

12 • Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories

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The illustrated histories of the Ottoman Empire, now considered to be an outstanding development of Turkish miniature painting, also constitute an original contribution to cartography. After the conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sultan Meḥmed II concentrated his policies on consolidating power and securing prestige, through the patronage of art and architecture and the production of manuscripts for his imperial library. A significant aspect of this was the chronicling of the Ottoman dynasty: an official court historian was appointed to record the lives and achievements of the Ottoman rulers in a series of *ṣahnāmes* (panegyric royal histories). By about 944/1537, these were coming to be illustrated, and this pictorial element became an integral part of Ottoman historiography.

These histories were designed, above all, to record the might and power of the Ottoman Empire. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans took advantage of the dynastic rivalry between the Habsburgs and the Valois to make extensive territorial gains in Europe and to control much of the Mediterranean. The Ottomans also faced a militant Safavid dynasty whose disruptive influence in Anatolia required constant vigilance in the empire's eastern frontier zones.¹ The illustrated histories therefore glorified the political and cultural achievements of these Ottoman campaigns, not only in the visual record of victories and military conquests they contain, but also in depictions of the pomp and circumstance of the Ottoman court.

A distinctive element of this imperial imagery was its emphasis on the “actuality of contemporary history”: the realistic depiction not only of the personages involved, but also of the landscapes where events took place.² The itinerary map, the town plan, and the bird's-eye view incorporated as book illustrations thus became natural instruments of the palace chronicler. Sultans, viziers, and ambassadors appear as recognizable figures in specific historical settings with the architecture, the landscape, and details characteristic of each particular region.

Of the histories commissioned for imperial libraries, approximately thirty extant illustrated manuscripts composed in 944–1039/1537–1630 are devoted to the record of contemporary events in a mixture of indigenous and

foreign styles (the principal works discussed in this chapter are listed in appendix 12.1). In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, distinguished miniature painters from Persia and Central Asia were brought to work in Istanbul, but the Ottoman rulers must also have been familiar with the developing fashion for town views in Europe. These respective contributions require further study, however. Likewise, there is some question when such illustrations first came to be included in the histories. Several manuscripts containing nonrealistic representations survive from the early sixteenth century.³ There follows a remarkable forty-year period of experimentation in style and technique, characterized by the frequent use of maps or plan views to portray historical events. The images in the *Nūzhetü'l-ahbār der sefer-i Sıgetvār*

This survey would not have been possible without the patient help of colleagues, in particular Tony Campbell, Helen Wallis, and Norah M. Titley of the British Library, Filiz Çağman, librarian of the Topkapı Sarayı, Zeren Tanındı of Bursa University, Günsel Renda, Hacettepe University, Ankara, and John Rowlands, keeper of prints and drawings in the British Museum. The European source material to which they have drawn my attention could be considerably expanded, though that, I think, would not much alter the conclusions advanced here. The Islamic material is, anyway, less familiar to readers of this work and accordingly takes first place. An attempt has been made to standardize the innumerable variant names of sixteenth-century Italian mapmakers, but it has not seemed useful to distinguish between authors and publishers, since so much remains unclear or unknown.

1. Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*, *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, vol. 91 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983), esp. 130–45. There is no general work on the Ottoman-Habsburg-Valois rivalry in the sixteenth century. For an overview, the essays in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, 2 vols., ed. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, vol. 1, *The Central Islamic Lands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), esp. 295–353, and *The New Cambridge Modern History*, 2d ed., vol. 2, *The Reformation*, ed. Geoffrey R. Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), are recommended.

2. Eleanor G. Sims, “The Turks and Illustrated Historical Texts,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 747–72, esp. 750.

3. The earliest extant illustrated history, the *Ṣahnāme* (Book of kings) by Melik Ümmi (ca. 906/1500), contains seven miniatures by an artist trained perhaps in Shiraz, and the *Selīm-nāme* (History of Sultan Selim I) by Şükrî Bidlisî (ca. 931/1525) contains twenty-five miniatures (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 1123 and H. 1597–98, respectively).

(Chronicle of the Szigetvár campaign, composed 976/1568–69) by Aḥmed Feridün, herald the appearance of a mature, formalized Ottoman illustrative style, which in turn influenced the way maps and topographical views were used to portray geographic reality.

These illustrated dynastic chronicles reached their apogee during the reigns of Murād III (982–1003/1574–95) and Meḥmed III (1003–12/1595–1603), at a time when Seyyid Loḳmān ibn Hüseyn ibn el-ʿAşūri el-Urmevi held the post of *şehnāmeçi* (official court historian). Ottoman illustration of this later period shows its growing indebtedness to European printed views and maps that were circulating freely throughout the empire. With declining imperial power in the latter part of the seventeenth century, however, far fewer manuscripts came to be illustrated for the imperial library, and the tradition of illustrated histories, created for the personal use of the sultan, suffered the most serious neglect.

THE COMPILATION OF ILLUSTRATED HISTORIES

Manuscript illustration in later Muslim cultures has always tended to be centralized in palaces. The value of the materials—fine paper, precious pigments, and gold—carried a constant danger of pilferage and close supervision was essential. At the same time, the urgency of imperial demand required a concentration of expert craftsmen—calligraphers, marginators, illuminators, painters (*naḳḳāşān*), and binders—to see the manuscript expeditiously through its production stages from the first draft to finished book.⁴

Some of these individuals advanced to high rank in their professions and it is highly probable that they influenced the organization of the studio. It is nevertheless difficult to trace the participation of known individuals in the fine manuscripts made for the Ottoman palace before the later sixteenth century. Though production in a palace studio by a permanent salaried staff no doubt represented an ideal in Ottoman bureaucracy, at least until the death of Süleymān I the Magnificent (r. 926–74/1520–66), the studio had no monopoly of manuscript production. Some of the most significant illustrated manuscripts of this reign were produced without direct studio supervision. The *Süleymānnāme* (History of Sultan Süleymān) of Fetḥullāh ʿArifi Çelebi, for instance, may well have been the work of artists specially assembled for the purpose, and the *Mecmūʿa-i menāzil* (The collection of halts) must have been commissioned independently by Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ from craftsmen working outside the palace and offered by him to Süleymān the Magnificent. There is nothing in the least surprising about this. The palace craftsmen would not be underemployed; demand, particularly in innovative genres, was impossible

to predict; and appropriately specialized painters must have been difficult to find. Even under Murād III, when the studio was far more thoroughly incorporated into the higher bureaucracy and the former *naḳḳāşbaşı* (chief painter) Ḥasan was actually granted the distinguished title of *paşa*, it was not unknown for illustrated manuscripts for the sultan to be commissioned and executed outside the studio. This seems notably to have been the case both with Muşṭafā ʿĀli's (948–1008/1541–1600) presentation copy of his *Nuşretnāme* (Book of victories) and with his record of imperial festivities in Istanbul, *Cāmi' ū'l-buḥūr der mecālis-i şūr*. Though this latter work remained unillustrated, he evidently intended to have it illustrated in Baghdad.⁵ Such works show the dangers of reading back into earlier sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkey the organized bureaucratic structure of the palace studio under Murād III.

Although military maps and sea charts continued to be drawn on vellum for durability, Ottoman illustrated manuscripts were practically always on paper. The sources refer to paper from Samarkand, India, and Baghdad, but Islamic paper types of the time had no watermarks, and so far it is impossible to locate the sources of manufacture with any certainty. Bağdādī paper had a standard format, a full sheet being somewhat similar to folio size. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Ottoman manuscripts increasingly came to be written on European papers, particularly, to judge from the watermarks, Genoese, although the frequent occurrence of several different watermarks in the same manuscript may indicate that the supply was limited. Alternatively, as account books for manuscript production in this period demonstrate, the paper was doled out to the calligraphers in very small quantities.

By the late sixteenth century, the production of illustrated manuscripts for the palace library was more or less standardized (plate 17). The chronicler first completed a draft, which may have been submitted to the sultan for

4. *Naḳḳāş* (Persian; plural *naḳḳāşān*) is an all-encompassing term applied to the palace painters and decorators with the *naḳḳāşbaşı* at their head. The studio where they worked is often known as the *naḳḳāşhane*, though the term does not seem to have been in common use in the sixteenth century. Important primary sources for the studio are payroll registers (*mevācib defterleri*) dated between 932/1526 and 963/1556, along with a series of ledgers (*inʿāmāt defterleri*) that record gifts the craftsmen offered to the sultan on the great feasts of the Muslim year and the rewards, gratuities, or honoraria they received in return. For a recent evaluation of their relevance, see J. M. Rogers, "Kara Memi (Kara Mehmed) and the Role of the *Sernakkaşan* in the Scriptorium of Süleymān the Magnificent," *Revue du Louvre*, in press.

5. The *Cāmi' ū'l-buḥūr der mecālis-i şūr* (The gathering of the seas [or meters] on the episodes of the celebrations, dated 994/1585–86) is in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, B. 203. See Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Āli (1541–1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), esp. 105–6 and n. 90.

approval. The text was then written out by a professional calligrapher, leaving specified pages, or parts of pages, blank for chapter headings, illumination, or illustration. We do not know exactly who dictated this basic layout, but if it was not the *naḳḳāşbaşı*, it could well have been the calligrapher himself. As in scriptoria in other later Islamic cultures, the illustrations would have first been sketched in black ink, but since the pigments in a gouache medium were all opaque, these lie concealed under the paint. For economy of time, mechanical aids to reproduction, like pounced stencils, were freely used, and specialization was encouraged. As a result most illustrations are the joint work of several hands. A master painter and his apprentices or journeymen would be employed, but since many Ottoman manuscripts lack colophons—and the ones that do have them normally record only the name of the calligrapher—it is often impossible to assign illustrations to known painters.

A problem arises with Ottoman interest in historical accuracy when the painters were not in immediate contact with the events they were illustrating. We have an abundant pictorial record of sixteenth-century Istanbul from the many European painters and draftsmen who came there, sketchbooks at the ready, braving the constant danger of arrest for espionage. But there is virtually nothing in the way of an Ottoman sketchbook. Nevertheless, there must have been such things, otherwise the accurate historical detail of the later chronicles of Süleymān's reign, extending beyond the text into the illustrations, would never have been possible. Who exactly was responsible for collecting them and putting them at the disposal of the painters in the palace scriptorium we do not know, but it is highly probable that the records were made for the Ottoman general staff and held in the grand vizier's office. Here would have been the siege plans, elevations of fortresses, and all the other topographical documentation that was essential for the preparation of campaigns on land and sea. This corpus has not survived for the most part, probably because it would have been discarded as soon as it was out of date, but it clearly existed.⁶

It is in this military context that we must consider the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* of Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ (d. 971/1564), an officer in Süleymān's Janissary corps. This campaign history depicts the sultan's itinerary in a series of maps devoid of the human figures that fill other works of the historical genre. There are no known precedents, but Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ was an able chronicler, as shown by the accounts he produced of the various military campaigns conducted by Sultan Süleymān.⁷ What relation his work had to the practice of recording campaign itineraries deserves closer examination. The Ottomans did not invent the campaign diary, but works of this sort had a preeminent place in the sixteenth century as a source for the annals of Süleymān's reign. It must be assumed that

a draftsman accompanied the officials charged with keeping the diary in order to sketch the important sites for historical record, if not for strategic purposes. The innovation of sketching in the field may have been Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ's own, although it was coming to be standard practice in Europe. But the need for such records certainly existed, and he was the first to exploit these sketches as illustrations for his own work. Though his campaign history seems largely to have been ignored in manuscripts executed in the palace library, Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ's innovation in realistic portrayal certainly reflected the deep Ottoman interest in the depiction of geography in their histories.

EARLY EXAMPLES OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION IN OTTOMAN TEXTS

The origins of Ottoman manuscript illustration are complex, although sixteenth-century sources suggest that an imperial studio was established at Istanbul during the reign of Meḫmed II (second r. 855–86/1451–81).⁸ The few extant miniatures in texts of this early period are of an eclectic nature but reflect little of the Italian artists Sultan Meḫmed invited to serve at his court. Illustrations dating from the subsequent reign of Bāyezīd II (r. 886–918/1481–1512) were strongly influenced by Persian and Turkoman traditions, resulting from contact with artists from Herat and Tabriz.

Such foreign influences, whether drawn from East or West, cannot, however, fully account for the emergence of an Ottoman interest in the detailed representation of cities and landscapes. With the exception of views of Baghdad—occasionally, though not accurately, illustrated in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḏl Allāh's *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* (Collection of chronicles)⁹ and appearing in an Akkoyunlu anthology made

6. But see Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont, "Un plan Ottoman inédit de Van au XVII^e siècle," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Dergisi/Journal of Ottoman Studies* 2 (1981): 97–122; see also chapter 11.

7. For a detailed account of the organization of Ottoman campaigns, see Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "The First Centuries of the Ottoman Military Organization," *Acta Orientalia: Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31 (1977): 147–83.

8. Esin Atil, "Ottoman Miniature Painting under Sultan Mehmed II," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973): 103–20, and Ernst J. Grube, "Notes on Ottoman Painting in the 15th Century," *Islamic Art and Architecture* 1 (1981): 51–62.

9. There are two such illustrations, dated ca. 751/1350, in the Diez albums (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A, Foliant 70, pp. 4 and 7); see Mazhar Şevket İpşiroğlu, *Saray-alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 8 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), 17–18 and pl. 9. A manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Suppl. Persan 1113), which also depicts the capture of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258, has been shown by Basil Gray to be dated to 823–34/1420–30 and shows no

at Shemakhi in Shirvan in 873/1468–69¹⁰—urban topography is almost totally ignored within the general context of Islamic painting before the first half of the sixteenth century. Thereafter we can identify the emergence of a distinctive Ottoman cartographic element in manuscript illustration, expressed through the detailed representation of cities.

Urban topographical illustration first appears in maritime charts in the two versions of the *Kitāb-i bahriye* (Book of maritime matters) of Muḥyiddin Piri Re'is (ca. 875–961/1470–1554) (fully described on pp. 272–79).¹¹ Since he was first a corsair and then an officer in the Ottoman navy, the extent of his artistic training or links, if any, with the artistic community is unknown. In any case, the realistic depiction of cities occupied a low priority in the *Kitāb-i bahriye*. The form of the book, closely derived from Italian *isolarii* in its conventions and many of its illustrations, and its purpose, part manual and part autobiography, were directed to the mariner. This explains the selection of sites and how they were represented.¹² Moreover, the treatment of architecture is extremely schematic: a fortified tower may stand for a key fortress, a single gabled building for a town or village.¹³ Piri Re'is also indicated ruined sites, sometimes as columns fallen or haphazardly standing, or sometimes as fortified walls with nothing inside, as at Tyre in Lebanon.¹⁴ Yet the sheer number of these sites casts doubt on their having been drawn from firsthand observation. On the Palestinian and Syrian coasts, in particular, right up to Iskenderun and Ayas (Laiazzo), there are so many ruined sites that one might be led to conclude Piri Re'is found these coasts deserted.

Elsewhere there is an important element of personal experience in Piri Re'is's notes to the *Kitāb-i bahriye*. This is reflected in the illustrations, most notably in the first half of the work, beginning with the Dardanelles and surveying the Greek islands, the coasts of Albania, and the Adriatic up to Venice and Murano, even when a derivation from earlier Italian manuals is obvious. Most of the larger cities like Dubrovnik are shown in elevation from an angle of about sixty degrees. They feature massed-up, gabled houses and churches with square campaniles, often surmounted by crosses or crockets. Crowded inside fortified walls, they give an overall impression of settlements climbing a hill. While it would be difficult to recognize Dubrovnik without a caption, its harbor fortifications, like those at Ancona, are carefully depicted.¹⁵ This emphasis reflects the fundamental interest of such ports to a corsair. This was obviously a consideration in making a treatise to present to Sultan Süleymān in the prosecution of his struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean.

The view of Venice deserves special notice among the depictions in the first half of the work (see fig. 14.13

below).¹⁶ The double-page illustration gives prominence to Murano among the islands of the lagoon, but it does not show either San Giorgio Maggiore or the Giudecca in recognizable form. To the south, massive walls block the lagoon. The waterfront of Venice (to use an anachronism) shows the *darsena* (naval arsenal or dockyard) with its walls and fortified entrance (which is actually situated up a canal), a tall campanile with no resemblance to that on the Piazza San Marco, and a generalized church that likewise bears no resemblance to the Basilica of San Marco. Other buildings are then shown in successive rows split by canals. Although it is clear that Venice is represented, the usefulness of this illustration as a guide to the city is questionable. It possibly was derived from an Italian view of Venice of the late fifteenth century, for it shows little indebtedness to the Jacopo de' Barbari map (A.D. 1500), but the prominence given to the lagoon fortifications and to the arsenal strongly suggests the work of a renegade or spy.

