the Portuguese apologetic and propaganda literature are fixed. Already in the "*Relación del socorro que el Rey Dn Juan Quinto de Portugal embia al pontífice Clemente Undécimo contra los Turcos*…"[55], "the prediction that the Pontiff himself applied [to John V], and explained in his letter: '*Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen era Joannes*'" was mentioned, and the fact that the Portuguese flotilla was not inferior "to the one sent by King D. Manuel for the same purpose" in June 1501[56]. Years later, the work of Barbosa Machado (1759), dedicated to the procession of Corpus Christi, lavishly held in Lisbon in June 1719, refers to the similarity between the battle at Cape Matapan, and the same episode of the second Turkish-Venetian War (1499-1503), in which King Dom Manuel had sent warships to help the Venetians[57]. The reiteration of this *topos* suggests that the control exerted over the creation and dissemination process of the pamphlets was rather effective.

It is also important to underline the duality of strategies adopted by the Portuguese Crown, characterized by the contrast between the propaganda displayed in Europe and, in a particular way, before the Holy See in order to make

no sangue dos infiéis, quando se treveraò ao inviolável sagrado da Igreja". Chirino 1717, 5. BNP, ref. D.S. XVIII-76.

[54] See Mota 2003.

[55] AGS. E, leg. 7082, s. f.

[56] Monteiro 2013, vol. 1, 150-153.

[57] "[…] *El Rey D. Manoel tambem seu grande Avô* [ancestor of the King John V] *fizera navegar huma grossa Armada no socorro dos Venezianos, para conservar os Templos da sua Republica da irrupção dos Turcos* […]". Machado 1759, 136-137.

the most of the victory against the Ottoman Empire, and the internal propaganda, which was practically non-existent in the visual arts[58].

The Portuguese monarchy entered the Mediterranean as a consequence of its own political interests and, subsequently, also in accordance with its political-cultural agenda, promoted the celebration of the defeat of the Turkish fleet in a different way in Rome[59]. In Lisbon, an Atlantic capital more interested in maintaining its military resources, especially its naval force, and preserving its territories on the route towards the Orient (Mozambique, Cape Verde, Angola, Goa, Macao, etc.), there was much less emphasis on the theme. In fact, the work of the Oratorian father António dos Reis[60] constitutes an exception in the Portuguese context, since the third book in his collection of epigrams dedicated to John V was illustrated with a vignette alluding to the battle of Cape Matapan[61], an engraving etched by Pierre Antoine Quillard[62] (fig. 3.5).

In response to this double perspective, the textual or visual representations of the Muslim Other must be adequately contextualized. This survey of how the discourse of otherness around the figure of the "Turk" (and Islam) was created in Lisbon offers us a portrait of a non-visible enemy, due to its lack of representation.

The differences between these two strategies of self-propaganda, between the internal and the external approaches, become less marked when considering

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[58] The *Lisbon Gazette* (*Gazeta de Lisboa*) scarcely reports on the events in November 1717, in which it informs us how the "Conde do Rio Grande Admiral of the Navy, who was in command of the squadron that this year went to the East, returned fortunately to this port on Saturday the 6th of November, retaining all ships, and with the glory of having honoured His Majesty's arms in the seas of Morea [Aegean Sea]" (*Gazeta de Lisboa*, November 11, 1717, 357). But news on the event is scarce in the gazettes, printed material and battle accounts located in Portugal, as is news on the celebrations and commemorations of the victory.

[59] The propaganda becomes more intense and explicit, if possible, during the pontificate of Clement XI, in which the war against the Turks is intensely promoted. A good example of this is the canonization of Pope Pius V in August 1712, which was used by the Papacy to relaunch the idea of "holy war", as highlighted by Capriotti (2016, 357-374). See also Caffiero 1998, 103-121.

[60] Dos Reis 1728, 127.

[61] "*Joannes Quintus / Potentissimus Lisitanorum Rex,/ Classem adversus Turcas Auxilio mittit*". Reis 1728, 117.

[62] Saldanha 2005, 87, fig. 6.

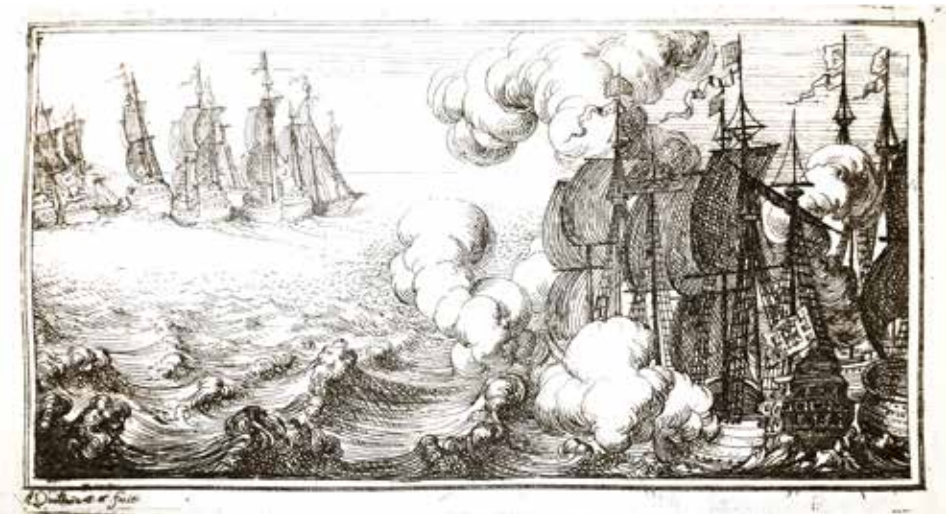

Fig. 3.5. Pierre Antoine Quillard, *The Battle of Matapan* (or *An Allegory of a Portuguese naval victory against the Turks*), in António dos Reis (1728). Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal.

some funerals and ephemeral decorations in honour of King John V. Most of them were commissioned by new religious orders, of modern foundation and clearly aimed at preaching. Such is the case of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Felipe Neri in Lisbon, whose Church of Nossa Senhora das Necessidades was decorated in September 1751, with a complex iconographic program dedicated to commemorate "the most heroic actions of His Majesty". In memory of its founder and protector, a catafalque was erected in the nave of the church, the lateral arcades were adorned and displayed "[…] on the arches of the main nave of the church […] in ten great paintings the triumphs that he had gloriously achieved from the enemies of the Christian religion"[63]. This, as will be seen below, coincided, in large part, with the "apparatus" erected in the Church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, in Rome, in May 1751, which was widely disseminated through prints[64]; particularly, the panels painted by Antonio Bicchierai with the great deeds during the reign of John V, amongst which the victory by the Portuguese Navy off the coasts of southern Greece, stood out.

Unfortunately, no graphic documentation is preserved, but the ephemeral decorations are widely known thanks to a chronicle that describes how the

[63] *Noticia* 1752, 40.

[64] *Exequias* 1751, VII, in Fagiolo 1997, 146-148. See also Ferraris 1995, cat. 41.II/3, 279-280.

interior of Nossa Senhora das Necessidades was decorated with "silver medallions" that "hung between the columns of the church [actually pillars]".

The first of these medallions or clipei "[…] represented the military fortunes of the years 1716 and 1717"[65], and, particularly, "the glorious victory of the year 1717 won by our Navy […] over the Turks in the seas of Morea, between the capes of Matapan [sic]".

It is one of the few pieces found in Portugal showing the representation of the battle in images and the most important example in which the ideas of messianic imperialism find a visual translation. And if one was not enough, the episode was also repeated in the paintings "that as we said, were on the arches of the main nave"[66]. It was a complete series of war scenes that began with the victory at Cape Matapan, followed by nine other scenes or "triumphs" showing military feats in Portuguese India, the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Mozambique Channel.

Also interesting are the ephemeral decorations displayed "on the four altars of the church" of the Congregation of Priests of the Mission in Lisbon[67], popularly known as *Paules*, on the occasion of the funerals held during October 1750. In the funeral book it is described how, in the first of the altars, the allegorical language was used to commemorate "the triumph over the Ottoman power in the Eastern seas" by John V of Portugal. The full-lenght portrait of the king was presented, and, at his feet, a personification of Victory was shown offering him a "naval crown [sic]"[68].

The content of the image was explained by an inscription that read "IN SINU LACÓNICO CLASSIS TURCICA DISSIPATA ANNO MDCCXVII"[69], and its meaning was completed by another which read "LUNA SUB PEDIBUS EJUS"[70].

In a Marian church, the use of one of the symbols of the Woman of the Apocalypse in this context does not need much explanation, although the apparent parallelism that was established between King John V and the archangel Michael, stands out. In fact, it was the warrior archangel who saved the

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[65] *Relação das Solemnes* 1751, 16-17.

[66] *Relação das Solemnes* 1751, 23.

[67] *Noticia* 1752, 52.

[68] Machado 1750, 8.

[69] "In the Gulf of Laconia, the Turkish fleet was defeated in the year 1717".

[70] "The moon under his feet" (Ap 12, 1).

woman who gave birth in the Apocalypse, the symbol of the Virgin and the Church fighting against the seven-headed dragon. The dragon is not the incarnation of the devil in the strictest of senses, but the elliptical image of the Turkish enemy[71], and, in the same way, the motto "moon under his feet" no longer applies to the Virgin Mary but to the deceased king. The emblem or "enigma", to use a term of the period, is a metaphor for real power and alludes to a hero of a messianic-providential nature, inspired by the *Miles Christi* model which suggests the similarity with Saint Michael, able to subdue the Ottoman Empire, symbolized by the half moon.

It is clear that these images insisted on the political idea of "holy war" against the Turkish-Ottomans, at a time when Islam actually came second in relation to other internal issues such as the exercise of the rights of the Portuguese *Padroado Real* in Asia. Logically the struggle against the Ottoman Empire lost importance in the order of priorities of the Portuguese monarchy. However, the imperial propaganda of the reign of John V capitalized on this imagery of power and vindicated the traditional role of the Portuguese kings in the war against Islam, as part of the effort to recover, in the Catholic world, the positive image and influence that Portugal had enjoyed in the past, before the Iberian Union.

[71] Sorce 2008, 173.

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PART 2
OTTOMAN ARTEFACTS AND DEPICTIONS OF THE TURK IN WESTERN CONTEXTS. CASE STUDIES

4. *Turchesca* Wares in Genoa. Ottoman Artefacts in Private Houses and in Religious Buildings during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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Introduction

The fall of Constantinople did not cause a full break in the complex trade relations between the Genoese and the Ottomans, though the gradual loss of Genoese colonies – Pera, Focea, Enez, Amasra and later Caffa and Tana – did in fact make those relations more difficult. Nevertheless, commercial exchanges tended to continue, taking advantage of the favourable trading privileges granted by Mehmed II[1]. So, as many historians have pointed out[2], during the second half of the fifteenth century the Genoese, despite a growing interest in Western markets, did not dismantle their extensive network of economic relations with the Ottomans. Bursa, the former Ottoman capital, Izmir, Chios – lost to the Ottomans only in 1566 – and Constantinople continued to be the most important trading bases of a network including Anatolia, the Balkans, Syria, Russia, India and China.

The situation changed substantially during the sixteenth century, when trading became more and more difficult because of the conflict between the Spanish Empire and Ottoman rulers, who sought to impose their supremacy over the Eastern Mediterranean. Despite the Republic of Genoa's alliance with the Habsburgs, the commercial exchanges with Turkey ("*avere lo comercio in Turchia*") were so important for the Genoese that in 1558 they sent three emissaries, Francesco De Franchi, Giovanni de Franchi and Nicolò Grillo, to Suleyman the Magnificent to obtain a trade agreement. The purpose of this unsuccessful mission, as it is carefully described in a series of instructions ("*Instrutione per*

[1] A treaty between the Genoese and the Ottoman ruler Mehmed II was enacted after the fall of Constantinople, see Lisciandrelli 1961, n. 1251.

[2] See in particular Fleet 1999, 122-133. For earlier bibliography see 123, n. 6.

Costantinopoli"), was to restore freedom of transit for Genoese ships not only in Turkey but also in other countries ruled by the Ottomans[3].

Restoring trade with Eastern countries became a kind of obsession for the Genoese government; from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth century this matter was at the centre of many efforts and fruitless proposals, such as the "*Prattica circa lo stabilimento di una Compagnia in Levante*" (1714). In 1647, they even tried to establish a "Genoese East India Company", but to no avail[4]. Only Giovanni Agostino Durazzo, sent as ambassador to Constantinople in 1665, succeeded in obtaining freedom of trade in Ottoman territories, but peace prevailed for less than twenty years; the Genoese diplomatic headquarters were closed in 1682 and the exhausting negotiations started again[5].

Nevertheless, despite the deteriorating relations between the Genoese Republic and the Ottomans and nothwithstanding the French hostility and the commercial competition of the Netherlands and England, with their East India Companies, trade tended to continue. Until 1566 the Genoese held Chios, the most important trading base, where the commodities coming from both Western and Eastern markets were loaded and unloaded; after the Ottoman conquest of the island commercial activities became more difficult, but – again – they did not cease. As a result, Genoa and Turkey continued to be connected not only by a continuous flow of goods, but also by culture, artworks and images.

How could the merchants bypass the obstacles and be able to ship the commodities? According to the various bills of lading in the Genoese *Archivio Segreto* – sometimes including coded messages to provide information about Ottoman troop movements[6] – commodities travelled on a twisty route: from the Ottoman ports or from Chios to Ancona or Ragusa and from there to Venice or to Livor-

[3] ASGe. *Manoscritti Biblioteca*, n. 128, c. [3]v: "…Grecia, Soria et Egitto et etiamdio in luoghi mediterranei dove si può pensare che gli huomini della nation nostra debbano far traffico come saria Bursa…Damasco, Cayro, Aleppo…".

[4] ASGe. *Archivio Segreto*, 1015, n. 29; Pessagno 1930.

[5] See Pastine 1952, 1-12.

[6] For example, Morat Aga, a Genoese renegade living in Constantinople, wrote messages under the false name of Pantaleo Marzano, merchant. Sometimes, the classified information was written with invisible ink on the reverse of the commercial letters or of the bills of lading.

no[7], where Genoese merchants or their emissaries removed the goods and sent them overland or by sea to Genoa. Other times, as Ottavio Pastine pointed out[8], Genoese sailed under foreign flags (above all French flags) or they even acquired the citizenship of countries which were allied to the Ottomans.

The commodities which appear to have been dominant in Genoese-Turkish trade (grain, alum, metal, leather, slaves) have already been studied in depth[9], while the luxury manufacts, which had an impact on Genoese taste and culture, have left fewer traces in the documents and have been less studied. At the moment the question of the links between the Ottoman world and Western culture is felt to be of ever-growing interest, as many recent studies attest[10], and, given the central role played by Genoa since the Middle Ages in the connections between Europe and the Eastern lands, research about Turkish artefacts available in Liguria during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be useful to reveal some less-known aspects of Genoese history. The extant documentation, the archaeological finds and the pictorial evidence, as well as the few artefacts still existing in Liguria or coming from there, attest that the flow of Ottoman items to Genoa continued during the Renaissance period. These precious objects embellished the private houses and the religious buildings, and had a widespread impact on local artistic production.

Based on ongoing research, this study presents an overview of the different types of Turkish ware in Liguria after the Middle Ages. The Genoese State Archive is the most valuable source of materials for this subject and among the extant documentation the collection *Archivio Segreto* and the notary deeds are the most useful sources of data. In particular, the inventories of the goods of upper-class people give important information about objects, sometimes carefully described. In the lists, some items are recorded as coming from Turkey (*turchesco*), while other Oriental objects are described differently

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[7] See, for example, in ASGe. *Archivio Segreto*, a letter dated July 2, 1564, written in Pera: Andrea de Fiore, owner of the ship *Ragusea*, confirmes that he has left in Venice some commodities for Filippo Lomellino, other ones in Ragusa and he loaded in Chios ten bales of leather (*cordovani*). They were to be shipped in Livorno for Vincenzo Spinola.

[8] Pastine 1952, 116-117; Pastine 1956, 1-12.

[9] For a detailed account of the export of raw materials and slaves from Turchia see Fleet 1999, 22-121.

[10] See, among many recent contributions, Atasoy and Luluç 2012.

(*di Levante*, *Moresco*, rarely *di Persia*, *domaschino*). These appellations refer to different places of provenance, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco or Syria among them. Another element which is useful in order to understand which types of Ottoman artefacts were exported to Liguria is the evaluation of the influence of the Turkish objects on Genoese handicraft. In fact, as we will point out below, the transfer of Turkish subjects and decorative patterns within Ligurian textiles or ceramic shows that the local craftsmen knew Ottoman Art very well. Unfortunately, most of the Ottoman heritage in Liguria was lost in the period between the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century; in any case, we can observe that a progressively decreasing number of objects is recorded in the inventories of the second half of the seventeenth century.

Fabrics

Elaborated cloth had a predominant role in the Genoese-Turkish trade of luxury items. Since the thirteenth century, some types of precious fabrics were commodities of great importance in the commerce between Anatolia and Genoa and they continued to be imported until the eighteenth century, even under the most difficult of circumstances. During the sixteenth century, the Western demand for silk cloths was indeed drastically reduced, because they were produced on a large scale in Europe, but a certain amount of silk textiles never ceased to be purchased from Turkey, as some items, still existing in Liguria, attest. Furthermore, Turkey acted as a transit market for precious cloth coming from India, China and Iran. Besides worked fabrics exported in bales, Genoese also bought garments and household textiles.

Here is a list of the main fabrics imported from the East:

Chiamellotti or *cammellotti:* fine goat or camel wool cloths manufactured in Bursa, Chios, Syria and in other countries. Camelot, which was used to make clothes, was widespread all over Europe and is mentioned in the Genoese inventories continuously from the thirteenth century until the second half of the seventeenth century. Six types of *Chiamellotti di Levante* are recorded in the list of commodities under the Porto Franco[11].

[11] For example, in the inventory of Guglielmo de Castro, compiled in 1240, a *Clamidem clamelloti* appears (Lopez 1936, see Appendix XVI). See also *Prezzi* 1660 and 1669.

Boccasini and *bairam*: in addition to cotton as a raw material, imported in large quantities from Turkey since the fourteenth century[12], the Genoese also purchased an expensive kind of light cotton or linen cloth, the *boccasini*[13]. As evidenced by the notary deeds, they were used to make garments, such as overcoats (*upa boccasini*)[14] or, more frequently, households items, such as covers and bedcloths (for example the *copriperticha*)[15]. Sometimes they were plain coloured (*boccasinus albus*), but often they were embroidered or perhaps printed or painted (*Bochasini damaschi pictum*). We can suppose that the *boccasini* were produced in Syria and perhaps in other Eastern countries as well. They were sold in Bursa, Izmir or Chios, where the Western merchants could buy many kinds of commodities coming from the Islamic world or from China. The *bairam*, occasionally described in the inventories as a type of *boccasino* (*boccasini bairami*)[16], was presumably an Indian printed or painted cotton cloth. Ludovico di Varthema wrote that the *bairam* was produced in the Indian city of Chittagong, now in Bangladesh[17];it was exported into many Islamic countries and we can assume that this fabric is the same one which was sold in Egypt since the eleventh century. Archeological research has brought to light various fragments of this kind of cloth in Egypt, some of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum[18]. The *bairam* was also used to make garments

[12] Fleet 1999, 100; See for example the inventory of Giulio de Quiliano *bambaxarius* genovese ASGe. *Notai Antichi*, Notaio Cristoforo Revellino, 432, 1401. In his workshop many tiypes of "*cotoni turcheschi*" (Turkish cotton), "*batuti*", "*filati*" or "*tincti*", are listed valued at thousands of Genoese pounds.

[13] Gioffrè 1982, n. 3, October, 30 1453, 8.

[14] Pandiani 1915, Appendix, see XXII.

[15] Pandiani 1915, Appendix, see III, IV, XII

[16] Pandiani 1915, 299; Gay 1887, I, 107.

[17] "*…se carica in questa terra ogni anno L navilii de panni de bombace, & de seta, liquali panni sono questi, cioe, Bairam, namone: lizati, ciantar, doazar, & si nabaff: Questi tali panni vanno per tutta la Turchia, per la Soria, per la Persia, per la Arabia felice, per la Ethyopia, & per tutta la India".* [every year in this land fifty ships are loaded with bambas and silk ware, which are the following: Bairam, namone: lizati, ciantar, doazar, & si nabaff. These cloths are brought everywhere in Turkey, Syria, Iran, Arabia, Ethiopia and throughout India]. Varthema 1928, 259.

[18] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Inv. 30.112.28; 30.112.42; 30.112.44.

(*samarra de beirami con una grixella larga*[19]*; ungarescha beyrami albi*[20]) and Giovanni Antonio Menavino affirms that Turkish women wore a white robe of thin cotton named "*barami*"[21]. Turkish cotton canvases (*tele turchesche)* are frequently mentioned in the inventories with reference to fine underwear.

Silk

In addition to raw silk, coming from Anatolia, and besides the far better Iranian variety, sold in the markets of Bursa and Izmir where it was transported by caravans, a small number of precious Ottoman silk fabrics continued to be exported into Liguria; among them the most luxurious were the velvets (*çatma*) and the lampas (*kemha*). Except for a few mentioned in the documents of *Archivio Segreto*, these cloths didn't leave any known trace in the Genoese inventories or in other notary deeds, but they are attested to by some items still preserved in Liguria or coming from Genoese collections. The *cope* kept in the sacristy of San Michele di Pagana church, near Rapallo (fig. 4.1), is made of two different types of Turkish lampas: one was produced in the sixteenth century (the hood and the orphrey of the cope are made of this fabric), the other in the following century[22]. We can admire another beautiful Ottoman lampas in the Santuario of Nostra Signora di Misericordia di Savona, to which a chasabule was donated in 1652[23], made of precious lampas produced in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Because of the dispersion of many Genoese private collections during the nineteenth century, a few items that are now in other locations can be added to this list; among them, a group of velvet panels brocaded with metal threads, used as domestic furniture. Two of them belong to private collections[24], another

[19] ASGe. Senarega (Senato), 12, *Diversorum Communis Januae*, doc. n. 507, Inventory of Agostino Bordone's wife, 1585.

[20] ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212, Inventory of Giovanni Michele Lomellino, 1540.VIII.4.

[21] "…*una veste bianca di tela sottile che si chiama barami et con quella vanno per la città*…". ["…a white thin cloth named barami they wore to go around the city"]. Menavino 1548, 85.

[22] See Avena 2007, 63-65; Avena in Pessa (ed.) 2014, cat. 6.

[23] See Cataldi Gallo 2000; Cataldi Gallo in Pessa (ed.) 2014, cat. 7.

[24] Cataldi Gallo in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 28-29.

Fig. 4.1 *Cope*, Turkey (Bursa?), mid-to late sixteenth century (orphrey and hood), mid-to late seventeenth century (cope), silk lampas, Chiavari, Museo Diocesano.

one is owned by the Santuario della Madonnetta in Genoa[25]; the last one is a very large panel, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which came from the Doria collection[26]. In addition to these, we can mention the later vestments kept in the sacristy of the Genoese Carmine Church, made of embroidered satin[27]. But the spread of Ottoman silks in early modern Liguria is also attested by two other important elements: their influence over the decorative patterns of Genoese fabrics and the various faithful and accurate depictions of Turkish cloths in the Genoese

[25] Inv. N. 62498.

[26] Inv. N. 48137 see Atasoy and Luluç 2012, 69.

[27] Avena 2007, 60-65; Avena in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 79-80.

paintings of the seventeenth century. The first question can be addressed with reference to the whole European silk fabric production and has been thoroughly studied[28]. Suffice here to point out that the Ottoman influence is particularly evident in the so-called "*velluti giardino*", a well-known type of Genoese polychrome ciseled velvets, characterized by a large design made up of a central palmette, from which curled leaves (similar to *saz* leaves) and inflorescenses originate. This pattern clearly derives from Ottoman models, applied to textiles and to pottery as well[29]. Regarding the depiction of fabrics in paintings, many examples can be mentioned: one of the most important is the *Banquet of Ahasuerus* by Domenico Fiasella (fig. 4.2), one of the frescoes painted on the vaults of Giacomo Lomellini's palace in Genoa between 1617 and the beginning of the 1620s[30]. In this scene, as in other episodes of the cycle, completed later by Giovanni Carlone, Fiasella represented many richly dressed "Turkish" people (representing the biblical Persian king and his retinue). His sources are graphic models, such as the illustrations of the successful travel book written by Nicolas de Nicolay *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations Orientales*, published in 1568, of which an Italian version was printed in Venice in 1580[31]; but he depicted the Ottoman cloths so realistically and in such detail, that we are led to suppose he had a first-hand knowledge of these fabrics.

Garments

As attested by documents and by the afore-mentioned paintings, Ottoman fashion was well-known to the Genoese. The emissaries of the Republic of Genoa to the Sultan's court in Istanbul often wore Turkish clothing and sometimes they chose to be portrayed in Ottoman costume, as Giovanni Agostino Durazzo did after his successful diplomatic mission in 1667[32]. The unsuccessful mission undertaken in 1558 by Francesco and Giovanni De Franchi

[28] See, for example, Atasoy and Denny 2001; Atasoy and Luluç 2012, 113-125; Cataldi Gallo in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 24-26.

[29] Cataldi Gallo 2000, 247-248; Cataldi Gallo in Pessa (ed.) 2014, cat. 20.

[30] See Donati 1990, 21-23; Donati 1995, 47-99.

[31] See De Nicolay 1580.

[32] For this portrait, painted by Franz Luychx von Leuxenstem, see Leoncini 2008, 22-24.

Fig. 4.2 Domenico Fiasella, *The Banquet of Ahasuerus*, detail, c. 1620, Genoa, Palazzo Lomellini-Patrone.

and Nicolò Grillo produced a list of incurred expenses, which includes Turkish-style garments: "…*per lo costo di uno caftano panno di Po, doi dolamani di razo fatti a Venetia, due para di calsoni di clarisea, stivali, capello alla scoca, guanti […] L. 44.27.6*"[33]. Other male garments are listed in the same inventory as well, such as trousers or shirts[34], together with several accessories: belts[35] and many embroidered leather or silk bags[36].

Household objects

Most Ottoman items were used in Genoese residences as precious domestic furniture. In this regard, the inventory of Andrea Doria is of special interest because it lists a huge variety of objects. Textiles have the most important role: wall hangings, floor or bed covers and tablecloths, made of brocaded velvet, lampas, damask or embroidered satin, together with several types of towels and bed linen made of embroidered silk, cotton or linen were very common in the aristocratic palaces of Genoa. Andrea Doria owned thirty-eight floor covers [*tapeti di seta turcheschi* (Turkish silk rugs)] and various bed covers [*coperte turchesche* (Turkish covers): *in mezo di burcato* (brocaded in the inside), *grande rossa* (large, red), *di razo gialdo con friso di velluto cremesino intorno* (made of yellow satin with a crimson velvet border around), *di tafetale rosso e in mezzo di razo gialdo* (made of red taffeta and of yellow satin in the inside)], tablecloths ["*toagiole turchesche tessute*

[33] "For the price of a caftan made of Po cloth, two satin overcoats made in Venice, two pairs of clarisea trousers, boots, *scocca* hat, gloves L. 44.27.6". ASGe. *Archivio Segreto*, 2169, 1558.X.24.

[34] "*Calsoni di drapo turchesco, camixia telle turchesche*". [trousers made of Turkish cloth, shirt made of Turkish cotton]. ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212, Inventory of Giovanni Michele Lomellino, 1540.VIII.4.; Inventory of Antonio Usodimare Castiglione, 1557.

[35] "*Cinta rigata alla turchesca*". [Turkish striped belt]. ASGe. *Notai Antichi*, Notaio Domenico Ponte, 9627, Inventory of Francesco Maria Viganego, 1695.II.13.

[36] "*Crumenae coiri turcheschi laborate seta*" [Turkish leather bags silk embroidered]. ASGe. *Notai Antichi*, Notaio Giovanni Andrea Monaco, 2799, Inventory of Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, 1568.X.10 or "*borsa di seta alla turchesca recamata*" [silk embroidered Turkish bag]. ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212; Inventory of Antonio Usodimare Castiglione, 1557.

d'oro et di seta di vari colori" (little Turkish tablecloths, made of gold and multicoloured silk)], embroidered pillowcases ["*sogne turchesche recamate d'oro e di seta bianca*" (Turkish golden and white silk embroidered pillowcases)] and fifty pieces of cotton or linen [*Cinquanta pezze di tele turchesche e moresche* (Fifty Turkish and Moorish cloths)]. The inventory includes many other Oriental fabrics coming probably from Egypt or Syria and characterized by the adjectives *moresco*, *di levante*, *a la damaschina* (such as ninety-two *toagiole moresche*)[37]. We can often find items named *macramatum* or *macramallum turchiae*[38]or *macramee*[39] in the *Gabella dei Carati* and in some sixteenth century inventories. Later the term will refer to a linen towel with a long knotted fringe, which is still produced in Liguria, but in the afore-mentioned documents *macramatum* refers to Turkish *makrama* or *yaglik*, the large embroidered towel used for different purposes. As shown by the *Gabella dei Carati* lists, they were exported on a large scale in Genoa, where some of them are still preserved (fig. 4.3). The *meisaro* was another type of luxury fabric, frequently mentioned in the inventories from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. The term, from the arabic "mizar = veil", means a large piece of textile employed as tablecloth or bed cover. The *meisari turcheschi* or *Tovaglia turchesca o sia mezaro di più colori* (Turkish tablecloth that is a multicoloured *mezaro)* listed in some seventeenth century documents [40] refer probably to light cotton or linen embroidered panels, replaced in the following century by printed or painted and embroidered cottons coming from India.

Among household objects, some precious Ottoman tableware can be found as well in the inventories: bottles[41] and leather plates (*tondi di corame alla turchesca dove mangiano li Turchi*[42], *taglieri turcheschi*)[43].

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[37] Inventory of Andrea Doria, 1561 published in Boccardo 1989, 169.

[38] ASGe. *San Giorgio*, Carati, 18401623, 1536; ASGe. *San Giorgio*, Carati, 182006042, 1534.

[39] ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212; Inventory of Antonio Usodimare Castiglione, 1557.

[40] Archivio Notarile di Chiavari (A.N.C.), 1650, VI.6, Inventory and auction of Giacomo Repetto's possessions; Leonardi 2008, VI.

[41] "*Fiaschi di mastici coperti di velluto fatti alla turchesca*" [Turkish wicker mastic bottles covered with velvet], Inventory of Andrea Doria, 1561, in Boccardo 1989, 167.

[42] *Ibidem*.

[43] Turkish plates. ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212; Inventory of Antonio Usodimare Castiglione, 1557.

Fig. 4.3 Towel (*Makrama* or *Yaglik*), Turkey, nineteenth century, linen embroidered with silk and metal threads, Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova.