With the exception of Ancona, the coasts of Marche, Apulia, and Calabria show towns reduced to schematic fortifications. The same occurs for Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and even Malta, although mountains on these islands are indicated. Perhaps the most faithfully represented port in the whole volume is Genoa.¹⁷ Though less detailed than Ottoman representations after about 952/1545, the city is clearly recognizable, depicted in elevation

direct acquaintance with the topography of Baghdad; see his "An Unknown Fragment of the 'Jāmi' al-tawārikh' in the Asiatic Society of Bengal," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 65–75.

10. London, British Library, Add. MS. 16561, fol. 60a; signed by the dervish Nāṣir Bukhārā'i. See Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London: British Library, 1977), no. 97. The view is reproduced in Thomas W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (1928; reprinted New York: Dover, 1965), fig. II.

11. The first version is dated 927/1521. Piri Re'is prepared an expanded version dated 932/1526 and dedicated to Sultan Süleymān. A manuscript of the second version (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 642) is described in J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, exhibition catalog (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), no. 40.

12. Rome, for example, is shown merely as a set of conventionalized fortifications along either side of the Tiber (p. 577). Page references for the *Kitāb-i bahriye* follow the pagination in the facsimile of a manuscript of the second version (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Aya-sofya 2612): see Piri Re'is, *Kitāb-i bahriye*, ed. Fevzi Kurtoglu and Haydar Alpagut (Istanbul: Devlet, 1935).

13. For example, the fortified tower on Malta; *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 509 (note 12).

14. For Tyre (Ka'le-i Şūr-i ḥarāb) and, as another example, Eski Istanbul on the island of Lesbos (Mytilene), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 732 and 146–47 (note 12).

15. For Dubrovnik (Dobrovenedik or Dübrevnik) and Ancona (Ankona), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 351 and 442, respectively (note 12).

16. For Venice (Venedik), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 428–29 (note 12).

17. For Genoa (Ceneviz), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 581 (note 12).

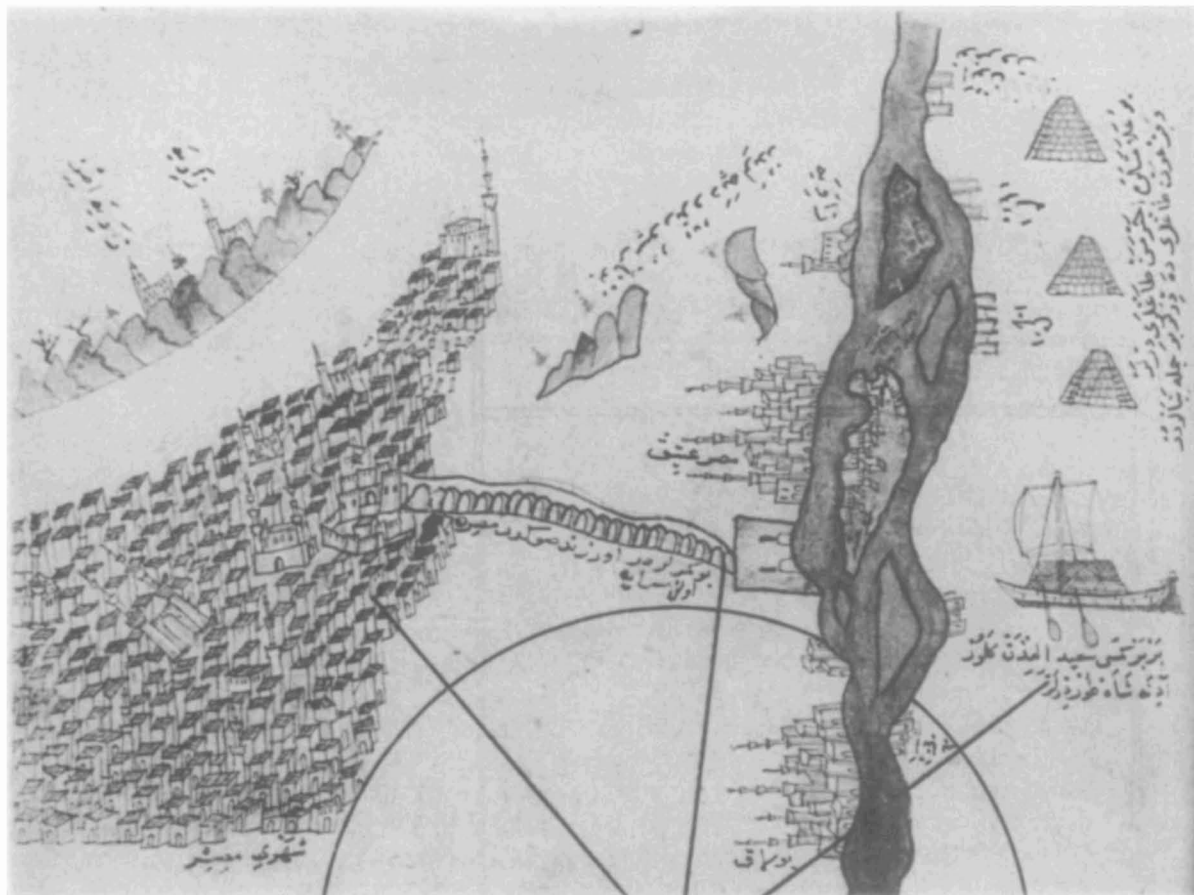


FIG. 12.1. VIEW OF CAIRO. From a map in the 932/1526 version of the *Kitāb-i bahriye*. Along the Nile on this south-oriented image, beside the aqueduct's great intake tower, is Old Cairo, facing the island of Rawḍah and the Giza pyramids beyond. Būlāq lies a short distance downstream. Shrines nestle in the adjacent Muqāṭṭam Hills. The *zāviye* south of Old Cairo,

near the top of the image, must be the Shrine of the Footsteps of the Prophet that was restored in the reign of the Mamluk Sultan Faraj (d. 815/1412) and again in Cumādā I 910/October 1504 under Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī.

Size of the original: 31.8 × 22 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul (H. 642, fol. 352).

from an angle of about sixty degrees taken from the sea, hence very probably the work of a prisoner, possibly a siege engineer. The remaining coasts of Europe, southern France, and Spain, despite an abundance of autobiographical reminiscence by Pīrī Reʿīs, are very sketchily covered. Practically the only buildings shown are conventionalized forts to indicate cities—even those as large as Barcelona.

From Gibraltar onward, when Pīrī Reʿīs's account turns eastward, certain changes become apparent, though most of them are gradual. Ruins once again come to be indicated, like those at Cherchel in Algeria.¹⁸ Principal mosques are shown with tiered minarets (for example, Tunis), and fortifications at Tripoli in Libya have walls with a pronounced batter.¹⁹ When the account comes to Egypt, however, there is an immediate accumulation of detail. West of Alexandria there is even a representation of a military encampment, showing war tents, artillery, and pennons. Pīrī Reʿīs tells us in his notes that he was able

to study the country while accompanying the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Paşa on his punitive expedition of 931/1524–25, and there is every reason to believe that the detail on his charts reflects Pīrī Reʿīs's own observation. Unfortunately, the absence of documentation in the Egyptian Mamluk sources or on European plans before the late sixteenth century makes some details difficult to interpret.²⁰ Alexandria is shown with its walls intact but with the city inside largely ruined, apart from two minarets attached to unidentified buildings and a windmill.²¹ The

18. For Cherchel (Şirşel), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 633 (note 12).

19. For Tunis (Tunus) and Tripoli (Ṭarābulūs-i Garb), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 653 and 655, and 675 respectively (note 12).

20. Regarding European plans, see Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Eine Stadtansicht des mamlukischen Kairo aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 32 (1976): 113–32 and pls. 33–39.

21. For Alexandria (Iskenderiye), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 704–5 (note 12).



FIG. 12.2. VIEW OF ALANYA (ʿALĀʾĪYE). The small port of Alanya on the southern coast of Anatolia is one of the most detailed and accurate urban representations in the *Kitāb-i bahriye*. A path is shown outside the city walls leading to a source of fresh water at a well.

Size of the original: 31.8 × 22 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul (H. 642).

fortress of the Mamluk sultan Qāyrbāy (d. 901/1496) is, however, shown as a three-tiered building with a conical roof on the top tier. The distinct reminiscence of the famous Hellenistic lighthouse, the Pharos, must be the result of Pīrī Reʿīs's personal acquaintance with the current, though largely legendary, Egyptian accounts of the beacon as detailed in later Mamluk chronicles.

A section covering the journey up the Nile to Cairo indicates villages, towns, and even isolated shrines in sequence.²² In Cairo (fig. 12.1), the relative positions of Būlāq, Cairo, Old Cairo (Miṣr-i ʿAtīk), the island of Rawḍah, and the pyramids of Giza are roughly correct. Individual monuments, however, are not distinguishable, with a few exceptions such as the aqueduct to the citadel with its great intake tower, the Sabʿah Sawāqī built by the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (d. 922/1516). On close examination one can make out some of the walls and gates of the citadel but not, for example, the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (d. 763/1362)—the most conspicuous building of Cairo that appears prominently on seventeenth-century European views of the city. *Zāviyes* (shrines) are shown on the Muqaṭṭam Hills, and also the Shrine of the Footsteps of the Prophet (Masjid Āthār al-Nabī) to the south of Cairo.

Būlāq, which came into prominence as a port only following Sultan Selīm I's occupation of Egypt in 923/

1517, has almost more minarets than Cairo itself. The minarets are multitiered and are recognizably derived from late Mamluk style. We may guess that their prominence at Būlāq was less because of their newness than because there was more space for them on the page. Although as topographical illustration the section devoted to the Nile and Cairo clearly owes much, if not all, to Pīrī Reʿīs's own observations, the views are no more advanced than, for example, the town views of Wilhelm Pleydenwurff and Michael Wolgemut in Hartmann Schedel's Nuremberg Chronicle (published as *Liber chronicarum* in 1493).

The rest of the Mediterranean and the coasts of Palestine and Syria are treated fairly perfunctorily, with most towns and ports shown as deserted when they are not explicitly stated to be ruined. Though little is known of the region around Antioch under Mamluk and then Ottoman rule, it is most improbable that all there was to see at Iskenderun was ruins, or that the southern coast of Anatolia between Adana and Alanya was practically uninhabited. It may be that these sections were written up and illustrated later from inadequate notes.

The generalization and vagueness that characterizes this portion of the *Kitāb-i bahriye* is more than compensated for by the view of Alanya that was almost certainly drawn on the spot (fig. 12.2).²³ This image demonstrates that the concern of Maṭrākçı Naṣūh for topographical accuracy, apparent after 944/1537–38, may not have been an isolated phenomenon. It shows clearly not only the upper and lower fortresses, but also the Tersane (dockyard) and the Kızıl Kule (Red tower) built by the Seljuk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayqubād (d. 634/1237), as well as the palace and mosque built by Süleymān in the upper fortress.²⁴ Though Alanya is only sporadically mentioned in Ottoman sources, it is not likely to have had much of a population when Pīrī Reʿīs saw it, and it is doubtful that the naval dockyard was still in use. The reason this city was chosen for such exceptional treatment must relate directly to the preparation of the work for presentation to Süleymān himself.

This discussion confirms that Pīrī Reʿīs's originality lies more with his sea charts than with the town views they contain. The latter were strongly influenced by earlier Venetian charts and contained many arbitrary simplifications. Moreover, the views continued to degenerate as contemporary topographical records. Though the *Kitāb-i bahriye* remained very popular into the seventeenth century, presentation copies, designed more to impress patrons than for use by the mariner, were illustrated with

22. For the Nile and Cairo (Kahire), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 711–15 (note 12).

23. For Alanya (ʿAlāʾīye), see *Kitāb-i bahriye*, 763 (note 12).

24. Seton Lloyd and D. Storm Rice, *Alanya (ʿAlāʾīyya)* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958), esp. 7 and 9–18.

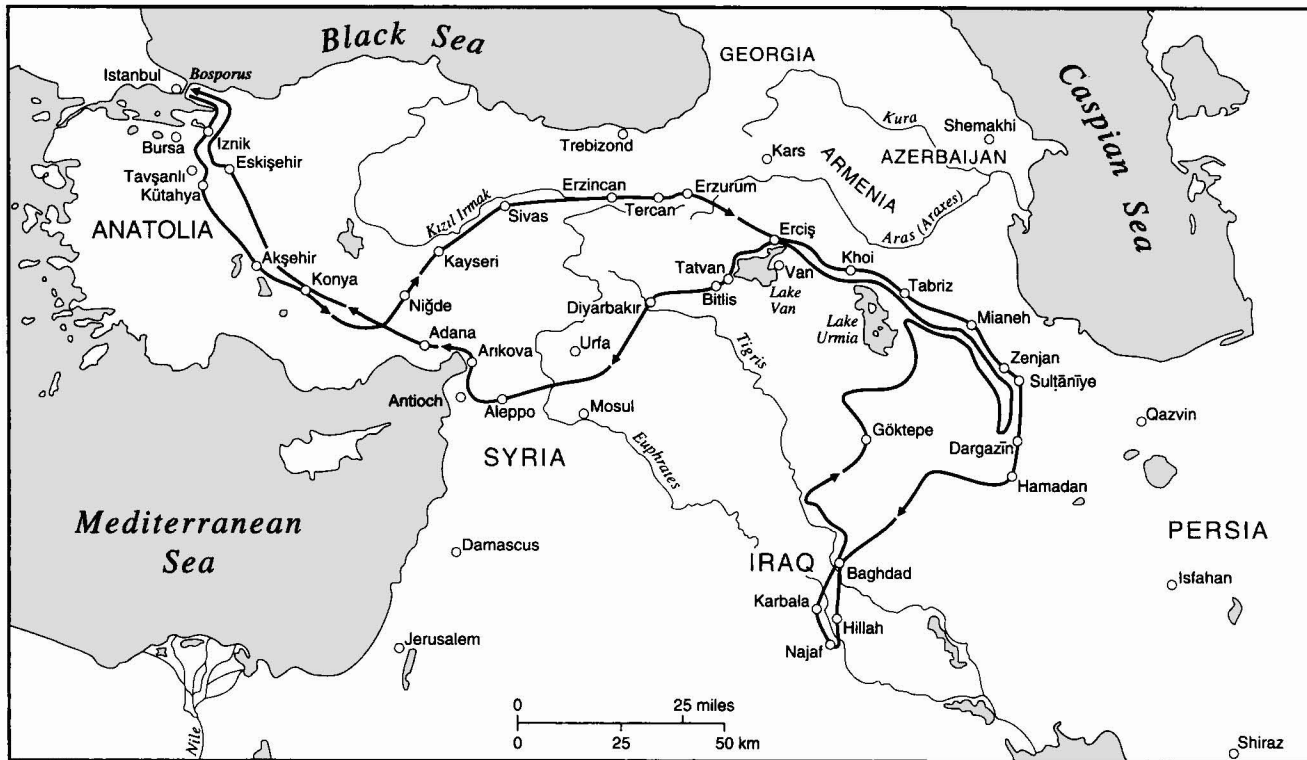


FIG. 12.3. THE ROUTE OF SÜLEYMÂN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SAFAVIDS, 940-42/1534-35.

After Maṭrâḳçî Naşûh, *Beyân-i menâzil-i sefer-i 'Irâḳeyn-i*

Sulţân Süleymân Hân, introduction, transcription, and commentary Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976), 174.

elaborate but less original views.²⁵ One seventeenth-century copy of the work, for example, shows Istanbul from the sea, in customary fashion, but with a surprising disregard for the Islamic monuments.²⁶ A view from an earlier, undated copy of the *Kitâb-i bahriye* represents Istanbul from a point northwest of Galata, with the Genoese tower, which dominated the city, barely visible in the foreground.²⁷ Evidently the bird's-eye view was prepared from the top of the tower, a rather obvious expedient, but from an illustrative standpoint entirely lacking the originality of the adapted bird's-eye view in volume 1 of Loḳmân's *Hünernâme* (Book of accomplishments; composed 992/1584-85) (see fig. 12.20).

Because of the obvious derivation of Piri Re'is's views from Venetian models, the label "portolan style" has been applied to many town illustrations in later Ottoman texts. There is, however, no historical record of portolan charts ever being consulted by illustrators of these chronicles. On the contrary, all the evidence suggests that the term "portolan style" is something of a misnomer for these works. And if there was a direct link between the work of Piri Re'is and later Ottoman topographical illustration, it was at best tenuous. The view of Alanya in the *Kitâb-i bahriye* that foreshadows Maṭrâḳçî Naşûh's town views is exceptional and in no way typifies other urban representation in the work. The illustrations of towns in

25. Svat Soucek, "The 'Ali Macar Reis Atlas' and the *Deniz kitabı*: Their Place in the Genre of Portolan Charts and Atlases," *Imago Mundi* 25 (1971): 17-27, esp. 26-27, draws attention to the pseudonymous Seyyid Nuh, whose *Deniz kitabı* (Book of the sea) (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, no. 3609) relies on lavish illustration for its entertainment value rather than for the accurate representation that would have been essential for a usable portolan chart. There is no demonstrable consonance between the views of Istanbul in the various early copies of Piri Re'is's *Kitâb-i bahriye* and those worked up to illustrate annals written for the library of Murâd III.

26. London, British Library, MS. Or. 4131, fol. 195a; see Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Painting in the British Library and British Museum* (London: British Library, 1981), no. 57 and pl. 46.

27. The original manuscript (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Diez A., Foliant 57) was supposedly destroyed in the Second World War. The view of Istanbul is reproduced in Eugen Oberhammer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs aus Flensburg* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1902), pl. XXII. In this connection, three panoramas (of Istanbul, Galata, and Üsküdar/Kadikoy [Scutari/Chaicedon]) are an indication of how the palace craftsmen worked; see Franz Babinger, "Drei Stadtsichten von Konstantinopel, Galata („Pera“) und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, 77, no. 3 (1959). The panoramas were originally bound in with a miscellany of images, datable on internal grounds to A.D. 1590-93, by an anonymous south German painter for the emperor Rudolf II (r. A.D. 1576-1612) at Prague (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vindob. 8626). The city views are by another hand, possibly north Italian, but are likewise datable to the late sixteenth century because

the *Kitāb-i bahriye* certainly influenced those of later Ottoman naval atlases, like the Walters *Deniz atlası* (see plate 23), but these are now so stylized that the vignettes of major Mediterranean and Black Sea cities are of little more than decorative value. Piri Re'is provided the first clear indication of what was to become a distinctive Ottoman characteristic of manuscript illustration, but it would be highly misleading to describe the illustrations in chronicles like the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* as influenced by his charts.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION IN THE *MECMŪ'A-I MENĀZIL*

The principal work of Ottoman topographical illustration is the *Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i 'Irāqeyn-i Sultān Süleymān Hān* (The stages on Sultan Süleymān's campaign in the two Iraq [modern Iraq and western Iran]), generally known by its briefer title *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*, by Maṭrākçı Naşūh (d. 971/1564).²⁸ This is an account of Süleymān the Magnificent's campaign in eastern Anatolia, Persia, and Iraq against the Safavids in 940–42/1533–35, which was to result in the occupation of Baghdad and Tabriz and bring the Ottomans to the Persian Gulf (fig. 12.3). Although this is a remarkably innovative work in Islamic painting, its existence in the library of the palace of Yıldız on the Bosphorus was unknown to the world until the transfer of this collection to the Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi in 1924.

Maṭrākçı Naşūh was a Janissary officer of Bosnian origin, who evidently some time after Selīm I's conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 was posted there in the service of the Mamluk governor Khayr Beg (d. 1524). Early in 1517 he wrote a school textbook on arithmetic, the *Cemāl el-küttāb*.²⁹ Also while in Egypt he learned sufficient Arabic to read and translate the *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk* (History of prophets and kings) of al-Ṭabarī (224–25 to 311/839–923) and was evidently commissioned by Süleymān I at his accession to continue it up to the present time. He then returned to Istanbul and organized the games in the Hippodrome celebrating the circumcision of Süleymān's sons in 936/1530. In a work presented to the sultan, he described and illustrated these cavalry parades and maneuvers based on similar exercises practiced in Mamluk Egypt, as well as mock sieges of castles built of wood and cardboard with the use of real artillery and firearms.³⁰ For these services he received an imperial commendation and an appointment to court with a *müşāhere* (monthly stipend).³¹

At some point during this period, Maṭrākçı Naşūh completed his translation from Arabic into Turkish of al-Ṭabarī's world history, with additions from Ptolemy and al-Bīrūnī, that seems to have begun about 926/1520. The task was accomplished in three volumes, covering

the period from the Creation up to the thirteenth century A.D.³² A continuation of this history into Ottoman times does not exist as a single volume, but the subtitle *Tevāriḫ-i āl-i 'Osmān* (The chronicles of the Ottoman dynasty) that is included in his *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* strongly suggests that the project was executed as a series of discrete parts sometime after 944/1537. The complex relation of these separate texts, nine in total, to the goal of extending al-Ṭabarī's world history has been studied with great ingenuity by Hüseyin Yurdaydın. The texts are

they show none of the works of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1012–26/1603–17). Istanbul is shown from the north with the Sea of Marmara beyond, suggesting that it may have been drawn from the Genoese tower in Galata. Galata, showing the dockyard but not the whole of the Golden Horn, and Üsküdar are shown in considerably less detail. They all suggest, however, that contemporary Ottoman bird's-eye views were in fact, as would have been logical, plotted from panoramas.

28. The *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* was first described by Albert Gabriel, "Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux 'Irak d'après un manuscrit turc du XVI^e siècle," *Syria* 9 (1928): 328–49. For a complete facsimile of the work, see Maṭrākçı Naşūh, *Beyān-ı menāzil-i sefer-i 'Irāqeyn-i Sultān Süleymān Hān*, introduction, transcription, and commentary Hüseyin G. Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976), with English summaries and a comprehensive bibliography. In all subsequent footnotes, this facsimile will be referred to simply as *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*. There is an unillustrated copy of this work, which may well be later, in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 1286; see Hedda Reindl, "Zu einigen Miniaturen und Karten aus Handschriften Maṭrākçı Naşūh's," in *Islamkundliche Abhandlungen*, Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, no. 18 (Munich: Rudolf Trofenik, 1974), 146–71.

29. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, TY. 2719. He later revised this work as the *'Umdetü'l-ḥisāb*, of which several copies exist (see below, note 31).

30. The work is entitled *Tuhfetü'l-guzāt* (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esat Efendi 2206, dated late Şa'bān 937/late March 1532). The sketches of cavalry maneuvers and fortified towers and enclosures bear rather more resemblance to illustrated European manuals on fortification (such as Roberto Valturio, *De re militari* [Verona, 1472], dedicated to Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta) than to illustrated *furūsiyah* manuscripts depicting military maneuvers from Mamluk Egypt. They may well be Maṭrākçı Naşūh's own work but, unsurprisingly, had little effect on the depictions of fortresses in the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*. See Hugo Theodor Horwitz, "Mariano und Valturio," *Geschichtsblätter für Technik und Industrie* 7 (1920): 38–40, and John R. Hale, *Rennaissance Fortification: Art or Engineering?* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977). Mehmed II's library contained a copy of Valturio's *De re militari*, see p. 210.

31. The commendation is dated late Zilka'de 936/late June 1529; see a copy of this incorporated into a manuscript of the *'Umdetü'l-ḥisāb* (Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, 2984, fols. 173b–74a).

32. This work is entitled *Cāmi'ü'tevāriḫ*. The first two volumes record the history of the world up to the reign of the Sassanian ruler Khusrau Anūshīrvān (A.D. 531–78) (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 999 and 1187, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Suppl. Turc 50, respectively). Hüseyin Yurdaydın identified the third volume of the series, which continues al-Ṭabarī's text beyond the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32), where it originally broke off, with accounts of the Turks, the Ghaznavids, and the Seljuks up to the time of Ertuğrul, the father of 'Osmān I (Istanbul, Fatih Kitaplığı, MS. 4278).

shown to have been made out of sequence and in some cases to exist only in rough drafts or preliminary versions.³³ Not surprisingly, to some extent they are repetitive or overlap; the author would not necessarily have had access to the previous parts before taking up the pen again. Nevertheless, Maṭrākçı Naşūh left a fairly complete record of the reigns of sultans Bāyezid II, Selim I, and Süleymān I, spanning the period from 886/1481 to approximately 958/1551. Only the years 946–48/1539–41 are left unaccounted for among these texts, but a history of the Ottomans from the death of Ertuğrul, ‘Osmān I’s father, up to the accession of Bāyezid II has not been identified and indeed may never have been written. Maṭrākçı Naşūh embarked on an abridged version of his al-Ṭabarī translation and continuation sometime about 957/1550, for presentation to the grand vizier Rüstem Paşa.³⁴

Maṭrākçı Naşūh’s productive literary career and works show he was a talented amateur. Although the tone of his writing is suitably panegyric, he was never promoted to the status of *şehnâmeçi*, a position created by Süleymān for the Azeri versifier ‘Ārifī sometime after 954/1547. It has been claimed that Maṭrākçı Naşūh illustrated his works himself, but the style and content of the illustrations differs considerably from volume to volume, and perusal of the *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* shows that its illustrations are the work of several artists. Moreover, many of the illustrations do not appear to be by a professional hand, which suggests that the team of painters he employed was not from Süleymān’s own palace scriptorium. This would also explain why even in the relevant sections of ‘Ārifī’s *Süleymānnāme*, which deal with Süleymān’s first Persian campaign and may have been illustrated by court artists, the influence of the *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* is barely apparent.³⁵

The *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* is now incomplete. There are some discrepancies between the route as given in the text and the sequence of halts as depicted, and the illustrations of some stages on the outward march and on the return journey are missing or may never have been executed.³⁶ The margins have been trimmed, possibly more than once, so that the illustrations, many of them double page, now cover the entire surface area of the page.³⁷ Many show signs of overpainting, and some identifications are later additions. The text is written in careful Nesih in an anonymous nonprofessional hand, assiduously if not always accurately pointed. These features might suggest that it was written by Maṭrākçı Naşūh himself, but in fact he had a considerable reputation as a calligrapher and the text shows numerous faults of dictation, which therefore rules out this possibility.

It is possible that the now unillustrated sections of this work—notably from Zenjan westward to Tatvan, Urfa to Aleppo and back, and Antioch to Ishaklı near Akşehir

(with the exception of Arıkova and Adana)—may have been left unillustrated by oversight or even that they were wrongly bound from the start. This could well have occurred, because the work contained no overall plan to integrate the illustrated stages into a narrative to explain the sequence of advance followed by Süleymān and his vizier İbrāhīm Paşa. This is a considerable drawback, but it doubtless arose from the novelty of the idea of topographical illustration in Ottoman painting.

The text of Maṭrākçı Naşūh’s *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* shows conclusively that he was in Süleymān’s suite on the Persian campaign and wrote as an eyewitness. Even more important, the accuracy of much of the illustration, particularly for those towns in Ottoman territory, is clear

33. See Yurdaydın, 128–40, in *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* (note 28). The nine texts are: a *Süleymānnāme* recording events from Süleymān’s accession up to his Corfu campaign of 944/1537 and including the *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* text (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 1286); an illustrated text of the *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* covering Süleymān’s Persian campaign of 940–42/1534–35 (Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, TY. 5964); the *Fethnâme-i Karaboğdan*, completed 23 Cumādā II 945/16 November 1538 and recording the Moldavian campaign of the same year (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 1284/2); the *Tarih-i feth-i Şaklavān* covering the years 949–51/1542–44 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 1608); a *Süleymānnāme* fragment covering the years 950–58/1543–51 (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi Kütüphanesi, no. 379); a history of the earlier part of the reign of Bāyezid II, *Tarih-i Sultān Bāyezid*, dated ca. 952–57/1540–50 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 1272); a history of the latter part of the reign of Bāyezid II and of Selim I, written in Cumādā II 960/May–June 1553 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 23586); and an account of Süleymān’s second Persian campaign of 1 Muḥarram 955–26 Rebf II 956/11 February 1548–23 May 1549 (Marburg, Staatsbibliothek, MS. Hist. Or. Oct. 955).

34. One volume, recently identified by Yurdaydın, covers world history up to the reign of the Sassanian ruler Bahrām Chūbin (London, British Library, MS. Or. 12879). Another volume in the set, completed 980/1571–72 and long known to scholars, covers Turkish and Mongol history from Oğuz Khan up to the Ottoman Empire in 968/1561 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Mixt. 339). An undated manuscript of this work copied for the library of Selim II (London, British Library, MS. Or. 12592) continues the history beyond this to the Ottoman summer campaign of 977/1569 in the Yemen. Since Maṭrākçı Naşūh died in 971/1564, the author of this addition remains anonymous. The Vienna copy was once attributed, implausibly, to Rüstem Paşa himself; see Ludwig Forrer, *Die osmanische Chronik des Rüstem Pascha* (Leipzig: Mayer und Müller, 1923). A volume covering the intervening period has not been found.

35. Hanna Sohrweide, “Der Verfasser der als *Sulaymān-nāma* bekannten Istanbuler Prachthandschrift,” *Der Islam* 47 (1971): 286–89.

36. The correct sequence may be reconstructed by reference to the documents in Aḥmed Feridūn’s collection of state papers, *Münşeātü’l-selātin* (Writs of sultans). See Franz Taeschner, “Das Itinerar des ersten Persienfeldzuges des Sultans Süleymān Kanuni 1534/35 nach Matrakçı Nasuh: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Landeskunde Anatoliens und der Nachbargebiete,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 112 (1962): 50–93.

37. A blank page intended for illustration (fol. 69b) has ruled margins, making it likely that the other illustrations were intended to have been in ruled panels too, as would indeed have been standard Ottoman practice.

evidence for sketches made on the spot. It is conceivable, though no longer demonstrable, that it was Maṭrakçı Naṣūh himself who did these.³⁸ Yet the illustrations certainly are not free of elements that bear little relation to the locations they are meant to represent. The volume contains, for example, a whole series of domed shrines shown in the most stylized manner from a source far removed from actual observation, as well as fantastic representations of animal heads carefully integrated into the rocks of mountainsides. Though the distances between stages are precisely given in the text, the illustrations showing more than one stage rarely give an idea of that. Landscape features like mountains, rivers, lakes, or passes often bear no clear relation to the towns, fortifications, caravansaries, or bridges that form the central features of the depictions. Not only is there no scale included, it is not even clear that a consistent scale was used among different illustrations—though such would have been well within the capacities of Süleymān’s engineers and surveyors. Nor is it easy to decide whether any consistent directional viewpoint or orientation was used. In cases such as Sulṭāniye (plate 18), we can deduce the direction from the qibla orientation of the buildings depicted, but the detail is not always sufficiently clear to determine whether the town or fortress is shown from the direction of the advancing Ottoman forces. It would be too much to expect consistency in such a pioneering work, and sketches made on the spot could anyway have been altered at a later stage of refinement. The difference between this work and much contemporary European cartography is, even so, probably no more than a matter of degree, for the idea that a map must *eo ipso* be a guide, or that an atlas must be a handbook, was far from being universally accepted.

As far as the urban topography of the *Mecmū’a-i men-āzil* is concerned, the illustrations are not obviously of European inspiration, except for a bird’s-eye view of Istanbul/Galata from the southwest, possibly from a ship anchored off Saray Burnu (Topkapı Palace Point) (figs. 12.4 and 12.5).³⁹ This image is, however, exceptional in that it devotes minute attention to the Islamic monuments (Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene had of course been turned into mosques) in their state before the renovations of Süleymān in the mid-sixteenth century. The Topkapı Sarayı is shown in its original fifteenth-century form as a seven-towered fortress. The monastery of Saint John, which later became the Arslanhane (Menagerie) near Hagia Sophia, and the Eski Saray (Old Palace) appear here for the first and last time in Ottoman illustration.⁴⁰ The Hippodrome (Atmeydanı) shows the columned sphendone still standing at the south end. The obelisks and serpent column of the Byzantine *spina* (the barrier down the middle of a Roman racecourse) within the stadium are complemented by other columns, which were evi-

dently bases for the Florentine statuary brought from Buda following its surrender to Süleymān in 932/1526.⁴¹ They did not long survive the disgrace and execution of the grand vizier Ibrāhim Paşa in 942/1536—thus giving some indication of the date when this view was composed.⁴² The vizier’s palace on the Hippodrome is shown

38. See Franz Taeschner’s comparison between individual elements in Maṭrakçı Naṣūh’s illustrations and the actual features they represent in “The Itinerary of the First Persian Campaign of Sultan Süleymān, 1534–36, according to Naṣūh al-Maṭrakī,” *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 53–55. Interesting evidence for the way the manuscript was illustrated is given on fol. 23b, which shows the town of Erzurum, as well as the stage before it, Ilica (Ilica-i Erzurum), and two stages after it, Boğaz and Pasinler (Pāsin ovası), as if the scribe in charge had in mind Tercan and the stages beyond it represented on the preceding folio (fol. 23a). As it happened, this dense succession of stages left no room on the page for a proper representation of Erzurum itself, and the solution was to include Boğaz, incorrectly, inside the walls and place Pasinler just outside the walls. This shows that the caption panels were drawn first and the illustrations added elsewhere, at a stage where a mistake could not be rectified. It also shows that the town views were too important to omit. When accommodation was necessary, as here, it was the caption panels that went by the board.