Carpets

Many carpets are mentioned in Genoese documents since the thirteenth century[44]. The Genoese were very active in the trade of Turkish carpets, which they imported not only into Liguria, but also into other countries, such as England[45]. In 1494, at London, Antonio Gallo, a merchant and notary acting for Antoniotto Calvi and Stefano Lomellini, was to pay the price of forty-four pieces of English cloths in Turkish carpets[46]. Several carpets are listed in the inventories of members of the ruling class up to the seventeenth century, unfortunately usually without descriptions. The rethorician Paolo Partenopeo, in the *Annali,* gives us an idea of the profusion of Oriental car-

[44] See Pessa 2016, 90.

[45] See Fleet 1999, 97; Atasoy and Luluç 2012, 205-206; Spallanzani 2016, 51-52; 60-62.

[46] He was to sell twenty-five Turkish carpets. See Pandiani 1915, 291.

pets in Genoese Renaissance palaces: "*Ivi non tappezzerie, ma prati fiorenti, non arazzi, ma pampini lussureggianti, non tappeti, ma rosai di Pesto…*"[47]. Andrea Doria owned sixty-eight carpets (*tappeti de lana*), most likely coming from Turkey[48], and his contemporaries also had a marked preference for this luxury furniture[49]. The Genoese cathedral in 1386 had fourteenth carpets, but we don't know from where they came[50]. In a later inventory of the cathedral, drawn up in 1539, six carpets are listed ("*Tapetum magnum pro altare sancti Laurentii; Item tapeta quinque parva pro usu ecclesie*")[51]; they are included in the 1626 and 1647 inventories as well, where they are described in more detail ("*Una tappea di lana e seta di più colori per lo più rossa per bardella dell'altar maggiore longa palmi 21 in circa tale e quale; altra simile fatta a quadretti a fronde per l'istesso altare tale e quale; altra simile ma più vecchia ancora con alcuni gigli per dentro; altra tapea nuova per l'altar maggiore di panno rosso con suo finocchietto*")[52]. During the sixteenth century Genoese merchants kept purchasing Turkish carpets to sell, but sometimes noble families bought them directly. In the *Registro degli Estimi*, a cartulary where the customs official registered the evaluations of commodities, on September 2, 1585 a carpet coming from Constantinople for Stefano Lomellino was listed[53]. In a

[47] "Here not courtains but blooming meadows, not tapestries but lush vine leaves, not carpets but Pesto rose gardens [can be found]". Partenopeo 1847.

[48] Inventory of Andrea Doria, 1561 in Boccardo 1989, 168. The inventory also includes some carpets called "di Levante", probably they were Egyptian or Syrian ones.

[49] See for example in ASGe. *Notai Antichi*, Notaio Giovanni Andrea Monaco, 2799, Inventory of Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, 1568.X.10: "*Item tapeta quinque orientis lane diversorum colorum et generis fabrice; Alia quattuor alba et nigra; Item aliud tapetum novum pro mensa de palmis viginti, Item alia duo magna pro mensa; Et aliud uno pro ponendo in terra; Item aliud tapetum magnum pro terra…*". See also the inventories of the Costa family published in Leonardi 2008, Appendix, 2, 3.

[50] Archivio Capitolare Genova (AC.). *MCCLXXXVI Inventarium Sacristie*. Rubrica de tapetis.

[51] AC. Inventario n. 4, 13 June 1539.

[52] AC. Inventario n. 8, 1626; Inventario n. 9, 1647. "A wool and silk carpet of various colours, but mostly red, used for the high-altar, around 21 palms long, another one similar chequered and decorated with a pattern of leaves, another one similar but more ancient decorated inside with a pattern of liliums, another one new for the high-altar made of red cloth, with its border".

[53] ASGe. *San Giorgio*, *Estimo delle merci*, 1585, 184019625, c. 99.

letter dated 22 September 1565, Batista Ferraro, a Genoese informer in Constantinople, alluded to the shipping of two large table-carpets ("Palmi 16" = 3,96 meters), which cost 700 aspers. The luxury items were sent to Ancona, where an emissary of the Genoese buyer would collect them[54]. In addition to Turkish carpets, the Genoese also owned carpets coming from Egypt or Syria, named *tappeti di levante* in the records, and Iranian carpets as well. In the inventory of Giovanni Battista Spinola, dated 1637, four Persian carpets are listed[55]. Bursa and Izmir were the major trading hubs of Iranian ware, imported by Armenian merchants and sold in these important Ottoman commercial marketplaces.

As attested by documents, small carpets were used to cover chests or cabinets *(tappeto da buffetto* o *da cassa*), the larger ones to drape tables. Only very rarely were the carpets put on the floor. Beside archival documents, sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century paintings are a valuable source for the study of Turkish carpets in Genoa. The well-known *Portrait of Cardinal Bendinello Sauli, his Secretary and two Geographers* by Sebastiano del Piombo[56], dated 1516, is one of the most important testimonies. We can identify the carpet on the table: it is a "Lotto" one, with a pseudo-cufic border, very popular in Europe up to the eighteenth century. Bendinello Sauli, elevated to the rank of cardinal in 1511, wasn't the only Genoese who owned carpets like this. In the following century Domenico Fiasella (1589-1669) and Giovanni Battista Carlone (1603-1683/84) often depicted the same type of Anatolian carpet in their paintings; an instance is *Tobias curing his father's blindness*[57] (fig. 4.4), by Carlone. Different kinds of rugs are depicted also by Van Dyck in many Genoese portraits, as the *Portrait of a Genoese noblewoman and his son* or the *Portrait of a Genoese noblewoman* (known as "Marchesa Balbi")[58], but they could also have come from Iranian workshops.

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[54] ASGe. *Archivio Segreto*, 2169.

[55] Centro di studi e documentazione di Storia economica "Archivio Doria", DIEC, Università degli Studi di Genova. n. 395 (42). *Inventario dell'eredità del q. sr. Gio. Batta Spinola.*

[56] Washington National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection. Inv. 1961.9.37.

[57] Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova. Inv. G.P.B.1969. See Priarone in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 81-82.

[58] Washington National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection. Inv. 1942.9.91(the former); Washington National Gallery of Art, Mellon Collection. Inv. 1937.1.49 (the latter).

Fig. 4.4 Giovanni Battista Carlone, *Tobias curing his father's blindness*, seventeenth century, Genoa, Musei di Strada Nuova.

Arms

The taste for Ottoman weapons was shared by many in Genoa, as documents show. Even a painter, Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554-1627), owned precious arms, which were listed in his post-mortem inventory, which lists a "*simitarra turchesca*" (Turkish scimitar) and a "*coltello alla turchesca damaschino con manico trasparente e fodro di velluto rosso guarnito avorio*" (Turkish Damask knife with transparent handle and red velvet sheath decorated with ivory)[59]. Several arms are mentioned in other documents ["*arco torchesco con le sue frechie e lo carcasciero*"[60] (Turkish bow with arrows and quiver); "*faretra turchesca*" (Turkish quiver)[61]]. Collected as

[59] ASGe. *Notai antichi*, Notaio Bartolomeo Borsotto, 6161, 1627.III.15, inventory of Giovanni Battista Paggi.

[60] ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212; Inventory of Antonio Usodimare Castiglione, 1557.

[61] ASGe. *Notai Giudiziari*, Notaio Giovanni Solari, 212, Inventory of Giovanni Michele Lomellino, 1540.VIII.4.

precious items, these weapons were often depicted in a realistic way in paintings of biblical subjects, such as the afore-mentioned *Convito di Assuero* by Domenico Fiasella. The arms are among the few Turkish items still existing in some Genoese collection during the ninteenth century, as is shown by the catalogue of the *Mostra d'Arte Antica* in 1892[62].

Ceramics

The dissemination of Ottoman pottery in Liguria has left fewer traces in the extant documentation, but it is demonstrated by archaeological findings, by customs documents and last but not least, by the role of Turkish ceramic in the development of Ligurian majolica. In the *Carati* tax registers, where all the data concerning the commodities arriving at the Genoese port were recorded, pottery (*vassellaminum*) coming from Chios or other Eastern centres is often listed[63]; it can be inferred that these mentions probably indicate Iznik or Kütahya ceramics, even if Ottoman ware is never specifically cited as such in the inventories. In any case, probably at the time the Genoese did not recognize the kind of fritware, similar to Chinese porcelain, which was described as "*terra di Salonich simile a la porcellana*" (Thessaloniki earthware similar to porcelain) in the Medici inventories[64]. This misunderstanding would continue until the nineteenth century, so that Turkish ceramics were wrongly ascribed to Rodi or Damascus or to Iranian workshops[65]. In 1892, the few Ottoman items still preserved in Genoa, property of Franco Spinola and Giovanni Battista Villa, were labelled "*persiani*" (Persian) in the Catalogue of Ancient Art Exhibition[66] and some years later, in several auction catalogues, other Turkish vessels were

[62] Poggi, Cervetto and Villa 1892, 65.

[63] See for example ASGe. *San Giorgio,* Carati, 18401623, 1536, c. 86*r*.

[64] Spallanzani 1994, 46-47.

[65] The origin of this misconception is the purchase in 1860 of the Salzmann collection of Turkish pottery by the Cluny Museum. Auguste Salzmann had bought the ceramics at Rodi. See Jacotin and Hitze 2005, 20-25.

[66] Poggi, Cervetto and Villa 1892, nn. 136, 137, 164, 372, 374, 378. Among them, a dish (inv. G.P.B. 430) now in the Ceramic Collections of Musei di Strada Nuova, Genoa.

attributed to Rodi[67]. In recent years, archaeology has played a crucial role in the reconsutruction of the presence of Ottoman pottery in Liguria. Many Ottoman materials from Genoese excavations revealed that various kinds of Iznik and Kütahya pottery were imported into Liguria since the sixteenth century; among them the ones decorated with *tuğrakeş* (former "Golden Horn" type), the so-called *Baba Nakkaş* ware (fig. 5) and the later polychrome ware[68]. This evidence suggests that ceramics were an important item in trade between Turkey and Genoa and probably Ragusa (Dubrovnik, Croatia) was a key-point of this commerce, as the finds of the Sveti Pavao shipwreck confirm[69].

Perhaps the connection between Ligurian majolica and Ottoman pottery is even more significant: Turkish ware had an essential role in the development of Ligurian ceramics, immigrant forms originating from the Ottoman world appear to have become naturalized within local traditions. The "orientalizing" production of Ligurian potters was intended for a clientele who maintained close relations overseas and could appreciate the Oriental patterns and styles. In the sixteenth century, Ligurian majolica with a spiral decoration, inspired by *tuğrakeş,* is one of the first examples of the strength of this relationship[70]. This family of blue-and-white wares was even exported to England, as is attested to by the archeological findings in Acton Court[71]. In the same period, another type of Turkish ceramic, *Baba Nakkaş* ware, had a deep impact on both Genoese and Venetian pottery, characterized by the "*rabesche*" and by other Orientalizing decorations[72]. This Genoese-Ottoman connection is also attested by the terms commonly used in Ligurian sources to indicate local majolica: "*ad modum Bursie*" o "*Bursie turchine*"[73], from Bursa, the Turkish city where foreign

[67] See for example the catalogue of Hummel auction (*Vente* 1908, 211) where some Ottoman dishes are listed: "*due piatti…fondo bianco foglie blu verdi fiori rossi Rodi*".

[68] Gardini in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 18-23, 80.

[69] See Beltrame, Gelichi and Miholjek (eds.) 2014.

[70] See Farris and Ferrarese, 1969, 11-45; Lavagna 1992, 135-137; Fontana 1993, 481-483; Atasoy and Raby 1994, 264-268; Carswell 1998, 102-103; Cameirana 2004, 25-27; Lavagna 2011, 31-35.

[71] Vince and Bell 1992, 101-112; Hurst 1991, 214, fig. 11a; Thornton and Wilson 2009, II, 566-568.

[72] Fontana 2006, 287; Pessa 2011, 106.

[73] Rossetti 1992, 150; Cameirana 2001, 17.

Fig. 4.5 *Dish sherd*, Turkey (Iznik), c. 1510-1520, Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino. Excavated in 1978 at Genoa, Commenda S. Giovanni di Prè.

merchants could purchase Iznik pottery and also Chinese porcelain and Iranian ceramics, transported there by Armenians. It is clear that Ottoman pottery had a mediating role between Chinese porcelain (by which it was deeply influenced) and Western art. In the case of Genoese majolica, some Yuan and Ming patterns were introduced into Liguria through Turkish vessels. The connection remained strong in the seventeenth century as well, when in Savona and Albisola the potters ingeniously transposed into their products many motifs taken from imported Turkish ceramics of the second half of the sixteenth century, including large polychrome bunches of flowers, running or fighting animals and the depiction of individual flowers, such as small carnations and tulips on the edge of dishes, as well as big peonies with bundles of leaves[74].

[74] Pessa in Pessa (ed.) 2014, 30-35.

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5. Visual and Textual Sources for the Image of the Turk in the West between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Customs and Costumes

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Following the Turkish conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II (1432-1481), the need of the West to work out a new balance consequential to its changed political and trade relations with the East (including the re-establishment and maintainance of political and diplomatic conditions that favoured the trade activity of the republics of Venice and Genoa)[1], was joined by a strong interest in the Ottoman Empire and its people, that gradually – though in a context permeated by a discourse of hate and fear – led to a series of exchanges, investigations, opportunities for contact and comparison; the latter in turn translated into a fascinating body of literary, journal and artistic production, begun in the context of Italian Renaissance and humanist culture[2].

The conquest engendered conflicting behaviour. While, on the one hand, an overall feeling of terror nourished lively propaganda aimed to demonise the Turk[3], there was also, on the other hand, growing curiosity about this

The author thanks Sarah Elizabeth Cree for the translation.

[1] The events of 1453 revealed the power of the Ottoman Empire on both land and sea. In the interest of protecting its own intense trade activity with the eastern Mediterranean, Venice immediately began negotiations with Mehmed II, moving so quickly that, not long after the conquest of Constantinople, precisely April 18, 1454, the ambassador Bartolomeo Marcello had already signed an agreement of mutual recognition. And nor did the conquest fully disrupt the trade network of the Republic of Genoa, which included the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and the coasts of the Black Sea, in spite of the progressive loss of its colonies (Pera and Caffa among them), thanks in part to particularly advantageous conditions granted by the Sultan. Pessa 2014, 8-17, cat. 8; Olgiati 2014, 54-55; Basso 2007, 315-324.

[2] Rogers and Ward 1998, 1-16; Braudel 2003; Wilson 2005; Formica 2012, 21-46, with previous bibliography; Brummet 2015; Born *et al.* 2015.

[3] Cardini 2007, 204-206. This was the climate in which the German cardinal and humanist (but also theologian, philosopher, jurist, mathematician and astronomer) Niccolò Cusano

practically unknown population. Indeed, while the image of the Moor, Saracen, Tartar and Mameluke was more or less familiar in the Western popular imagination, that of the Turk was still quite vague and without clearly defined characteristics.

This curiosity, which was initially – but only partially – satisfied by the publication of scores of reports and travel descriptions penned by people who had visited Ottoman territories, was fully satiated, by the middle of the sixteenth century, by volumes endowed with illustrations that even depicted the traditions and customs of the population[4]: graphic apparatuses spread throughout the entire West that, over the next two hundred years, increased the knowledge and stimulated the imagination of artists who had never set foot in Ottoman territory.

Curiosity about the habits and customs of the enemy was thus gradually growing alongside the feeling of fear provoked by the threat of Turkish conquest. Indeed, while, in 1479, the Treaty of Constantinople had ended the war begun in 1463 between the Republic of Venice and Sultan Mehmed II over domination of the Eastern Mediterranean[5], immediately after, the Venetian Republic sent its official painter, Gentile Bellini (1429-1507), across the Bosporus as "cultural" ambassador for the Dogeate.

(1401-1464) began working on a translation of the Koran, the *De Cribratione Alchorani*. Cardini 2007, 220; Carnevale 2009, 30-70; Scotto 2009, 225-281.

[4] An example is the volume *Le Voyage d'Outre-Mer* by Bertrandon de la Broquière (c. 1400-1459): "*premier écuyer tranchantmet conseiller*" to the duke of Burgundy, Phillip the Good, he left Ghent in 1432 on a long journey to the East that would take him from Venice to the Holy Land, Jerusalem, Damask and Constantinople, which he left in January 1433 to return home. Published many years after his return, on the basis of the notes he had taken during his pilgrimage, the edition of the volume given to Duke Philip in 1457 and now preserved in the Bibliothèque national de France, was illustrated with six miniatures by Jean Le Tavernier, one of which depicts *The Siege of Constantinople* (BnF. Ms. fr. 9087, f. 207), Beltrán 2018, 25-74; Bárány 2016, 265-287.

[5] According to the terms of the Treaty of Constantinople, signed 25 January 1479 with the Ottoman Empire, the Venetian Republic was allowed to keep its possessions in Dulcigno (Ulcinj), Antivari (Bar) and Durazzo (Durrës), but had to cede Scutari (Shkodër) and a few territories on the Dalmatian Coast. Moreover, the Serenissima, having given up control of the Greek islands of Negroponte and Lemnos, agreed to pay the Sultan an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats in order to engage in trade activity on the Black Sea.

Once in Constantinople, the artist depicted the sultan in the half-length portrait now in the National Gallery of London[6], an extraordinary testimony of relations between East and West that played a critical role in defining the image of Turkish customs and traditions in Venice, also aided by direct graphic evidence that further aroused Western interest in this culture and was faithfully reproduced in some of the artist's other works[7]. Bellini was not, however, the first artist to go to Constantinople in this role. Just a few years earlier, between 1475 and 1478, Ferdinand I of Naples had sent the painter and medallist Costanzo da Ferrara (1450 – after 1524) to Mehmed II, who had asked specifically for a Neapolitan painter to produce his portrait, which was then used for a bronze medal cast by Costanzo himself, who remained at the sultan's court until his death[8].

Curiosity about the Turk increased when Mehmed II died in 1481 and his two sons, Djem and Bajazet, fought for the throne, slowing the Ottoman advance in the West. After the victory of the first-born, who as sultan took the name Bajazet II, Djem was imprisoned in Europe in 1489 and resided for many years at the papal court of Innocent VIII, later dying in Naples under mysterious circumstances. The Turk – who had already been observed with interest by Andrea Mantegna (who described him in a letter to Francesco II Gonzaga in Mantua, written from Rome in 1490, while he was working on the chapel of the Casino del Belvedere)[9] – was portrayed by

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[6] He was in Constantinople between 1479 and 1480 on diplomatic mission at the court of Mehmet II. The portrait of Sultan Mehmet II, painted during that period, is in the National Gallery of London and bears two inscriptions. The one at lower right gives the date November 25, 1480, and the one at lower left the names Mehmet and Gentile Bellini. Unfortunately, the panel, an extraordinary document of relations between East and West, was almost entirely repainted and heavily altered over the centuries, and so the attribution to Bellini is extremely uncertain. The work may be a copy or a very damaged original.

[7] On Venetian portraiture in the East and the role played by Gentile Bellini in defining the image of the Turk in Venetian art, see in particular: Lucchetta 1990, 113-122; Rodini 2016, 21-40; Kaplan 2016, 41-66.

[8] Multiple versions of the medal survive, including one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Norris 1984. See also Orbay (ed.) 2000; Born *et al.* 2015.

[9] "The Turk's brother is here, strictly guarded in the palace of his Holiness […] He often comes to eat in this new palace where I am painting and, for a barbarian, his manners are not amiss. There is a sort of majestic bearing about him, and he never doffs his cap to the Pope, having in fact none; for which reason they don't raise the cowl to him either […] he sleeps without

Pinturicchio, who depicted him mostly as a Renaissance prince, but with a long moustache and a turban, in the lunette of the *Disputa of St Catherine of Alexandria* on the vault of the "Sala dei Santi" in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican Palace[10]. This work captured the imagination of his contemporaries who, also influenced by memory and news connected to diplomatic and trade activity in the occupied territories, began to open up to what soon after emerged as the aesthetic of Orientalism.

An openness that at the same time triggered the development of a scholarly field, seeing generalist historical works, filled with information about Islam based on old Byzantine and Medieval repertoires[11], increasingly joined by works of more 'modern' conception, focused on deepening knowledge of the customs and life of the Turks and, more generally, "*cose turchesche*", which in turn became a field of publishing – accompanied by the graphic and descriptive arts – that began to flourish in the middle of the sixteenth century[12].

While the confines of the Ottoman domain and its territorial and habitative features became the subjects of great geographical and historical works, from Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* of 1572 – with a plate, *Byzantium nunc Costantinopolis*, illustrating the territory, the cities, architecture and the sovereigns (fig. 5.1)[13] – to the *Teatrum Orbis Terrarum*, an immense atlas edited by Willem and Joan Bleau and published in Amsterdam in 1645 (fig. 5.2)[14], curiosity about the places where the Ottomans lived and their customs was also sated by the descriptions and reports offered by the countless diplomats and merchants who operated in those lands. The customs, habits and

undressing, and gives audience sitting cross-legged, in the Parthian fashion. He carries on his head sixty thousand yards of linen, and wears so long a pair of trousers that he is lost in them, and astonishes all beholders". La Malfa 2017, 63-80, in particular 76-78.

[10] Formica 2012, 22-23.

[11] Examples include Werner Rolenwick's *Fasciculus temporum, vel Chronica ab initio mundi*, published in numerous editions and translations between 1474 and 1726, and Polidoro Vergilio's vast encyclopaedic work *De inventoribus rerum*, published in Paris in 1499 but also translated into numerous languages and printed in various editions until 1576, when Gregory XIII added it to the Index.

[12] Williams 2014.

[13] Braun and Hogenberg 1572-1615.

[14] Blaeu 1645.

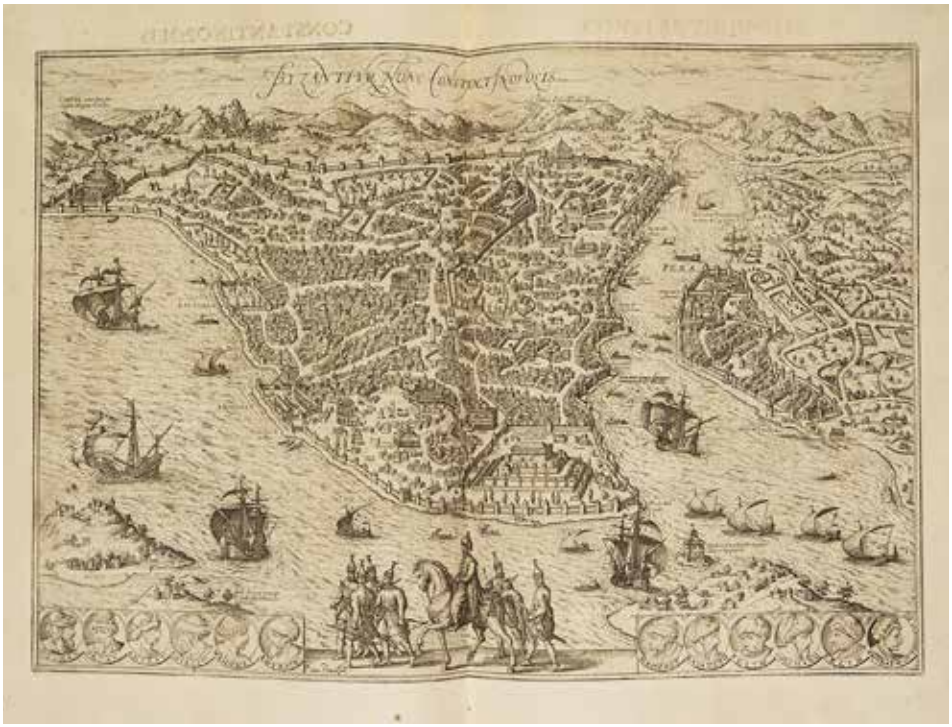

Fig. 5.1 *Bizantium nunc Costantinopolis*, in Georg Braun, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Cologne 1572-1615.

religion of the Turks were also carefully observed and studied, described and reproduced by artists and writers who, starting in the middle of the fifteenth century, had come into direct contact with the "life" of Constantinople.

While, on the one hand, the situation of commercial and cultural exchange between Europe and the eastern Mediterranean was becoming increasingly complicated[15], on the other hand, merchants and, especially, diplomats, who were in a position to enter into direct contact with the inhabitants themselves, were gradually collecting sketches and testimony that were then spread throughout Europe in literature on the theme "*dei costumi e delle abitudini dei popoli del mondo*" that had begun to enjoy such success right in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the context of a rich and varied production[16], a significant example was that

[15] Pessa 2014, 11.

[16] Wilson 2005; Wilson 2006; Wilson 2007; Formica 2012, 23. About the presence of european artists in Constantinople during the Reinassance period see Bøgh Rasmussen 2015, 57-62.

Fig. 5.2 Frontispiece of Joan Bleau, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Amsterdam 1645.

of Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), a German cartographer and cosmographer whose description of the world in his *Cosmographia universalis* – first published in Cologne in 1544 and, in Italian, in 1558 and 1575[17] – made the volume one of the most popular and successful books of the sixteenth century, published in twenty-four editions in 100 years. In this work, alongside cartographic representations of "*I siti di tutti i Paesi*", we find descriptions – drawn from previous texts produced by others, including merchants and diplomats – of the "*Costumi di tutte le genti, le leggi, la Religione, i fatti*", Constantinople included, "*Ora stanza del Turco*", "*Principale città di Tracia capo dell'Impero Orientale e sedia del dominio Turchesco*" and "*L'Historia delle cose Turchesche, e le imprese particolari dei loro Imperatori*"[18]. The remarkable commercial success of this work was in part due to its woodcuts – by, among others, Hans Holbein the Younger, Urs Graf, Hans Rudolph Manuel Deutsch and David Kandel – and descriptions of clothing, in its most varied forms, exploring social, regional and occupational differences and including the more "exotic" and fantastical exemplars[19].

The descriptions of customs and traditions are also especially detailed. In the section devoted to the Ottoman Empire, Münster describes – thus fuelling the countless legendary accounts – the fierce and disdainful nature of the "gente Turchesca"[20], scrupulous observers of the precepts of their religion: "*Nuotano in fiumi profundi e perigliosi, trapassano precipitosi monti* […] *non hanno cura della loro vita, solamente di ubidire*"[21]. He next describes the soldiers in the Turkish army, whose "*Habito è honesto, non usano pompe ne superfluita nelle selle o nelle briglie*"[22], then turning to description of the Turkish table, covered "*Con pelle di buoi o di cervo non conciata ma ancora pelosa, rottonda e larga quattro over cinque palmi, e con molti anelli di ferro cuciti d'intorno, siche certe correggie interpostevi, la*

[17] Münster 1575.

[18] Book IV, 1007.

[19] In order to define what is exotic in the Early Modern Period see, in particular, Schmidt 2015 with previous bibliography.

[20] "Turkish people", Book IV, 1040.

[21] "They swim in deep, dangerous rivers, they climb steep mountains […] they have no concern for their lives, only for obeying". Book IV, 1040.

[22] "Uniform is plain, they add neither pomp nor superfluity to their saddles and bridles". Book IV, 1040.

chiudono a foggia di borsa"[23], and the Mosque, where, barefoot, they walk and sit on floors covered with wool rugs[24]:

> "*Maschi e femmine usano vesti larghe e lunghe, accioché piegandosi a bisogno di natura non scuoprino le parti disoneste e non si vegga quello che fanno. Orinano con i ginocchi piegati come le donne e chi orinasse in piedi sarebbe riputato pazzo e eretico. Non bevono vino per la istituzione della loro legge dicendo quello essere il seme d'ogni peccato e immondizia. Tuttavia mangiano dell'uva e bevono molto. Non mangiano carne ne sangue di porco, ne d'animali morti da loro stessi, mangiando altramente d'ogni sorte di cibi*"[25].

He describes the mosque (the interior of which "*non hanno alcuna imagine*" and is "*coperta di tappeti e tutta bianca, con vicino un alta torre sopra la quale il sacerdote monta all'ora della preghiera*")[26]; the belief in the life to come (corresponding to "*un paradiso di delizie, un giardino con dolci e amenissime acque, che per qua e là corrono con un aria temperata dove avranno quanto saprà ciascuno desiderare, cioè ogni sorta di cibo finché saranno satolli, vesti di seta e di porpora, e giovanette bellissime e che gli angeli porteranno in vasi d'oro latte, e in vasi d'argento vino vermiglio*"[27] (fig. 5.3);

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[23] "With ox or deerskin, untanned and still hairy, round in shape and between four and five palms wide, and with lots of iron rings sewn around it, threaded with straps so that it can be closed like a bag". Book IV, 1041.

[24] Book IV, 1041.

[25] "Males and females wear voluminous, long garments so that when nature calls they do not reveal their indecent parts and no one can see what they are doing. They urinate bending their knees like women and anyone who urinates standing up is considered crazy and heretical. They do not drink wine in accordance with their law which says that it is the seed of all sin and lechery. They do, however, eat grapes and drink a great deal. They eat neither the meat or blood of pigs, nor that of animals who died a natural death, otherwise they eat all kinds of food". Book IV, 1041.

[26] "Has no images"; "Is covered with rugs and all white, with a tall tower nearby at the top of which the priest posts the hour of prayer". Book IV, 1042-1043.

[27] "Paradise of delights, a garden with sweet and pleasant waters, flowing here and there with a temperate air, where they will have everything that one can possibly desire, which is to say all kinds of food, until they have had their fill, purple silk garments, and beautiful young women, and angels bringing golden vessels filled with milk and silver vessels filled with vermilion wine". Book IV, 1043.


Quelle che credono i Tur. hi della uita futura.

TVrchi tanta autorita dannō
â Mahometo & alle ſue leg
gi, che promettono certiſsi
ma beatitudine à chi l'oſſer
uano, cio è un paradiſo di delitie, un
giardino con dolci & ameniſsime ac
que, che per qua & la corrono cō un
aria tēperato, doue haueranno quan
to ſapra ciaſcuno deſiare, cio è ogni
ſorte de uiuande, finche ſarāno ſatol-
li, ueſti di ſeta & di purpora, & giouā
nette belliſsime à lor uoglia, & che
gli angeli porterāno in uaſi d'oro lat-
te, & in uaſi d'argēto uino uermiglio
& à chi non oſſeruano, minacciano
ſempiterna morte & l'inferno. Credono ancora ciaſcuno per ſcelerato & maluaggio,
che ſia, ſe ſtādo per morire creda in Dio & in Mahometo ſia ſaluo. Alcuni loro religioſi
tengono che la legge non gioui coſa alcuna, ma la gratia di Dio, che deue ſaluar l'huo-
mo, la quale ſenza merito alcuno ò legge è baſtante à dare la ſalute. Sonoui altri come
ſucceſſori de profeti & de padri, i quali allegando le traditione de padri, affermano che
gli huomini ſi ſaluano per merito, ſenza gratia & legge, per cio attendono alle
oratione, alle uigilie, & alle meditationi. Altri affermano che ciaſcuno
ſi ſalua nella legge, datagli da Dio, per che tutte ſono buone, di
ſorte che una non ſi deue proporre all'altra. Coſi uedia-
mo, che doue non è Chriſto, la mente hu-
mana ondeggia tra diuerſe
opinioni.