39. Nurhan Atasoy, “Matrakçı’s Representation of the Seven-Towered Topkapı Palace,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 93–101. On p. 94, the author observes that European diplomatic missions arriving by sea were often obliged to anchor for some time off Saray Burnu; see, for example, *Itinéraire de Jérôme Maurand d’Antibes à Constantinople*, ed. and trans. Léon Dorez (Paris, 1901), which was written and illustrated in A.D. 1544. This is also the viewpoint from which the group of plans of Istanbul by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (ca. A.D. 1520) are drawn. I do not follow Walter B. Denny in seeing any influence from Greek or Slavic icon painting; see “A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul,” *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 49–63.

40. For a detailed study of early depictions of Istanbul architecture, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1977). Compare Zeren Akalay, “Tarihi konularda Türk minyatürleri,” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 3 (1970): 151–66.

41. Victor Louis Ménage, “The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources,” *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964): 169–73. A print of the Hippodrome by the Veronese draftsman Onofrio Panvinio (A.D. 1529–65) shows the *spina* with numerous obelisks and columns, allegedly as it was before the conquest in 857/1453. There is, however, no datable European view before the Vavassore group with any real claim to accuracy, and Panvinio’s Hippodrome is substantially similar to that of the *Mecmū’a-i men-āzil*.

42. Josef von Karabacek, “Zur orientalischen Altertumskunde, IV: Muhammedanische Kunststudien,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, 172, no. 1 (1913), esp. 82–102 and pls. X–XI. Plate XI illustrates a page from vol. 1 of the *Şahnaşname* showing the celebrations in the Hippodrome of the circumcision of Şehzāde Muṣṭafā, the son of Süleymān, on 16 Zilka’de 936/12 July 1530. In the foreground of this illustration is a column with three figures that in Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s sketch, dated 12 November 1532, appear as three nudes. This sketch was later published in Coecke van Aelst’s posthumous *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Antwerp, 1553). Other contemporary visitors identify them as Hercules, Diana, and Apollo. They were evidently created for Matthias Corvinus (Matthias I, king of Hungary,



FIG. 12.4. VIEW OF ISTANBUL. The map is oriented to the east with the Bosphorus and the village of Üsküdar (Scutari) on the Asian side at the top of the image. The left half shows galleys and four "round ships" passing along the Golden Horn before the waterfront of Galata, a commercial quarter built by the Genoese in the Byzantine era and dominated by the Genoese

tower. Just visible on the opposite bank, at left bottom, is the shrine of Eyüp with its cemeteries and mausoleum. The architectural monuments of Istanbul fill the right half of the image. Size of the original: 31.6 × 46.6 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fols. 8b–9a).

with its domes, gabled roof, and balconies. On the left-hand page, the naval dockyard and part of the shrine suburb of Eyüp are shown along the bottom margin. Directly above is Galata with its Genoese tower, although the buildings within its walls are shown as churches or small houses without any indication of larger buildings like the Genoese Podestà or the Palazzo di Venezia. There is no living figure in this townscape, but this need not be Islamic prejudice: the Jacopo de' Barbari bird's-eye view of Venice is devoid of people too.

There is an Italian tradition of views of Constantinople that goes back at least to Cyriaco d'Ancona, well before its fall to Mehmed II, and they regularly recur in a group of illustrated Ptolemy manuscripts in Florence associated with Pietro del Massaio (A.D. 1424–90). However, they are less related to the view in the *Mecmû'a-i menâzil* than might appear at first sight. Earlier European plans concentrated on the Christian monuments, so that the secular buildings of the city only rarely appear. The view

of Istanbul in the *Mecmû'a-i menâzil* admittedly looks similar stylistically to the Alessandro Strozzi drawing of Rome dated A.D. 1474, which was closely related to the prototype from which Pietro del Massaio made his simplified views and could even be after a similar drawing.⁴³ But be that as it may, this is a conscious Ottoman adap-

A.D. 1440?–90) by the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Dalmata from Trogir and stood on Saint George's Square in the citadel of Buda. They were carried off after the sack of Buda by the Turks on 7 Zilhicce 932/14 September 1526 and, according to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria's ambassador, Cornelius Duplicius Schepper, were set up on the Hippodrome in Istanbul. They did not, however, survive there very long. Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes in 951/1544 found only columns that, he was told, had borne bronze statuary from Hungary. Since volume 1 of the *Şahanshâhname* was not illustrated before 989/1581–82, the persistence of a tradition in accord with the Ottoman historians and European travelers but not attested to by any earlier Ottoman illustration is remarkable.

43. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Redi 77; see Gustina Scaglia, "The Origin of an Archaeological Plan of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 137–63.

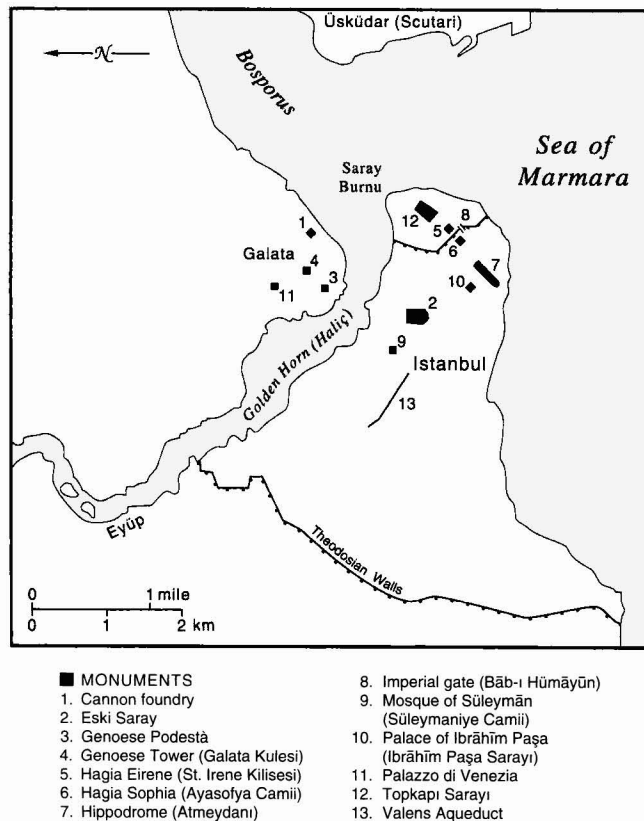


FIG. 12.5. REFERENCE MAP OF ISTANBUL ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS. Oriented with east at the top for comparison with fig. 12.4.

tation to show the principal Islamic monuments of the Ottoman city.

The remaining illustrations in the *Mecmû'a-i menâzil*, which show greater stylistic independence, are as a whole not markedly military. When encampments are shown they are of nomads, not of soldiers. The stages depicted are often, significantly, shrines. In this the images follow the text, which is primarily a shrine book, doubtless because of Ottoman unfamiliarity with the topography of Mesopotamia and northwest Persia and also to emphasize Süleymân's piety and concern for orthodox religion and justify his campaign against the Safavids, who though Shî'î were fellow Muslims. Unillustrated shrine books or guides for pilgrims first appeared in Islam in the twelfth century and became widespread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴⁴ However, those produced at Herat and Shiraz⁴⁵ no less than at Cairo⁴⁶ are more concerned to name the shrines and locate them than to describe their appearance. In this, therefore, the illustrations to the *Mecmû'a-i menâzil* break new ground. Though some of the illustrators worked independently,⁴⁷ buildings in townscapes are generally shown either in elevation from below or from above at an angle of thirty to sixty degrees. Most views give due prominence to urban features like citadels and congregational mosques, but many architec-

tural forms are stylized. However, there is little concern for the representation of space within the towns, and the plans are often as repetitive as in Pleydenwurff and Wolgemut's illustrations in the Nuremberg Chronicle.⁴⁸

The western Anatolian stages that are the first images to appear in the work do not confine themselves to town views, and they place some emphasis on landmarks, sometimes even archaeological remains like the *dikili taş* (obelisk) on the way to Tavşanlı (fig. 12.6). From Erzurum onward, however (fols. 23b and following), there is a marked change from military objectives and fortresses to sites of cultural and religious significance. The ruins of Erciş (Arjish) are shown correctly as they were then, partially submerged in Lake Van (fig. 12.7), and the Armenian monastery church of Saint Thaddeus near Khoi in Persian Azerbaijan is quite recognizable with its gabled eaves.⁴⁹ The Safavid capital of Tabriz shows the no longer extant Shanb-i Ghâzânî, the walled funerary complex of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghâzân Khan (d. 703/1304), with blue dome, appurtenances, monumental gates, and a large rectangular pool. The Arg (Citadel), built on the remains of the mosque of the Ilkhanid minister 'Alî Shâh (d. 724/1324), is omitted. In very similar style to Tabriz is the double-page plan view of Baghdad, surrounded by walled gardens and numerous shrines of saints and rulers and

44. For an early example, Abû al-Ḥasan 'Alî ibn Abî Bakr al-Harawî (d. 611/1215), *Kitâb al-ziyârat*; see *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1957).

45. For Herat, see Mu'în al-Dîn Muḥammad Zamajî Isfîzârî, *Rawzât al-jannât fi awṣâf madinat Harât* (written 897/1491–92), 2 vols., ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kâzîm (Tehran, 1959–60); see also Aṣîl al-Dîn 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmân al-Ḥusaynî (d. 1478 or 1479), *Risalah-i mazârât-i Harât*, ed. Fikrî Saljûqî (Kabul: Publishing Institute, 1967). For Shiraz, see Mu'în al-Dîn Abû al-Qasîm Junayd al-Shirâzî, *Shadd al-izâr fi khaṭṭ al-awzâr 'an zuwâr al-mazâr* (written 791/1389), ed. Muḥammad Qazvîni and 'Abbâs Iqbâl Âshîtiyânî (Tehran, 1950).

46. For Cairo, notably Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Zayyâr (fl. 1401), *al-Kawâkib al-sayyarah fi tartib al-ziyarah fi'l-Qarâfatayn al-Kubrâ wa-al-Ṣughrâ* (Cairo, 1907), and Aḥmad ibn 'Alî al-Maqrîzî, *al-Mawâ'iz wa-al-i'tibâr bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-athâr*, 2 vols. (Bulaq, 1857); the last is a general work of urban topography as well. See Yûsuf Râgîb, "Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 41 (1973): 259–80.

47. Hence, for example, the duplication of views of the obscure town of Dargazî, north of Hamadan, in two different styles, when it would plainly have been more economical to settle for one image (*Mecmû'a-i menâzil*, fols. 38b and 89b–90a [note 28]).

48. Valerian von Loga, "Die Städteansichten in Hartman Schedels Weltchronik," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 9 (1888): 93–107 and 184–96. Von Loga considers the low general standard of accuracy to result from the Nuremberg block makers' lack of direct acquaintance with the towns they depicted, beyond the sketches or other firsthand material at their disposal. It is scarcely to be expected that the painters employed by Maṭrakçı Naṣûḥ were in any better position to work up their sketches.

49. As in the case of Dargazî (note 47), it is curious why such a militarily insignificant site as the monastery of Saint Thaddeus should have been selected for duplication (*Mecmû'a-i menâzil*, fols. 27a and 89a [note 28]).

depicting curious details like a mosque within the walls where a millstone hangs from the balcony of its minaret (fig. 12.8). Süleymān's arrival in Baghdad was the culmination of the campaign, and the text records his schedule of visits to surrounding shrines and his restorations of important Islamic monuments inside the walls, notably the tomb of the religious scholar Abū Ḥanīfah (b. 80/699). None of the sites, however, is labeled on the plan view, and little attempt is made to show their architectural peculiarities.

In the account of the return journey there follows a series of Mesopotamian towns depicted in somewhat similar style (fols. 100a and following). The map of Bitlis shows the fortress and the buildings of the lower town, followed by a double-page rendering of the Bitlis gorge (fig. 12.9). In Diyarbakır (Āmid), the walls and the Great Mosque are shown but not the important bridge across the Tigris below the city. And the Aleppo (Halep) map, clearly the product of careful observation, includes a variety of different approaches to topographical illustration



FIG. 12.6. THE OBELISK ON THE ROAD TO TAVŞANLI. Size of the original: 31.6 × 23.3 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fol. 14a).

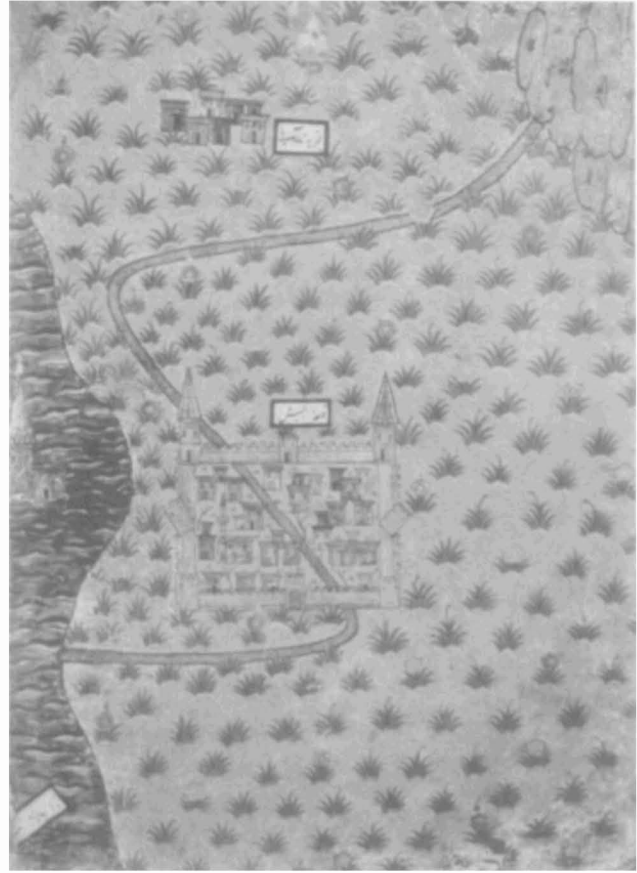


FIG. 12.7. PLAN VIEW OF ERCİŞ (ARJISH). The depiction shows the remains of a towered building partially submerged in Lake Van. A small village lies a short distance beyond. Possession of the towns around Lake Van was essential for Ottoman control of the eastern Anatolian provinces. Size of the original: 31.6 × 23.3 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fol. 25b).

(fig. 12.10). In style and coloring Aleppo is distinct from other illustrations in the work. The Great Mosque with its conspicuous minaret is not recognizable, but below the citadel are shown curious features resembling umbrellas, now difficult to interpret.

This considerable variety raises the question of what sources Maṭrāḳçı Naşūḥ or the artists under his supervision might have taken into account when compiling the work. A possible source of information may have been the European published plans and views that circulated in Turkey from the early sixteenth century.⁵⁰ Ottoman Istanbul was an important market for Venetian cartography. That there are no surviving European views of any towns in Anatolia, Iran, or Iraq before the later volumes of Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum* were published (Cologne, A.D. 1572–

50. See above, pp. 228–29.

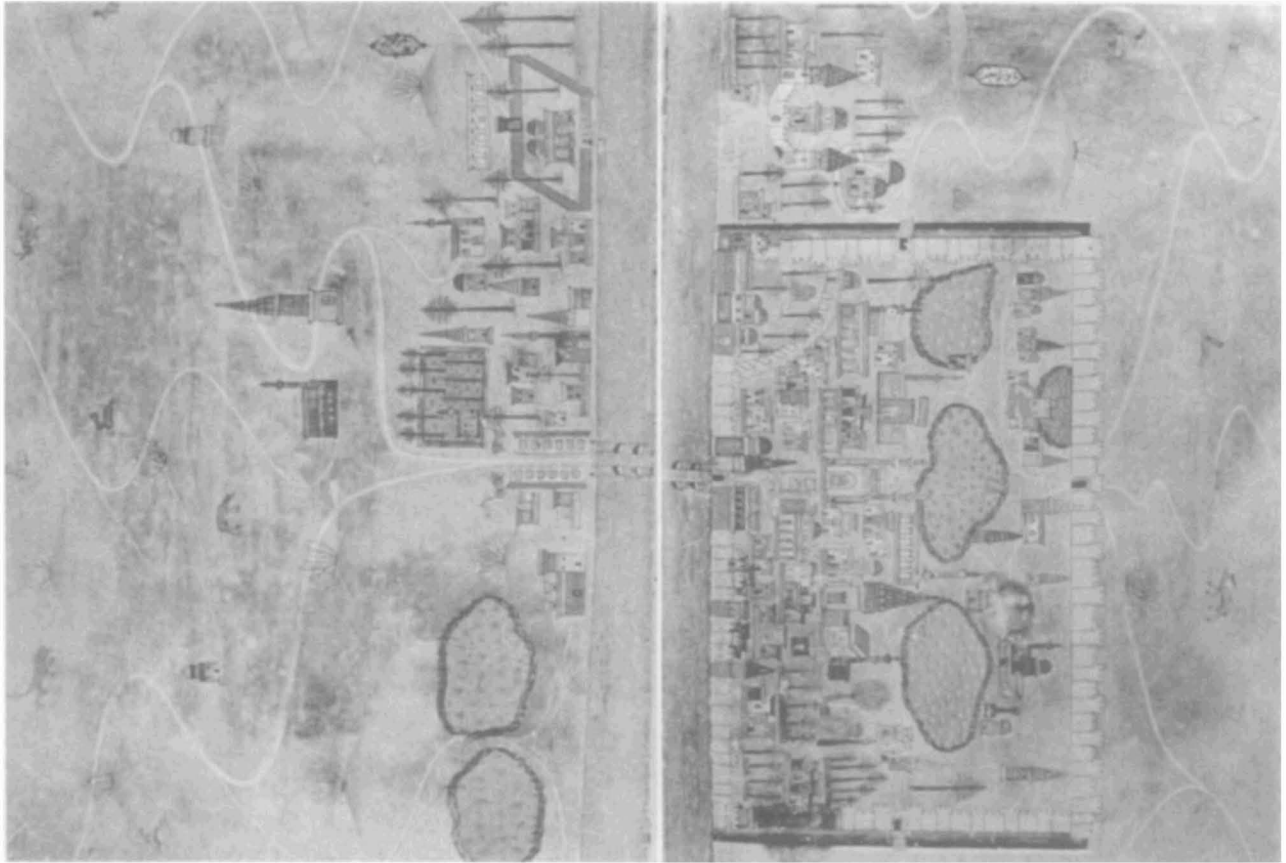


FIG. 12.8. VIEW OF BAGHDAD. The terminus of Sultan Süleymân's campaign was entered peacefully on 24 Cumādâ II 941/1 December 1534, and the city was to remain, with only short interludes, in Ottoman hands. In this depiction the walled and moated city along the Tigris River is joined to the east bank by a single bridge. Two lions face each other on the road leading

into the countryside. In style, the landscape is distinct from earlier depictions, such as figs. 12.6 and 12.7, but quite similar to that in fig. 12.11.

Size of the original: 31.6 × 46.6 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fols. 47b–48a).

1618), decades after the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* appeared, however, makes it unlikely that Maṭrākçı Naşūh could have used the prototypes for these for his own work. Even less accessible to Ottoman cartographers were the many private European collections of maps, plans, charts, siege plans, and schemes for fortification. These were held in the naval arsenals or military headquarters of Europe and generally remained unpublished unless they were regarded as obsolete for one reason or another. There were, in addition, Ottoman siege plans and sketches from reconnaissance (see pp. 210–15), but we have no record of how systematically the archives of the grand vizier's office or the admiral of the fleet were preserving such material. This suggests that in Ottoman Turkey, no less than in Europe, no single archive of topographical drawings was substantial enough to serve for the illustration of campaign journals.

We must therefore look elsewhere among the artistic

traditions of the many diverse cultures adhering to Islam for the inspiration of maps and other illustrations in the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*. The early period of manuscript illustration at the Ottoman palace studio was characterized by experimentation, using the indigenous traditions of local artists and imported styles. The influence of Iran was especially strong since, following his victory over the Safavids at Çaldıran (920/1514), Selim I conscripted painters from Tabriz to the imperial ateliers. There was also probably Syrian and Egyptian influence following the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517. Maṭrākçı Naşūh must have drawn on these important artistic traditions, and possibly also on the work of provincial draftsmen, when collecting the illustrations for his work.

In terms of such influences, three illustrations are of outstanding importance. First is the view of the already largely ruined Ilkhanid capital of Sulṭāniye in northwestern Persia (plate 18), which surpasses the other illus-

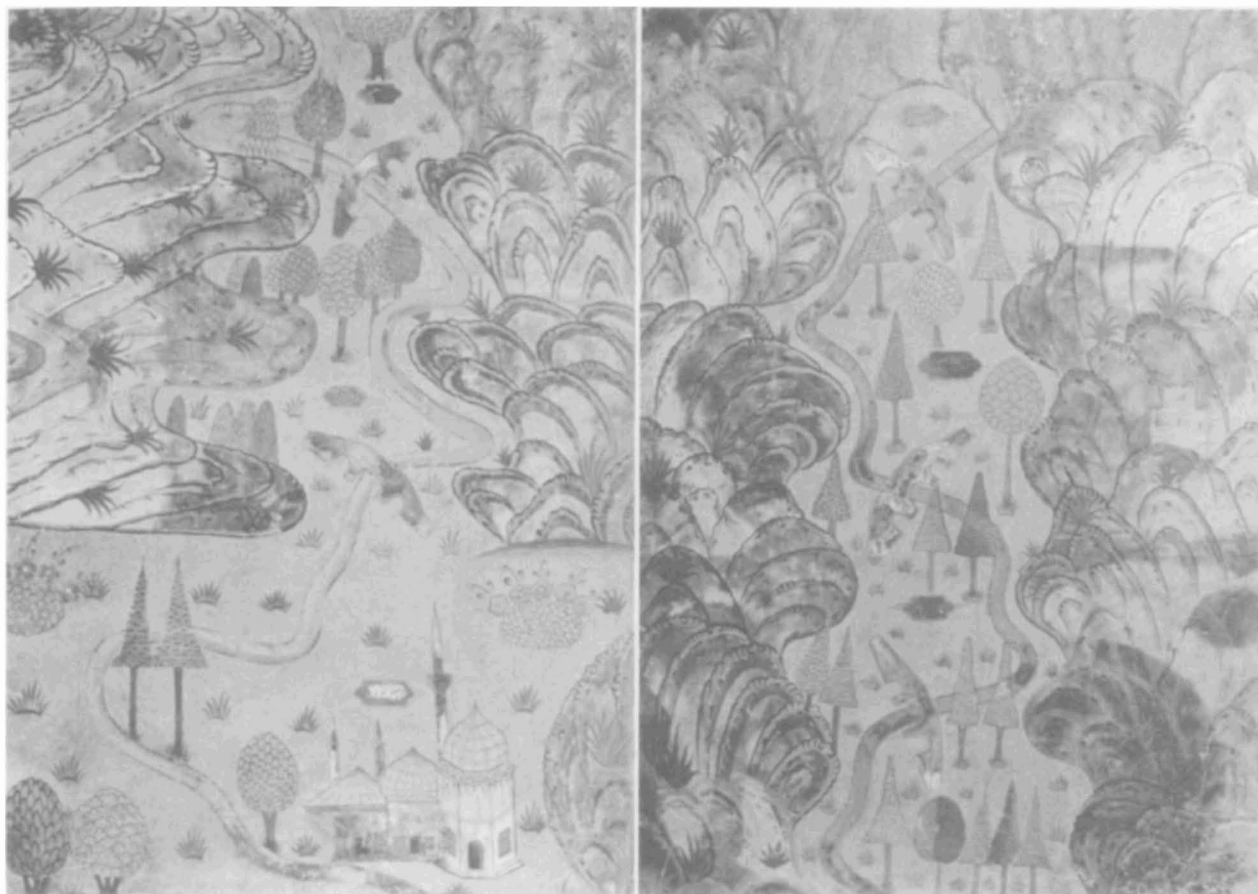


FIG. 12.9. THE COURSE OF THE BITLIS GORGE. A twisting river spanned by several bridges leads to an apparent impasse. The town of Bitlis on the preceding folio (not shown here) was a strategic point in the western approaches to Lake Van in the

rugged mountain ranges of east-central Anatolia. Size of each folio: 31.6 × 23.3 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fols. 100b–101a).

trations in style, coloring, and accuracy of detail.⁵¹ The accompanying text states merely that Süleymān set up camp at the site on his outward journey, doubtless because of the rich summer pastures it afforded his troops. The stay must have given his staff an opportunity for careful observation, but the Mongol city was a ruin with no more than traces of walls. There was evidently a pilgrimage spot in the locality, a rather mysterious “Qaydār Payghambar” that Tīmūr visited on his return from the 804/1402 Anatolian campaign,⁵² but we have no evidence from contemporary Ottoman or Safavid sources that anyone knew or cared what the monuments were. This is the most technically refined composition in the *Mecmūʿa-i menāzil*. It may have been worked up by an accomplished painter, perhaps from the court, as a model for the otherwise rather less skilled team that Maṭrākçı Naṣūḥ assembled to illustrate the work. In any case, the style of the Sulṭāniye plan did not significantly influence the other illustrations.

51. The appearance of the building on fol. 32b, which no longer exists, is remarkably corroborated by a drawing of a ruined building at Sulṭāniye by Michel-François Préaulx, the official draftsman of the Gardane mission sent by Napoleon to the Persian ruler Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh (r. 1211–50/1797–1834) after the treaty of Finckenstein, 4 May 1807. The album of his drawings, formerly in the archives of the French Foreign Ministry, can no longer be traced and evidently disappeared in the Second World War. But see Germaine Guillaume, “Influences des ambassades sur les échanges artistiques de la France et de l’Iran du XVII^e au début du XIX^e siècle,” in *Mémoires du III^e Congrès International d’Art et d’Archéologie Iraniens, Leningrad, Septembre 1935* (Moscow: Akademiya Nauk SSSR, 1939), 79–88, esp. 86–87 and pl. XXXVIII.

52. J. M. Rogers, trans., “V. V. Bartol’d’s Article *O Pogrebenii Timura* (‘The Burial of Tīmūr’),” *Iran* 12 (1974): 65–87, esp. 75, citing Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī’s *Zafarnamāh*. Professor Ann K. S. Lambton kindly informs me that Ḥamd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr al-Mustawfi Qazvīnī connected “Qaydār,” a son of Ismāʿīl, with Dhū al-Qifl (the Islamic Ezekiel), whose ruined tomb had long been a place of pilgrimage for the Jews, although a mosque was built there in Ōljeytū’s reign (d. 713/1317); see *Tārīkh-i guzīdah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navāʿī (Tehran, 1958–61), 54. A shrine of Qaydār near Sulṭāniye also appears to be an Ilkhanid foundation, but predating the Mongols’ conversion to Islam. It has

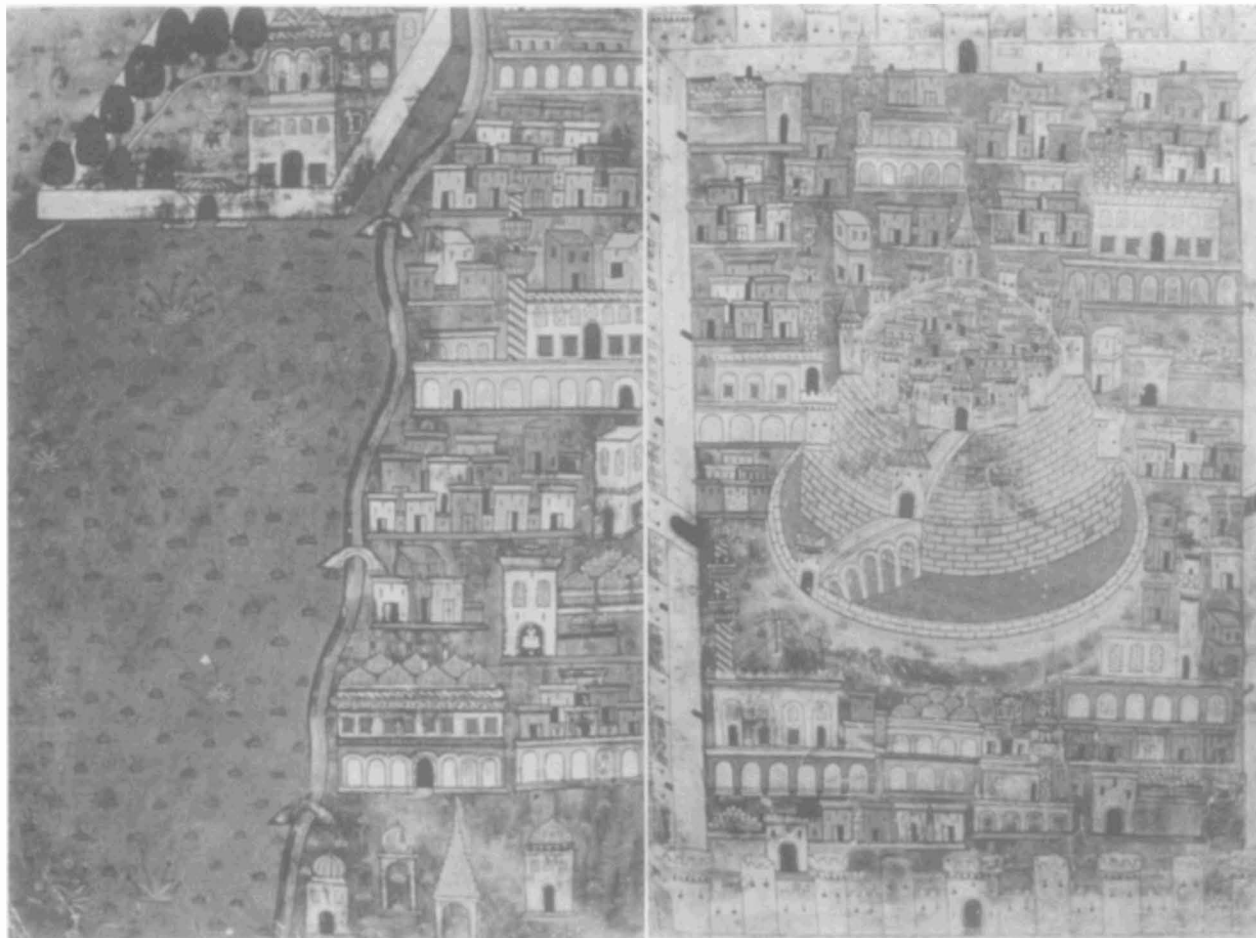


FIG. 12.10. VIEW OF ALEPPO. Size of each folio: 31.6 × 23.3 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fols. 105b–106a).

The other two illustrations of interest—views of the shrines of al-Ḥusayn at Karbala (Kerbelā) (fig. 12.11)⁵³ and of ‘Alī at Najaf showing the restorations of about 937/1530 by the Safavid shah Ṭahmāsp—are fundamentally different in style from the first. The views in the *Mecmū‘a-i menāzil* of Tabriz and Baghdad and possibly, but more remotely, Erzurum, Khoi, Mianeh (Miyāne), and other northwest Persian towns are closely related in style. The buildings, not always appropriately represented with tiled bulbous domes, many-balconied minarets, and stepped vaults or *muqarnas* domes, are evidently the work of painters conscripted from Tabriz or Baghdad who were familiar with the architecture of early sixteenth-century Safavid Persia and Mesopotamia.

It is clear that these painters worked in a well-established tradition. The views of the shrines at Karbala and Najaf belong to a genre, well known in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but going back to the twelfth century, of decorative scrolls attesting that a pilgrim had made

the hajj by proxy.⁵⁴ Notable examples are a scroll in the name of Maymūnah bint Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-

recently been argued, based on this fact, that the name Qaydār could derive from Kedāra, a Himalayan avatar of Shiva, or the Jewish demon Qayd, whose name is associated with the pre-Islamic cults of the Sulṭāniyē area. See Riccardo Zipoli, “Qeidār e Arghūn,” in *Sulṭāniyē II* (Venice: Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell’Università degli Studi di Venezia, 1979), 15–35. The overall accuracy of the view of Sulṭāniyē raises the possibility that even the minor monuments depicted in its environs indicate shrines or mausoleums that have now disappeared.

53. The illustration of the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn on fol. 62b clearly depicts Karakoyunlu and Safavid restorations that were obscured by later work, long before the monument was surveyed by any Western traveler. See Arnold Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā* (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1909).

54. The earliest extant illustrated pilgrimage scroll is fragmentary but dated 584/1188–89 (Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 4104). It measures 160 × 35.5 cm. See Zeren Tanındı, “İslam Resminde Kutsal Kent ve Yöre Tasvirleri,” *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 7 (1983): 407–37.