Fig. 5.3 *Quello che credono i Turchi della vita futura*, in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia universalis*, Cologne 1575.

fasting and foods (specifying: "*Hanno tre tipi di bevanda: zucchero e miele stemperato nell'acqua, uve passe cotte e acqua di rosa e miele, vino ben cotto da stemperare con l'acqua*")[28]; circumcision (which "*Praticata non già l'ottavo giorno come fanno i Giudei, ma quando il fanciullo ha sette overo otto anni, quando sa parlare, acciò che possa dire alcune parole della confessione che fanno*"[29]; the ceremony was not held in the mosque but at the father's house where "*Invitano gli amici ad un sontuoso convito, e in casa dei ricchi uccidono un bue, il quale scorticano e gli cavano le interiora, dopoi gli pon-*

[28] "They have three different drinks: sugar and honey dissolved in water, stewed raisins, rose water and honey, mulled wine diluted with water". Book IV, 1044.

[29] "Is not done on the eighth day like the Jews, but when the little boy is seven or eight years old, when he can talk, so that he can say a few words of their confession". Book IV, 1044-1045.

gono nel ventre una pecora con una gallina dentro, e in quella un'ovo, così lo arostiscono… et per tre giorni menano il circonciso al bagno con gran pompa, e tornato a casa è condotto tra convitati che gli donano molte cose à quello effetto preparate, come vesti di seta, tazze d'argento denari e cavalli")[30]; burials (for which "*Lavano il morto e lo portano fuori dalla città i monaci vanno davanti al corpo con le candele in mano e seguono i sacerdoti cantando, finché si giunge al luogo della sepoltura, sopra vi mettono pane carne formaggio latte che vengono mangiate da formiche e uccelli per l'anima del morto*"[31]) and, finally, "*In qual modo sono trattati i Christiani*"[32].

The work also traces the biographies and features of the "*Re dei Turchi*" and the "*Imprese particolari dei loro Imperatori*"[33], devoting considerable attention to the theme, as had also been the case, during the exact same period, with the numerous "portraits" in the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* by the humanist Paolo Giovio[34] (c. 1483-1552) – which Münster unsurprisingly cites as one of the sources for his own work[35] – published starting in 1546 in two series devoted to the profiles of men of letters and of arms and conceived to accompany the collection of portraits put together by the same author, eschewing the traditional opposition of Christian/Infidel[36] (fig. 5.4).

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[30] "They invite their friends to a sumptuous feast, and in the homes of the wealthy they slaughter a bull, which they skin and empty out, putting a sheep in its belly, with a hen inside of [the sheep] and an egg inside of [the hen], and then they roast it […] and for three days they take the circumcised boy to the baths with great pomp and, back home, lead him among the dinner guests who give him lots of things prepared for the occasion, like silk clothing, silver cups, money and horses". Book IV, 1045.

[31] "They wash the deceased and bring him outside the city, the monks walking in front of the body, holding candles, and the priests follow, singing, until they reach the burial spot, upon which they place bread, meat, cheese and milk which are eaten by ants and birds for the soul of the deceased". Book IV, 1046.

[32] "How they treat Christians". Book IV, 1047.

[33] "Kings of the Turks"; "Special feats of their Emperors". Book IV, 1029-1027.

[34] About Paolo Giovio, author also of the *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi*, published in Rome in 1532 (Giovio 2005), see also Sodini 2007; Agosti 2008; Formica 2012, 39-40; Born *et al.* 2015, 182.

[35] The Italian edition of 1575 opens with a long *Cathalogo de gli huomini i ditto gli scritti de quali, ne son stati per aiuto in questa opera*, in which it is specifically attributed to Paolo Giovio.

[36] Giovio 1575; Pessa 2014, 89; Formica 2012, 40; Minonzio 2007, 77-146. See also Stoichita 2014.

But while the reported descriptions of the life and feats of the kings caught the interest of the humanists, of equal note is the translation into images, this time taken from life, found in the *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* by Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550)[37]. In 1533, the painter and draughtsman from Antwerp, son of a tapestry weaver, had made a long trip to Constantinople, together with the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire, with the aim of finding inspiration for a series of "fashionable" tapestries[38].

Back home, with the possibility of producing these works having fallen through due to lack of funds, Coecke fixed his memories of what he had seen in those far off lands, including observations concerning popular customs and traditions, in a series of drawings that were printed two decades later in the form of ten sequenced woodcuts depicting seven scenes separated by architectural elements from an anthropomorphic order. These elements were drawn from the original architectural studies that Coecke had used for the reprinting of a few of Sebastiano Serlio's *Sette Libri dell'Architettura*[39], books that played a critical role in the spread of Renaissance architectural orders in northern Europe. Presented in the form of an imperial procession and measuring around five-metres long, the woodcuts were, probably, marketed as a kind of wall decoration, which was less expensive than tapestries and fabric[40].

Although it is very difficult today to determine the exact number of copies that were made and how many still exist (in part due to the fragility of the paper given the large size of the prints), scholars have identified two cases that shed light on the circulation – and importance – of Coecke's series in the art sphere. The first concerns an inventory of 1678, identifying the painter Erasmus Quellinus the Younger as the owner of Van Aelst's seven

[37] Boorsch and Orenstein 1997, 50-51; Cleland *et al.* 2014; Alsteens 2014, 112-121; Orenstein 2014, 176-182. On the presence of European artists in Constantinople during the Renaissance period, see also Bøgh Rasmussen 2015, 57-62.

[38] Orenstein 2014, 176.

[39] Carpo 1998, 61-63.

[40] Coecke's prints were not published until twenty years after his trip, when his widow obtained an official permit to print on March 20, 1553: Cleland *et al.* 2014; Orenstein 2014, 176-180; Born *et al.* 2015, 163-165; Rogers and Ward 1998, 26-43.

164 ELOGIORVM

Mahometes ſecundus

TVRCARVM IMPERATOR

HOC atroci, vereque Tartarico recedentium oculorum obtutu, malignoq; pallore buxei vultus, & enormi contigentium labra, narium curuitate, Mahometes fuit, quem Turcæ, non modò cæteris Othomannis ſuperiorem, ſed exæquatis vitijs atque virtutibus, Alexandro Magno parem volunt. Nam rerum geſtarum gloria, & magnitudine animi cum progenitores, tum cunctos qui eo ſeculo maximè florerent, cogniti orbis reges, vel qui poſtea his ſexaginta annis regnarunt, prolcul dubio ſuperauit. Natus erat ex Deſpoti Seruiæ filia, quæ puerum Chriſtianis præceptis & moribus imbuerat: quorum mox oblitus adoleſcendo ita ad Mahometis ſacra ſe contulit, vt neq; hos, neq; illos ritus teneret, & in arcano

Fig. 5.4 *Mahometes secundus Turcarum Imperator* in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basil 1575.

Fig. 5.5 *A Military Camp in Slovenia from the frieze Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, publisher: Mayken Verhulst, Antwerp 1553, MET, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, cat. 28.85.1.

prints on the life and customs of the Turks[41]. The second is another inventory, undoubtedly of enormous interest, in this case revealing the presence of Coecke's complete series in the collection of Rembrandt van Rijn in 1656, the year of the artist's devastating bankruptcy[42]. It is especially meaningful that, alongside authentic eastern garments, engravings and prints by various artists depicting clothing, buildings and vignettes of life in Turkey, Rembrandt also owned the seven large prints, in all probability with the idea of working with a direct source of inspiration for his paintings, thus engendering, as a consequence, the further, and much broader, spread of graphic models inspired by Ottoman life and customs.

On the other hand, the subjects or, better, excerpts from everyday life reported in the artist's graphic chronicle – depicting, in sequence, a military camp

[41] Alsteens 2014, 112-121.

[42] The inventory was compiled by the artist himself in 1656 when he declared bankruptcy, an episode that saw drawings, paintings and engravings by great Italian and Flemish artists collected in his house in Breestrat in Amsterdam sent to auction. See Scheller 1969, 81-147; Danesi Squarzina, Baldriga and Lorizzo (eds.) 1997; Alsteens 2014, 112-121; Born *et al.* 2015, 163.

Fig. 5.6 *Festival of the New Moon from the frieze Customs and Fashions of the Turks*, after Pieter Coecke van Aelst, publisher: Mayken Verhulst, Antwerp 1553, MET, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, cat. 28.85.4.

in Slovenia, a Turkish funeral, a celebration of a Circumcision, a caravan, the festival of the new moon, a Turkish soldier resting and the procession of Sultan Süleyman (themes that had already been described in part by Münster) (figs. 5.5-5.6) – evoked such truthful images of the population, the customs and, in the background, the landscape and cities of the Ottoman Empire that it is immediately clear that they were experienced first-hand by the author: an immediacy – and direct testimony of a culture "other" than one's own – that constituted a true novelty for the public and the visual culture of the time[43].

A few years after Coecke, in 1555, Melchior Lorck (1526/27-1583), another highly versatile artist who made a decisive contribution to the circulation of images of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, also found himself in Constantinople, sent there on diplomatic mission by Ferdinand I. Indeed, while the trip had made it possible for him to publish two celebrated engravings of Suleiman the Magnificent (1494-1566), who rose to the throne in 1520, a lucky series of events led him, shortly after, to produce the largest collection of engravings of the Turkish world to date. What the artist had in mind was a book entirely devoted to Turkey, a work that the sultan himself very much wanted to see come to light. Never completed, what remains of the project are various drawings and a series of one hundred twenty-eight woodblocks

[43] Alsteens 2014, 112-121.

depicting architectural monuments and members of the Turkish army (fig. 5.7), made in different years and in all probability cut in Antwerp.

Few years after the death of the artist, all that had been edited of the grandiose planned collection illustrating Turkey ad its inhabitants, customs and traditions was a fontespiece dated 1575 whith a series of modifications assigned by critics at the year 1619[44]. However, in 1626, part of the work was printed in Hamburg by Michael Hering[45] and then reprinted in 1646 by Tobias Gundermann, again, in Hamburg (other editions in 1683-1684 and 1688): the different editions were endlessly consulted by publishers, draughtsmen and artists, including Rembrandt, who owned a copy[46].

The work thus contributed to presenting Europe with the feats and image of the emperor Suleiman the Magnificent, one of the leading figures of the sixteenth century, a politician and sovereign who fascinated the West, which persistently represented his deeds and customs: Titian painted his portrait – drawing on images at his disposition and labouring to interpret them[47] – while Paolo Giovio, describing him as pious and magnanimous, transmitted his elegance, wisdom and intelligence[48].

Indeed, it was thanks to Suleiman and his myth that the widespread European idea emerged of the justice, order and harsh and unyielding power of the Turkish Empire, read in parallel to that of its terribleness in war and cruel customs.

Another publication that had a tremendous impact on the circulation of the image of the Turk in Europe was the work by Nicolas de Nicolay (1517-

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[44] The frontespiece for the planned opera, with the title *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren in Kupffer und Holz durch. Den Kunstreichen und weitberümten Melcher Lorch für die Mahler Bildthawer und Kunstliebenden. an tag gegeben*, was realized by Lorck in 1575 and revisioned in 1619; it is now preserved by Department of Prints and Drawings, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (see Fischer 2009b, vol. 3, 8-9).

[45] On these themes and for an analysis of Lorck's complete work on the Turkish world, see the fundamental 2009 study, in four volumes, edited by Erik Fischer. In particular, see Volumes 2 (*The Turkish Publication,* 1626 Edition; Fischer 2009a), 3 (*Catalogue Raisonné. Part one: The Turkish Publication*) and 4 (*The Constantinople Prospect*; Fischer 2009c). See also Born *et al.* 2015, 166-168.

[46] Hinterding-Luijten and Royalton Kisch (eds.) 2002, 16. See also Fischer 2009b, vol. 3, 9-12

[47] The number of portraits of the Sultan executed by Titian is controversial. On this point, see in particular: Rogers and Ward 1998, 46; Born *et al.* 2015, 182-183.

[48] Giovio 1575, book VII, 372-373.

Fig. 5.7 Melchior Lorck, *Ottoman sipahi*, c. 1619-1626, MET, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, cat. 32.86.

1583), geographer to Henry II of France, who lived in Constantinople between 1551 and 1552 along with the French ambassador Gabriel de Luetz, baron of Aramon.

Published in 1568 in Lyon, the *Quatre premiers livres des navigations*, reporting Nicolay's direct observations of the Ottoman court and populations, emerged as the first, true, complete revelation of the customs and traditions of the Islamic world that had appeared in the West, thanks in part to the "*diverse singolarità in quelle parti dall'Autore viste e osservate*"[49]. Reprinted and translated for numerous different countries, including Italy[50], the Netherlands, England and Germany, the work gradually grew in popularity, continuing to influence artists' taste for the East until the nineteenth century, as we see in the works of Eugene Delacroix and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, but especially Baroque artists, including Peter Paul Rubens who devoted a few sketches in his notebooks to the study of male and female Turkish figures, now preserved in the British Museum, London[51].

Divided into four books, the work follows Nicolay's trip to Constantinople, offering the reader his observations on the ethnic groups and life at the Ottoman court along with numerous reports on the country's religious and military administration. The text – the frontispiece of which promised "*Sessanta figure al naturale d'huomini come di Donne, secondo la varietà della nationi, i loro portamenti, gesti, habiti, leggi, riti, costumi et modo di vivere, in tempo di pace et di Guerra*"[52] – was effectively illustrated with sixty engravings by Louis Danet, produced on the basis of Nicolay's original drawings and accompanied by detailed captions. The images cover all aspects of everyday Ottoman life, ranging from representations of the Sultan to one of "*sultanas*", without forgetting wrestlers, cooks, generals and janissaries. The plates are of

[49] "Various singularities that the author saw and observed in those parts". Brafman 2009, 153-160.

[50] For the first Italian editions, see De Nicolay 1580.

[51] See, for example, the sheets, from one of the artist's notebooks, portraying *Eight Turkish Women* and *Fourteen Male Figures from Turkey*, dating to around 1609-15 and now preserved at the British Museum, London, inv. n. 1841,1211.8.37 and 1841,1211.8.36. See Rowlands 1977.

[52] "Sixty figures of both men as women, portrayed *al naturale* according to the variety of their nations, their deportment, gestures, clothes, laws, religion and manner of living, in time of peace and in time of war".

Fig. 5.8 *Agà Capitano generale de' Giannizzeri* in Nicolas de Nicolay, *Le Navigationi et viaggi, fatti nella Turchia*, Venice 1580.

single figures, presented against a spare background in order to emphasise the clothing and expressions (fig. 5.8).

And in regard to clothing, it seems significant that, in those very years and in the context of widespread common interest, Cesare Vecellio (1521-1601) was publishing his volume *De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* (the first edition appeared in Venice in 1564)[53], which was a source, together with the engravings that illustrated Nicolay's work, for Jacopo Ligozzi's works of 1580[54].

After the failed conquest of Vienna in 1683, fear of the Turk gradually waned, transforming into a more relaxed interest, expressed in the fashionable *turcherie* that, together with *chinoiserie*, were used to ornament drawing rooms decorated in the new *rocaille* style, fuelled by the image of the exotic and fabulous East of the *One Thousand and One Nights* – the collection of novellas with centuries-old eastern roots that first came to France in the early eighteenth century, thanks to Galland's translation – and the establishment of the first Ottoman embassies[55].

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[53] Vecellio 1664.

[54] Conigliello 2009, 49-57.

[55] Williams 2014.

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6. From Paolo Giovio's Museum to the Palaces of Nobility: Images of the Turks in Spanish and Austrian Lombardy

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The history of the arrival of Great Turks' portraits in Western Europe is widely known[1]. It is linked to military events and to the donation of twelve portraits of the Sultans by Turkish admiral Khayr al-Dyn – known as Barbarossa – to Virginio Orsini dell'Anguillara, commander of the king of France. The Orsini paintings were copied twice, under commission by Paolo Giovio and by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Paolo Giovio, moreover, described them in the *Elogia veris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposite quae in Musaeo Ioviano Comi spectantur* (published in 1546 and 1551), together with the other princes and leaders in his Museum[2]. Still, in 1626 an inventory of the Farnese Palace in Caprarola records the presence of ten portraits of "Ottoman emperors"[3].

We can undoubtedly recognize Giovio's Museum as a founding moment for the circulation of these portraits in Spanish Lombardy. It represented a prototype for other collectors and patrons and there were many replicas from the outset. Indeed, I refer to the didactic replica of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, commissioned by Cardinal Federico Borromeo. This episode – together with the famous replicas of Florence and Ambras (Tyrol) – fully confirms the definition of the Museum as "a convincing model of a fame machine" proposed by Lanfranco Binni[4].

The series of Ottoman sovereigns included by Giovio in the *Elogia* "virorum illustrium bellica virtute" offers the opportunity to re-examine the exploitation of Giovio's Museum prototype and the significance attributed to

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[1] Le Thiec 1992. In a wide perspective, see Le Thiec 2007; Strunck 2011; Scorza 2012.

[2] Maffei 1999, 159-170. About the diffusion of Turks' portraits see Casini 2004, 151-154.

[3] The reference is recorded by Le Thiec 1992, 785.

[4] Binni 1989, 29.

these portraits in the broader context of the great longing for prestige of the ruling classes. The portraits were in fact banned by the Counter-Reformation Church; it is worthwhile, in this regard, to recall Gabriele Paleotti's aversion in his *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*[5], as well as the expulsion of those portraits from the replicas intended for the Ambrosian Library. Paleotti mentioned and criticized those Christian noblemen who owned portraits of heretics as an ornament of their palaces:

> "Nor should anyone deceive themselves by thinking to excuse their error, if they keep images of this kind in their possession, on the pretext of the artfulness of the painting or some other invented curiosity it may have. If this line of reasoning is not enough to defend pictures of pagans in the cases mentioned above, how much less will it shield pictures of heretics? Anyone who keeps heretical books in the house without license or permission from the superiors may find themselves facing ecclesiastical censure, and indeed suspected of condemned faith and heresy, even if they claim it was not to follow their errors but only for the elegance of their diction or the beauty of the printing or the illumination of the book; anyone keeping images of heretics would be equally exposed to suspicion"[6].

Actually, the portraits of heretics, and especially Turkish rulers, reappeared in the houses of noblemen and princes, as demonstrated by the case of the Doria commission in Genoa, studied by Laura Stagno[7], or the aforementioned case of Alessandro Farnese's portraits of Ottoman emperors. But, in addition, it is also possible to recall that in the same years Giovio was building his Museum, Federico Gonzaga commissioned a series of portraits of eleven emperors and one of Suleiman the Magnificent to Titian[8].

In the area of Spanish Lombardy, we can examine the so far unrecognized case of the portrait gallery, set up by Pompeo Litta, first Marquis of Gambolò, in his castle in Lomellina (a few kilometres from Vigevano) at

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[5] For the original text see Barocchi 1978, 2728-2731. See also the following note.

[6] Paleotti 2012, 211 (original edition printed in Bologna, 1585).

[7] Stagno 2017.

[8] Bodart 1998, 150-161.

Fig. 6.1 The portrait gallery in Gambolò castle.

the end of the sixteenth century and in the early years of the seventeenth century[9]. Pompeo Litta was the member of a recently ennobled family in the strong social growth of the Milanese patriciate context. The works promoted by Pompeo I and his wife Lucia Cusani included the rebuilding of the residential palace inside the castle's quadrilateral area and, above all, a huge gallery. This latter is an autonomous building consisting of a portico with Serlian windows on the ground floor and a longitudinal room with two long uncluttered sides on the first floor, which connected the palace to the so-called Belvedere tower, reaching a considerable length of over 50 meters (fig. 6.1).

The Gambolò gallery was part of a larger self-celebratory project that Litta derived from the reading of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia* "virorum illustrium bellica virtute". An inventory dated 1609, written after Pompeo I's death, attests to the presence of several portraits in the Litta residences[10].

[9] Angelini 2006, 215-223; Angelini 2012b, 143-145; Angelini 2018, 177-180.

[10] Milan, Archivio dell'Ospedale Maggiore. Archivio Litta, cart. 6, fasc. 8, doc. 21, *Instrumento d'Inventario Tutelare fatto dalla Sig.a Marchesa Lucia Cusani vedova Litta rogato Cristoforo Castelletti*, 1 aprile 1609, cc. 3*r*-3*v*.

In Milan, in the family palace in St Euphemia's parish, there were:

"*Quadri n.° 4*
Nel camerino ove si scrive diversi n.° 15
Una testa di marmo n.° 1
Una del Re di Franza n.° 1
Diversi n.° 5
Uno di tre Dee n.° 1
De Papi n.° 16
14 de' Gran Turchi n.° 14
23 de Imperatori n.° 23
2 de Tartari n.° 2
Un quadro di Troia n.° 1
Uno de huomini de Musica n.° 1
Uno dell'avo del S.r Litta n.° 1
Uno grande sopra il camino in gallaria de fratti n.° 1
Una testa di marmo n.° 1"

In Gambolò, in the castle gallery, the portraits' series is even more abundant:

"*Quadri dipinti fiamenghi e nostrani n.° quaranta otto cioè*
Doi dell'effigie di Carlo e Maria, duoi dell'effigie di Philippo Re di Spagna e sua moglie, et altri due dell'effigie di Carlo e Margarita, tutti fiamenghi
Dieciotto quadri dipinti, l'effigie de Duchi di Milanesi
Cinque altri dell'effigie de Duchi franzesi piccoli
Quattro quadri dipinti le quattro stagioni dell'anno in forma humana
Dodici quadri depinti l'effigie delli dodici Imperatori Romani"

The portraits were split in groups: popes, Roman and Austrian emperors, dukes of Milan and Burgundy and, finally, "*i Gran Turchi*", i.e. the twelve sultans of Istanbul[11]. The portraits, displayed this way, were meant to be a sort of

[11] Giovio included not only the twelve Sultans of Instabul, but also kings of Morocco, Tunis and Persia, and some corsair see Giovio 2006, 467-469 (Salah-ad-Din), 574-578 (Temur Lenk), 581-587 (Bayazid I), 588-592 (Celebino), Murad II (629-632), Mehmet II (661-664), Kaitbey (669-673), Bayazid II (727-731), Kansuweh IV el-Ghuri (745-747),

self-legitimation; indeed, the Littas had no illustrious ancestors, because they came from a family past of traders and merchants. To understand the design of the Litta family in collecting portraits according to Giovio's *exemplum*, it is useful to remember that the gallery of the ancestors was meant to be a manifestation of family power and its prestige increased over several generations. For example, it is possible to recall what some families belonging to Milanese nobility did throughout the seventeenth century, such as the Visconti of Saliceto in Rho or the Visconti di Brignano, exalting the deeds of their ancestors or reaffirming proofs of noble lineage with the first ducal dynasty of Milan, the Visconti, once again on the base of a book by Giovio, the *Vite dei dodici Visconti*, written according to Suetonius's model. A literary depiction we can find in an impressive passage in Alessandro Manzoni's novel *The Betrothed*, where the author talked about the gallery of ancestors in Don Rodrigo's "palazzotto", describing the behavior of the landlord walking back and forth and contemplating the portraits:

> "Don Rodrigo, as we have said, paced backwards and forwards with long strides in this spacious apartment, surrounded on all sides by the family portraits of many generations. When he reached the wall and turned round, his eyes rested upon the figure of one of warlike ancestors, the terror of his enemies, and of his own soldiers; […] Don Rodrigo gazed upon it, and when he arrived beneath it, and turned back, beheld before him another of his forefathers, a magistrate, and the terror of litigants, […] he held in his hand a memorial, and seemed to be saying. We shall see"[12].

Furthermore, the operation of the Litta family appears to be exceptional also thanks to the presence of the Great Turks, replicated in Cristofano dell'Altissimo's paintings for the Medicis, but, as already mentioned, excluded from the replica of Giovio's portraits commissioned by Cardinal Federico Borromeo for the Ambrosian Library[13]. According to the Litta family's plans, the portraits of

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Tuman-bey I (748-750), Selim I Yawuz (774-776), Isma'il Safawi (786-788), Khair-ad-Din (917-921), Abd el-Aziz Mulay (941-945), Suleiman II (960-961), Tahmasp Sahawi I (964-966), Mulay Ahmed (970-976).

[12] Manzoni 1845, 112.

[13] Jones 1993, 185-199; Terzaghi 2002.

"*viri illustri*" completed a "quixotic" attempt of creating an epic and chivalrous past, as the 1609 inventory of Marquis Pompeo's property and assets showed[14]. From reading this document it turns out that in the bedchamber of Marquise Lucia in the Gambolò castle fourteen volumes were kept inside a wooden wardrobe[15]. These books are of great interest to determine the sources from which the initiative to compose a gallery of illustrious men derived.

The list of the titles includes Paolo Giovio's *Historiae sui temporis*, the "*guerra di Campagna di Roneza Spagnolo*" – not better identified –, the history of the wars of Flanders by Cesare Campana, two volumes of *Storie* by Giovanni Carlo Saraceni, dedicated to the most famous historical feats. After Saraceni, a volume is recorded under the title of "origine", written by Francesco Sansovino. This indication could be valid for three different works: *Historia universale dell'origine, guerre et imperio de Turchi*, or *Della origine de' Cavalieri*, or even *Della origine et de' fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia*. Finally, the list records Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia*, two Spanish texts on cavalry, the "*seconda parte dell'Istoria*" – perhaps the second volume of Giovio's *Historiae* –, a *Spanish liber pontificalis* and a song book by Orlando di Lasso.

The Gambolò castle library presented a selection of readings that were intended to improve family ambitions. It gives us the exact measure of the cultural model in order to enlarge and to decorate a noble residence in the Lombard countryside between the end of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. From the Flanders war to the battle against the Ottoman Empire, the awareness of having become feudal lords of a great Christian monarchy prompted the construction of a functional model of culture. The portrait gallery, housed in a purpose-built building, was meant to show the adherence of the Gambolò Marquises to their newly acquired social role.

The series of portraits and the presence of the Great Turks also lead back to the collection of over two hundred effigies gathered in Rome by Alfonso Chacón (1530-1599), a Spanish scholar and antiquarian belonging to the Dominican order[16]. Chacón soon became an inspiring model to others contemporary collectors,

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[14] Angelini 2006, 222-223.

[15] See above, note 7 of this article.

[16] Herklotz 2009.

such as Philip II, who set up a museum of "viri illustri" in the monastery library in El Escorial, and Federico Borromeo, who established a relationship with Chacón during his stay in Rome for the making of some portraits for the Ambrosian Library and for the reproduction of mosaics and ancient paintings in the codes of the Milanese library. Chacón's collection could be identified as one of the possible sources of inspiration for the ambitious project of the Litta portrait gallery.

The proof of the instrumental use of Giovio's model is also offered by another episode, a little later, i.e. the construction of the picture gallery, called *Galleria dei Quadri Vecchi o del Berthier* in the Borromeo Palace, built by Vitaliano VI Borromeo, on the Isola Bella[17]. To Vitaliano VI, the comparison with the picture collections in the Ambrosian Library, the prestigious institution founded by his granduncle Cardinal Federico, must have been very important. Compared to the Milanese museum, the Isola Bella gallery's purpose was to serve as a private and dynastic counterpoint. The presence of four small-size portraits depicting the Great Turks (fig. 6.2), derived from Giovio's series of illustrious commanders, refers explicitly to a dialectic with Cardinal Federico's cultural project[18].

The four paintings were placed on the wall facing Lake Maggiore with a purely decorative function in a neoclassical display of the collection[19]. At first, they were arranged symmetrically along the long walls, eight per side, for a total of sixteen portraits, within which the Christian leaders were alternated with the Turkish princes. The original position was therefore of greater prominence. It is also possible to consider that the presence of the Great Turks, along with Giulia Gonzaga's portrait, constituted an aristocratic affirmation of orthodoxy, especially in connection with Gonzaga's effigy. At that time the fact that she was a friend of some members of the Protestant Reformation was very disputed, but she was also well-known for her beauty and her escape from the corsair Khayr al-Din (the famous Barbarossa), who also appears in one of the portraits[20] (fig. 6.3).

The small series in the Isola Bella gallery took on a specific meaning: it appears to be an alternative to the collections of the Ambrosian picture

[17] Morandotti in Morandotti and Natale 2011, 35-36.

[18] Plebani in Natale and Morandotti 2011, 184-185. For a different interpretation see Angelini 2012c.

[19] See above note 7 of this article.

[20] For recent investigations on Giulia Gonzaga's portraits see Joannides 2015; De Rossi 2017. For an historical context see Russell 2006.

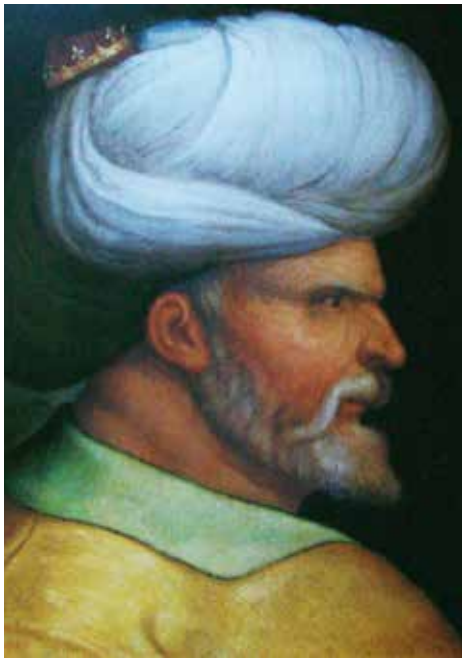

Fig. 6.2 Unknown painter, *Selim I*, Isola Bella, gallery.
Fig. 6.3 Unknown painter, *Khayr al-Dyn Barbarossa*, Isola Bella, gallery.

gallery from which Cardinal Federico had excluded the portraits of the Great Turks. The Isola Bella gallery therefore housed a kind of profane *addendum* to the series in the Ambrosian Library, renouncing the didactic function and the moral inspiration of the Milanese museum. However, it fully complied with the dynastic and celebratory function Vitaliano VI wanted to give to the gallery.

The presence of the effigies of the Great Turks offered several options to the commission of the Lombard nobility between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century in order to recall social virtues, leadership skills, religious rigor, etc. In Lombardy, over the seventeenth century, the theme of the struggle against heresies was about to return to the fore, especially in connection with the beatification of the Lombard friar Antonio Michele Ghislieri, Pope Pius V, which took place just over a century after the battle of Lepanto[21].

[21] On Pius V's agiography and iconography, among several studies, see Silli 1979; Borsellino 1992; Fea 2004; Gotor 2005; Firpo 2010; Mazzilli Savini 2012.

In Pavia, where Pius V had founded a college for the education of the students, public celebrations were held for the pope's beatification on May 5, 1673[22]. On that occasion, in the arches of the four-sided portico of Collegio Ghislieri, the portraits of lay and ecclesiastical figures linked to the pope were exhibited, together with nineteen paintings, depicting "storie" of Pius V's life, symbolic figures and Latin mottos. Above all, five large canvases with the *Miracles of Blessed Pius V* were commissioned to a team of Lombard and Central Italian painters in 1672 and placed in the great room before the chapel, where they still are[23].