Zardali, dated 836/1432–33,⁵⁵ and a scroll dated 951/1544–45 in the name of Şehzâde Meḥmed, Süleymân's son who had died the previous year, which shows the Ka'ba at Mecca and the principal stations of the pilgrimage, the shrine at Medina, and the shrines round about or on the road from Mecca (fig. 12.12).⁵⁶ The monuments are shown partly in elevation and partly in bird's-eye view from an angle of approximately sixty degrees. Though they are obviously not intended to be to scale, considerable trouble has been taken to label the sites and represent their distinctive features. These scroll images were then adapted to illustrate sixteenth-century verse guides to the hajj, notably the *Futūḥ al-ḥaramayn* (An encomium of Mecca and Medina) by Muḥyī Lārī.⁵⁷ The Najaf and Karbala views, unlike other illustrations in the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*, share this viewpoint and color scheme along with the distinctive peculiarity that the building walls are shown folded outward to display arcading. Therefore either these depictions of Najaf and Karbala are a deliberate adaptation of the views on these hajj scrolls or, alternatively, these principal shrines of the Shī'a developed their own iconographic tradition and this

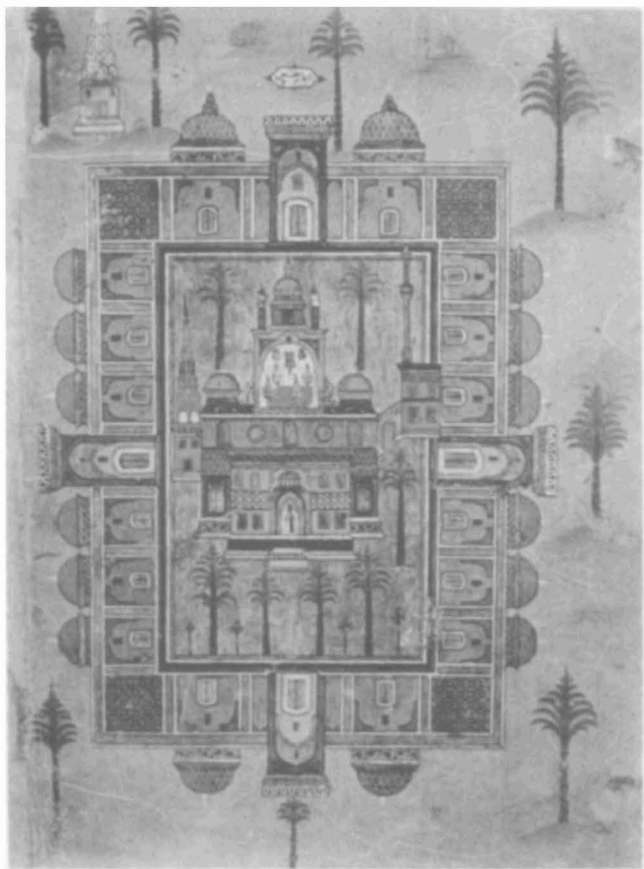


FIG. 12.11. VIEW OF THE SHRINE OF AL-ḤUSAYN AT KARBALA.

Size of the original: 31.6 × 23.3 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (TY. 5964, fol. 62b).

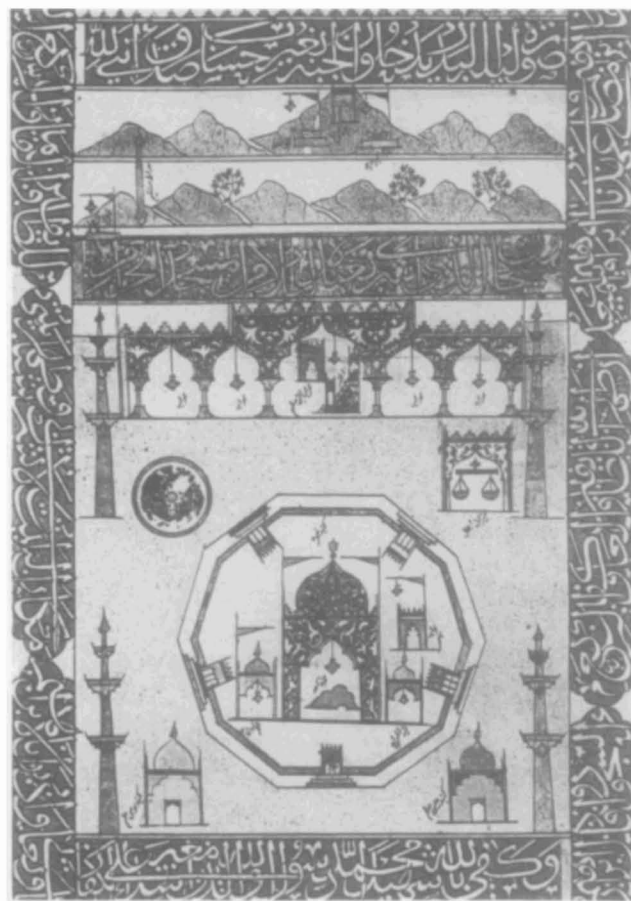


FIG. 12.12. TOPOGRAPHICAL DETAIL FROM A PILGRIMAGE SCROLL. This scroll, prepared in 951/1544–45, depicts the shrines of Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina, as well as those on the route between them. It commemorates the posthumous proxy pilgrimage of Şehzâde Meḥmed (d. 950/1543). This section shows the Aqṣâ Mosque and the monuments of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf around the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Size of the original scroll: 524 × 46 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1812).

55. London, British Library, Add. MS. 27566; see Richard Ettinghausen, "Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'ba im Islamischen Kulturkreis," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 87 (1934): 111–37.

56. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, H. 1812; see J. M. Rogers, "Two Masterpieces from 'Süleyman the Magnificent'—A Loan Exhibition from Turkey at the British Museum," *Orientalions* 19 (1988): 12–17, which also illustrates six details from this fine scroll. See also Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, exhibition catalog (Washington, D.C., and New York: National Gallery of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1987), no. 23 on pp. 65 and 307.

57. Originally composed 911/1505–6, though the earliest illustrated manuscripts, like that in the British Library, MS. Or. 3633, dated 14 Ramaḍān 951/29 November 1544, appear to be Ottoman and mid-sixteenth century; see Rogers and Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, no. 37 (note 11).

came to the notice of Süleymān's painters after he invaded Iraq.⁵⁸

Islamic campaign journals written on the spot by eye-witnesses attached to a ruler's staff are attested at least as early as Timūr's Indian campaign of 801–2/1399.⁵⁹ Under Süleymān the presence of these chroniclers was evidently taken for granted. We have little idea of who, or even how numerous, they were. Maṭrākçı Naşūh's campaign books have pretensions to being more finished productions, and his education and training as cavalry officer, courtier, and amateur historian fitted him well for the role of campaign diarist. But whose idea was it that the Persian campaign should be illustrated, if need be with sketches made on the spot? We might see here the influence of Süleymān himself.⁶⁰ This would explain why Maṭrākçı Naşūh's later campaign journals were all evidently intended to be illustrated and why topographical illustration continued to be such an important part of the chronicles of Süleymān's reign written for his successors.⁶¹ Yet these important and innovative works, far from founding a tradition or establishing the status of campaign illustrators, remained of limited influence.

TOPOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION IN LATER OTTOMAN HISTORIES

In the decades following the creation of the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*, a period mostly occupied with campaigns in Europe, topographical illustration was certainly of preeminent importance. Not surprisingly, it was much more open to European source material—maps, plans, and town views, as well as sketches by renegades or prisoners of war. Such is the case with Maṭrākçı Naşūh's illustrated *Tārīh-i feth-i Şaklāvūn (Şiklōs) ve Ustürgün ve Uştūnibelgrād* (Conquest of Siklōs, Esztergom, and Székesfehervár). The first part of this work is an account of Ḥayreddīn Barbarossa's naval campaign in 950–51/1543–44 in alliance with Francis I of France. Intent on disrupting Habsburg control of the western Mediterranean, Barbarossa besieged ports like Nice that had been lost to the Valois and pillaged the Spanish coast.⁶² The second part of the *Tārīh-i feth-i Şaklāvūn* records Süleymān's land campaign of 949–50/1542–43 that established total Ottoman control of Hungary, whose throne had been claimed by Ferdinand of Austria (fig. 12.13).

Maṭrākçı Naşūh's manuscript has no colophon, and the Hungarian part, which contains bird's-eye views in the style of the *Futūh al-ḥaramayn*, is unfinished. Prominence is given to schematic route maps showing encampments, churches, and fortresses, with labels giving the date of arrival and the distance between the stages in *mīls* (fig. 12.14). The larger bird's-eye views like Esztergom (plate 19), Tata, and Székesfehervár do not indicate the distance between the previous or the following stages and

thus come as something of an interruption in the narrative sequence. The Mediterranean views, mostly from a vantage point at sea, were drawn on the spot by a trained draftsman (for example, Nice, plate 20), though where crosshatching appears (for example, Toulon) the source may possibly have been a contemporary European engraving. An autograph manuscript by Jérôme Maurand d'Antibes, the chaplain to the French ambassador who accompanied Barbarossa's fleet on its return voyage to Istanbul in 951/1544, contains numerous autograph sketches of Italian ports, Mediterranean islands and fortresses, and views of Istanbul, some of them very similar.⁶³

One feature of the Hungarian section of the work is

58. No contemporary scroll of the Shī'i shrines of Iraq has yet been identified, nor do I know of any verse panegyric of them corresponding to Muḥyi Lāri's *Futūh al-ḥaramayn*. But there is a later scroll devoted to the shrines of Najaf and Karbala, possibly seventeenth century, in the private collection of Shaykh Nāşir ibn Şabāh of Kuwait. I am grateful to Shaykha Husa for showing it to me.

59. Ghiyāş al-Dīn Yazdī (fl. 1402), *Kitāb-i rūznamāh-i ghazavat-i Hindūstān* (Diary of Timūr's trip to India), with an appendix of corresponding fragments from the *Ẓafarnāmāh* by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmi (fl. 1392), ed. L. A. Zimin and V. V. Bartol'd (Petrograd: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk, 1915).

60. The parallel with the Habsburg emperor Charles V (r. A.D. 1519–56), who took the painter Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen with him on the Tunisian campaign of 1535 in order to record it, is very striking though perhaps coincidental. In each case, however, the desire for glory seems to have stimulated the need for topographical exactitude.

61. An extraordinary, and so far unique, adaptation of this style appears on a blue-and-white Iznik jug of early sixteenth-century type (Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi, no. 7591), excavated in Istanbul in 1955 at the madrasa of Merzifonlu Karamuştafa Paşa at the Çarşı Kapı. The body bears repeated squiggles, evidently stylized rivers or roads, with domed buildings and rectangular façades surmounted by twin towers. Pictorial Iznik wares of these decades are exceptionally rare, and the conclusion that the decoration derives from topographical illustration like that of the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* is inescapable. See the Council of Europe, XVIIth European Art Exhibition, *The Anatolian Civilisations, Topkapı Palace Museum, 22 May–30 October 1983*, exhibition catalog, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1983), vol. 3: *Seljuk/Ottoman*, intro. Filiz Çağman, trans. Esin Atıl, E. 39.

62. According to the text, the Ottoman fleet left Istanbul on 12 Muḥarrem 950/18 April 1543 and made its way, via Gallipoli, Euboea, and Korone, across the Ionian Sea to capture Reggio di Calabria on the Strait of Messina. From there it besieged and sacked towns and fortresses all along the Mediterranean coast, as far as Barcelona. The text omits reference to most of the ports attacked; Nice was captured on 22 August 1543, but Toulon and Marseilles were left unscathed. A storm forced the fleet to harbor on the Italian coast at Santa Margherita Ligure and Rapallo. After wintering at Toulon, it started on the return voyage in the spring of 951/1544. See Jean Deny and Jane Laroche, "L'expédition en Provence de l'armée de mer du Sultan Suleyman sous le commandement de l'Amiral Hayreddin Pacha, dit Barberousse (1543–1544)," *Turcica* 1 (1969): 161–211. Their attribution of the text to Sinān Çavuş has been disputed by Yurdaydın in the introduction to *Mecmū'a-i menāzil*, 131–34 (note 28), who convincingly argues that it is a continuation of Maṭrākçı Naşūh's chronicle of the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent.

63. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 8957.



FIG. 12.13. STRATEGIC SITES IN THE OTTOMAN-HABSBURG RIVALRY FOR HUNGARY.

that some town views in elevation are stylized and somewhat misleadingly reminiscent of International Gothic painting. The archaic appearance is probably the effect of the vivid color scale chosen. Drawings of town architecture in elevation, however, characterize some of the more faithful illustrations in the Nuremberg Chronicle and remained widespread in Europe in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁴ They continue to appear even as late as the first volume of *Civitates orbis terrarum* published in A.D. 1572. Such views are equally persistent in Ottoman illustration, continuing through the *Fütūḥāt-i cemile* (Book of five conquests) (fig. 12.15) to the annalistic works of the reigns of Selim II and Murād III. The increasingly stylized forms in the chronicles of Meḥmed III, Aḥmed I, and 'Osḡmān II (for example, the *Şāhnāme-i Nādirī* [Nādirī's book of kings]) have practically no claim to accuracy at all. The initial adoption of this convention in Ottoman Turkey has been attributed to the conscription of painters from the library of Matthias Corvinus at Buda, which Süleymān occupied in 932/1526, though it had probably been partly dispersed by Corvinus's feckless successors.⁶⁵ A specifically Hungarian connection is unlikely owing to the lapse of time between the death of Matthias Corvinus (A.D. 1490) and the popularity of

the style in Ottoman painting after about 947/1540; it was in any case prevalent all over sixteenth-century Europe. The paucity of early European views of eastern European towns is thus beside the point.

In Ottoman topographical illustration the Hungarian fortress of Szigetvár occupies a preeminent position. Süleymān the Magnificent died there in 974/1566 shortly

64. Typically in the finely executed work of Duarte de Armas, *Livro das fortalezas do reino* (Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Casa forte, no. 159), made for Manuel I of Portugal sometime between 1509 and 1516. It contains, generally, depictions of fortresses in two complementary elevations, showing how widespread and deeply entrenched the style already was in early sixteenth-century Europe. Closer to hand are the limestone reliefs on the tomb of the Austrian general Niclas Graf Salm (d. 1530), attributed to Loy Hering but apparently after drawings from the circle of Albrecht Dürer, which show episodes from the Ottoman siege of Vienna, with the city in the background similarly shown in elevation; see *Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Wien 1529: Die erste Türkenbelagerung*, exhibition catalog (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1979), pl. 9. However, it has not been possible so far to relate the elevations in Ottoman topographical illustration to specific European views.

65. Nurhan Atasoy, "1558 tarihli 'Süleymanname' ve Macar Nakkaş Pervane," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 3 (1970): 167–96, esp. 195, and Filiz Çağman, "Şahname-i Selim Han ve Minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5 (1973): 411–42.



FIG. 12.14. STAGES AND DISTANCES ON THE MARCH TO THE FORTRESS OF ESZTERGOM FROM THE *TĀRĪḤ-I FETH-I ŞAKLĀVŪN*. Incribed in panels are the captions, “On this side of the village of Kestöh [Kesztohc], on 11 Rebi^c II 950/13 July 1543, four miles.” “Opposite to it Seksar [Szekszárd], on 12 Rebi^c II 950/14 July 1543, two miles and a half.” “The castle of Tona [Tolna], on 13 Rebi^c II 950/15 July 1543, two miles.”

Size of the original: 26.1 × 17.5 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1608).

before it fell, and the reign of his successor, Selim II, had few comparable triumphs. Panoramas of this siege were published in Venice within the year and these images plainly influenced the illustrations to the *Nüzhetü’l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sîgetvâr* (Chronicle of the Szigetvâr campaign), the first Ottoman account of the siege by Aḥmed Feridün, written for the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (d. 987/1579). This account was recapitulated in Loḡmân’s annals for the library of Murâd III, including the *Süley-*



FIG. 12.15. STYLIZED DEPICTION OF THE FORTRESS OF TEMESVÂR. The cities illustrated in Ottoman histories commonly show superficial but probably misleading similarities to town views in European painting of the International Gothic style. This miniature shows an incident during the siege of Temesvár (Timisoara). Illustration from the *Fütühât-i cemile* of ‘Ārifî, a court historian contemporary with Maṭrâḡçî Naşûḡ. Size of this detail: ca. 14 × 17.5 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1592, fol. 19a).

männâme and volume 2 of the *Hünernâme*. Remarkably, not one of the depictions of Szigetvâr in these Ottoman annals is a repeat. The three contained in the *Nüzhetü’l-ahbâr* are the most varied:⁶⁶ a schematic view of the fortifications and the pontoons;⁶⁷ a view after a European map (fig. 12.16);⁶⁸ and a panorama somewhat adapted to depict the final stages of the desperate battle within the walls of the commandant Miklós Zrínyi’s moated castle. (For another early view of Szigetvâr, possibly based on firsthand sketches, see fig. 11.3.) The views in the *Süley-männâme* are also recognizably after firsthand sketches or European views, but, not unnaturally, the concentra-

66. These are fols. 28a, 32b–33a, and 41b–42a. All three are reproduced in Géza Fehér, *Turkish Miniatures from the Period of Hungary’s Turkish Occupation*, trans. Lili Halápy and Elisabeth West (Budapest: Corvina Press and Magyar Helikon, 1978), pls. XL–XLIIA/B.

67. Compare this, for example, with the plan view by Domenico Zenoi (Venice, 1567) in the Antonio Lafreri atlas, vol. 1, pl. 53 (British Library, Maps C. 7. e. 1–2) with a smaller-format example in the Giovanni Francesco Camocio atlas, pl. 79 (British Library, Maps C. b. 41). The Zenoi map is reproduced in Edmond Pognon, “Les plus anciens plans de villes gravés et les événements militaires,” *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 13–19, esp. fig. 3.

68. Rogers and Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, no. 46a–b (note 11). There is an early map of Hungary begun by Wolfgang Lazius, the secretary of Cardinal Tamás Bakócz of Esztergom, and completed by Georg Tannstetter before A.D. 1528; see László Irmédi-Molnár, “The Earliest Known Map of Hungary, 1528,” *Imago Mundi* 18 (1964): 53–59. The view on fols. 32b–33a of *Nüzhetü’l-ahbâr* is markedly more detailed.

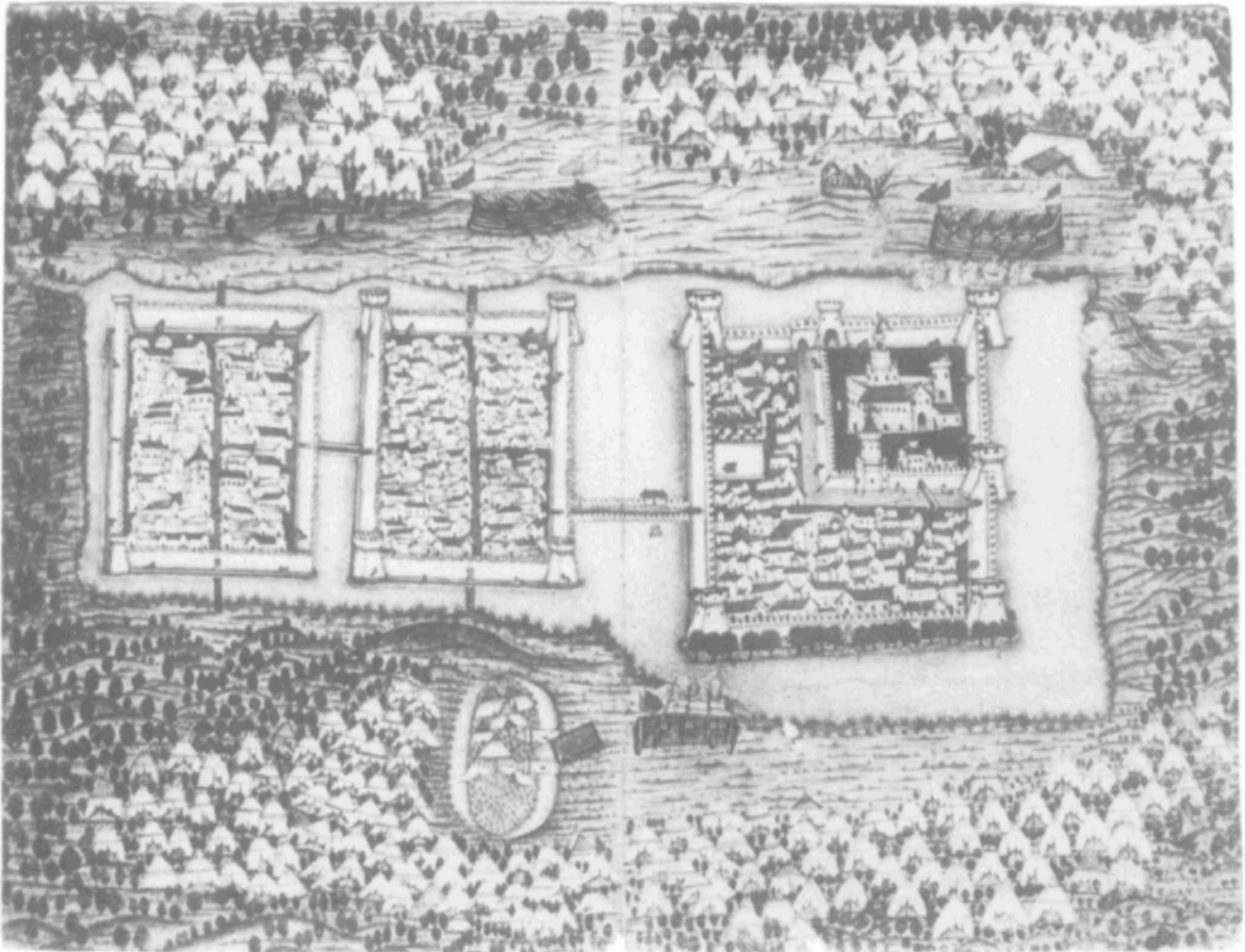


FIG. 12.16. SIEGE OF SZIGETVÁR, BASED ON A VENETIAN PROTOTYPE. This view is from Ahmed Feridün's account of Süleymân's 974/1566 Hungarian campaign in the *Nüzhetu'l-ahbâr der sefer-i Sîgetvâr*. The great sultan died dur-

ing the famous siege, and to commemorate this Szigetvár is frequently represented in subsequent Ottoman histories. . Size of the original: 39 × 50 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1339, fols. 32b–33a).

tion upon the narrative aspects of the siege leads to a degree of stylization (fig. 12.17).⁶⁹ By the time volume 2 of the *Hünernâme* came to be illustrated, the immediacy of the event had passed, and the fortress, barely recognizable in panoramic views, has been incongruously squashed into the background of the siege (fig. 12.18).

Unlike the painters working under the supervision of Maṭrâkçı Naşûh, few if any painters in the palace studio can have known Szigetvár at first hand. The original sketches made in 974/1566 cannot have survived long, and it was the custom of studio artists to copy the work of their colleagues rather than to collect what plans, if any, remained and adapt those. That they would not generally have been encouraged to such a degree of independence is also suggested by the illustrations of Murâd III's Transcaucasian campaign of the late 1570s. Here there was no European material to supplement the

sources available to studio artists.⁷⁰ The views in the earliest dated manuscripts postdate the campaign by almost three years, but the buildings of Kars, which was reformed by the vizier Lala Muştafâ Paşa (d. 988/1580), are clearly recognizable (fig. 12.19).⁷¹ Within a couple of years, however, images of Kars were transformed by the copying process into an anonymous fortress type, depicted for example on folios 198b–199a in the Istanbul copy of the *Nuşretnâme* of Muştafâ 'Âli. This generalizing occurred even though, according to its author, a manuscript of the *Nuşretnâme* was illustrated by a team

69. Five scenes are found on fols. 64b–65a, 70a, 71b, 93b–94a, and 95a.

70. Nurhan Atasoy, "Türk minyatüründe tarihî gerçekçilik (1579 da Kars)," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 1 (1964–65): 103–8.

71. Loğmân, *Şahanşahnâme*, vol. 1, fol. 127b.

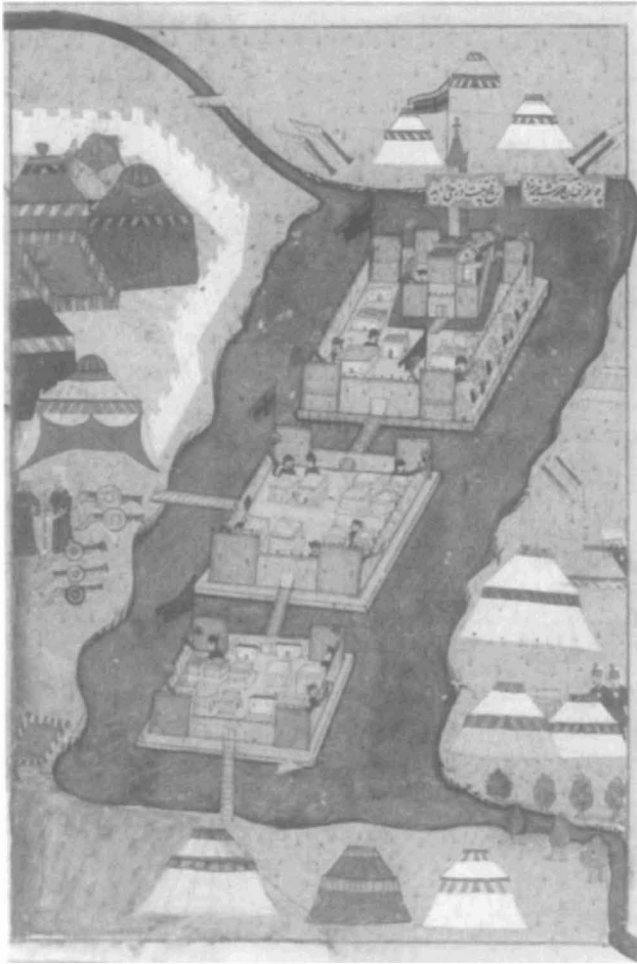


FIG. 12.17. VIEW OF SZIGETVÁR, PROBABLY BASED ON FIRSTHAND SKETCHES, FROM LOĞMÂN'S *SÜLEYMÂN-NÂME*. Although the view was completed thirteen years after the siege, the fortress clearly remains the focus of the work. Size of the original: 37.8 × 26 cm. Reproduced courtesy of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (MS. 413, fol. 65).

of painters from the sultan's scriptorium under 'Ālî's personal supervision. It is possible that in organizing the work 'Ālî consciously followed the example of Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ, though he evidently lacked the latter's administrative ability or his concern for topographical accuracy.⁷²

After about 988/1580, although townscapes and architecture continued to figure prominently in the illustration of Ottoman historical chronicles, they only rarely corresponded to the actual places. Nevertheless, these bird's-eye panoramas show real invention and interest in topographical illustration, even if part of their originality may result from the lack of *camere ottiche* or other optical aids that Italian executants in this genre had at their disposal.⁷³ Volume 1 of the *Hünernâme* contains an unhistorical bird's-eye view of Istanbul to illustrate its conquest by Mehmed II in 857/1453 (fig. 12.20). As with many northern Italian views of the city from Giovanni

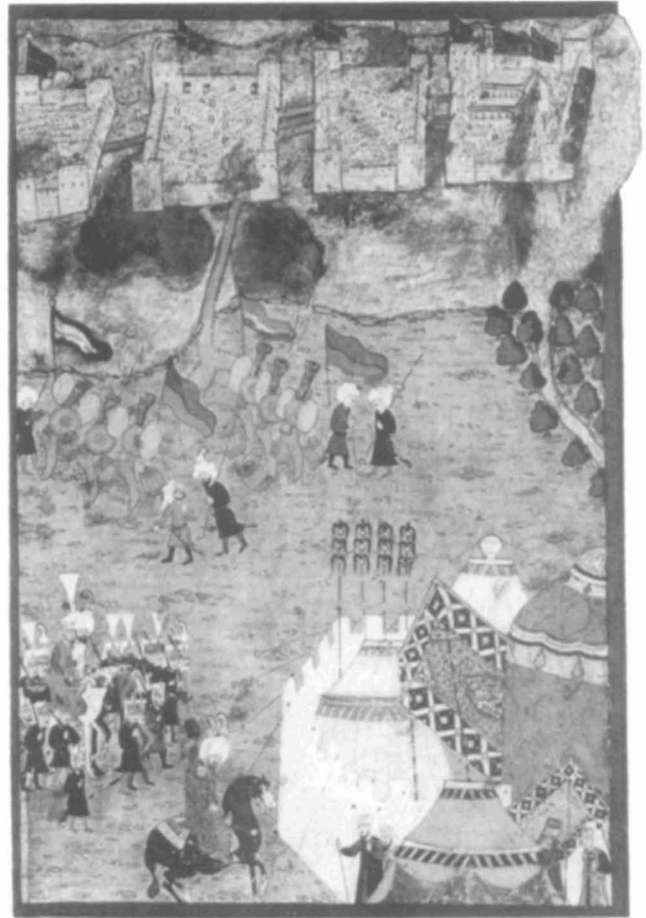


FIG. 12.18. STYLIZED VIEW OF SZIGETVÁR FROM LOĞMÂN'S *HÜNERNÂME*. In this miniature, executed two decades after the siege, the distinctive shape of the fortress is barely recognizable. The image extends beyond the right margin. The foreground shows an elaborate tent pitched in advance of Sultan Süleymân's arrival.

Size of the original: 33 × 22.5 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1524, fol. 277b).

Andrea Vavassore (fl. A.D. 1510–72) onward, it is taken from the south, and accordingly Galata is shown small and with minimal detail. An innovation, however, is the careful depiction of the buildings on the Golden Horn, with the naval arsenal and the shrine of Eyüp at its head,⁷⁴

72. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*, 110–11 (note 5). 'Ālî in his *Naşihatü'l-mülük* goes on to describe the fees paid to calligraphers, illuminators, and painters of the book as excessive and even accuses the goldbeaters of embezzlement; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, R. 406. But this treatise was intended to persuade Sultan Murād III of 'Ālî's zeal for economy and reform, and his report may be little more than window dressing.

73. The standard account of European techniques is Juergen Schulz, "The Printed Plans and Panoramic Views of Venice (1486–1797)," *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte* 7 (1970): 9–182, esp. 17–18, citing Eugen Oberhummer, "Der Stadtplan, seine Entwicklung und geographische Bedeutung," *Verhandlungen des Sechszehnten Deutschen Geographentages zu Nürnberg* 16 (1907): 66–101.

74. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 29–71 (note 40).

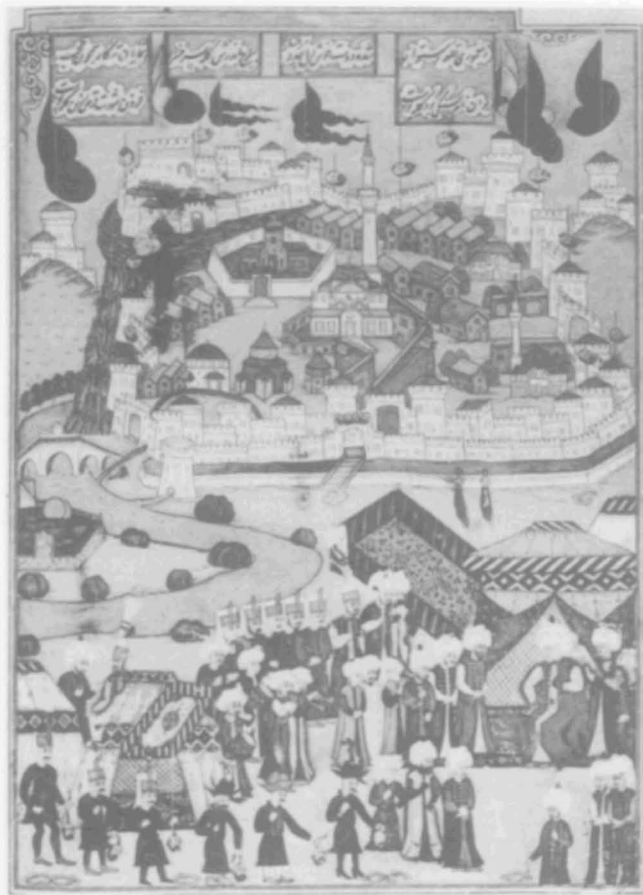


FIG. 12.19. VIEW OF KARS FROM THE ŞĀHANŞĀH-NĀME. Shows the completed refortification of the city undertaken by Murād III's general, Lala Muştafā Paşa (seated in the foreground). This city was a base for the Ottoman campaigns in Transcaucasia between 986/1587 and 989/1590 against the Safavids.

Size of the original: 24.5 × 14.5 cm. By permission of Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (FY. 1404, fol. 125b).

in marked contrast to the view of the city in the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* (see fig. 12.4 above). The problem of depicting relief was treated by regular clockwise shifts of the axis, so that the northern half of Istanbul, including most of the great sixteenth-century mosques, is upside down.

In the same volume is a series of views of the Topkapı Sarayı, attributable to the painter Velicān, from the outermost court with the church of Hagia Eirene to the innermost (fig. 12.21).⁷⁵ Though they allegedly represent the palace from the reign of Selīm I (r. 918–26/1512–20), recognizable features date from that of Murād III (r. 982–1003/1574–95)—doubtless a tactful reference to the fact that the *Hünernāme* was written to celebrate not Selīm's but Murād's exploits. The panorama of the innermost court, with the gardens both inside and outside the walls and various pavilions on the Marmara, again uses

the device of a rotating axis. The sultan, who is shown seated in the colonnade that fronts the Treasury apartments, must obviously be depicted the right way up, and so most of the buildings are in bird's-eye view. In contrast, the harem buildings are shown in elevation though in a vertical, not horizontal series, perhaps because it was thought to be dangerously indiscreet to show the apartments with their courtyards open to the public gaze.