They illustrate miraculous events drawn up on Pius V's biographical sources. Above the entrance on the wall, there is a painting by Giovanni Peruzzini depicting *Pius V who frees an obsessed person*; on the right wall, the paintings by Luigi Scaramuccia, called Perugino, depicting *The miracle of the fire* and *The miracle of the crucifix;* beside the canvas by Lazzaro Baldi, the *Vision of the Battle of Lepanto* (fig. 6.4), recalling the identical picture in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, recently studied by Giuseppe Capriotti[24]. Finally, above the door that leads to the octagonal chapel, there is the grandiose canvas *The battle of Lepanto* by Giovanni Battista del Sole[25] (fig. 6.5). In addition, a large bronze statue depicting the blessing pope was cast in Rome, then sent to Pavia and placed in 1696 on the square in front of Collegio Ghislieri. A dedication recalling the battle against heretics appears on the elegant marble base: Haereticorvm oppvgnatori, tvrcarvm victori[26].

After Pius V's canonization in 1712, the veneration of the new saint was given impetus above all through the traditional link with the cult of Our Lady of the Rosary and thanks to the widespread diffusion of many Rosary confraternities on diocesan territories. A first analysis of the spread of Pius V's iconography concerns an area of Lombard territory with peculiar political and religious conditions[27]. Until 1512 the northernmost Lombard valleys, Valtellina and Valchiavenna, were parts of the duchy of Milan, but from then

[22] Bono 2004, 69-87.

[23] Angelini 2017, 53-56.

[24] Capriotti 2017.

[25] Gibellini 2012.

[26] Giometti 2013; Angelini 2017, 56-59.

[27] Angelini 2012a.

Fig. 6.4 Lazzaro Baldi, *The Vision of the Battle of Lepanto*, Pavia, Collegio Ghislieri.

Fig. 6.5 Giovanni Battista Del Sole, *The Battle of Lepanto*, Pavia, Collegio Ghislieri.

to 1797 they were subject to the dominion of the Grey Leagues (now Grisons, Switzerland). This led to a conflictual situation in people's religious sensitivity and in the institutional relationship between political power and religious power, the latter represented by the bishop of Como under whose jurisdiction Valtellina and Valchiavenna used to be placed. The tensions resulted in violent episodes, such as the death by torture of the archpriest of Sondrio, Nicolò Rusca, in Thusis in 1618 and the slaughter of Teglio, known as *Sacro Macello*, in 1620 in the early stages of the Thirty Years' War.

It seems that Pius V's image was not widely adopted in these territories. For this reason, the pope's representation in a series of canvases, commissioned by the Rosary confraternity in San Carpoforo's church in Delebio to the Ticinese painter Giuseppe Antonio Petrini, appears to be very significant in relation to the lineage and culture of its promoters and to its quality and style as well[28]. The first two paintings depict *Pius V preaching the crusade against the Turks* (fig. 6.6) and the *Madonna of the Rosary between Saints Dominic and Catherine*, while the other two works, of smaller dimensions, represent two different versions of the *Virgin of the Rosary with a devotee and Saint Dominic*. As regards the first painting of the series, some elements are of great importance in iconographic and stylistic terms. The canvas is accurately recorded for the

[28] Bona Castellotti 1991.

Fig. 6.6 Giuseppe Antonio Petrini, *Pius V preaching the crusade against the Turks*, Delebio, San Carpoforo.

first time in an inventory of the "Scola del Ss. Rosario" linked to a pastoral visit in April 1706[29]. In a group of figures, the pope and John of Austria, leader of the Holy League's army, stand out between two areas of dramatically contrasting lights and shadows and the opening in the background, where the historical event of the battle of Lepanto is depicted in a rarefied atmosphere.

At that time, an exponent of the noble Peregalli family, Giuseppe, brother of the parish priest of Dubino, Carlo Francesco, was "*sindaco*" of San Carpoforo's church in Delebio. Petrini made a large painting with a rather unusual subject, i.e. *The Martyrdom of Gorcum* (fig. 6.7) upon a commission by Carlo Francesco, between 1704 and 1707[30]. The episode is about the killing of nineteen Catholic clerics by the Calvinist Sea Beggars at Gorcum in the Netherlands on July 9, 1572, shortly after the death of Pope Ghislieri on 1st May of the same year[31]. It was a fact of notable, dramatic and almost ecumenical importance, due to the wide participation of various orders and congregations. The martyrs were Franciscan friars and lay brothers, Norbertine Canons Regular, Dominicans and secular priests.

The choice to depict this event may be related to the painting of *Pius V preaching the crusade* in Delebio and to the recent beatifications of Pius V in 1672 and the martyrs of Gorcum in 1675. It is possible to underline that the commission of Pius V's canvas to Petrini precedes the canonization of the pope in 1712 by at least six years. It was therefore not the occasion of Pope Ghislieri's canonization that indicated this peculiar iconographic choice to the Delebio confraternity members, but a deeply rooted expression of Catholic orthodoxy.

It is appropriate, at this point, to return briefly to Petrini's patrons and in particular to the two brothers Giuseppe and Carlo Francesco Peregalli. We have scarce documentation about them, but we know they were men with a good intellectual training, like other of Petrini's supporters, such as the Riva family in Lugano, close to the Enlightenment and Muratorian academic circles[32]. The taste of the patrons also played a primary role in the choice of the painter, who gave guarantees to interpret the assigned subjects in terms of highly sophisticated stylization.

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[29] Venturoli 1991.

[30] Fabjan and Venturoli in *Giuseppe Antonio Petrini* 1991, 116, 120-122.

[31] Tepe 2012, 21-37.

[32] Coppa 1991, 90-95. More recently see Coppa 2020.

Fig. 6.7 Giuseppe Antonio Petrini, *The Martyrdom of Gorcum*, Delebio, San Carpoforo.

The renewed interest towards Pius V's iconography at the end of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries allows us to outline a scenario in which we can situate the self-celebration of some important noble Lombard families. We are now beyond the threshold of the eighteenth century, when the duchy of Milan passed from the Spanish crown to the Habsburgs of Austria. A sign of a changed perspective was the disappearance of the representation of the Great Turks as *exempla virtutis* (obviously a virtue on the wrong side). They were replaced by the depiction of narrative episodes, which recall facts and moments of recent history, such as the battles against the Turkish empire, which were cyclically repeated from 1571 to 1683, and onwards.

In this panorama, it is possible to insert the outfitting of the Gallery of the Ancestors in the castle of Belgioioso – a few kilometers from Pavia –, almost contemporary to the exuberant Tiepolesque decoration of the gallery in Palazzo Clerici in Milan. In Belgioioso, Count Antonio Barbiano commissioned a series of large terracotta bas-reliefs depicting some episodes from his family history and the bust-portraits of his ancestors to the sculptor Carlo Beretta, called il Berettone[33]. The Barbianos were from Romagna and in 1431 they obtained the Belgioioso castle with a large fief received by the Duke of Milan Filippo Maria Visconti in exchange for their military services[34]. When the properties in Romagna were lost, they finally moved to Milan.

Antonio Barbiano chose to highlight illustrious descendants together with the Lombards (the oldest reigning dynasty over *Langobardia*) and to reaffirm the family role in defending the orthodoxy of the Church and the borders of the Holy Roman Empire. These images were meant to support a shrewd policy of personal affirmation that led him to obtain the prince title by Maria Theresa of Austria in 1769. This was the crowning of a centuries-old family epic marked by victorious military enterprises, but above all by fortunate diplomatic offices, whose *exempla* were evoked in the large bas-reliefs of the Belgioioso gallery[35].

The genealogical series starts with Eberardo, the mythical son of Desiderio, the last king of the Lombards, and ends with John III, who died in 1715. The historical episodes portrayed in the reliefs cover over four centuries, from the *Peace of San Pietro by Bernardino III* (1299) to the *Battle of John II against the Turks* (1604).

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[33] Zanuso in Bacchi and Zanuso 2011, 7-43.

[34] Alberico da Barbiano (about 1348-about 1409) is also mentioned by Giovio 2006, 596-598.

[35] Angelini 2018, 190-191.

Fig. 6.8 Carlo Beretta, called il Berettone, *Battle of John II against the Turks*, Belgioioso, castle.

Latin inscriptions are placed below the portraits and the scenes. The inscriptions emphasize John II's orthodoxy as commander of the Habsburgs and celebrate his role in defeating the enemies of the Empire and of the Church as well (*foedifragos acatholicos protestantes … Turcas*). According to this visual narrative, the more spectacular of the four terracotta reliefs is dedicated to the *Battle of John II against the Turks*, waged during the last phase of the Long Turkish War, or Thirteen Years' War, in 1604. The large mass of wounded and fighting bodies, arranged in ani-

mated poses and twisted attitudes, determines a swirling, almost impressionistic scene, but refined with a decorative Rococo style (fig. 6.8).

Some conclusions can be drawn, even if provisionally, from the review of these cases. In Spanish and Austrian Lombardy, the reference to the image of the Turk followed paths that started from Giovio's Museum and followed the line of the dynastic and genealogical exaltation. To some extent, the encounter with religious otherness or even more the clash with the heretics, took on characteristics which were supposed to distinguish the noble status in Lombardy. A first demarcation took place following Pius V's celebrations at the end of the seventeenth century, which gave renewed strength to the fight against heresies and influenced the artistic patronage of confraternities as well as families belonging to the ruling class until the end of the early modern period.

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7. The Turks at the Lord's Table. Servants, Observers, Guests

Francesco Sorce, Independent Scholar

> If one says something that is completely uncontroversial, one says nothing at all, which is why, I suppose, the most fanatical of the Greek skeptics kept their silence
> Peter Kivy, *The Performance of Reading*

Oriental mode, exoticism or meaningful narrative characters?

A rather large group of Suppers from the Gospels (the Last Supper, the Wedding at Cana, the Supper at the House of Simon the Pharisee, the Supper at Emmaus) painted in the Venetian area approximately during the second half of the sixteenth century consistently features characters dressed in Ottoman style. These figures introduced elements of blatant otherness in biblical subjects which, especially in that period – at a time when the Catholic and Reformed worlds were particularly at odds – were used to convey strong doctrinal and propagandist implications.

Considering the allegoric potential of the Suppers, which were usually designed as complex deposits of meaning offered to zealously pondering viewers, it therefore appears appropriate to ask what might have led Titian, Tintoretto and Veronese, among others, to include such characters in their painstakingly accurate scenes.

Although this topic was never studied in depth, several explanations of the phenomenon have been put forward, albeit in a summary manner. I will thus

I would like to thank Patrizia Pancotto and Agostino Sorce, my mother and father. This would never have been possible without them. I also thank Michela Corso, for a million of reasons; Giuseppe Capriotti, for that time he called me; Gwladys Le Cuff, for her "angelical" readings; Pauline Lafille, for her "noisy" readings; Francesca Romana Usai, for her "punctuation" and the colourful décor of June and July; Michele Di Monte, for everything else. The translation from Italian is by Giorgio Testa.

briefly review the hypotheses that were proposed, as they contain generally relevant motifs and will help define, contrastingly, the epistemological and hermeneutical perspective adopted here.

The literature on the aforementioned paintings shows a number of rather clear interpretive tendencies. One of the most common interpretations is that the figures are a tribute to a tradition in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Venetian painting which was defined as "Oriental mode" by Julian Raby[1]. According to this view, the figures are a sort of replicas of figurative modules that had been tried out and codified by the Bellini brothers and Carpaccio.

Complementary to the view just described, in another interpretation the Oriental figures are considered as reflecting a well-established taste for exoticism in Venetian culture. This phenomenon was rarely described in detail; however, according to a common opinion, it was based on curiosity for the Muslim world which had developed as a result of constant diplomatic and trade relations between Venice and the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. In this perspective, the "Turks at the Supper table" are sometimes considered merely decorative elements, whose presence in the compositions results from a supposed fascination for the specific colours and shapes of their clothes[2].

Finally, there is another hypothesis, which is more in keeping with relevant narrative elements. In this case, the Ottoman figures are explained as the artists' attempt to create settings consistent with the Middle Eastern world where the evangelical stories are set[3].

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[1] Raby 1982.

[2] See, among others, Schmidt Arcangeli 2007, 137, who writes: "In the oeuvre of Paolo Veronese, Muslims have a kind of decorative significance, appearing as background figures in the pageantry of his large feasts for monastic refectories". A further example of this arrangement can be found in a recent study by Moriani 2014, 68: "The various styles, partly oriental, of the costumes are not due to a romantic sensitivity, but to the need to be able to solve the arduous colour issue with as much freedom as possible".

[3] It is also possible to find a synthesis between the two hypotheses. Discussing Veronese's painting from the Louvre, Carminati (2012, 42) writes that the reason for choosing to present the "master of the house" in oriental clothes "might be, on the one hand, a tribute to a Venetian tradition, started by Gentile Bellini […], where details of turquoise clothes were purposely included in the large canvases on display in the city. On the other hand, it was intended to highlight, with this and other conspicuous Turkish styles in the painting, the

According to yet another explanation found in the literature, increases and decreases in the number of Oriental characters in Venetian paintings were related to the status of relations between the Republic of Venice and the Sultan's empire. During periods of détente the paintings would include more Turks, as a sign of Venice's cosmopolitan quality; by contrast, during conflicts, artists would tend to devote less attention to Eastern Mediterranean peoples (or would even be discouraged from doing so)[4]. This view, however, does not take into consideration possible other reasons for representing Ottoman figures, independently from the current status of institutional relations. It also fails to capture the fact that some stereotypical meanings continued to be associated to those figures for a very long time.

Globally, the aforementioned explanatory models offer plausible descriptions of some of the elements in the Suppers, the only possible exception being the clearly formalist model, whose explanation of the presence of turban-wearing characters in terms of chromatic balance and *varietas* requirements does not seem convincing. Nonetheless, those models appear, generally, to overlook the semantic aspects of the works. This has important consequences as regards the analysis of their complex visual structure and some symbolic details contained in them.

The figures of the Turks, unmistakably qualified by their clothes or ethnic traits, are particularly conspicuous in meaningful narrative contexts such as these, mainly because they bear a striking difference which, as was mentioned earlier, is first and foremost a sign of their religious otherness[5].

The synecdoche of the showy turbans appearing in the Venetian paintings is an obvious identifying mark in the early modern cultural system, where the control of appearance had the task of regulating the processes of inclusion and

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fact that the scene at Cana was set in the East". In the same perspective, Kaplan (1987, 62, footnote 31) writes that "in images of the *Marriage at Cana*, of course, it is perfectly natural to include Oriental guests".

[4] This explanation was proposed on various occasions by Paul H. D. Kaplan: see, for example, Kaplan 1990, 308, 312-313; Kaplan 2010, 136; Kaplan 2011, 53.

[5] In some cases, there is a possible allusion to the Jewish alterity, but the view held by Moretti 2011, 60, seems too extreme: in his opinion, in Venetian painting, "whenever characters wearing turbans appear in sacred iconography, they are […] almost never Turks", but Levantine Jews.

exclusion[6] .Within the Renaissance regime of visibility, clothes were signs of status and faith. They made it possible, among other things, to immediately identify foreigners and exercise a form of social control over them. Accordingly, in this context, disguising became a legally prosecutable form of violation of public order[7]. One's affiliation to a social or ethnic group had to be transparent, so as to preserve the structure of relationships and avoid confusion and contamination between the faithful and infidels[8].

Based on these data, which were confirmed in studies on identity issues, it can be reasonably assumed that the Ottoman garb included in the painted Gospel stories were mainly meant to convey the implications of Islamic peoples' otherness, which were consistently part of shared knowledge in the reference context.

It therefore seems appropriate to consider the difference in appearance, a sign of a different faith, in relation with the meanings that it could generate in the semiotic strategy of narration used to focus, among other things, on the distinction between those who can see and understand and those who instead remain obstinately extraneous to the Christian revelation.

The same kind of superficial attention mentioned above for the semantic dimension of the paintings has a further remarkable consequence: it leads to neglecting the sense of the narrative roles and actions of the Turks. In fact, once the values associated with them are taken into account, those actions and roles can acquire considerable importance within the images, as they were designed to provide some elements for theological reflection rather than just being "photographs" showcasing the splendour of contemporary Venetian banquets, despite what is often claimed[9].

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[6] Ricci 2008, 130. As Pullan (1983, 130) wrote about Jews, "a man wore his religious allegiance upon his head". In general, on the relationship between clothes and identity, see Rublack 2010, in part. 177-209.

[7] Wilson 2005, 122.

[8] See also Eliav-Feldon 2012, in part. 162-193, on the subject of recognisability through clothes in the early modern age.

[9] In the context of studies on Venetian Suppers, the research by Michele Di Monte and Maria Elena Massimi, while using different epistemological premises, is an exception due to its systematic nature, analytical finesse and focus on semiotic mechanisms. See Di Monte 2004; Di Monte 2007; Di Monte 2012; Massimi 2011; Massimi 2015. On Veronese's *Wedding at Cana* in the Musee du Louvre as a representation of the practice of Venetian banquets, see also

Therefore, a functional perspective is adopted here to account for the themes whose interpretation appears to be lacking. Moreover, focusing on the roles and acts of the characters seems to lead to a better understanding of the *intentio operis*, thus producing explanations which are generally more analytical than some of the established ones.

Turban-wearing servants. An overview

In the images under discussion, the Turks appear mainly as servants, guests or mere observers (in different qualities) of the miraculous events taking place before their eyes. The occurrences, as mentioned, are rather numerous. As it would be too onerous to analyse all of them, it will be necessary to select a group of works forming a testing ground for my hypothesis.

For reasons of space, the main focus here will be on the representation of the servants. Seemingly marginal characters, mere supporting roles from a narratological point of view, they are often placed in the background within Veronese's or Tintoretto's mass scenes, among others. They can easily go unnoticed or be identified as some of the various "bizarre" figures used as fillers in huge Venetian canvases.

Chronologically, the oldest cases among the subjects here considered are recorded in some representations of the Supper at Emmaus dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. A good example is the table by Marco Marziale (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 1506, fig. 7.1), where a Moor, whose skin colour plausibly defines him as a slave, is placed right next to the Redeemer, as a direct witness of his revelation together with the character of the innkeeper[10]. It is hardly necessary to specify that the association between Turks and "Moors" (and Saracens), as "infidels" and Muslims was largely established in the European tradition. In Venice, moreover, the generic expression "Black Turks" tended to designate the dark-skinned subjects of the Ottoman Empire[11].

Hanson 2010, who draws on a tradition deeply rooted in the critical literature dedicated to the subject of Suppers. See, among others, Smirnova 1990.

[10] Lowe 2005, 2: "the vast majority of black Africans in Renaissance Europe were slaves". On the black slaves, see also, among others, Lowe 2012; Hoogland Verkerk 2001; Hanan 2006.

[11] See on this Kaplan 2011. The issue is also analysed in Lowe 2013, 415-419.

Fig. 7.1 Marco Marziale, *Supper at Emmaus*, 1506, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

A painting by an anonymous artist, kept at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (c. 1530-1540), is comparable to the work described above in terms of composition. In it, the artist portrays a servant, wearing a *zamt* on his head, who brings food to Jesus[12].

The Supper at Emmaus is associated with the presence of "foreign" servants quite constantly throughout the century. Significant testimonies are offered, among others, by Paolo Veronese. Caliari depicts two "black Turks": the first is in the Louvre canvas (c. 1560), where a young black man appears in the background, on the right, among the portraits of the patrons; the second appears in the canvas from the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotter-

[12] The painting is published in Spicer 2012, 126. On the use of the *zamt* in the Mamluk environment: Fuess 2008. A precedent is the painting attributed to Giovanni di Niccolò Mansueti, which was auctioned at Christie's in 2008 (Important Old Master & British Pictures Day Sale Including Property From The Collection Of The Princely House Of Liechtenstein. London – 9 July 2008, lot 255) and dated to the second decade of the sixteenth century. In it, a servant dressed in Muslim costume is inserted on the left side of the composition. See on this the entry in https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/giovanni-di-niccolo-mansueti-active-venice-died-5103791-details.aspx Last accessed: 13/04/2021.

dam, dating from the mid-1570s, where a Moorish servant seems to burst onto the scene behind the Redeemer[13].

The theme also appears in several paintings from the Bassano workshop. Here we can mention at least the *Supper at Emmaus* attributed to Jacopo, which is preserved in the Royal Collection (Buckingham Palace, c. 1560-1570), where a servant wearing the *zamt* stands in the foreground[14].

The most numerous group of figures relevant for this study is found, quite predictably, in the depictions of the *Wedding at Cana*. The Gospel text, after all, makes a clear reference to the servants, important actors in the story. As they physically pour the water before it is transformed into wine, they are, at least potentially, privileged witnesses of the prodigy.

The most notable examples include the two versions by Jacopo Tintoretto, one of which is now in Boston (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, c. 1545; date disputed) whose attribution is virtually unanimous, and the canvas of 1561, commissioned for the refectory of the Convent of the Crucifers and currently preserved in the Church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice (fig. 7.2).

Within the crowd of people taking part in the banquet in various ways, Tintoretto introduced several servants wearing Islamic clothes. One of them, in the American canvas, stands out at the right end of the image, wearing a turban. In the painting intended for the Convent of the Crucifers, in which the background is occupied by a group of oriental characters, a man under the arch on the right is particularly interesting: he is carrying a basket of bread and wearing typical Ottoman headgear and a scimitar at his side, which contrasts sharply with the decorum imposed by his condition and the festive context.

Veronese also introduces "Islamic" servants into his works dedicated to the first miracle of Jesus. In the Louvre's *Wedding at Cana* (1563), for example, a black servant appears in the right section of the enormous canvas. The figure is almost symmetrical to the younger servant who, at the other end of the table, offers the groom a glass of wine. Even the *scalco* wears clothes that can easily be traced back to the Muslim world[15].

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[13] Aikema 2014, 246, focuses on the figure of the dark servant in the Parisian painting as a symbol of people who do not understand the importance of the miraculous revelation of Christ.

[14] The work is classified with the inventory number RCIN 403946.

[15] Andrea Vicentino, too, drew on Veronese's painting, at the end of the sixteenth century, for his *Marriage at Cana,* which is now in the Church of Santi Gervasio e Protasio (San Tro-

Fig. 7.2 Jacopo Tintoretto, *Wedding at Cana*, 1561, Venice, Basilica di Santa Maria della Salute.

A couple of turban-wearing servants are found in the *Wedding at Cana* painted by Paolo for the Venetian family Cuccina (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, c. 1571-1572, certainly before 1575, fig. 7.3): in the background, under the arch of the large architectural structure that serves as a backdrop to the right, two characters can be seen arranging plates.

Among the canvases from the Veneto area that draw on Veronese's and Tintoretto's repertoire, the *Wedding at Cana* by Antonio Vassillacchi called l'Aliense (private collection) is also worth mentioning. There, the servant who pours the water, significantly placed close to Christ, is "Turkish"[16].

Veronese is, however, the artist who most systematically included the figures under consideration in his work, which are found in other Gospel

vaso) in Venice, but came originally from Ognissanti. This piece presents many references to the Louvre painting, including to Turkish servants.

[16] Dal Pozzolo 2010, 236-237, n. 115; Ciceri 2017, 223, tav. 15.

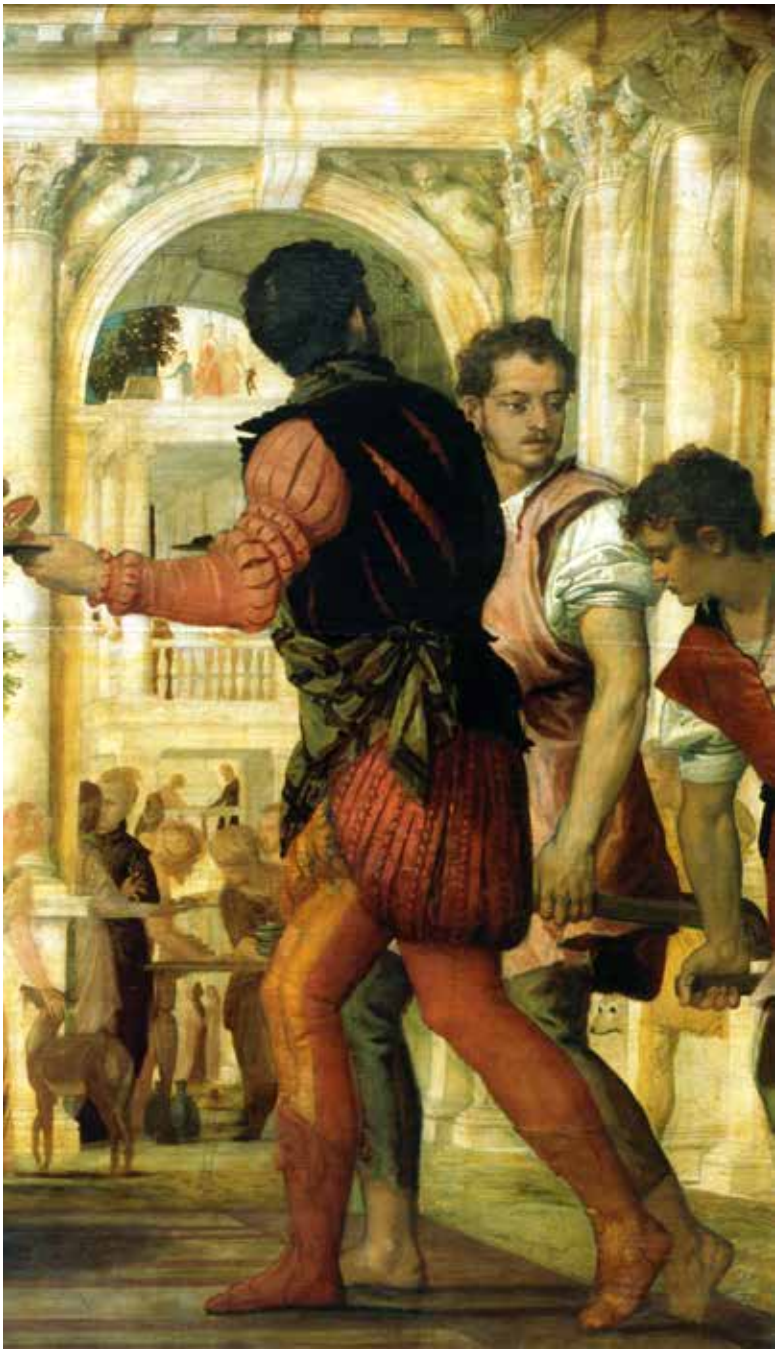

Fig. 7.3 Paolo Veronese, *Wedding at Cana*, c. 1571-1572, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Fig. 7.4 Paolo Veronese, *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, c. 1567-1570, Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera.

Suppers too. A black servant appears almost at the centre of the *Supper in the House of Simon the Pharisee* from the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (c. 1556), with his gaze clearly turned away from Jesus. In the version of the same subject from the Pinacoteca di Brera (c. 1567-1570, fig. 7.4), a turban-wearing servant is placed not too far from the Redeemer, while a black boy appears almost in front of the viewer. Moors and other oriental involved in the service are also present in the version of the Supper in Versailles (Musée National du Château, 1570-1572). The famous *Last Supper/Feast in the House of Levi* from the Galleries of the Academy of Venice (1573, fig. 7.5) also includes some oriental, mainly concentrated around the monumental plate rack.

The last theme in this non-exhaustive overview is the *Last Supper*. This episode, for reasons linked to the text and the figurative tradition, lends itself less easily to the insertion of servants. Occurrences are therefore rarer and nonetheless significant. Perhaps one of the most unusual cases is the painting by Titian for Philip II, which arrived in Spain in 1566 but was started about seven years earlier (Monasterio de El Escorial, fig. 7.6). The artist depicted a Turkish servant in conversation with Saint James, a well-known "*matamoros*", on the left side of the canvas, thus creating a certainly meaningful connection[17]. Although only conjecture is possi-

[17] The work appears to be cropped on the sides. However, the figure of the Turk is clearly recognizable by comparison with another canvas, now in the Pinacoteca di Brera, which is considered a replica. For a summary of the philological issues, see Cosma 2015, 1372. However, my interpretation differs from his. Cosma considers the dialogue between James

Fig. 7.5 Paolo Veronese, *Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia.

and the Turk a symptom of the "unprecedented openness" of the Spanish monarchy towards the Ottomans, "before it toughened against the moriscos in 1567". The reason for this hypothesis is that "the figure of the infidel is, as a rule, […] placed deliberately at the margins of the suppers, as is the case in Tintoretto's work in San Simeone Profeta". However, apart from the fact that the Turk is literally placed at the margin in Titian's canvas too, as we have seen, there are many cases of oriental figures present in Venetian Suppers, and not necessarily in marginal positions.

Fig. 7.6 Tiziano, *Last Supper*, c. 1560-1565, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Monasterio de El Escorial.

ble on the attitude of the two characters, nevertheless, it is worth noting how the apostle places his left hand on the (Eucharistic) bread, the likely subject of the dialogue, while holding his right hand to his chest, as if to emphasize that gesture. One could wonder if the amphora carried by the infidel – clearly visible in the Brera version of the painting – might contain wine and, consequently, whether the interaction between the two figures might allude to the problem of the communion under both kinds, highly topical at the time. No final answer can however be given to these speculations, at least on the basis of the visual text alone.

In any case, it is entirely plausible that Titian intended to allude to the negative qualities of the Other by introducing a partridge in the foreground. *Perdix diabolus* was the name this bird was called by some of the main Christian exegetes; from Saint Augustine onwards, it was also considered a symbol of heresy. In the image, the bird is placed on the edge of a container full of water, probably suggesting – with a striking visual similarity – the idea of conversion, through baptism, of those who were outside the Christian community[18].

[18] On the symbolism of the partridge, see Ciccarese 2007, 185-197. The observations in Levi d'Ancona 2001, 178-179 are more generic.

The (domestic) servant. A value-laden "concept"

After this non-exhaustive overview of figurative examples, let us focus on how the figure of the domestic servant was considered in the sixteenth century (Venetian) cultural macro-context. The objective is to outline at least its essential properties. An examination of its functioning in individual micro-contexts is left to future research.

The prevailing conception is anything but positive and provides various tools used in the rhetoric of blame against the Turks. The cluster of ideas on servitude is closely linked to that on slavery. Especially with regard to the Ottomans, servant and slave are conceptual categories that tend to overlap, one of the reasons being that, in the States of the Italian peninsula in the sixteenth century, the Turkish male servants were mostly slaves who had been captured from the populations of the Empire of the Sublime Porte during conflicts or by pirates and corsairs[19].

In sixteenth century Venice, however, the Turkish servile community had to be rather scarce in number; as has been noted, that was probably a way to avoid political friction with the Empire of the Sublime Porte[20]. The term "Turkish slave", in any case, indicated Muslims of all origins[21]; moreover, in the humanistic world the connection had to be almost proverbial. This was attested, for example, by Petrarch, who described the slaves who had just landed in Venice as people "with the deformed faces of the Scythians"[22].

In any case, within the symbolic horizon of that time the slave was first and foremost a sort of representation of the Other *par excellence*, normally being a foreigner and, in most cases, a Muslim. Furthermore, in the Christian tradition there was a widespread conviction that slavery derived from sin,

[19] Regarding the conceptual (and terminological) connections between slaves and servants in the early modern age, see Delort 2000; Delort 2002, 379-394, published also in Open Edition Books: February 1, 2019, digital EAN: 9791035102050 [https://books.openedition.org/psorbonne/14016].

[20] Bono 2016, 47.

[21] Bono 1988, 829. See also Bono 2010, 241.

[22] On Petrarca's view, see McKee 2008, 305. On the idea of the "Scythian" origin of Turks, common in the humanistic milieu, see the important work by Meserve 2008.

with obvious repercussions on the perception of the slave condition[23]. In this framework, the idea of the Muslim as a slave to his sins developed quickly.

This conceptual system merged with the one relating to domestic service, which was also fraught with mostly negative values. In the Christian tradition too, the notion was intertwined with that of slavery. In sum, starting from the Gospel texts, the servant was a multi-purpose sign, used mainly to represent the virtues of humility, obedience, fidelity and their opposites. In Matthew 20, 28 and Mark 10, 45, for example, Christ – who came into the world to serve and not to be served – offers the brightest paradigm of humility[24].

On the other hand, servitude also creates a polarization between fidelity and infidelity. The faithful servant was destined for bliss, while the unfaithful servant was destined for the punishment of the (divine) master, thus assuming the value of a positive and negative model for Christians (Luke 12, 42-48 and Matthew 24, 45-51).

Over the centuries, therefore, the servant became a figure "useful for reflecting" on some key aspects of the community, such as the asymmetrical relationship between subjects and rulers, which reflects that between servants and masters[25].

In the early modern age, especially in texts on household management, the servant is considered to be a specimen of coarse and rough humanity, dedicated to deception and "naturally" inclined to betrayal. The very act of serving, moreover, is intrinsically linked to a dubious conduct of life, because this type of work is driven by the desire to earn, considered ignoble[26]. Cases abound in literature: it will suffice, therefore, to mention a minimum anthology of references outlining the situation and attesting to the persistence of a certain core of beliefs over time.

According to Leon Battista Alberti, in the *Intercenale Servus*, servants "are not only unfaithful, but also full of the worst vices and defects"; the humanist

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[23] On the link between slavery and sin in Christian thought, with particular reference to the writings of St Augustine and St Thomas, the anthology edited by Reggi and Zanini 2016, is crucially important. See also Barbarani 2016.

[24] On this point see, among others, Sarti 2005, 7. Among the numerous contributions that the scholar has dedicated to the theme of servitude, see also Sarti 1991; Sarti 2015.

[25] Clegg 2015, 44; Romano 1996, XXI.

[26] Todeschini 2011, 268. The book, however, offers a considerable amount of data on the issues discussed here.

considers them as "animals with two legs, almost always lazy, foolish and foiled, or gossip mongers and slanderers", adding that "it is difficult to find a good servant, but, if one is found, he serves unwillingly and shows impertinence"[27].

One century later, Torquato Tasso took up the animal metaphor, defining the servant "a reasonable animal", incapable of exercising trades worthy of the citizens, for lack of virtue[28].

In his monumental encyclopaedia of professions, Tommaso Garzoni, almost at the same time as the author of *Gerusalemme liberata*, also expressed himself in a similar way: in his opinion, servitude is "odious in itself […]", and "the ultimate evil", adding that according to the jurisconsults "[…] the servants are all but dead". Garzoni then goes on to list a series of epithets of great interest for this study, calling the servants "cowardly Kings of rogues, and dastardly scum, infidels like the Moors, thieves like the Gypsies, murderers like the Arabs, traitors like the Parthians"[29]. Garzoni, therefore, reaffirms an obvious commonplace, namely that the profession of servants is reserved for people who are poor in spirit, far from the honourability of citizens, morally unworthy and essentially feral, as they are unable to understand religious issues[30].

In Venice, in particular, as shown by the studies conducted by Dennis Romano on sixteenth century legislation on the behaviour of servants, it is clear to what extent the Venetian elite considered the subordinates arrogant, disobedient and malicious, a constant threat to the masters[31].

One more point should be added to this network of notions: during the period under consideration, in the homiletic discourse and in the images, the *topos* of the association between the servants and Judas, the traitor par excellence, was consolidated, not least because of their "heavy physical presence,

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[27] Alberti 2003, 347. See on this Pittaluga 2008, 495-496.

[28] Tasso 1583, 48.

[29] Garzoni 1586, 679: "Tutti gli autori si dimostrano haver per questi tali poca credenza a' servi […]. Aristotele dice che non sono parte di città, né in quella hanno da fare cosa alcuna […] I giureconsulti conchiudono […] che i servi sono poco men che morti" ("All the authors show little trust in servants […]. Aristotle says that they are not part of the city, nor do they have any business there […] The jurisconsults conclude […] that the servants are little less than dead").

[30] Todeschini 2007, 287.

[31] Romano 1991, 675; more generally, Romano 1996.

traditionally viewed as a sign of imperfection and *carnalitas*"[32]. Like the poor and the infidels, the servants were considered a social category incapable of upholding the choice of Christian perfection[33].

It was not by chance that, in the centuries-old evolution of antisemitism, servitude became the proverbial condition of the Jewish people, used as a negative paradigm through which all forms of infidelity and social and religious deviation were denigrated, including, obviously, the Islamic one[34].

Turkish servants: the stereotypical enemies

In the system I have outlined, therefore, the Turkish slave employed in domestic work could embody a certain negative stereotype of the enemy: he was a man defeated militarily, degraded from a social point of view and assimilated to classes judged inferior to the civic model (the poor, peasants, infidels, etc.).

In short, based on this concatenation of concepts, it seems reasonable to believe that, in Venetian paintings, the figures in question were able to activate the relevant frames and scripts quite easily, especially within the meaning and value frameworks of the relevant evangelical stories, along with the related evaluative beliefs[35].

In the context of subjects so central for the Catholic faith, whose flourishing in the Tridentine context was the expression of a clear stance towards Protestant deviations and heretics of all kinds, the Turkish servant appears as an ideal cliché to be used to disparage the opponent[36].

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[32] Todeschini 2011, 292.

[33] Ivi, 273.

[34] Todeschini 2007, 28. For a summary of the main issues related to Jewish servitude, see Stefani 2004, 122-131. See also Nirenberg 2013, 79-80; Nirenberg 2015, 140.

[35] The notions of frame and script used here derive from cognitive narratology. For a summary of the nature and function of the two concepts see, for example, Emmott and Alexander 2009. On the idea of "evaluative beliefs" linked to the perception of stereotypes in narratology, see Culpeper 2004, 73.

[36] On the doctrinal reverberations of the theme of the *Last Supper* in the Tridentine context, see Peria 1997, 82; Peria 1998.

The figure of the Turkish servant sums up the negative characteristics of both the class to which he belonged and of the religion he practised, exemplifying his extraneousness from the Christian *civitas* in an emblematic way. The Turkish servant was proverbially unfaithful, on both a social and a devotional level. As a servant, he was part of a marginal humanity, unreliable, incapable of fully understanding the truths of faith; as a Turk, he perfectly symbolized heresy. In both cases, the figure bore the stain of sin on which, as we have seen, the servile condition traditionally depended.

In this perspective, the domestic service which the Ottoman is relegated to can be considered a "symbol of stigma" – in Erving Goffman's definition – with even more implications than the Oriental prisoners shown in, among others, Titian's paintings, such as the Pala Pesaro in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari or *Philip II offering Don Fernando to Victory* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, c. 1573-1575)[37]. In any case, the Turk is, like them, a loser, likely to be an expression of the military and religious subjugation of Islam that was strived.

In sixteenth century culture, particularly in Venice, the Turkish servant was certainly the typical example of a person excluded from the Eucharist. This point was clearly captured, though at the seventeenth century, by Giovanni Tiepolo, Patriarch of Venice. He wrote this passage about the Last Supper and the sacrament of communion: "Two sorts of people were excluded from partaking of that Lamb, the foreigner and the servant: the former shows us what we mentioned a short while ago, that is, that only devout faithful should be granted the use and the frequency of that sacrament; the latter, that is the servant, means that as long as a man is a servant to sin he must not presume to receive that sacrament"[38].

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[37] Goffman 2003, 60. For an updated revision of the concept of stigma, see Dovidio, J.F., Major, B. and Crocker, J. 2000. On the representation of Oriental prisoners, see McGrath-Massing 2012.

[38] "Due condizioni di persone erano escluse dal mangiar di quel Agnello, il straniero & il servo, il primo per dinotarci quello che poco fa habbiamo accennato solo a devoti fedeli convenirsi l'uso & la frequenza di esso sacramento & l'altro cioè il servo, perché sin tanto che l'huomo sta nella servitù del peccato non deve presumere di ricevere esso sacramento". Tiepolo 1618, 9. Tiepolo takes up an idea that was already in the Old Testament. On this point, see Peria 1998, 168, footnote 62. On the other hand, a well-known passage by Saint Paul (I Corinthians, 27-29) reads as follows: "Therefore, whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of sinning against the body and blood of the Lord. Each one must examine himself before he eats of the bread and drinks of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without recognizing the body eats and drinks judgment on himself".

Prototypical candidates for conversion

Hence, in at least some of the canvases painted by Venetian artists, the use of Turkish servants is apparently a tool for expressing the greatest distance from salvation among the people taking part in Suppers. Through a precise arrangement of the positions, attitudes and actions of the Oriental characters, the degrees of separation of the "infidels" from the passage to the new faith are clearly shown in the images.

Some of those people, as has been said, were allowed to sit at the table and witness the miraculous events. Very few saw and (perhaps) understood what was happening right in front of their eyes[39]; others, however, still had a long way to go before they could free themselves from servitude, metaphorically or otherwise[40].

In any case, it is important to stress that all these characters share the ostentation of clothes associated with their old faith, a clear sign of an incomplete conversion. Furthermore, the metaphor of spiritual rebirth as the shedding of old garments is a *topos* established by Saint Paul, who said, in a graphic formula, that "we clothe ourselves in Christ, the only garment of salvation" (Galatians 3, 27)[41].

In the architecture of reference of beliefs and values, however, the servant was not completely denied the universal redemption offered by the sacrifice of Jesus. This also evoked the idea of a potentially saveable sinner. As Saint Augustine authoritatively attested, "[Jesus] did not take servants and set them

[39] It should be noted, however, that among the Oriental guests who sit at the table of the Lord, those who direct their gaze towards Jesus are rare. An interesting occurrence is the Turk placed to the right of Christ (when facing the painting) in the *Wedding at Cana* painted by Paolo and Benedetto Caliari for the San Teonisto church in Treviso (Rome, Chamber of Deputies, c. 1579-1580). A well-known example of a clear separation, however, is provided by the *Last Supper* painted by Veronese between 1581 and 1588 for the School of the Sacrament of Santa Sofia in Venice (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera). The artist organized the planes and depths in a very effective way to emphasize the separation of the Muslim from the table where the institution of the Eucharist took place.

[40] With reference to Veronese's work, the theme of the distinction between those able to see, recognize and understand and those who cannot grasp the revelation of holiness is addressed masterfully by Di Monte 2007, 171-174. On this point, see also Massimi 2015, 193. More generally, with reference to Jewish blindness, see Merback 2014 and Nirenberg 2011, 403-406, whose arguments can be easily adapted to this context.

[41] The metaphors of old and new robes were appropriately referred to by Massimi 2015, 196.

free, but took bad servants and made them good", presenting the Saviour as the supreme example of humility ("Serve as I did to set an example when I made myself a servant of the ungodly")[42].

On the other hand, in the actual reality of the sixteenth century, Islamic servants, as slaves, were prototypical candidates for conversion: institutions such as the House of the Catechumens, engaged in the systematic "conquest of (Other) consciences" through baptism, focused their attention on them[43].

Clearly, during the sixteenth century, every baptism of a Muslim slave was considered as a sign of victory over the opponent, in the context of a widespread desire of Muslims to adhere to the Christian faith and thus settle the centuries-long contrast with Islam.

To sum up, the figure of the Turkish servant seems to have a more complex semiotic quality than that found in the explanatory models currently used. It rather appears to be full of implications in the argumentative machinery of the Suppers, constituting the hypostasis of otherness with respect to the Catholic positions expressed by the images.

Fascinating tools for thinking, the representations of Suppers were meant to provide material for the consolidation of doctrinal positions. The actual presence of the opponent, in the shape of an enemy, could be a useful device to present the "straw man" of Catholic controversy, conveniently degraded.

From this point of view, considering that Protestants were the "real" antagonists in the sixteenth century theological debate and a real iconography of

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[42] St Augustine, *Expositions on the book of Psalms*, 124, 7 (PL 37, 1653-54); the text, commented on, is also published in Reggi and Zanini 2016, 77.

[43] As Sarti 2001, 455 wrote: "lo schiavo convinto, oltre che vinto, da molti punti di vista era una figura molto più rassicurante di quello che restava fermo nella fede […]; avere schiavi battezzati permetteva ai privati di coltivare la rassicurante speranza (ovviamente non sempre fondata), di avere al proprio servizio un personale più docile, dal momento che ai servi veniva sempre insegnato che i padroni erano i rappresentanti in terra di Dio" [On many levels, the slave who was convinced, as well as defeated, was a much more reassuring figure than one who remained firm in his faith […]; having baptized slaves allowed private individuals to cultivate the reassuring hope (clearly not always founded), that they had a more docile staff at their service, since the servants were always taught that the masters were the representatives of God on Earth). On the activity of the House of Catechumens in Venice, see Ioly Zorattini 2008; see also Rothman 2012, 124-162. On the commissioning of the Catechumens, in relation to Veronese, see Kaplan 1987.

the Lutherans as enemies was missing, one cannot exclude that the presence of "Turks at the table", in various forms, might (also) be an allusion to the followers of the Reformation.

This, of course, is mere speculation. Nevertheless, it is a plausible hypothesis if one considers how systematically and constantly Turks and Protestants were associated, in the Catholic world, as enemies of the papal *ecclesia* since they shared an (alleged) profession of heresy[44]. As sixteenth-century "Roman" publications insisted on assimilating of the two threats, it could not have been easy for a typical observer in the *Scuole* of the Sacrament and in the refectories of the main monastic orders, the main recipient of those works, to overlook that network of references.

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[44] The assimilation between the Turks and the Lutherans happened very early on: the papal legate to the Diet of Worms of 1521 defined Luther as a new "Mahumet". See in this regard Firpo 1993, 7. For an overview of the rhetorical repertoire used to represent heretics in the sixteenth century, where Islam and the Reformation were often associated, see Franco Llopis 2018, 43.

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8. Origin, Meaning and Perception of the Images Printed in the Early Modern Epic Poem *Judith*

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Judith is without a doubt one of the most renowned books of the early modern period in Croatia. It was written by Marko Marulić (Split, August 18, 1450 – January 5, 1524), a humanist from Split whose works were translated and known all across Europe. Marulić wrote the book, an epic poem consisting of six cantos of dodecasyllabic lines, in 1501, in Croatian, making it the first literary work of that kind in Croatian history and securing for its author the title of "Father of Croatian Literature". Marulić's *Judith* was based on the story of the widow Judith from the Old Testament book, whose biblical canonicity was still a matter of debate in Marulić's time, and Marulić's reasons for chosing that specific book to re-create in Croatian still remain open to question[1]. The protagonist of Marulić's epic poem, as well as of the biblical story, is a Jewish heroine, the wise and pious Judith, the widow of Manases, whose courage and wit saved her hometown of Bethulia when it was besieged by the Assyrian army led by Holofernes, whom Judith will eventually behead using a dagger.

The first edition of Marulić's *Judith* was typeset by Petar Srićić from Split and printed in Venice by Giulielmo da Fontaneto de Monteferrato in 1521. It was accompanied by three small xylographies, one of which was printed on the frontispiece (the printer's logo), and the other two in the first canto. One of them depicts a clash between two armies, while the other shows two successive events: Judith praying, and going out of the house with a handmaiden[2]. The second edition of *Judith* was printed less than a year after the first one, on May 30, 1522, also in Venice, by Bernardino Benalio. It was more richly decorated than the previous one, featuring nine xylographies. Two woodcut illustrations depict biblical events:

[1] Jozić 2002, 188.

[2] Marulić 1996.

Fig. 8.1 Matteo da Treviso (?), *Battle scene*, woodcut, in Marko Marulić, *Judith*, 1522.

the first was printed in the middle of Canto I and has no connection with the plot of the epic poem (it originally illustrated the sixth and the tenth chapter of the First Book of Maccabees)[3], while the other one quite appropriately accompanies Canto V, depicting the beheaded Holofernes and Judith, who is shoving his severed head into the handmaiden's bag. The remaining illustrations depict war scenes, and one of them shows a sovereign on a throne surrounded by subjects. Three of the war-themed illustrations and the court scene will be the main focus of attention here, as they are the ones that feature Ottomans.

The illustration that appears on the frontispiece of the second edition is identical to the one on page 18v (i.e., it was printed twice). It clearly depicts two clashing cavalries in an unspecified landscape. (fig. 8.1). The army on the left side of the xylography quite certainly depicts contemporary warriors of Oriental origin, considering their accoutrements, which can also be found in other illustrations in this edition. They are wearing turbans, and in some of them we can recognize the type of turban that was introduced to the Ottoman court during the fifteenth century by Mehmed II, which later became a recognizable Ottoman attribute. The Ottoman soldiers are also carrying curved sabres (*kilij*, Tur. *kılıç*), a weapon that was originally used by Central Asian horsemen in the Middle Ages and which became widespread precisely after the Ottoman westward expansion[4].

[3] Pelc 2006, 9.

[4] Nicolle 2007, 175.

Fig. 8.2 Matteo da Treviso (?) *Battle scene*, woodcut, in Marko Marulić, *Judith*, 1522.

To further support the identification of the soldiers as Ottoman warriors, there is the symbol of the crescent on a flag held by one of the soldiers depicted in the xylography printed (twice) on pages 6v and 29r. The xylography in question depicts an infantry battle in front of a fortified city. The clash is taking place on the right-hand side of the illustration, while on the left-hand side we can see four other flags on the ground. One of them features the symbol of a winged lion, representing Venice; the second features a two-headed eagle, symbolizing the Holy Roman Empire; while the third one has *Fleurs-de-lis,* the symbol of France.

The third xylography, on page 30v (fig. 8.2), depicts a scene in which Ottoman cavalrymen joined by a horseman of the Holy Roman Empire wearing a knight's armor are chasing and killing Catholics. All participants in the bloodshed are clearly identified by their attire and appurtenances: the Ottoman army by their turbans and sabres; the armored horseman by the flag of the Holy Roman Empire. Among the members of the Church we can clearly distinguish a monk wearing a habit, the pope in a three-tiered tiara being slaughtered by one of the Ottoman soldiers with a sabre, a bishop in a mitre who is lying on the ground and being stabbed by the armored horseman, and a cardinal in a cardinal's hat fleeing on horseback from an Ottoman in the act of striking with his sabre.

Ottomans are also featured in a small woodcut illustration printed on page 11v, depicting a ruler on a throne, where the Ottomans can be seen among the figures standing to the left of the ruler's throne.

Even though the Ottoman army is never explicitly mentioned in Marulić's epic poem, ever since the beginning of the twentieth century *Judith* has been interpreted in both Croatian and foreign literary history as an allegorical text in

the context of anti-Ottoman literature[5]. To support this claim, the description of the Assyrian army in particular is cited, in which Marulić employed numerous words of Turkish origin, especially when talking about Holofernes's officers, whom he refers to using Turkish titles (*viziers, subaşi*)[6], thus indirectly alluding to a possible semantic identification between Assyrians and Ottomans[7]. Further support for such an interpretation can be found in the historical circumstances in which *Judith* was written. This was the period of the Second Ottoman-Venetian War (1499-1503), when the Turks had started to plunder the fields of Kaštela and had reached the very walls of Marulić's Split in early 1501. In the 1520s, when the first editions of *Judith* were published in Venice, the people of Split witnessed forceful Turkish assaults on the Fortress of Klis, a strategically important stronghold in the immediate vicinity of Split. In the summer of 1521, Ottomans under the command of Makut-pasha arrived at Klis, and even though they failed to conquer it, their attacks became fiercer, especially after the fall of Knin and Skradin in 1522[8]. In such circumstances Marulić did indeed write several explicitly anti-Ottoman texts, contributing to the efforts of a group of Croatian humanists who fought against the hated enemy of their faith by means of their quills[9]. To support the anti-Ottoman interpretation of *Judith,* scholars often cite the illustrations described above that accompanied the second edition of the epic poem. Thus, back in 1913 Branko Vodnik wrote:

> "The image on the frontispiece of this edition, which can also be found in the text, depicts a battle, but not between a Jewish and Babylonian army, but rather between Christians and Ottomans, which indicates that the poet's contemporaries were also familiar with his tendency"[10].

Moreover, until recently it was believed that the person who made the drawings on which illustrations from this edition were based and who even carved the printing plates was none other than Marko Marulić himself, given

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[5] See, for example, Kasandrić 1901a, 5; Kasandrić 1901b, 60-71; Dukić 2004, 46; Lőkös 2008.

[6] Ježić 1993, 75.

[7] Lőkös 2008, 192.

[8] Katić 1962, 333.

[9] See, for example, Paljetak 2002.

[10] Vodnik 1913, 112.

that the letter *M* was carved into one of the woodcuts (on page 30v), which was interpreted as Marulić's signature[11]. This is what Cvito Fisković, a renowned Croatian art historian, wrote about this topic:

> "Marul [Marulić], as some have already noticed, described and portrayed the Old Testament warriors in 'Judith' as wearing Turkish medieval military costumes and armor […] Contemporary armor, shields, spears and daggers, the curved Ottoman sabres and turbans, bishops' mitres, papal tiaras and broad-brimmed hats worn by cardinals, swallowtail flags with the Ottoman crescent and insignia of Western kings and gentry […] can be seen in those woodcuts. It can therefore be assumed that they were drawn and carved by a person who wanted 'Judith' to be read as an epic poem about the war between Christians and Ottomans, and that person was primarily its author"[12].

However, more recently there has been an increasing number of texts opposing the allegorisation of *Judith*[13]. Thus, the early 2000s saw the publication of several texts which expressed doubt that the illustrations in the second edition of *Judith* were actually intended to reflect both the plot of the epic poem and the historical context in which it was written[14]. The final say in the discussion was offered by Milan Pelc in 2006, who established that the woodcuts from the second edition of Marulić's *Judith*, the ones depicting the battle between Christians and Ottomans, had been originally intended for the text attributed to the medieval Cistercian Abbot, Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202) titled *Expositio in librum Beati Cirilli*. It was printed in 1516 by Lazaro Soardi in Venice and it was Soardi's only edition of this work, as he died in 1517. The woodcuts he owned ended up in the hands of other printers, one of which was Bernardino Benalio who was entrusted with the task of printing Marulić's *Judith*[15]. The text *Expositio in librum Beati Cirilli* is in fact a collection of prophecies describing the arrival of the Antichrist and an antipope of German origin who, supported by his emperor and an army of infidels and schismatics, kills the actual pope

[11] Fisković 1986, 402-403; Tomasović 2001, 12; Kužić 2001, 69.

[12] Fisković 1986, 402.

[13] See, for example, Pšihistal 2002.

[14] Kužić 2001; Ivanišević 2002.

[15] Pelc 2006, 7.

and the other prelates. This is why flags featuring a two-headed eagle, the symbol of the emperors of the German nation, are deliberately depicted among the adversaries of the Church. In this work, the Christian knights succeeded in defeating the enemies of the Church, who are wearing Oriental clothes, which means they can be associated with the contemporary enemies, the Ottomans.

Even though the woodcuts do not coincide with the plot of Marulić's *Judith,* they are still applicable *mutatis mutandis*, as pointed out by Pelc[16], since the epic poem also deals with the theme of good vs. evil and constitutes a metaphor of the contemporary struggle against the enemies of the Christian faith. Taking into consideration Milan Pelc's analysis, it comes as no surprise that in a recent publication, *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* (vol. 7, 2015), we encounter an unconventional interpretation of *Judith*:

> "The publisher of the 1522 edition added a significant twist: the book's title alone may have inspired the publisher to politicise and militarise the epic by adding woodcut illustrations showing battle scenes related to contemporary wars. If one assumes a non-political reading of the original text, the 1522 edition thus presents a decisive change in perspective and interpretation through its use of political iconography. The military scenes it incorporates illustrate not the biblical story of Judith but rather the wars of the early sixteenth century, utilising woodcuts that appear to have come into existence for an altogether different purpose and were created for a book published in 1516 that had nothing to do with the city of Split"[17].

As a contribution to the debate about whether Marulic's *Judith* should be interpreted in light of the political circumstances in which it was written, this chapter analyzes the visual narratives in the fourth edition of the epic poem, whose relationship to this debate has not been studied until now[18].

The fourth edition of the *Judith* was printed in 1586 by Marco Bindoni in Venice. It contains a total of seven woodcut illustrations. The frontispiece features the depiction of *Supper at Emmaus,* which diverges icono-

[16] Pelc 2006, 5.

[17] Posset *et al*. 2015, 101.

[18] Woodcut illustrations from the said edition were described and published by Ivanišević (2002), but their meaning and interpretations have so far been unknown.

graphically and stylistically from the other six woodcut illustrations that form a homogeneous thematic and stylistic whole, as it will be demonstrated later on. The woodcut illustrations were printed at the beginning of their corresponding cantos. The first woodcut illustration can be found on page 5r, beneath the title *Libro paruo*, while the remaining ones can be found above certain titles.

In the multi-figure composition of the first woodcut illustration, it is possible to distinguish several planes of the narrative, which is set in a landscape. In the foreground the main plot can be seen; a clash between two men/warriors. One of them has dismounted his horse and is brandishing a sword while charging at the other horseman, who has drawn his sabre, preparing to strike a blow at his opponent, while a second sabre hangs at his waist. A bird with wings outspread is swooping down on the two clashing warriors. In the middle ground, on the left-hand side, there is a group of men, one of whom has wrapped his arms around a woman who struggles to get free. In the background, there is a walled city with a prominent stone gate. The city is located near the sea, in which several sailing ships can be seen.

The woodcut illustration at the beginning of Canto II is printed on page 10v. The narrative is also set in a landscape, divided into two planes. On the left-hand side of the composition two men are riding a horse, but their arms are behind their backs, probably tied. They are followed by two donkeys. In the background, the right-hand side of the composition features a battle scene in which horsemen attack each other with swords. The woodcut illustration accompanying the following canto shows two male figures talking to each other in the foreground, on the left-hand side. One of them has dismounted his horse and stands on the ground holding his armor. The other figure is riding a horse, wearing armor and carrying a sword in his right hand. The background features a landscape with a fountain and some trees. A naked man is holding onto one of the trees, while above another man is flying away on a winged horse.

The woodcut illustration at the beginning of Canto IV is printed on page 23r. Several scenes are featured within the rectangular form of the illustration. Two dead warriors are lying on the edge of a forest clearing, while in the forest there is a group of soldiers whose backs are turned towards the observer. In the middle ground, behind the forest clearing, a man and a woman riding a horse and talking to each other are shown from their

Fig. 8.3 Unknown artist, *Battle scene*, woodcut, in Marko Marulić, *Judith*, 1586.

waist up, while in the background, on the right-hand side of the illustration, two clashing horsemen can be seen. In the background there are other soldiers represented by the coast, where two towers and two sailing ships in the sea can be discerned.

The illustration at the beginning of Canto V is printed on page 29v. As in the previous woodcuts, the plot is divided into two planes. Two horses can be seen on the left-hand side, one of which is ridden by a soldier wearing suit of armour, and the other by a man and a woman. A military camp with two tents in front of which two horsemen are engaged in a fight is represented in the background of the composition. The last woodcut is printed on page 36r and it depicts a fight between two horsemen set in a landscape (fig. 8.3). The horseman on the right has thrust a spear into the chest of the one on the left, causing him to fall backwards off a galloping horse. The background features a fortified city and a separate tower with a building. As these descriptions show, there is nothing in these illustrations to indicate a conflict between Christians and Muslims, although that is precisely what they are about.

What I argue in this chapter is that the illustrations that accompanied Cantos I, IV and VI of the 1586 edition of *Judith* are copies based on illustrations that were printed in the famous epic poem *Orlando Furioso* (*The Frenzy of Orlando*).

written by Ludovico Ariosto (Reggio Emilia, September 8, 1474 – Ferrara, July 6, 1533) and printed in Venice by Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari[19].

The earliest known illustrated edition of *Orlando Furioso* (containing forty cantos) dates back to 1530. It was published in Venice for the publisher Nicolò d'Aristotile, known as Zoppino, and again in 1536 in an extended edition (forty-six cantos) by the same publisher. However, it is precisely Giolito's edition that is to have the greatest success and fortune, appearing for the first time in Venice in 1542. Its success is owed to illustrations decorating each canto of the epic poem, which were of higher quality and considerably more elaborate than the ones accompanying Zoppino's edition. Even Giorgio Vasari had a favourable opinion about the illustrations in Giolito's edition, describing them in the following manner: "*Non furono anco se non lodevoli le figure che Gabriel Giolito stampatore de´-libri, mise negl´Orlandi Furiosi, perció che furono condotte con bella maniera d´intagli*"[20]. Due to the edition's outstanding success the publisher himself used the same illustrations for almost thirty subsequent editions of the epic poem, as well as for some other editions he published. The popularity and widespread dissemination of these illustrations resulted in their numerous copies and derivations which accompanied not only editions of *Orlando Furioso*, but also various other literary works printed in Venice, Lyon, Antwerp, Florence or Paris. Thus copies based on woodcuts from Giolito's edition of *Orlando Furioso*, which appear in Marulić's *Judith* from 1586, can also be found in printed, multi-volume editions of Boiardo's epic *Orlando Innamorato*, or more precisely in the editions published by the Venetian printers Vicenzo Viano & Bernardin Fratelli in 1571 and 1572. Even though this similarly-themed epic poem preceded *Orlando Furioso*, the latter proved to be far more successful than its prequel, which was reflected not only in the reception of the text, but in its pictorial matter as well. While numerous editions of *Orlando Furioso* contained illustrations that were created *ad hoc,* throughout the sexteenth century Boiardo's epic poem was accompanied by reutilized illustrations, i.e. woodcuts that had previously (originally) been intended for Pulci's epic (Morgante) or even more frequently for Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso,* or by copies based on illustrations originally designed for the two epic poems[21]. Some of the

[19] The author would like to thank colleagues Federica Caneparo and Giovanna Rizzarelli for this insight.

[20] Vasari 2003, 852.

[21] Rizzarelli 2013, 37-39; Rizzarelli 2017a, 3; Rizzarelli 2017b, 211.

illustrations from Viano's edition have been used multiple times within the same edition, which proves that they have been re-contextualized and accommodated to fit Boiardo's epic poem. Viano's edition is significant for this discussion since in it we recognize not only the copies based on illustrations from Giolito's edition of *Orlando Furioso* (which appear in Marulić's *Judith*), but also illustrations which accompany the second, the third and the fifth canto of Marulić's epic poem printed in 1586. Those three wooduts most likely derive from illustrations from *Orlando Furioso* or from one of the editions of the epic poem whose integral copy has not been preserved[22]. Marco Bindoni, the publisher of Marulić's epic poem, belonged to the second generation of printers and publishers who emigrated to Venice from Isola Bella di Lago Maggiore (formerly a part of the Duchy of Milan) and who were active in the second half of the sixteenth century. He was the son of Agostino Bindoni and for a while he worked together with his brother Stefano[23]. The number of editions published by Marco Bindoni is not considerable. Based on the available and preserved copies, there were only five of them[24]. However, with regard to this topic it is interesting to point out that in 1589 Marco Bindoni printed an illustrated edition of *Orlando Furioso* whose only known copy is currently kept at the *Biblioteca Porziuncola* in Assisi. That particular edition of the book did not contain illustrations identical to the ones which appear in Marulić's *Judith*[25], due to which their exact provenance still remains unknown.

As it is well known, *Orlando Furioso* is a complex literary work which focuses on several storylines, *in primis* the epic plot of war between Muslims (Saracens) and Christians, which is underpinning the entire epic poem and is concluded with the victory of Christians after the clash between the two opposing sides. Although Ariosto's epic poem is set in the ninth century, during

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[22] I would like to thank my colleague Giovanna Rizzarelli, one of the collaborators on the project called *L'Orlando furioso e la sua traduzione in immagini. Fortuna italiana e europea* led by Lina Bolzoni, for this information.

[23] Pastorello 1924, 9, 13.

[24] These are: Amphiareo 1596; Ariosto 1589; *Cronichetta venetiana* 1599; Gerusalemme 1597; Rangoni 1577. Information has been retrieved from the website of the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche. ICCU http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/scripts/iccu_ext.dll?fn=42&i=584&fz=1 Accesed on September 6, 2018.

[25] I would like to thank my colleague Daniela Di Somma, employed at the Biblioteca Porziuncola in Assisi, for sending me photographs of Bindoni's edition of *Orlando Furioso* for the purpose of this research.

the reign of Charlemagne, when the Saracen king Agramante besieged Paris together with his allies, numerous scholars have repeatedly emphasized that Ariosto's negative perception of Muslims in the epic poem draws on contemporary enemies – the Ottomans – as well as other contemporary events and figures[26]. The reception of the epic poem from the viewpoint of current events was also mirrored in its visual narration[27]. Thus, it was precisely in Giolito's editions, from which illustrations for Marulić's *Judith* derived, that the African king Agramante was depicted with Ottoman attributes, which we can also see in some of the later Venetian editions; for example, in the illustration accompanying Canto XXXVIII of Varisco's 1568 edition of *Orlando Furioso*.

The woodcut illustration which accompanied Canto I of *Judith* was originally taken from Canto VIII of Giolito's *Orlando Furioso*. The two clashing figures depicted in the foreground are the Saracen warrior Ruggiero and Alcina's servant, while the background features the abduction of Angelica by the Ebudians. This illustration coincided perfectly with the storyline in Canto I of *Judith*, which narrates the battle between the Median king Arfaksad and Nebuchadnezzar's army on the banks of the Euphrates.

The woodcut illustration accompanying Canto IV of Marulić's *Judith* originally belonged to Canto XIX of *Orlando Furioso*. In the foreground Medoro and Cloridan (Saracen soldiers) are lying on the ground next to the body of Dardinel, while Christian soldiers are entering the forest. In the middle ground Angelica is meeting a shepherd, while in the background the duel between Marfisa (a Saracen warrior, the sister of Ruggiero, on the right) and Guidone Selvaggio (on the left) is depicted. The focus of this illustration is on the female character, the beautiful Angelica, who is equated with Judith in Marulić's poem. In Canto IV, she gets dressed and heads towards Holofernes's camp to carry out her plan.

The third woodcut illustration, which can be found at the beginning of Canto VI of Marulić's *Judith,* was taken from the beginning of Canto XXXV of *Orlando Furioso*. It depicts a duel on horseback between a woman and a man – the Christian warrior Bradamante (on the right) and the Saracen horseman Ferraù (on the left) – outside the walls of Arles, in which Bradamante is victorious. Even though Judith did not fight Holofernes in the manner presented in the illustration, the analogy and the symbolism are more than

[26] Marinelli 1987, 83-102; Schwarz Lausten 2014, 261-286.

[27] Čapeta Rakić 2017, 127-129.

evident: a brave Christian heroine, whose female characteristics are clearly emphasized by means of a long dress billowing around the horse's back, has struck a blow to the Saracen warrior. Likewise, Judith strikes her first blow at her male adversary by seducing him with her feminine beauty, after which she delivers the real blow, the one dealt with a weapon. This is how Ariosto describes that moment:

> "As thus they parlying stood, her helm unclos'd
> Her visage to the wondering gaze expos'd ;
> And while Ferrau those angel features view'd,
> His heart confess'd him more than half subdu'd,
> Then to himself — A form I sure behold
> From Paradise, not bred of mortal mould:
> And should I fail in joust the lance to meet,
> Those conquering eyes have wrought my future defeat [35:78]"[28].

The interpretation of the three remaining woodcuts in Marulić's *Judith* is somewhat more complex, since it is not known where and for what purpose they were first created, although they undoubtedly derived from the iconographic repertoire pertaining to Ariosto's epic poem. For the purposes of this paper we shall focus on the example of the illustration printed at the beginning of Canto III of Marulić's epic poem (fig. 8.4); the identification of its scenes and the suggestion regarding its provenance are based on the comparative iconographic study presented here.

This illustration must originally have corresponded to Canto XXIII of *Orlando Furioso*, specifically to the moment when Orlando, in his rage, throws off his armor and starts uprooting trees, naked. To confirm this hypothesis we can use the woodcut illustration accompanying this canto in Giolito's 1542

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[28] "*Parlando tuttavolta la donzella*
Teneva la visiera alta dal viso.
Mirando Ferraù la faccia bella,
Si sente rimaner mezzo conquiso,
E taciturno dentro a sé favella:
– Questo un angel mi par del paradiso;
E ancor che con la lancia non mi tocchi,
Abbattuto son già da' suoi begli occhi". – English translation from: Ariosto 1783, 250.

Fig. 8.4 Unknown artist, *Battle scene*, woodcut, in Marko Marulić, *Judith*, 1586.

edition (fig. 8.5), since it became the iconographic model for the illustration accompanying the canto in several subsequent editions of *Orlando Furioso* – for example, Valvasori's 1553 edition and Bindoni's 1589 edition – as well as for the illustration printed in Scott's edition of Boiardo's epic poem that appears at the beginning of Canto IX of Book I[29]. The right side of Giolito's woodcut depicts a naked Orlando uprooting trees with his hands, and particularly interesting in it is the fountain which appears as Angelica and Medoro's *locus amoenus* instead of the natural spring mentioned in the poem. This makes it a rather obvious iconographic model for the illustration in Marulić's *Judith*. In Canto III of Marulić's epic poem, the naked figure clinging to the tree represents Achior, who was tied to a tree in front of Bethulia. This confirms that the choice of illustrations for Marulić's epic was by no means random.

The choice to use illustrations from an epic poem whose plot revolves around the conflict between Christians and Muslims, therefore alluding to the contemporary struggle against the Ottomans, again raises the question of the interpretation and reception of Marulić's *Judith*. Whether the potential interpretation of the epic poem influenced the choice of the visual narrative

[29] Rizzarelli 2017a, 9.

Fig. 8.5 Unknown artist, woodcut for canto 23 in *Orlando furioso di m. Ludouico Ariosto*, 1542.

or the visual narrative shaped the reception of the literary work remains open to debate. The truth is that the illustrations from *Orlando Furioso* that were selected for the fourth edition of Marulić's *Judith* are neutral, that is, the protagonists do not have any external characteristics that would identify them as members of either a Christian or a Muslim army, which is why the interpretation of the illustrations must have depended on the readers' knowledge.

Conversely, and regarding the question of the allegorical interpretation of Judith as a Christian heroine in the context of the relations between Christians and Muslims, here we shall mention an important sixteenth century visual which allows us to unequivocally trace the contemporary political connotations. It is an intarsia depicting Judith in the choir of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, whose preparatory drawing was commissioned from the famous Venetian master Lorenzo Lotto in 1524 (fig. 8.6)[30]. The cartoon was made in Venice between 1527 and 1528, while the intarsia, which was crafted by Giovan Francesco Capoferri was executed in 1529. In the foreground the intarsia depicts the biblical heroine and her handmaiden as they are walking away from the tent in which Holofernes' beheaded body is lying on the ground (in fact, only his feet can be seen). In one hand Judith is holding the blade with which she had committed the bloody act, while in

[30] I would like to thank my colleague Francesco Sorce for informing me about this visual representation in the context of my research topic.

Fig. 8.6 Giovan Francesco Capoferri after Lorenzo Lotto's preparatory drawing, *Judith and Holofernes*, Bergamo, Santa Maria Maggiore.

her other hand is Holofernes' head which she is shoving into the handmaiden's bag. A large number of soldiers can be seen in the background. On the right side is Holofernes' army asleep outside of their tents, while some of the soldiers urinate and defecate due to excessive eating and drinking during the previous night's banquet. On the left side is a fortified city (Betulia) with a large basilica and soldiers standing in front of the walls. The interpretation of this depiction of Judith as a Christian heroine in the context of anti-Ottoman iconography relies on rather explicit symbols of Ottoman crescent moon marking Holofernes' tent. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that Judith is holding a curved saber (*kilij*, tur. *kılıç*) in her hand, which she had taken from Holofernes and used to commit the bloody act. This unequivocally identifies Holofernes and his army with the contemporary enemies of Christians. It is also interesting to highlight an observation made by Corinne Lucas Fiorato[31] who maintains that the iconography of Lotto's *Judith* in the choir of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo could have been inspired by

[31] Lucas Fiorato 2011, 52.

a contemporary epic poem or theatre play about Judith. She bases her opinion primarily on the visualisation of Holofernes' drunken army which is unprecedented in literary and visual sources. The only parallels she came across can be found in Marulić's description of the drunken army in *Judith*:

> "One rev'ller dizzily collapsed and hit a bord,
> One soaked himself in pee, some quarrelled in discord.
> to keep aloft one lord clutched at a reeling mate
> who no prop could afford and both went sprawling straight;
> some spew and eructate, others gaze disgusted;
> others in tipsy state they bore back to their bed;
> as much sense in their head they had as donkey dead"[32].

Although Fiorato emphasizes that it would be difficult to believe that Lorenzo Lotto had read Marko Marulić's verses written in Croatian[33], it is possible that he was familiar with them after all. Namely, in 1527, when the cartoon for the Judith from Bergamo was made, Lotto painted the famous portrait of Toma Niger, the Croatian bishop, humanist and writer, who was also a very good friend of Marko Marulić with whom he shared the love for the written word and exchanged book inscriptions[34]. Under those circumstances it is not difficult to imagine Lotto and Toma engaged in conversation in which Marulić's *Judith* might have been mentioned. In any case, it is possible that there were other contemporized interpretations of the Book of Judith from a military and political point of view, apart from Marulić's *Judith*, as well as comic and satirical performances with stage design sketches.

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[32] *Jer niki o ploči udri sobom pad se*
Niki se pomoči, niki kara svad se,
Niki daržat rad se, druga uhitiše,
Ter i z drugom zad se uznak uzvarziše.
A niki rigniše, niki se gnušahu,
A niki ležiše, niki na nj padahu.
A druzih nošahu, stavit jih na odar.
Toko se saznahu koko martav Tovar. Marulić 1996, 75; Translated into English in: Marulić 1999, 29.

[33] Lucas Fiorato 2011, 52.

[34] Škunca 2001, 268.

In the turbulent sixteenth century they would have circulated throughout Europe and therefore might also have served as a template for Lotto's iconographic solution for the Judith and Holofernes cartoon[35].

In short, the fourth edition of Marulić's epic poem *Judith* features illustrations whose visual narrative derives from Ariosto's epic poem *Orlando Furioso*, a fact that urges us to re-examine whether and to what extent the illustrations from that edition of *Judith* have influenced the reception of the literary work. This paper argues that it was no coincidence that the specific illustrations that were selected, for the fourth as well as the second edition, were from a literary work describing a war between Christians and Muslims, and which included allusions to the conflicts with the Ottomans, the Christians' enemy at the time Ariosto penned his epic. Furthermore, I believe that precisely those illustrations were selected for *Judith* which were able to connect the text and the image as closely as possible. Whoever it was who decided which illustrations would accompany Marulić's epic poem was, in my opinion, intimately familiar with both the plot of *Judith* and the available repertoire of existing iconographic woodcuts and their original meaning.

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PART 3
IMAGES OF THE TURK IN RELIGIOUS CONTEXTS: STOKING FEAR AND STAGING CONVERSION

9. 'For Grace Received': Fear and the Image of the Other in Ex Votos and the Popular Imagination in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Liguria

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During the early modern period, the population of the Ligurian Riviera, like many others scattered along the coast of the Italian peninsula, found itself having to face and live with fear of "the Turk"[1]. A generic term, and often incorrect from a historical point of view, but one that instantly indicates the terror and scourge of the corsairs, especially from Algeria, but also Tunisia, Tripoli and Africa in general, who were pillaging the European coast from Gibraltar to Sicily.

A scourge and a real problem that had been felt and perceived by the local population for centuries, in continuity with the threat of the Saracens in medieval times, as attested by the *Planctum Pedonae*[2], which has come down to us in a thirteenth-century parchment but in all probability dates to an earlier period. It is a ballad, in vulgar Latin, sung in churches and in squares, that expresses in a few short lines the suffering of the population in the Ligurian and Provençal coastal areas:

Sic aequora – sunt cruore – nostro sordidata
Sic nemora – sunt sudore – nostro maculata
Sic tempora – sunt maerore – nostro dedicata
Lex insana – regnat infidelium[3].

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[1] On these themes, see, with previous bibliography, Capriotti and Franco Llopis 2017. For a general overview; for the Ligurian context, see the essay by Calcagno and Lo Basso in this volume.

[2] Giacchero 1970, 7.

[3] Thus the waters are tainted by our blood / Thus the woods are stained by our sweat / Thus the times are devoted to our sadness / The insane law of the infidels reigns (author's translation).

In addition to written testimony in the form of archival documents, proclamations and ordinances[4], a number of images render palpable today the fear and the presence of the Turk, and the related experiences of plunder, slavery and liberation: all themes that were part of the lives of the Ligurian population and emerge in the analysis of the numerous ex votos that can still be seen today in the local churches and sanctuaries. The stories and representations of the Turk who encounters the Ligurian, so common in ex votos and other simple, direct narrations, went hand in hand with the main events that wove together the history of political clashes between the two great poles of power in the Mediterranean.

As Didi Huberman wrote, "Before representing anyone, the ex-voto represents someone's symptom and prayer"[5], highlighting the "systematic exploration of all the ways in which a plastic form can signify a vow by representing the affliction of which a subject begs his god to rid him"[6]. In the Ligurian ex votos with marine subjects, in multiple cases this affliction is explicitly represented by the Turk and his world.

The votive object, whether directly "drawn from reality", like the 600 Turkish arrows brought as an offering to the Sanctuary of Nostra Signora della Misericordia in Savona[7], or a painting or sculpture, like the various votive panels that depict corsair attacks, visually expresses the relationship that ties the devout to the sphere of the invisible, highlighting, through codified expressive and communicative means, the connection – often referred to the lower classes but, in fact, typical of all strata of society – with votive practice and devotion.

Analysis of the surviving paintings[8] linked to popular devotion has thus evidenced that the feeling of collective terror and the representation of this fear were great along the coasts of the Riviera di Ponente and the Riviera di Levante[9].

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[4] See Lo Basso 2002; Lo Basso 2011.

[5] Didi Huberman 2007, 47.

[6] Didi Huberman 2007, 70.

[7] Picconi 1760, 148-49.

[8] On ex votos in the area of Liguria, see Nastasi 1981; Freedberg 1989; Manodori 1992; Meriana 1993; Meriana 1995; Simonetti 1997; Bacigalupo and Benatti 1998; Ferraris 2016.

[9] Luppi 1952.

Indeed, the Ligurian coast is dotted and marked out by a continuous series of towers of varying height, watch towers, often called Saracen towers, that express the past communities' need for fortifications and surveillance to curb the threat from the sea. It is therefore plain that fear and the attendant literary and artistic expressions were greater along the coasts of the Riviere, whereas the problem seems to have been less marked in Genoa, even if not ignored, as we know from the numerous proclamations preserved in the State Archives that were posted to warn the Riviera populations "from the city of Sarzana to that of Ventimiglia"[10]. The coastal towns were in fact the ones had to face, often alone, the constant danger posed by corsair ships, and this can be seen today looking at the provenance and location of surviving ex votos depicting nautical themes or pirate attacks.

One of the oldest examples is a votive painting in Alassio that depicts the 1502 victory of the local galleon San Nicolao, owned by Captain Giovanni Scofferi and commanded by Stefano Airaldi, which was anchored near the Catalan coast of Sant Alies when it was attacked by three ships decorated with the Turkish half-moon, which were then routed thanks to divine intervention; in the Catalan inscription we can read some of these informations: "This is the galleon of Antonio Escofè (now Scofferi) commanded by Stefano Airaldi anchored at Sant Alies. Foran Deshats". For this act of valour, King Philip II of Spain granted the Scofferi family, which fought in the Battle of Lepanto, the right to bear the titles Lord and Lady[11].

An even older example is the frescoed ex voto in the Cathedral of Albenga (fig. 9.1)[12], an interesting tripartite image that depicts St Clare with the patron on the left, kneeling in prayer, and, on the right, a nautical scene of a sailboat in peril in a stormy sea, hatched with parallel, cursive strokes. The inscription below provides the date of the work, 1456, but no information about the event. It might be a simple ex voto of thanks for help avoiding the dangers of a storm,

[10] Giacchero 1970, 89.

[11] Collu 2000, 89 and note 5, 93.

[12] Rossetti Brezzi 2007, 195-197. In this essay, the scholar argues that the ex voto was created for an avoided shipwreck. However, the sailboat scene was added, and invented, when the work was restored in the 1960s, as we see from comparison with a few black and white photographs taken before the restoration. It is therefore well possible that the ex voto was produced in thanks for escape from the Turkish enemy.

Fig. 9.1 Unknown artist, *Triptych of Santa Chiara*, 1456, Cattedrale di Albenga.

although the presence of St Clare, often represented in ex votos linked to corsair attacks[13], might allude to an episode of armed violence.

This image serves to highlight that we cannot marginalise the ex voto, "relegating it to an antiquarian and book market", as argued in the 1980s by Eugenio Battisti[14], who suggested that we no longer associate the term "popular" with the ex voto[15], recommending that we link it to the comics and graphic novels instead, in agreement with an evocative interpretation proposed by Arturo Quinto Quintavalle[16]. Indeed, the present exemplar does seem to suggest a fairly well-off patron, considering the patron's clothing in the reprentation, the location of the work and the technique employed.

Close analysis of the ex votos connected to corsair attacks reveals a typology and shared stylistic elements that were used over two, if not three, centuries. What all the narrative ex votos share is the schematic bipartition of the representation of the miraculous event, which they describe in simple, easily understood terms. They all make a clear distinction between divine and human space, which meet in the intimate, personal moment of the vow and that, through the visual illustration of the event, make the entire community participant in the miracle and escaped danger. In the middle, we always find a depiction of the ship attacked by pirate galleys, while in some cases we can also see sections of coastline, which make it possible to identify where the event took place. Some of the paintings are of good quality, such as the seventeenth-century ex voto attributed to the circle of Juan del Corte (fig. 9.2)[17]; in other cases, the corsair attack shifts from sea to land and the painter has used just a few strokes to indicate the universally recognised features of the Turk, such as the turban and scimitar, as we see in the ex voto by P. Padella in the Sanctuary of Nostra Signora delle Grazie (fig. 9.3)[18]. The holy image in the

[13] As is well known, St Clare was credited with expelling the Saracens from Assisi in 1240. For a recent study of the iconography of St Clare, see Ben-Aryeh Debby 2017.

[14] Battisti 1986, 35-48.

[15] For this argument, also see Canetti 2014, 215-233.

[16] Battisti 1986, 37.

[17] The ex voto is preserved in the Museo del Mare e della Navigazione in Genoa and measures 63 x 92.8 cm.

[18] Displayed in the corridor of ex votos, the painting, which the inscription tells us is the work by P. Padella, measures 70 x 90 cm. Meriana 1993, 118-119.

Fig. 9.2 Circle of Juan del Corte, *Turkish ship attacked by four galleys*, 17th century, Genoa, Museo del Mare e della Navigazione.
Fig. 9.3 P. Padella, *Ex voto*, late 17th century, Genoa, Chiesa di Nostra Signora delle Grazie.

upper register of the work is recurrent and fundamental: as noted by Battisti[19], the divine is a 'prefabricated' element that mimics the image in the sanctuary where the ex voto was placed. The Ligurian ex votos are no exception, and so we can identify their representations of highly venerated religious images, such as the *Madonna della Costa* in Sanremo[20], the iconography of the *Vergine delle Vigne*[21] and the venerated image of *Nostra Signora delle Grazie* in Sori[22].

It is therefore clear that the subject of the narrative ex voto combines within it two only apparently contrasting elements: on the one hand, it is something absolutely private and personal, very often explained in detail in the inscription, but, on the other hand, it also expresses a common, generalised fear and feeling of danger that could be felt by everyone. The ex voto is seen by the community as an *exemplum* that can be replicated, thus originating series of similar typologies that become stronger and more incessant when the fear and the perception of an evil are widely shared in a community.

Alongside the surviving pictorial evidence, which is greatly reduced with respect to the past, we also have written testimony, in particular of a religious and hagiographic nature: literary texts and other documents tied to places and sanctuaries, that reveal the power of the fear of the Other in the collective

[19] Battisti 1986, 35-48.

[20] Meriana 1993, 176-177.

[21] For the iconography of the Madonna delle Vigne, see Magnani 1979, 25-33; Parma Armani 1988, 10-24.

[22] Meriana 1993, 209-210.

imagination and the remedies for it used by the Riviera populations. Among the most interesting written sources, the *Storia dell'Apparizione e de' miracoli di Nostra Signora di Misericordia di Savona* can be cited, three volumes by Giacomo Picconi (1760) that concentrate on the miracles worked by the Madonna di Savona to fend off Turkish attacks by sea. One of its most sensational stories is that of a ship of sailors from Ragusa who escaped attack by two Turkish galleys off Capo Mele in 1558[23]. In memory of the miracle, the sailors left a painting of the episode in the sanctuary in Savona, in keeping with tradition, but also added 600 arrows collected from among those that remained stuck in the ship and six large iron balls. What the Ragusans left was a relic, generally described by Didi Huberman as expression of "the relief of a psychically processed organic ordeal"[24], a material and objective extension of the escaped danger: an image or object with extremely potent symbolic value.

The constant presence of the Turk, who terrorised villages with unexpected attacks, often at night, is not only found directly in the cited ex votos, but also in the flourishing of numerous legends and miraculous narratives that see the Christian image, often the only surviving bastion of defence for the village and its Christian and civic identity, as the linchpin and start of a new and reinvigorated devotion.

This was the case for Sori, where, after the Battle of Lepanto, a small icon of the Madonna and Child in the Sanctuary of Nostra Signora delle Grazie (fig. 9.4), allegedly brought from the East by the sea captain Gerolamo Stagno and already a fundamental devotional image in that area, demonstrated its function as an object that could defend the village from outside attacks and an image that could reconstruct the village's identity, which was cruelly put to the test by Turkish attacks. According to tradition[25], in 1584, after devastating Sori, the Barbary corsairs took the holy image, which had been in the sanctuary since 1509, with them. But in spite of the favourable winds, their ships were unable to move away from the shore and so the pirates threw the painting into the sea. The residents of the sanctuary collected it when it washed up on the beach. This event intensified veneration of the effigy, inextricably linking the image to the danger of Turkish incursions.

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[23] Picconi 1760, 148-149.

[24] Didi Huberman 2007, 25.

[25] Remondini and Remondini 1886, 174; Ghio 1898.

Fig. 9.4 Unknown artist, *Madonna con Bambino*, 14th century, Sori, Santuario di Nostra Signora delle Grazie.

A different, and in some ways opposite, narrative path ties the image of the *Madonna di Lampedusa* to Castellaro, on the west Ligurian coast. Here again, the story of a miracle and popular devotion to an image is tied to pirate invasions, or more precisely in this case, derives from them. According to tradition[26], in 1561, Barbary corsairs attacked the small village of Castellaro and among their scores of prisoners was Andrea Anfosso, a young man who became a legendary figure in the story of the foundation of the Sanctuary of the Madonna di Lampedusa. Enslaved, the young Ligurian was put on a

[26] Meriana 1993, 188-189; Arnaldi 1922; Garnett and Rosser 2013, pp. 88-91.

Fig. 9.5 *Image and inscription over the door recording the miracle*, 1619, Cappella della Madonna di Lampedusa, Castellaro di Taggia.

Turkish ship that, due to a sudden storm, landed on the island of Lampedusa. Sent to collect wood in the forest, Anfosso managed to escape and hide from the Turks, who then abandoned him on the island. The young Christian, who had never wavered in his faith (as was the case, instead, for many of his fellows)[27], then heard a voice whisper to move closer to a recess, where he found an image of the Virgin and Child with St Catherine surrounded by light. Using the canvas as a rudimentary sail, the Ligurian managed to return to his home town, where he decided to build a sanctuary. The residents of Castellaro wanted to build the sanctuary elsewhere, but every time, in accordance with a recurrent motif in the phenomenology of images credited with miraculous agency, it escaped and returned to the place indicated by Anfosso. And so it was that, at the end of 1619, the sanctuary was built in Costaventosa.

The escape, liberation and prodigious return from the island of Lampedusa to Liguria are all fixed in images that, on the one hand, communicate the power of the miracle and the pivotal role of the devotional image and, on the other hand, implicitly express the fear of the Turk and the theme of the possibility of liberating slaves. However, in the fascinating story of the sanctuary

[27] Giacchero 1970, 114.

Fig. 9.6 *Andrea Anfosso returning home, using the Madonna di Lampedusa's effigy as a sail*, 19th century holy card.

of *Nostra Signora di Lampedusa*, which is depicted in a simple, immediately legible seventeenth-century fresco in the church's dedicated chapel (fig. 9.5) as well as in small popular images from the nineteenth century (fig. 9.6)[28], we find all of the elements that characterise the role of images invested with agency: recognition of the divine image surrounded by light, the person of faith in difficulty, the use of the image in order to be saved and the autonomous movement of the image itself. It is an exemplary story of devotion and this is why it remains deeply cherished by its community today.

In addition to hosting votive images and miraculous paintings and icons able to fend off the Turkish threat, Ligurian churches are also connected to

[28] Garnett and Rosser 2013, 88-91.

the institution and spread of companies devoted to the liberation of slaves, another element that helps us to understand the reality of corsair attacks.

Between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, two orders were founded to aid Christians who had become prisoners of the "infidels". In 1198, Innocent III approved the Trinitarian Order, founded by Staints John and Felix with the aim of liberating slaves[29]. In 1218, St Peter Nolasco founded the Order of the Mercedarians, also devoted to the redemption of slaves[30]. In addition to these two religious orders, there were also various companies and confraternities, including that of Nostra Signora del Soccorso, which, drawing the faithful and adherents from among the population, collected funds to help free slaves[31]. Many companies were founded in the churches of the coastal towns of Liguria, and the presence of Trinitarians and Mercedarians points to this in particular on the Riviera di Ponente (as well as Genoa), with examples including the Oratory of the Trinitarians in Taggia, the archconfraternity of the SS. Trinità in Monte Calvario and that of Nostra Signora del Soccorso in Torre Paponi[32]. The company of Nostra Signora del Soccorso contro gli Infedeli was founded in 1743. The painting venerated by the company[33], produced in Liguria in the middle of the eighteenth century and influenced by the style of Gregorio De Ferrari (fig. 9.7), portrays the *Madonna del Soccorso* in glory surrounded by angels in the upper register, two slaves with bound hands in the lower part and, in the background, a seascape with a bay and promontory.

This composition, while emphasizing the centrality of the Madonna's sacred image, is related, for the bound slaves in the altarpiece's lower section, to the iconography disseminated by the paintings commissioned by the Trinitarians, of which a Genoese example is the 1695 work by Domenico Parodi in the order's Church of San Benedetto al Porto[34].

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[29] On the Trinitarian Order and its role in the liberation of slaves, see Cipollone 2000; Castignoli 2000.

[30] On the Order of the Mercedarians, see Vázquez Núñez 1931-1936 and, more recently, Blanco and Catálogo 1999, 145-195; Rubino 1999, 7-73.

[31] On the trade and liberation of slaves, see, with earlier bibliography, Bosco 2013, 57-82.

[32] Mariangeli 2000, 137.

[33] Zencovich 2000, 142-143.

[34] For the iconography of the paintings commissioned by the Trinitarians, see Liez 2012 and Massing 2012; for Parodi's altarpiece and its iconography, see Stagno 2019, 314.

Fig. 9.7 Unknown Ligurian artist, *Our Lady of Mercy and freed slaves*, 18th century, Pietrabruna, Chiesa dei Santi Cosma e Damiano.

During the eighteenth century, the veneration of the *Madonna del Soccorso* in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo reached such proportions that it led to the founding of the *Compagnia di Nostra Signora del Soccorso contra infideles*[35]. The company was officially instituted in 1741, with the aim of collecting money to build and arm ships that could combat corsair attacks and the enslavement of Christians. In the document *Compagnia di Nostra Signora del Soccorso Notificazione della Compagnia*, printed in 1742[36], we read that its purpose was "to solely provide armament against the Barbary corsairs and obstruct the enslavement of Christians". Artistic evidence of the company survives in the form of a marble bas-relief on the altar of the *Madonna del Soccorso* in the cathedral, depicting a ship with a beakhead, manned by Genoese soldiers beating back corsairs (fig. 9.8). While this is what remains as a visual memory of the company today, the words of Giovanni Agostino Ratti[37] reveal that the altar was once richly decorated with a myriad of objects including, significantly, ex votos: "the image is crowned by an array of

[35] Manodori 1992, 172.

[36] See *Compagnia* 1742 and 1745.

[37] Ratti 1780, 49.

Fig. 9.8 *Our Lady of Perpetual Help's Chapel*, Genoa, Cattedrale di San Lorenzo.

lights that are never allowed to burn out, numerous ex votos in the form of banners and other pirate emblems that the proud and victorious Genoese brought here and hun".

The Ligurian ex votos examined up to this point do not seem to diverge from those in other parts of Italy, from the Adriatic region[38] to the south and the islands[39]. On the contrary, we find considerable uniformity of form and content, deriving from the very function of the ex voto, be it a small painted panel or a different type of object.

The painting of the *Allegory of the Blood of Christ* (fig. 9.9) seems to have a different formulation, to the point of leading us to suppose that it is not a simple ex voto, but a devotional painting, in all probability made in the milieu of the monastery of reformed Carmelite friars linked to the Church of

[38] Canetti 2014, 215-233.

[39] Tripputi 2014, 235-254.

Fig. 9.9 *Allegory of the Blood of Christ*, Multedo (Genoa), Chiesa di Santa Maria e SS. Nazario e Celso.

Santa Maria e SS. Nazario e Celso in Multedo, where it is still found today. The iconography of the painting is unusual, characterised by a crucified Christ, portrayed in the upper register in a diagonal position, with blood gushing from his wounds in such quantities as to form a river. Contrary to the better-known iconography of the *Imago Pietatis*[40], the present painting includes, in an unambiguously pre-eminent position, the figure of a Turk, identified by his turban and scimitar, deep in conversation with a female figure and indicating the scene in the background. This iconography should therefore be read as a celebration of Christ's blood as a useful tool for converting the infidels and might be linked to the ritual of the Deposition of Christ, which was celebrated in the Multedo community on Good Fridays and during which, according to an oral tradition passed down within the confraternity, money was collected for the liberation of the slaves kidnapped by the Turks during the Saracen incursions.

[40] Lavin 1998; Panofsky 1998, 86-88; Lavin 2007.

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10. Images of the Turks in Saint Francis Xavier's Iconography: between Conversion and Evangelization

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The use of missions as a tool for the progressive eradication of religious differences, in the perspective of universal evangelization, has characterized the Society of Jesus since its foundation[1]. As for Islam, attempts at conversion are documented to have been already made under St Ignatius of Loyola[2], but it was when the clashes between the Catholic Church and the Islamic world worsened – between the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 and that of Vienna in 1683 – that the Jesuits started considering evangelization of the Muslim populations a priority[3]. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, missionaries were therefore required to study Arabic and the precepts of the Koran. During this period numerous treatises against Islam were published[4].

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[1] The bibliography on the missions is extremely rich. On the Jesuits' evangelization strategies, among many studies, see Palomo 2019; Clossey 2008; Majorana 2007; El Alaoui 2006; Broggio 2004. For a bibliographical survey on the theme: Colombo 2010, 31-59. For a semiotic analysis of conversion, with a focus on the Jesuit context, see the works of Massimo Leone: Leone 2010; Leone 2004. The missions used a nearly standardized method of propagandistic communication, together with the already much-studied strategy of *accomodatio* – particularly used in the Jesuit context – which entailed the gradual penetration of foreign territories, adaptation to the local language and culture and substitution of the cults. See, among others, Tutino 2019; Müller 2016, 461-492; Catto and Mongini 2010, 1-16; Rubiés 2005.

[2] On the relationship between St Ignatius of Loyola and Islam, among others: Colombo 2014a, 179-197.

[3] For the relations between the Society of Jesus and the Muslims, on which an extensive bibliography is available, see the works of Emanuele Colombo (in particular, Colombo 2015; Colombo and Sacconaghi 2015; Colombo 2009). See also Vincent 1998, 518-531.

[4] For a critical analysis of many anti-Turkish sources see Colombo 2015; Colombo 2009, 316-318; Pouzet 1983, 157-169.

What emerges from a vast body of literature on this theme – as has been underlined – is the persistent effort on the part of the preachers to convert Muslims, despite their awareness of the difficulty of obtaining genuine conversions.

Among many possible examples, suffice to cite the Jesuit father Emanuele Sanz who, in his *Breve Trattato* for the conversion of the Islamic slaves in Malta (1691), addressed these words to latter:

> "Although you were born to Muslim parents, God did not make you Muslim, but intelligent men. If you understand that Muhammad's law is false and leave it, you will be saved; if you don't, you will be damned"[5].

Sometimes, the resistance of the Muslims to the Christian Faith was also linked with the spread of the new Protestant doctrines, that – from the Catholic point of view – could provide a boost to Islam, as explicated, for example, by the Genoese Jesuit Nicolò Maria Pallavicino (1689):

> "The Islamic religion is conserved for three reasons: the economic power of the Turks, the difficulty of converting them – because they refuse to listen to the sermons – and the spread of Heresy, which continually offers food to the Muslim dragon"[6].

References to the conversion of Muslims, therefore, became important, frequently accompanied by powerful images. Within the broad context of Jesuit iconography, this study will focus on the image of Saint Francis Xavier and his connection with Islamic otherness.

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[5] "*Se ben Iddio t'habbia creato da padri maomettani, non t'ha fatto maomettano, ma huomo con intendimento, a finché conoscendo tu la legge di Maometto non esser vera, la lasci, e ti salvi, e quando non lo facci, infallibilmente ti dannerai*". Sanz 1691, 37; Colombo 2015.

[6] "*Tre cagion mantengono il Maccomettismo: la potenza temporale de' Turchi: la difficoltà di convincerli per la ritrosia a udir la predicazione: la materia putrefatta del Cristianesimo dalla pravità Ereticale, la qual materia porge continuo alimento al Drago Maccomettano*". Pallavicino 1689, 2.

Francis Xavier as "universal evangelizer"

St Francis Xavier (1506-1552) – co-founder of the Company of Jesus with Ignatius of Loyola – left Lisbon on April 7, 1541, for a long journey that led him to India, Japan, and China, crossing three oceans and traveling more than 70,000 kilometers by sea[7].

In the visual and textual sources, Xavier's activity is filled with allegorical meanings and parallels with other hagiographic traditions. First and foremost, given his long mission in India, he was recognized as a 'New St Thomas', according to a tradition – dating to at least the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* (third century AD) – that refers to the early evangelization of the city of Kerala in India by St Thomas the Apostle, who allegedly founded seven Christian churches in Indian territory, which were, however, held back by the hostility of the inhabitants[8].

In Jesuit propaganda, Xavier was seen as a continuator of his predecessor's work: in one revealing episode, recounted many times in the sources, the Spanish saint finds a blood-stained stone in Mayapur, decorated with a dove with outspread wings and a few letters in ancient script, commonly believed to be the memorial stone placed on the exact spot of Thomas's martyrdom[9].

As a "New Thomas", it was, therefore, Xavier's task to restore Christianity in the areas reached by the "Turks and Moors". In a blatant anachronism, the Turks – in the broadest sense of the term – were held responsible for the failure of Thomas's work (to be continued by Xavier) and his subsequent martyrdom.

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[7] For the life of St Francis Xavier see, in particular: Añoveros Trias de Bes 2006, 50-73; Fernández Gracia 2006; Haub 2002, 221-320; Rodríguez Souquet 1993; Schurhammer 1992. On the iconography: Miller 2016; Torres Olleta 2009; Arellano, González Acosta and Herrera (eds.) 2007; Fernández Gracia (ed.) 2006; Torres Olleta 2006 and the works of Maria Cristina Osswald (in particular, Osswald 2002, 259-277).

[8] Leone 2010, 355. See also Koshi 1999; Mundadan 1970.

[9] Bartoli 1653, 91: "*Una piastra di pietra quadra, havente nel mezzo una Croce* […] *sopra la Croce poi, è parimente scolpita una colomba, con le ali distese in atto di volo, e intorno, lettere di carattere antichissimo, e non inteso, se non finalmente da un Bramane, gran maestro di cose d'antichità, il quale le lesse, e interpretò, e dicevano, che Tomaso Apostolo di Giesù Christo, da lui inviato colà a predicarvi la sua santa legge, v'havea fatto discepoli, e havuto il martirio*".

A few encounters with Islamic populations are documented in the Spanish saint's copious papers, although he never gave them much importance[10]. For example, in a long letter sent to his European companions on May 10, 1546, from the island of Ambon in the Moluccas, Xavier described the religions practiced by the locals, confirming that – around seventy years earlier – the invasion of troops coming from Persia had brought the Islamic cult, which then spread through most of the population[11]. Propagandistic Jesuit treatises placed considerably more emphasis on the Turkish enemy, also modifying and reinterpreting Xavier's epistolary passages with a markedly anti-Islamic angle. The narratives of episodes aimed at illustrating "gli abominevoli riti di Maometto"[12], against which Xavier had been called upon to fight for the triumph of the Catholic faith, had a substantial influence on the visual interpretation of the saint's feats, with recurrent references to Islamic populations flanked by more generic "exotic" figures.

The image of a crowd made up of men and women of many ethnicities – distinguished by dissimilar clothes and headwear, but also by differentiated somatic traits – is doubtless one of the dominant characteristics of the saint's artistic legacy: indeed, in the numerous depictions of baptism or preaching to the "infidels", Xavier is seldom working one-on-one[13]. In the goal of rendering Francis Xavier's work as universal as possible, in many images depicting the saint, this heterogeneous crowd metamorphoses into a symbolical depiction of the Four Corners of the World (or the Four Continents).

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[10] Xavier's travels can be reconstructed thanks to the letters sent to his companions in Europe, published in Zubillaga 1979. Through this correspondence – which is free from later propagandistic over-interpretation – we can understand the method used by the Jesuit for his conversion activity. Though the Society of Jesus in theory advocated a peaceful approach to evangelize non-Christians, in this case the first contact with a religious difference was in fact basically aggressive. Xavier himself reported that it was necessary to preventively destroy pre-existing idols, to root out the 'true essence' of religion in populations that venerated the fetish and not the prototype.

[11] Zubillaga 1979, doc. 55, 193. Francis Xavier defines Muslims as "*Mala Secta de Mahoma*", as usual in the anti-Islamic tradition.

[12] "The abominable rites of Muhammad". Torsellini 1605, 55. See also Leone 2010, 371 and 379.

[13] See Leone 2010, 350 and 380. It was different in the case of sovereigns who were afforded greater exclusivity. For example, the conversion of the King of Bungo is individual, because, according to the concept of *Cuius regio eius religio*, the evangelization of the King involves all the population.

In itself, this iconography – which consists of the Continents personified as female figures[14] – can be found at least since the mid-sixteenth century; a famous example is the frontispiece of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortellius (1570)[15]. This kind of images – frequently repeated with many variations – found a definitive codification in the first illustrated edition of the *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa (1603), which imposed the canon for the subsequent representations of the subject.

According to Ripa, Europe is "a Lady in a very rich Habit, of several Colours, fitting between two cross Cornucopias, the one full of all Sorts of Grain, and the other of black and white Grapes", she holds a temple in the right hand and she points at several scepters and crowns; next to her are "a Horse amongst Trophies and Arms, a book also, with an Owl on it, many Musical Instruments and a Palat for a Limner, with Pencils"[16].

Africa is described as a black woman, almost naked, with "an Elephant's Head for her Crest, a Necklace of Coral and Pendants of the same at her Ears; a Scorpion in her right hand and a Cornucopia with Ears of Corn in her left; a fierce Lion by her, on one side, and a Viper and Serpent on the other"[17].

Similarly, America is almost naked, and "has a Veil folded over her Shoulder, round her Body an artificial Ornament of Feathers of different colours; in one hand a bow and a Quiver by her side, under one foot a human head pierced with an Arrow, and a Lizard on the Ground"[18].

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[14] A recent well-articulated study on this topic is edited by Maryanne Cline Horowitz and Louise Arizzoli (Horowitz and Arizzoli (eds.) 2021), with an extensive bibliography. On the Four Personifications of the Continents see also Daniele 2018; McGrath 2000; Poeschel 1985; and Schmale, Romberg and Köstlbauer (eds.) 2016. See also Clossey 2008, 76-84, with a focus on the Jesuit context.

[15] On the editions of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*: Van der Krogt 1998; for the iconography of the title-page: Horowitz 2021; Shirley 1998; Waterschoot 1979. See also Daniele 2018, 38-60. The spread of this iconography during the sixteenth century was truly remarkable, especially in the context of ephemeral celebrations all over Europe (for a survey see Daniele 2018, 72-101 and Morales Folguera 2013). The personifications of the Continents are particularly common on Habsburgs' entries in Spain and Portugal; on the topics, among many studies, see Checa Cremades and Fernández-González (eds.) 2015.

[16] The English text is taken from the edition of the *Iconologia* edited by Pierce Tempest in London in 1709. For the original Italian version see Ripa 1603, 332-334.

[17] Tempest (ed.) 1709, 53; Ripa 1603, 335-336.

[18] Tempest (ed.) 1709, 53; Ripa 1603, 338-339.

Lastly, Asia is "a Woman wearing a Garland of various Flowers and Fruits", she holds "Branches with Fruit of Cassia, Pepper and Cloves"[19] in her right-hand, has a censer in the left-hand and a camel next to her. The vastness of the Asian territory and the great variety of populations inhabiting it meant that the personification of Asia drew from a more heterogeneous corpus of references; but the attributes most frequently chosen for its representation in works of art favoured a markedly Turkish angle. The "Ottoman" connotation of the Asian personification, therefore, offered an opportunity for the depiction of the stereotypical features used in general for the connotation of Turks in the Western visual imaginary, often associated with some of their typical attributes, such as turbans, scimitars, etcetera[20]. Consistently, the four personifications of the Continents associated with St Francis Xavier do not normally bear all the attributes described by Ripa; usually, only some of them are selected. An interesting example is offered by a woodcut from the Guasp workshop in Mallorca (Spain), dating from the end of the sixteenth century, depicting the Jesuit saint looking at a map of Asia, shown to him by four figures, generically exotic in appearance. As Massimo Leone noted, their features are quite Westernized, with the only distinction between white skin and black (in the case of Africa); however, the variety of clothes and headgears seek to transmit the idea of different ethnicities[21].

The same image was engraved by Cornelis Bloemart, after Jan Miel's drawing, for the title-page of Daniello Bartoli's *Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù* (1653)[22], with a few changes, including the addition of more realistic figures and details, such as the sailor in the background climbing the mast of the ship (fig. 10.1). Some paintings derived from this engrav-

[19] Tempest (ed.) 1709, 53; Ripa 1603, 334.

[20] In Early Modern West, the image of the Turk is a mental construction, "an embodiment and prototype of an Islamic East", according to James Harper (ed., 2011). The development of the image of Islamic alterity in Europe has recently been widely researched. For a general survey: Stoichita 2014; Formica 2012; Harper (ed.) 2011. For a focus on Italy and Spain: Stagno and Franco Llopis (eds.) (2021); Franco Llopis and Urquizar Herrera (eds.) 2019; Sorce 2018; Capriotti and Franco Llopis (eds.) 2017; Soykut 2001.

[21] Leone 2010, 417.

[22] Bartoli 1653.

ing replicate, more or less faithfully, its scheme, but the subsequent step – which unequivocally interprets the figures as the four personifications of the Continents – can be found in *St Francis Xavier embarking for Asia*, signed by Juan González in 1703. The work, now in a private collection, is a representative example of the *enconchado* technique, produced in New Spain consisting of oil on wood partly inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Based on the print by Bloemart, the figures in the painting are here accompanied by an inscription, which identifies them as personifications of Asia, America, Europe, and Africa (fig. 10.2)[23].

Within the Continents associated to the depictions of St Francis Xavier, America is included, even though the missionary's activity did not extend to the New World, which was never even trod upon by him; the closest he came to it being a quick passage along the Brazilian coast during his trip to Goa. In a peculiar amplification of the saint's feats, however, Xavier has also been credited with the evangelization of South America and, therefore – in an ahistorical iconographic construction – the saint is depicted preaching to and baptizing the indigenous American populations, in images that effectively communicate the interchangeable roles attributed to the of Jesuits involved in missions all over the world[24].

The eighteenth century canvas of the *Triumph of the Society of Jesus in the Four Corners of the World* in the Church of San Pedro in Lima, Peru, is also of considerable interest, as a real manifesto of Jesuit missionary action all over the world (fig. 10.3).

At the lower center, Atlas holds up the earth, flanked on the left by personifications of Asia (dressed in the Turkish style, with a turban and an Islamic crescent) and Africa (with a feathered headdress, bow, arrows, and monkey), and on the right by America (similar to Africa but with a lighter complexion)

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[23] On the work see also Torres Olleta 2009, fig. 28, 515; Cuadriello 2006, 216; Bargellini in Pierce *et al*. (eds.) 2004, 187-189. A biographical profile of the painter is in Ocaña Ruiz 2013.

[24] The link to St Thomas noted above probably contributed to this association: there is a South American tradition holding that the Apostle had preached in America, too. On the presence of indigenous peoples of the Americas in the Xaverian iconography: Silvério Lima and Pereira Da Silva 2014, 407-441; Arellano 2008, 53-86; Arellano *et al*. 2007, 245-253; Cuadriello 2006. For the female personification of America see Horowitz and Arizzoli (eds.) 2021 (with bibliography), Farinella Grana 2020.

Fig. 10.1 Cornelis Bloemart, after Jan Miel, frontispiece of Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù: L'Asia*, Genoa 1656.

Fig. 10.2 Juan González, *St Francis Xavier embarking for Asia*, 1703, private collection.

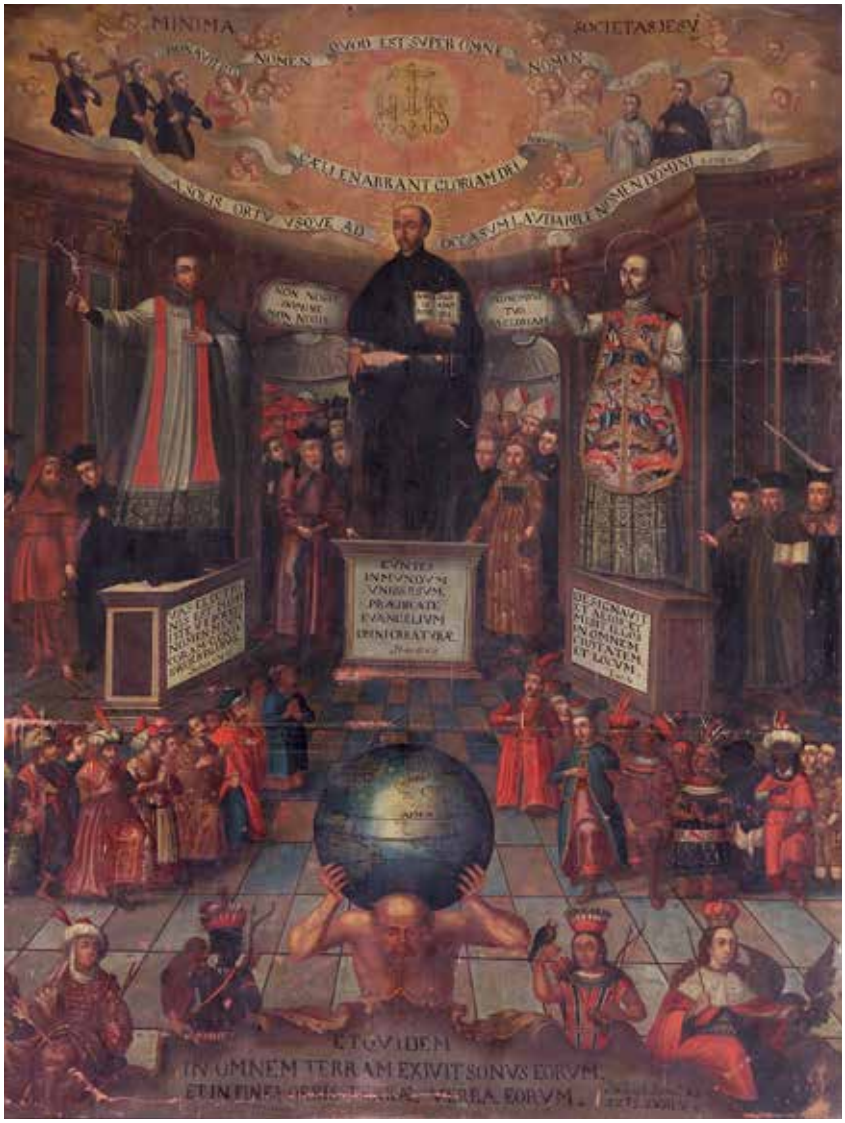

Fig. 10.3 Unknown Colonial Artist, *The Triumph of the Jesuits in The Four Corners of the World*, Lima, Church of San Pedro.

and Europe (with a specific allusion to the Kingdom of Spain). The upper part of the painting depicts populations of different continents: from the left, the Turks, then generic Asians, Europeans, indigenous peoples of the Americas, Africans and Japanese. The middle section hosts the three main Jesuit saints: Ignatius at the center, Francis Xavier on the left, Francis Borgia on the

right; next to them, on a smaller scale, are other Jesuit missionaries, identified as Paolo Miki, Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell, and Roberto Nobili[25].

Francis Xavier and the Turks: some Italian examples

As previously mentioned, the presence of people characterized by Turkish features is common, above all, in the representation of Xavier's baptism and evangelization of foreign populations, but there are also other depictions of the Spanish saint in which the reference to Ottomans is recognizable. This paragraph will present, as case studies, some relevant Italian works. In general, many pictures seem to adhere to standard models, doubtless also circulated through prints; this is confirmed, for example, by the woodcut of *St Francis Xavier Preaching to the Crowd* from the already mentioned Guasp series (sixteenth century) which was used for the print titled *Nos autem Proedicamus Christum crucifixum*, engraved by Gérard Edelinck after Jérôme Sourlay (second half of the seventeenth century, fig. 10.4)[26].

Some Italian paintings drew directly on these and similar graphic sources. Particularly close to the model is the canvas by Vincenzo Spisanelli (1595-1662) in the Jesuit Church of San Francesco Saverio in Rimini, where some figures are clearly inspired by the etchings, as the woman embracing the child (fig. 10.5)[27]. The crowd is characterized by generic 'exotic' characters, wearing heterogenic clothes, whereas other similar works emphasize figures that can be identified as 'Turks'. Among the many possible examples, we can cite *St Francis Xavier Preaching* by Giovanni Battista Pacetti, called "Lo Sguazzino" (1593-1662). According to the local sources, the canvas is part of a group of works by the artist once placed in the Jesuit College of Città di Castello (Perugia), depicting several subjects related to the Society of Jesus[28]. Dating back to around 1620, the painting is undoubtedly close to the previously mentioned

[25] On the canvas Agusti Pacheco-Benavides 2008, 53-55; Torres Olleta 2009, fig. 325, 751.

[26] British Museum, London, n. 1877,0811.742. See Leone 2010, 420.

[27] Zavatta in Emiliani (ed.) 2014, 70-71; Mazza 1998.

[28] See Mancini 1832, II, 126. Now the painting is conserved in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria of Perugia, n. s.n. 298.

Fig. 10.4 Gérard Edelinck, after Jérôme Sourlay, *Nos autem Proedicamus Christum crucifixum*, London, British Museum.

models, but the appearance of the characters is more markedly "Islamic", as highlighted in particular by the two figures in the foreground (fig. 10.6)[29].

[29] Similarly, Carlo Picenardi the Younger's altarpiece in the Church of Santi Marcellino e Pietro in Cremona and one in the Church of San Giorgio in Moneglia (near Genoa) – attributable to an artist working in a style close to that of the Genoese painter Giovanni Battista Carlone (second half of the seventeenth century) – seem to replicate the same prototype.

Fig. 10.5 Vincenzo Spisanelli, *St Francis Xavier Preaching*, Rimini, Chiesa di San Francesco Saverio.

Fig. 10.6 Giovanni Battista Pacetti, *St Francis Xavier Preaching*, Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria.

Sometimes, the clothing of the Turks was directly inspired by collections of images like Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi* (1598)[30], as is made clear by *St Francis Xavier Preaching* by Francesco Curradi (1570-1661) in the Church of San Giovannino degli Scolopi in Florence, specifically made for the high altar of the chapel dedicated to the saint for his canonization in 1622[31].

[30] Vecellio 1598. See also Sorce 2008; Paulicelli 2006; Jones 2021.

[31] On the canvas Bailey 2002, 157.

Fig. 10.7a Francesco Curradi, *St Francis Xavier Preaching*, Florence, Chiesa di San Giovannino degli Scolopi.
Fig. 10.7b *Turco di grado in casa*, illustration from Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, Venice 1598.

Within the crowd, representing as usual the Four Corners of the World, the man on the far-right is dressed in an Ottoman way, with the turban and a costume adorned with embroidery in the shape of red tulips, very similar to the one worn by Vecellio's "Turco di grado" (fig. 10.7 a-b)[32].

Another similar example is the *Evangelization of St Francis Xavier with St Francis Borgia* by the Neapolitan master Luca Giordano (1634-1705), now at the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, formerly in the Church of San Ferdinando of the same city (c. 1685)[33]. Many figures do not match specific ethnicities but do exhibit a variety of physiognomic types; however, the man in blue on the left can be compared to the "Turco Pirato"[34] in Vecellio's book (fig. 10.8 a-b).

The Turkish presence also emerges in episodes with no real connection to the Muslim world, an exemplary case being the encounter between Francis Xavier and the King of Bungo, the depictions of which tend to replace the

[32] Wealthy Turk.

[33] A recent analysis of the painting is in Miller 2019.

[34] Turkish Pirate.

Fig. 10.8a Luca Giordano, *Evangelization of St Francis Xavier with St Francis Borgia*, Naples, Capodimonte Museum.
Fig. 10.8b *Turco Pirato*, illustration from Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, Venice 1598.

Japanese population with an Ottoman-looking one. Almost all the hagiographic sources provide an abundantly detailed report of the meeting with the *daimyō* Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530-1587), king of Bungo, who invited Francis Xavier to his court after being impressed by the news circulating about his missionary work. Within the vast corpus of images visually translating this subject, a fresco by Domenico Piola (1628-1703), located in the former Church of San Gerolamo e Francesco Saverio in Genoa[35], is especially faithful to the written sources. None of the figures. however, have Japanese features, not even King Ōtomo: instead, they are portrayed with Ottoman characters, including turbans and crescents on their headgears (fig. 10.9)[36]. This episode, thus traslated into a Turkish context, was important to the Jesuits because it

[35] Formerly the church of the Jesuit College in Genoa, now University Library. The fresco is dating around 1666-1668.

[36] For the fresco Sanguineti 2004, II, cat. III. 8.d, 471-472. On the iconographic fortune of St Francis Xavier in Genoa: Magnani 1990 (now in Magnani 2019); for the role of the Society of Jesus in the Republic of Genoa, Magnani 2015; Paolocci (ed.) 1992. For the images of Ottomans in Genoese Art see the works by Laura Stagno: Stagno 2019; Stagno 2017; Stagno and Franco Llopis 2021. See also Pessa 2014.

Fig. 10.9 Domenico Piola, *St Francis Xavier Meeting the King of Bungo*, detail, Genoa former Church of San Gerolamo e Francesco Saverio (now University Library).

illustrated what was held to be one of Xavier's greatest achievements, since the king subsequently converted to Christianity, taking the name Francis[37]. This kind of image was quite frequent, but in Genoa the representation of the subject with maximum emphasis on the vault of the church dedicated to Xavier is probably also to be connected with the context of the Republic, politically close to Spain. The conversion of the King of Bungo – even more so in the "Turkish" version of the episode – was considered, in fact, as a great victory of Xavier, the Jesuits, and Spain itself.

Another emblematic theme featuring images of the Turk in Xavierian iconography is the episode of the expulsion of the Badages – Muslims from the Indian kingdom of Bisnaghur – who violently invaded the Fishery Coast of India, where a population already converted to Christianity lived.

This theme was particularly widespread in book illustrations[38], but also featured in many pictorial works; a signifcant instance can be found in the chapel dedicated to St Francis Xavier in the Jesuit church of Genoa. One of the three canvases painted by Valerio Castello (1624-1659) portrays the saint terrorizing the enemy army – who wear turbans and carry flags bearing the crescent – by brandishing the Cross[39]. The wild flight of the "infidels" confronted with Christ's emblem finds clear parallels in other hagiographic traditions: first among them that of St Clare, who liberated Assisi from the attack of the Saracens by showing them the eucharistic monstrance[40].

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[37] There is an iconographic parallel between the meeting with the King of Bungo and that between St Francis of Assisi and the Sultan of Egypt, which shares more than a few affinities.

[38] Torres Olleta 2009.

[39] The other two episodes depict *St Francis Xavier Baptizing a Queen* and *The Glory of St Francis Xavier*. All the canvases are dating around 1650. For the paintings see Magnani 2019, with bibliography.

[40] It also has, however, an iconographic link with a less known episode, a rare example of which by an unknown painter is found in the Co-Cathedral of San Siro in Sanremo (Liguria), dating to the second half of the seventeenth century. In the series devoted to the miracles of St Germanus of Auxerre the painting of the saint driving out the Turks has clear iconographic affinities with the episode of Xavier confronting the Badages. This is, however, a peculiar reinterpretation of a different episode, that of the French saint driving out the Scottish Picts, portrayed with an anti-Islamic angle. In an extraordinary implementation of *contaminatio*, therefore, the Picts have been replaced by the Turks (a population far more present in the collective imagination) as the embodiment of the enemy to be defeated.

Civic Identity and conversion of the Muslims: the case of Naples

The presence of the Islamic enemy in images of Francis Xavier is even more significamt in the context of Early Modern Naples, where the general reading of the saint as a predestined universal evangelizer was joined by a powerful sentiment tying him to the identity of the urban community.

The population of Muslim slaves in Naples – documented since the Middle Ages – had increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as a result of privateering and naval wars between the Habsburgs and the Ottoman Empire. To contrast the danger of such a numerous Islamic community in the city – which made up a considerable percentage of the total population – the ecclesiastical authorities embarked on a series of attempts to convert the slaves to Christianity[41]. Within the general campaigns, widespread in the whole of Italy and in Europe, for the conversion of Muslims, the case of Naples is of special interest for the extraordinary organization and coordination of the clergy – particularly of the Company of Jesus – which resulted in the conversion of thousands of slaves in the Early Modern Period[42].

One of these cases of conversion is strictly connected to the civic devotion to St Francis Xavier.

According to contemporary sources, on December 3, 1621 – the anniversary of Xavier's death – Ottavio d'Aragona, admiral of the King of Naples, captured a Turkish ship in the Aegean Sea, carrying 110 Christian slaves who were then freed. This episode was inextricably tied to Xavier's intercession, and so the next year – during the process of his canonization, which was celebrated all over the world – the sixty Turks who had been on board the ship were forcibly baptized in the Jesuit Church of Gesù Nuovo in Naples[43].

Some years later (1653), in the same church, the canvas depicting *The Vision of St Francis Xavier*, attributed to the Sicilian painter Giovanni Bernardino Azzolino (1572-1645), allegedly miraculously changed its appearance, to the astonishment

[41] For the socio-cultural context of the Muslim slaves in Naples see Colombo 2014b; Boccadamo 2010; Mazur 2009. On the missionary strategies in the city: Gentilcore 1994.

[42] On the relations between Jesuits and Muslim slaves see Colombo 2014b.

[43] A narration is in Santagata 1757, 199-200, see also Miller 2016, 245-247.

of the faithful[44]. The canvas shows the saint kneeling in front of the high altar of the church – with the lily in his hand – while he turns his gaze upwards, where a mystical vision of the Virgin with Jesus and Musical Angels appears on the clouds.

The miraculous transfiguration of the painting is accurately described in the volume titled *Ragguaglio della miracolosa protezione di San Francesco Saverio* (1660), with these words:

> "The face of St Francis Xavier – which had been painted in perhaps more intense colors than necessary – became pale in an instant, so much so as to seem a portrait of a dying man. The expression was so compassionate that many painters argued that no artist could achieve it. Suddenly he could be seen inflamed, as if he had a strong feeling, and dripping sweat from his forehead. The eyes – which before were turned to the Virgin – lowered themselves to look at the people and then again raised themselves toward the Madonna, as if he reccommended them to her protection; finally they closed again as in the act of praying"[45].

This astonishing event – which strengthened a pre-existing local cult[46] – was followed by the citizens' solemn vow to the Spanish saint during the plague of 1656 and the subsequent election of Francis Xavier as one of the patron saints of Naples[47].

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[44] According to the sources, the miracles took place in May 1653. See Miller 2016, 299. The painting is dating around 1640.

[45] "*Vedevasi il volto di S. Francesco Saverio, il quale era stato effigiato con colore più carico forse di quello che si conveniva, in istante divenire sì pallido, e scolorito, che sembrava ritratto di un moribundo: e dimostrare una espressione tale di affetto compassionevole, che molti famosi Pittori asserirono, non poter giugnere forza di umano pennello ad uguagliarla. Tutto d'improviso poi miravasi infiammarsi, e divampare, come per grave interno sentimento; e intanto grondar sudore dalla fronte. Gli occhi, che prima erano sollevati verso la Vergine, si vedevano ora abbassarsi, come se mirasse egli il popolo; ora di nuovo rialzarsi verso la Divina Madre, quasi che a lei lo raccomandasse; ed ora chiudersi dell'intutto, come in atto di orare*". *Ragguaglio* 1660 (ed. 1743), 6-7. The text is based on a manuscript conserved in Naples (National Library of Naples, ms. XV.G.29), published in De Maio 1983, 253-256.

[46] The cult to the Spanish saint in Naples is certainly attested before his beatification (1619) and consequent canonization (1622). For Neapolitan devotion to St Francis Xavier, Miller 2016, 254-256; Schültze 2007, 563-565; Soldano 2000, 217-230.

[47] Soldano 2000. See also Miller 2016, 300 with bibliography.

Around thirty years later (1693), the new church dedicated to St Francis Xavier (now San Ferdinando) was decorated by Luca Giordano and his young assistant Paolo de Matteis; in this occasion the complex convergence of different traditions generated an iconography aimed to celebrate St Francis Xavier as both universal evangelizer and patron saint of Naples.

While, on the tribune vault, the subjects of the paintings reference the role of Francis Xavier as protector of the city[48], the fresco of the nave, with the *Triumph of Religion over Heresy* – depicted by Paolo de Matteis (1662-1728) – celebrates the victory of the Spanish saint (and, in general, of the Company of Jesus) against the non-Christians (fig. 10.10). The divine light that illuminates the personification of the Catholic Faith at the top – flanked with the virtues of Fortitude, Justice, Prudence, and Temperance – descends onto the three main figures of the Jesuit mission: St Ignatius of Loyola, St Francis Borgia and St Francis Xavier, preaching to people of different ethnicities, again symbolically identifiable as allegories of the Four Corners of the World. The intertwined bodies falling into the depths of Hell represent the souls of the infidels who rejected conversion in life. The damned are ravaged by serpents that wrap around their bodies, but the snakes, symbols of evil, also emerge from the book on the right, where it seems possible to read the word "Calvin".

Among the naked men, four symbolic figures are also of particular interest. At the bottom center, the personification of Heresy (with hair made of snakes) is recognizable, consistent with the codification of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*[49]; next to her there is a diabolical-looking figure, holding a mask in his hand, an attribute traditionally associated with the figures of Deception and Fraud[50]. On the left corner – hardly visible – a female figure is embracing a white swan, which could perhaps symbolize Hypocrisy: according to Ripa, indeed, the swan is a deceptive animal because it has white feathers, but its flesh is black[51]. At the side, a winged demon is dragging a body into Hell; however, it is not one of the damned souls to be on display here, but a statue, recognizable by its broken limbs. This element – which

[48] Miller 2016; Pestilli 2013.

[49] Ripa 1603, 216-217.

[50] Ivi, 228 ("*Inganno*"); 173-174 ("*Fraude*").

[51] Ivi, 200.

Fig. 10.10 Paolo de Matteis, *Triumph of Religion over Heresy*, Naples, Chiesa di San Ferdinando.

differs from the mass of the other figures – is consequently decipherable as a reference to iconoclasm, with a probable connection to the context of the Protestant Reformation, cited through the book by Calvin mentioned before. Immediately above, a man is characterized by Turkish-style clothes, a blue cloak, and a turban topped with a crescent; he holds in his hand the book of Koran, on which the word 'Alcorano' is written. In the relevant literature[52], this figure has been interpreted not as a generic personification of the Islamic religion, but as the Prophet Muhammad himself, not frequently represented in Italian monumental art[53].

In any case, whether this character be identified, in fact, as Muhammad, or represent instead an allegory of Islam (symmetrical to the personification of the Protestant Reform on the other side), it is doubtless that in this scene the Muslim religion is included among the heresies that are opposed to the "True Faith in Christ", and are vanquished through the ceaseless efforts of the saints. Thus, the Society of Jesus was circulating an extraordinarily powerful message in Naples, celebrating the triumph of the militant church over its most dangerous enemies.

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[52] Nobile (ed.) 1855, 103; Miller 2016, 306-328; Pestilli 2013, 176-178.

[53] For the images of the Prophet Muhammad in Europe and in the Western Perceptions, among others, see Tolan 2019; Saviello 2013 (with a specific focus on prints).

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11. The Other Seen by the Others: the Image of the Muslim in the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Context, between Words and Pictures from China to Italy

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Introduction: Othering the Other

To make a portrait of the Other, the simplest thing would be to have a life model, or failing that, get some detailed information on the subject, to be able to outline some reliable characteristics. However, in many cases, "lacking an alternative, by necessity all interpretation of the other takes place in terms of the interpreting self, and with that interpreting self as model, *at least initially*"[1]. We resort to our own image, using elements available from our experience, to imagine and outline an unknown Other (fig. 11.1).

As Stoichita remarked, the *Other* does not exist in the absence of the *Self* and vice versa[2]. From the encounter with the Other and the differences that emerged, the *Other* is mutated into a construction opposing the *Self*, and building the *Self* itself in this process[3].

For a long time, the main *Other* for Europe was the Ottoman Empire, its closest Asian neighbour; in dealing with the Turks, Europe not only created a particular image with which to identify them, but also at the same time modelled itself in opposition to them. During the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century, the encounter between Europe and the *Others* became richer and more active: the flourishing trade established with the New Worlds, the intensification of maritime connections, the ambassadors that came from some of these countries, and, obviously, the news sent by missionaries residing in distant lands made the exchange ever more frequent and plentiful. The *Other* became *Others*, and Asia in

[1] Brons 2015, 79.

[2] Stoichita 2019, 17.

[3] De Beauvoir 1949.

Fig. 11.1 Storchlin Johann Heinrich, P*ortrait of the Chinese Emperor Kangxi*. The subject of this print, representing the emperor Kangxi (1654-1722) of the Qing dynasty, was very successful, enough to be used at the end of the seventeenth century and later in several books relating to the history of China; during this dissemination process, it was gradually modified, becoming more and more "westernized".

particular, that vast "half of the world, with regard to the expansion of the countries it includes" as it was described by Cesare Ripa (c. 1555-1622), began to take shape more and more clearly up to the lands of *Zhong Guo* 中国, the "Middle Kingdom", the term with which China was – and still

is – called[4]. In this context of plurality of contacts, it is interesting to observe how Europe built its own image as well as *Othering* the *Others*[5].

A practical example of how Europe built its self-portrait in contrast with the other continents is visible in the illustrated manuals of allegories circulating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As it is possible to see in the illustrated edition of *Iconologia overo Descrittione di diverse Imagini cavate dall'antichità et di propria inventione*, published in Rome in 1603 by Cesare Ripa, Europe was portrayed as a "richly dressed woman in a multi-coloured Regal dress, with a crown on her head […] she holds in her right hand the temple, to demonstrate that here there is now the perfect and most true Religion, and that it is superior to all the others […] where there is the Holy Catholic Christian Faith, which for the Lord God's mercy, has today reached even the new world. The horse, the strongest weapons, the owl above the book, and all the various musical instruments, show that it has always been superior to other parts of the world, in Arms, Letters, and in all the Liberal Arts"[6]. The symbols of Christian religion, wealth, military power, arts and science are cited as iconic elements in the allegoric image of the European continent.

In the iconographic representation of Asia, as Borniotto explains in this same volume, Ripa highlighted instead its wealth of natural resources, such as precious stones ("she will be dressed in a very rich dress, all

[4] Mungello 2009.

[5] For a brief introduction on the concept of Othering, see Jensen 2011, 63-78.

[6] Translation from Ripa 1603, 333-334. All translations are made by the author unless otherwise noted after the quotation. The original Italian text is reproduced here. On Europe: "*donna ricchissimamente vestita di abito Regale di più colori, con una corona in testa*" […] "*si rappresenta che tenghi con la destra mano il tempio, per dimostrare ch'in lei al presente ci è la perfetta, & verissima Religione, & superiore a tutte le altre* […] d*ove ha luogo la Santissima, & Catholica Fede Christiana, la quale per gratia del Signore Iddio, hoggi è pervenuta fin al nuovo mondo*". "*Il cavallo, le più forti d'armi, la civetta sopra il libro, & li diversi strumenti musicali, dimostrano che è stata sempre superiore a l'altre parti del mondo, nell'armi, nelle lettere, & in tutte l'arti liberali*". For Asia: "*donna coronata di una bellissima ghirlanda di vaghi fiori, & diversi frutti contesta, sarà vestita di habito ricchissimo, tutto richimato d'oro, di perle, & altre gioie di stima; nella mano destra haverà ramoscelli ed foglie, & frutti di cassia, di pepe, & garofani*" […] "*L'Asia è la metà del mondo, quanto all'estensione del paese, ch'ella comprende*". "*Tien con la destra mano i rami di diversi aromati*". For further information see the chapter by Borniotto in this volume.

embroidered with gold, pearls, and other gems of great value", "in the hand will have twigs of leaves, and fruits of cassia, of pepper, and carnations"), of foods ("she produces not only everything that can be produced for human life, but also every kind of delights") and spices ("she holds in her right hand the branches of different aromas")[7]. Right from the iconographic choice, the image that Europe wanted to give of itself in contrast with Asia was clear: Europe was depicted as superior in military, religious and cultural fields, Asia as a land full of natural wealth.

A visual example reproducing this iconographic ideology is well represented by the fresco painting *Apotheosis of St Ignatius* in the nave ceiling of the Church of Sant' Ignazio in Rome, executed by the Jesuit Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709). The painting shows allegorical figures representing the four continents: among these, a crowned Europe holding a sceptre and the terrestrial globe to symbolize its dominion over the world, while Asia is depicted riding a camel, with a gem on her dress and incense smoke behind her.

However, if we abandon the European point of view, and instead start to analyse the matter from another perspective, we can examine a different example of *Othering*, a common process also in other continents. As its name shows, the Chinese Empire considered itself as the Kingdom in the center of the world and the cradle of civilization, a guide for the populations that lived not only within the vast empire but also beyond its borders. In a Chinese Encyclopaedia dating from around the end of the seventeenth century, on foreign countries it is said: "Beyond the borders of China, there are barbarians", and "Barbarians are belligerent, they love to enjoy life lightly and moreover they have a ferocious character like that of beasts. They are greedy, always looking for profit, and are lewd, like the deer chasing the fawn; for these reasons, they seem very distant from the true moral characteristics of men"[8].

If European countries considered Europe as a superior power, different from others and specifically from the Asian continent – whose borders faded into the distance, though Europeans were trying to delineate them more and

[7] Translation from Ripa 1603, 334-335.

[8] The quotation came from the text *Gewu bu qiu ren* 格物不求人(*All you need to know in order not to ask others*), a Chinese encyclopaedia preserved in the University Library of Genoa, RARI.I.VII.15. For the history behind this book, see Magnani 2019.

more precisely –, at the same time for China there was a vague, equally indistinct area of westernmost lands full of barbarians. The latter included a mosaic of different populations and religions, in which Europeans and Ottomans were often united in a single block of faraway foreigners, both *Xifang ren* 西方人, literally "people from the West". It is therefore interesting to analyze how two visions, one Eurocentric and one Sinocentric, have described and "othered" the figure of the Turk.

This chapter will therefore provide a description of the Turks and Muslims from two different points of view, that is, how the West presented the Ottoman Empire to China, based on the texts written by the missionaries in Chinese and then sent back to Europe, and how China understood the information received on the one hand, and described the most familiar Turks closer to her borders on the other hand (fig. 11.2). The chance of analysis is given by the presence of Chinese books arrived in Europe around the mid-seventeenth century, books that are still preserved and can be consulted today in various European libraries. Most of the Chinese books and information from China came through the seven main commercial routes of West-East connection[9]. and principally thanks to the mediation of Jesuit missionaries.

Among the Chinese books that, from the second half of the seventeenth century, began to be collected in Jesuit and private libraries, there are many written in Chinese by the Jesuits themselves, texts whose primary aim was to address a Chinese audience, but which later were brought to Europe as a proof of the work being done in the Jesuit mission as well as to answer the intellectuals' increased curiosity about China.

The references used for the drafting of this paper come prevalently from the University Library of Genoa, whose roots merge with the foundation of the Jesuit College in the city, the National Central Library of Rome, which has a vast repertoire of Jesuit material including a large collection of Chinese books, and the Ambrosiana Library of Milan, which presents a corpus of Chinese books sent by the Jesuits. The fragments that will be reported and translated have been chosen to recreate the Turks othered image from the West and East perspectives.

[9] Golvers 2017, 180.

Fig. 11.2 *Gewu bu qiu ren* 格物不求人 (*All you need to know in order not to ask others*). Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova [RARI I.XV]. Detail taken from the chapter on foreign populations.

The Western description of "Turks" and its reception in China

The Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) was the final editor of the *Zhifang waiji* 职方外纪 (Register of foreign lands)[10]. an atlas published in 1623 in Chinese language in order to describe Western lands to China. In the paragraph dedicated to Europe – a long self-introduction – it is said: "Europe: although there are no wars within itself, nevertheless it has to face heretical countries, which invade and bully by leveraging their power, and which it is not possible to sweeten with ethics, like the peoples of Tartary, Turkey, etc."[11]. On the map accompanying the text, it can be seen that in many areas under Ottoman control the word "barbarians" is placed.

[10] For this paper the edition of the *Zhifang waiji* (1623) in the National Central Library of Rome, 72.C.494 was consulted.

[11] "大略也封内虽无战斗其有邪教异国恃强侵侮不可德驯如鞑而靼度尔格等" 二卷, 6.

Describing Turkey (transcribed *Du'erge* 度尔格, using homophonic characters to render the sound of the name), Aleni stated that "all the countries at the North-West of Persia are merged into Turkey". It is written that the land is very rich but at the same time made dangerous by the presence of the desert[12]v capable of swallowing the travellers who cross it during a storm of sand. The descriptions of the places inside its territory are enriched by biblical references, such as Mount Sinai, where Moses received the ten commandments, or the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In 1674, following the work of Aleni, the Flemish Jesuits Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688) compiled the *Kunyu tushuo* 坤舆图说 (*Illustrated Explanation of the Geography of the World*) under the Qing dynasty, a book that became later part of the *Sikuquanshu* 四库全书 (*Complete Library of the Four Treasures*), a Chinese imperial anthology of famous books published in 1773[13].

Introducing Asian countries, after the description of China, Verbiest wrote: "At the North-West there are Huihui countries[14], most of them are proficient in martial arts, but there are also people good in letters and etiquette. The founder of their religion is Mohammed; these countries are quite similar, but later they have split into factions and fight against each other"[15].

Verbiest copied the information already provided by the text of Aleni, and the Muslim population (indicated with the Chinese term *huihui* 回回) are depicted as people who brought chaos and damages around the world. In the paragraphs dedicated to the European countries, for Greece, "in the extreme south of Europe"[16] it is said that it was traditionally famous for being the birthplace of Western culture and civilization but "now was thrown into disorder by the *Huihui*, so it is no longer the one of the past". The *Huihui* are also mentioned in relation to the crusades launched by the French for the liberation of Jerusa-

[12] In the Chinese text the expression "sea of sand" was used, to render the idea of desert.

[13] Saraiva 2013, 137.

[14] Here the characters Huihui 回回, are used in order to refer to people of Muslim religion.

[15] "西北有回回諸國, 人多習武, 亦有好學好禮者。初宗馬哈默之教, 諸國多同, 後各立門戶, 互相排擊"。(*Kunyu tushuo, juan xia, 1*).

[16] "厄勒祭亞在歐邏巴極南 […]其聲名天下傳聞，凡禮樂法度、文字典籍，皆為西土之宗。至今古經尚循其文字所出， 聖賢及博物窮理者後先接踵。今為回回擾亂，漸不如前" (*Zhifang waiji juan 2, 24*). The paragraph written by Aleni is identical to the one used by Verbiest in *Kunyu tushuo*.

lem. The descriptions that can be extracted from these two geographical texts written by the Jesuits compose a negative picture of Muslims, who are placed in stark contrast to the European nations and population.

Between the Ottoman and Chinese Empire there were few direct contacts in the past, due to the geographical distance and the different direction of interest. According to the records in *History of Ming* (明史 *Mingshi*) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Government gave gifts to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) seven times, in 1524, 1527, 1559, 1564, 1576, 1581 and 1618.

The first gifts sent in 1524, 1527, 1559 and 1564 were made during the Ottoman reign of Suleiman I (1520-1566). The two journeys of 1576 and 1582 took place during the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), and the 1618 encounter happened during the period of Osman II (1618-1622)[17]. But, although there were direct contacts between Chinese and Ottomans, there are no known sources at the moment that can testify the official status of these embassies; according to historians it is more probable that these occasions were organized by traders looking for private commercial benefits rather than being true political contacts between the Ottoman and Ming courts.

In the Chinese official documents, to address the Ottoman Turkish populations settled in Asia Minor, the phonetic transcription of "Rum" (Rome) was used, referring to the eastern Roman Empire[18] transcribed in Chinese as "Lumi" 鲁迷, and written in a different way, using various homophonic characters; in some cases the term *Huihui* was also added to render its Islamic connotation. In the chapter of *Records of the historian biography* in the *Mingshi*, the Rumi kingdom is defined as "of Western region"[19], and "really far from China"[20].

The direct information on the Ottoman Empire that can be drawn from Chinese sources is rather scarce, testimony to the fact that even if the two empires both interacted through commercial roads[21], most of the exchanges took

[17] Vĩ An Lư 2018, 188.

[18] Mosca 2010, 147-207.

[19] "西域魯迷" from *Mingshi*《明史》卷二百六, 列傳第九十四.

[20] "魯迷，去中國絕遠。" from *Mingshi*《明史》卷三百三十二，列傳第二百二十, 西域四.

[21] An example of these contacts, is the rich collection of Chinese porcelain in the Topkapi Palace, see Artan 2010. For more information on the consuming of silks and Chinese porcelain in Ottoman world, especially in the eighteenth century, see Akçetin and Faroqhi (eds.) 2018.

place through intermediaries. And some of the intermediaries for Ottoman news were Jesuits, as we saw previously, as attested by the geographic texts written in Chinese by Aleni and Verbiest.

The fact that information passed through the point of view of religious men, and consequently under the influence of their belief, was evident to the shrewd Chinese interlocutors: at the end of the seventeenth century, the writer Lu Ciyun 陆次云 (who lived during the first Qing dynasty period), in composing his book *Accounts of Things within the Eight Corners of the World* (*Bahong yishi* 八纮绎译史, published in 1683), declared to have consulted the news described by Aleni, and added: "However, since he expounds on his [religious] doctrine at every turn and has lavished tedious discourses concerning such matters upon the book, I have left them out and only taken [the remaining] one third of the material"[22].

Xiong Renlin 熊人霖 (1604–1666), vice minister of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, used information from the Jesuits to write *Latitudes of the Earth* (*Di-wei* 地緯) in 1624, where it is said "The Westerners [Jesuits] told me that Muslims are profit-driven, and, once they see where there is a nice piece of land, they would flock to the place [and take it], which is how they spread their religion".

Nalan Kuixu 纳兰揆叙 (1674?-1717), a Manchu official under the Emperor Kangxi reign, composed the *Xiguang ting zazhi* 隙光亭杂识, *Notes on the Xiguang Pavilion*, in which, talking about the Ottoman Empire, he wrote:

> This country is called "Hongke'er"[23] in Mongolian language, and by the Western people is called "Du'erke" (Turkey), it is a large Muslim country; Russia paid tribute to them once. In its territory there is a cave, in this cave the wind blows so strongly that men on horse passing by must be extremely strong, in order not to be turned by the wind force or they would be trapped in the cave. There is also a stone[24], in this land, that hangs in the air, similar to a stone roller. The people who see it must admire and worship it, showing respect[25].

These testimonies confirm that much information on the Ottoman Empire was derived from Jesuit sources. However, in a military manual, written by

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[22] Zhang 2015, 339.

[23] Khungghar, written *Gongke'er* 供克尔 in Chinese characters.

[24] Referring to the Kaba.

[25] 《隙光亭杂识》, 卷二, 10.

Zhao Shizhen 赵士祯 (1522-1611) and entitled *Shenqi pu* 神器谱 (*Manual on magic weapons*), it is possible to see images of a Turk holding a musket; the use of the firearm was introduced to Zhao Shizhen by an Ottoman resident in China. In different tables of the book a foreigner is represented, here called "a person from Lumi" 嚕蜜人, who is showing how to use the new weapon in all its steps, from loading to shooting. The distinguishing features used in the representation of the Ottoman are only the turban hat and the thick beard[26].

A Japanese reproduction of the book, published in 1808 and kept in the National Diet Library of Japan, is available online as reference[27].

The Western and the Turkish neighbour of China

If depictions of Ottomans were not widespread in China, and neither were news about their empire – too much to the West and with infrequent direct contacts – the information abounds on the Turks and Muslim populations closest to the borders of China.

The Chinese "Turks" and Muslims, in fact, were populations which originated from the Eastern part of the Turkic peoples[28], and that were located on the northern border of China. The Tartars, also mentioned by Jesuit texts together with the Turks[29], are often described in Chinese historic sources. In the text *Records of foreign regions* (*Yiyuzhi* 异域志) it is written:

> Tartars: peoples that have different groups, such as Xiongnu, Shanyu, Xianyun, Turks, Huns, Khitan, Qianhu, Mongols[30].

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[26] The musket is called "gun from Lumi" 魯密銃; for more information on the book, the encounter between the author and the Turkish *Duo Sima* (朵思麻) or for more data on firearms in China, see Chase 2003, 141-191.

[27] 《神器 谱》, 二卷. The book is available at the following web address: https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2567964, DOI: 10.11501 / 2567964 The pages concerning Ottomans go from page 13 to 17.

[28] See Golden 1992.

[29] See the previous citation from Aleni, "封内虽无战斗,其有邪教异国,恃强侵侮,不可德驯,如鞑而靼、度尔格等者" (二卷, 6).

[30] 鞑靼: 一名匈奴, 一名单于, 一名猃狁, 一名突厥, 一名獯鬻, 一名契丹, 一名羌胡, 一名蒙古, 种类甚。

With the term "Turks" (*Tujue* 突厥) the Chinese used to indicate the Göktürks[31]. All these populations are often represented in printed texts, and in particular in encyclopaedic books which enjoyed a wide diffusion between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

The encyclopaedias were practical manuals containing basic information on each branch of knowledge, and including also a chapter dedicated to foreign countries. Printed in a high number of copies and in different editions, the encyclopaedic texts always used the same stereotyped images to reproduce the foreign peoples. In the University Library of Genoa, the Encyclopaedic text called *All you need to know in order not to ask others* (*Gewu bu qiu ren* 格物不求人) can be found, which contains the chapter "Image of all the countries" (*geguo xingxiang* 各国形象) accompanied by simple and iconic illustrations for each of them. The similarity between the Tartars, Mongols and Turks, united by the same root, is reiterated also in this text (fig. 11.3)[32].

Looking from a Chinese perspective, all the population behind the Great Wall and reaching the West could be defined as Westerner.

We have an example of this habit in a document, preserved at the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (which presents a collection of Chinese texts that come from the contacts between Cardinal Federico Borromeo and the Jesuits in the East, as well as the merger of a private collection from the Settala family)[33]: it is a handwritten page[34], probably written by a Chinese traveller who had noted down the customs and habits of the peoples he met. He talked about *Xiao Xiyang* 小西洋, literally translatable as people from the "Small Western Ocean", who "in order to greet, put a hand

[31] Fidan 2016, 229.

[32] In the book it is said: "Five different types of race are distinguished within the Tatars: the first has blond hair and hair and are the children generated by the union of the wild men of the mountains with the blond-haired barbarians. The second, on the other hand, is made up of squat, short and fat people, descended from the union of wild boars and wild men. The third type is that composed of people with very black hair and white skin, who descend from the children left [by the borders] by the soldiers [of the general] Li Qing in the Tang era. The fourth type is the one called the "Turks" […].

[33] For more information on the Chinese collection in the Ambrosiana, see Fumagalli 2004; and for the Settala connection with the Ambrosiana, see the contribution of Marco Navoni, (2000), 205-255.

[34] The paper is catalogued as S.Q.V.VIII.15, together with other documents.

Fig.11.3 Detail from the text 格物不求人 *Gewu bu qiu ren* (*All you need to know in order not to ask others*). Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova [RARI I.XV]. Detail taken from the chapter on foreign populations.

in front of their forehead and say Salaam Alaykum, and the response to the greeting is Alaikum Salaam"[35].

From this observation, it can be assumed that the notes concern an Islamic country. The appellation "People from the Small Western Ocean" is a term that was often used in the late Ming period to indicate populations from India to Asia Minor[36]. For China, they were all Westerners coming from the sea.

The Sinocentric vision with which they looked at other foreign countries is symbolized by the idea that all the neighbours were "vassals", and they came to China to pay tribute to the Emperor.

An example of this vision is the *Wanguo laichao tu* "万国来朝图" (Painting of Myriads Countries coming to the Court), coloured inks on silk executed by an anonymous artist from the Qianlong period (1736-1795), now in the Imperial Palace of Beijing, China[37].

All the foreign countries here are depicted together while presenting their tribute to the Emperor, and some banners show the name of the countries. Although there is no reference to the Ottomans or to Turkey, Turkish populations are present, such as the people from Kyrgyzstan 布鲁特, and Badakhshan 拔達克山 (a historic region in North-Eastern Afghanistan).

Conclusion

Through the examples cited, drawn from different sources, it is interesting to observe how the same population can be reinterpreted from different perspectives, and to rethink the arbitrary concepts of East and West, Orient and Occident[38].

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[35] 小西详礼貌手達額上口說: 撒那 (鸟?) 玄恭, 回礼說 ((阿?) 勒恭撒那。

[36] Matteo Ricci in his Chinese maps used different words to translate Europe and India, precisely "Great Western Ocean" for people coming from Europe and "Small Western Ocean" for people coming from India and Asia Minor. They are all Westerners coming through sea, but he differentiated them by adding the characters of "big" and "small". See Morar 2019.

[37] The painting was made following the Western style, according to Giuseppe Castiglione's school. It is possible to see the painting in the official website of the Palace Museum, at https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/228789.html and focus on the details of the different populations.

[38] The debate, starting from the publication of Edward Said's book (1978), still remains a source of continuous reflections and new analyses on the formation of the concepts of East and West, on their influence and modification.

While the European point of view emphasized the religious connotation of the Turks, which was the most important and contrasting aspect for Christian authors, from the Chinese point of view the Muslim character was not seen as negative – Islam was considered a foreign religion among many others in the West, and many Muslim people lived and also occupied prestigious positions in China – while the "Turkish" root and affiliation was more relevant.

Further analysis of both texts and descriptive images of the Ottoman people, and more in-depth comparisons of these iconographic representations, can contribute to better reconstruct the different processes of *Othering* by which the Ottomans were seen by the great powers contemporary to them. At the same time, to get a complete picture, it would be interesting to focus on the *Self* thus constructed through the encounter with *Others*, and how the *Othering* was carried out on other countries. Because *Other* and *Self* are closely connected to each other, and, as it is said in the *Dao de jing* 道德经[39]: 知人者智, 自知者明, "The person who understands the Other has knowledge, but he who understands himself is enlightened".

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[39] *Laozi* or *Daodejing*, written in the IV-III century b. C. See Andreini 2018.

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Borja Franco Llopis is Associate Professor at the UNED, Madrid, and Principal Investigator of the research group "Before Orientalism: Images of Otherness in the Early Modern Mediterranean", as well as member of the COST Action "Islamic Legacy"(www.is-le.eu). He has published many journal articles, book chapters and monographs, including *Pintando al converso: la imagen del morisco en la peninsula ibérica* (Madrid, Cátedra, 2019); he has also coedited *Another Image: Muslim and Jews Made Visible in Christian Iberia and Beyond* (Leiden, Brill, 2019), and *Lepanto and Beyond* (Leuven University Press, 2021).

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This book presents instances of how the interrelations between Christians and Muslims were negotiated in the field of images and objects in the Mediterranean area during the Early Modern age. A short introductory chapter gathers reflections on the key terms of "alterity" and "image". The first section focuses on the representations of a variety of encounters with religious otherness. The starting point is the study of a 15th-century Flemish illuminated *fabula*, followed by the analysis of a completely different narrative, directly rooted in a harsh reality, conveyed by the documents recording the Barbary corsairs' incursions in Liguria; a third essay illustrates how the image of a Christian leader, king John V of Portugal, was shaped by his fleet's victorious clash with the Turks. The central section of the book is dedicated to geographically diverse case studies in the circulation of Turkish artefacts in western Europe – with a focus on Genoa – and in the creation and dissemination of the Ottomans' image. An itinerary through the rich body of textual and visual sources devoted to the Turks' everyday life, customs and costumes, produced in the West since the 15th century, is offered, as well as in-depth studies of specific themes: the fortune of the series of paintings portraying the "Great Turks" in Lombardy, the semantic function of the Ottomans included in 16th-century Venetian artworks depicting "suppers" from the Gospels, the visual narratives provided by the xylographies illustrating the Croatian epic poem *Judith* by Marko Marulić. In the last part of the book, essays zoom in on occurrences of Ottomans' images in connection to explicitly religious Catholic contexts. A chapter deals with ex votos with seafaring subjects, in which images of Turkish enemies loom large, while the last two contributions address themes connected to the role of the Jesuits: the iconography of Saint Francis Xavier, in which the images of the Ottomans become templates for the depiction of other non-Christians, and the description of Turks in Early Modern Chinese texts, either brought to Europe by Jesuit missionaries or produced by them for the use of the Chinese they tried to convert.

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Cover image
Alessandro Castellano, graphic reworking of a detail of
Aga Capitano generale de' Giannizzeri, from Nicolas de Nicolay,
Le Navigationi et viaggi, fatti nella Turchia, Venice 1580.