There were certainly European topographical draftsmen in later sixteenth-century Istanbul, notably Melchior Lorichs (A.D. 1527–90), in the suite of the Habsburg ambassador Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq between A.D. 1554 and 1562. Lorichs's panorama of Istanbul is a valuable topographical record of the city in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent.⁷⁶ However, it is striking that the pervasive European influence that later sixteenth-century illustrated Ottoman annals exhibit owes virtually nothing to European draftsmen and virtually everything to printed sources, mostly Venetian.

By the end of the reign of Murād III (1003/1595), the fashion for bird's-eye views was virtually dead, and the topographical element in illustrated annals began to wane. The period is notable for an interest in the architecture of individual buildings that occasionally shows through in the illustrations of the *Mecmū'a-i menāzil* but appears more frequently after 988/1580. A notable example is the depiction of Süleymāniye (the mosque of Süleymān in Istanbul) that was evidently based on a detailed model of the mosque.⁷⁷

75. See fols. 15b (outermost court) to 231b–232a (innermost). Rather carelessly, the outer gate on fol. 15b is labeled not the Bāb-ı Hümāyün (Imperial gate), as it ought to be, but the Bābü'l-Se'ādet (Gate of felicity).

76. Oberhammer, *Konstantinopel*, passim (note 27). See also Semavi Eyice, "Avrupa'lı Bir Ressamın Gözü ile Kanunî Sultan Süleymān," in *Kanunî Armağanı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1970), 129–70. There is also a short account of Istanbul in an album now at Trinity College Library, Cambridge (MS. O. 17.2), depicting the mosque of Selimiye in Edirne and Selim II's tomb in Istanbul, as well as the Hippodrome and a standard series of the classical monuments according to Gilles's guide to the antiquities of the ancient city (Pierre Gilles, *De topographia Constantinopoleos* [Lyons, 1561]). See Edwin Hanson Freshfield, "Some Sketches Made in Constantinople in 1574," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–30): 519–22 and pl. 2. A drawing from this album is reproduced together with a sketch of the mosque of Süleymāniye in Istanbul with a German text describing its inauguration in 964/1557 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstbibliothek HdZ 4168) in Museum für Kunsthandwerk, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, exhibition catalog, 2 vols. (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1985), 1:226 (no. 1/48) and 233 (no. 1/55). A note on one of the pages of the Freshfield album suggests that it was executed by a member of the suite of David Ungnad von Sonneck, the imperial ambassador at Istanbul in the mid-1570s. It appears that by this time the larger diplomatic missions regularly brought their own draftsmen with them. Otherwise one might have expected some European contact with the Ottoman palace atelier.

77. Two illustrations of the model are known: one in the *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyün* shows the model being carried by the corporation of masons parading before Murād III in the Hippodrome; the second, in

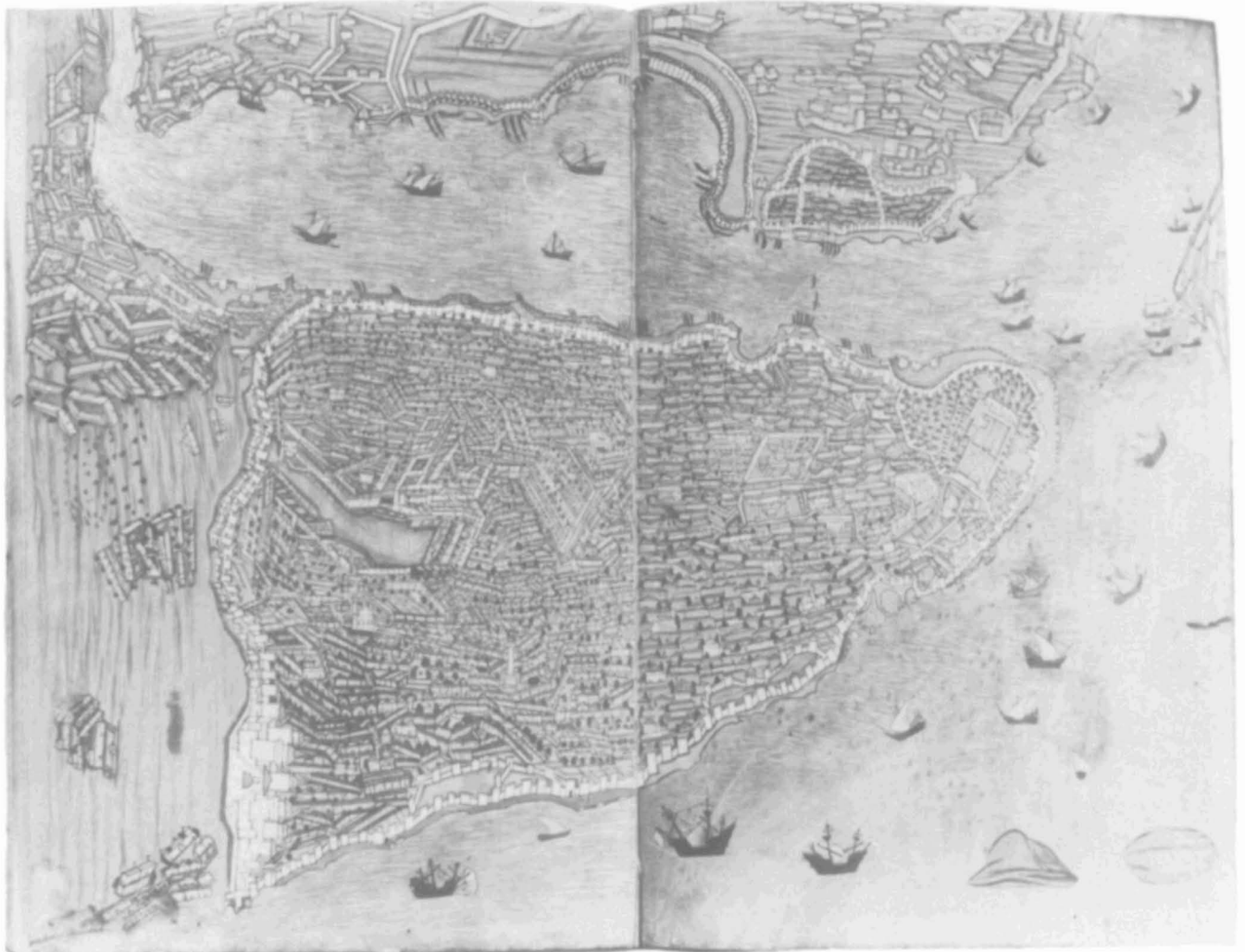


FIG. 12.20. PLAN OF ISTANBUL FROM THE *HÜNER-NÂME*.

Let me say in conclusion that the force of this chapter may have been to deprive the Ottomans of a claim to persistent interest in topographical representation. Yet the importance of their work in relation to the sixteenth-century European tradition is real, even if difficult to assess. At its best the Ottoman work was fully up to the quality of the best being done in contemporary Italy and Germany. The experimental techniques of the *Mecmû'a-i menâzil*—although they lacked drawn plans or stereometric perspective—had no lasting effect, but they were an inventive and convincing way of depicting the imperial campaigns in itinerary maps. The adaptation of foreign town views and plans for the illustration of manuscripts in the palace library need not indicate a widespread taste for the genre, since their readership was limited to the sultan and his extended family. But the sources adapted are so varied that they suggest that a public outside the

Size of the original: 49.2 × 63 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (H. 1523, fols. 158b–159a).

palace was fully open to European influence and had its own corpus of maps, portolan charts, town views, and plans or surveys of fortresses. In this, sixteenth-century Istanbul must have been quite comparable to the Cologne of Braun and Hogenberg, Ortelius, and Hoefnagel.

Loğmān's *Süleymānname*, is closer in elevation to the actual building, but there are marked discrepancies with the plan. See J. M. Rogers, "The State and the Arts in Ottoman Turkey, Part 2: The Furniture and Decoration of Süleymaniye," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982): 283–313, esp. 290–92, and Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45 (1986): 224–43, esp. 239. A representation of Selimiye (the mosque of Selim II in Edirne) in the *Şahnâme-i Selim Hān* (fol. 57b) cannot even have been done after a model. It bears no resemblance to Selim II's building, and even assuming a basic congruence between elevation and plan, it is not a convincing structure.

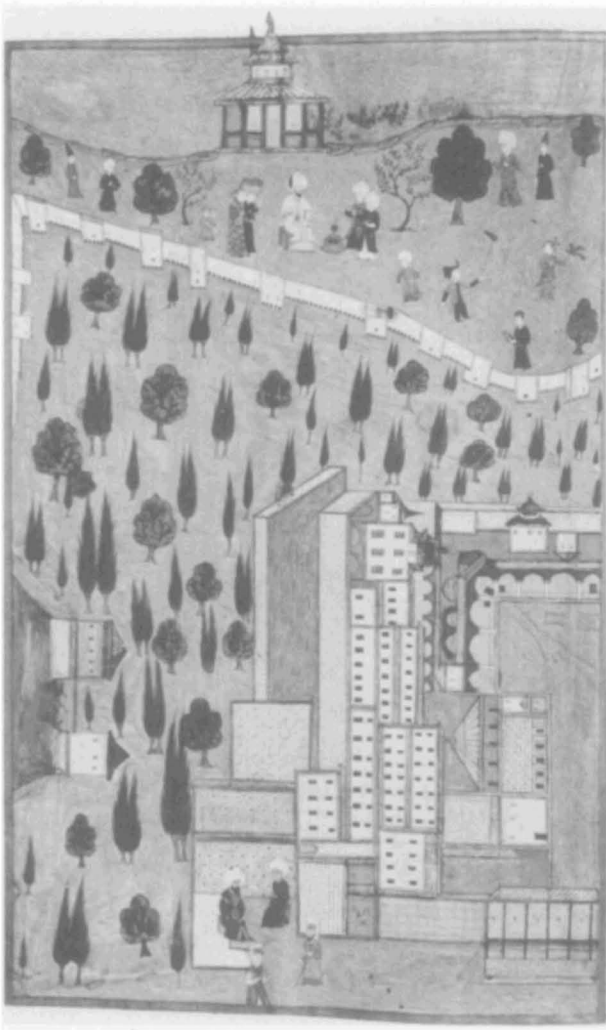


FIG. 12.21. WEST SIDE OF THE THIRD COURT AND ADJOINING GARDENS IN THE TOPKAPI SARAYI FROM THE *HÜNERNÄME*. Buildings represented include the apartments housing the sacred relics and blessed mantle of the Prophet, the hall of the pages of the privy chamber, and apartments of the harem. In a garden outside the wall, the sultan, seated before the Yalı Köşkü (Shore Kiosk), is entertained by pages.

Size of the original: 44 × 55 cm. By permission of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul (H. 1523, fol. 232a).

APPENDIX 12.1 SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS

Title	Author
<i>Jāmiʿ al-tawārikh</i> (Collection of chronicles)	Rashīd al-Dīn Faḡl Allāh (Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, A.D. 1247?–1318)
<i>Futūḥ al-ḥaramayn</i> (An encomium of Mecca and Medina, composed 911/ 1505–6)	Muḥyi Lārī (d. 932/1526– 27)
<i>Kitāb-i bahriye</i> (Book of maritime matters, 1st version 927/1521; 2d version 932/ 1526)	Pirī Reʿīs (Muḥyiddīn Pirī Reʿīs, ca. 875–961/ca. 1470– 1554)
<i>Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāqeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḥān</i> (The stages on Sultan Süleymān’s campaign in the two Iraqs; also known as <i>Mecmūʿa-i menāzil</i> , A collection of the halts)	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ (Naşūḥ al- Silāḥī [or al-Şalāḥī] al- Maṭrākī, d. 971/1564)
<i>Fethnāme-i Qaraboğdān</i> (Book of the conquest of Qaraboğdān [Moldavia])	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ
<i>Tārīḥ-i feth-i Şaklāvūn (Şiklōş) ve Ustürgün ve Ust- ünibelğrād</i> (Conquest of Siklós, Esztergom, and Székesfehérvár; also known as <i>Süleymānnāme</i>)	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ (formerly attributed to Sinān Çavuş)
<i>Tārīḥ-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd</i> (History of Sultan Bāyezīd)	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ
<i>Tārīḥ-i Sulṭān Bāyezīd ve Sulṭān Selīm</i> (History of Sultan Bāyezīd and Sultan Selīm)	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ
<i>Süleymānnāme</i> (History of Sultan Süleymān)	Maṭrākçı Naşūḥ

^aIllustrated manuscripts of the *Jāmiʿ al-tawārikh* held at Edinburgh, London, and İstanbul do not show the capture of Baghdad, as they record history far removed from its fall in A.D. 1258.

^bA second version is held at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, R. 917.

^cPirī Reʿīs, *Kitāb-i bahriye*, ed. Fevzi Kurtoğlu and Haydar Alpogut (İstanbul: Devlet, 1935); see also appendix 14.2, pp. 290–91.

^dMaṭrākçı Naşūḥ, *Beyān-i menāzil-i sefer-i ʿIrāqeyn-i Sulṭān Süley-
mān Ḥān*, introduction, transcription, and commentary, Hüseyin G.
Yurdaydın (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976).

RELATED TO OTTOMAN HISTORIES

Date of Transcription	Content/Description	Location
ca. A.D. 1307–40	General history of the world as known to the Mongol court; various leaves from a dispersed copy; “The capture of Baghdad” (pp. 4 and 7).	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Diez A, Foliant 70 ^a
951/1554	An illustrated verse guide to the hajj dedicated to the sultan of Gujarat, Muẓaffar ibn Maḥmūd; 50 fols., 15 illus.	British Library, London, MS. Or. 3633 ^b
late sixteenth century	Maritime guide to the Mediterranean, with maps and text illustrating islands, coasts, and harbors. 421 fols., 215 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 642 ^c
ca. 944/1537–38	Süleymān’s first campaign against the Safavids (940–42/1534–35), resulting in the capture of Baghdad and Tabriz; 109 fols., 128 illus. (number of illus. can only be approximated)	Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, TY. 5964 ^d
945/1537–38	Süleymān’s campaign into Moldavia in 945/1537–38 is described on fols. 105b–122b of a volume of miscellany; no illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, R. 1284/2 ^e
ca. 952–57/1545–50	Account of Ḥayreddin Barbarossa’s Mediterranean naval campaign (950–51/1543–44) and Süleymān’s Hungarian campaign (949–50/1542–43); 146 fols., 32 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 1608 ^f
ca. 952–57/1545–50	Illustrates fortresses and harbors occupied by Bāyezīd II during the period of his rivalry with Prince Cem (886–87/1481–82); 82 fols., 10 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, R. 1272 ^g
960/1553	Chronicles the period from the accession of Bāyezīd II (886/1481) to the accession of Süleymān the Magnificent (926/1520); copied by Şalāḥ ibn Ḥasan el-Konevī; 191 fols., no illus.	British Library, London, Add. MS. 23586
n.d.	Süleymān’s second campaign against the Safavids (955–56/1548–49), in which the Ottomans recaptured Tabriz, Van, and most of Georgia; though allotted space, illustrations were not executed; 157 fols., no illus.	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Orientabteilung Hs. Or. Oct. 955 ^h

^aA. Decei, “Un ‘Fetih-nâme-i Karaboğdan’ (1538) de Nasuh Maṭrakçı,” in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı* (Istanbul: Osman Yalçın, 1953), 113–24.

^fTwelve illustrations of the Hungarian campaign are reproduced in Gêza Fehér, *Turkish Miniatures from the Period of Hungary’s Turkish Occupation*, trans. Lili Halápy and Elisabeth West (Budapest: Corvina Press and Magyar Helikon, 1978). Four views of the Mediterranean campaign are reproduced in Hedda Reindl, “Zu einigen Minaturen und

Karten aus Handschriften Maṭraqçı Naşūḥ’s,” in *Islamkundliche Abhandlungen*, Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients, no. 18 (Munich: Rudolf Trofenik, 1974), pls. 4, 5, 7, and 8.

^gThree views are reproduced in Reindl, “Zu einigen Miniaturen und Karten,” pls. 1–3 (note f).

^hBarbara Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, vol. 13, pt. 1 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1968), 113.

APPENDIX 12.1—*continued*

Title	Author	Date of Transcription	Content/Description	Location
<i>Cāmi‘ū’t-tevārih</i> (A collection of histories)	Matrākçı Naşūh	(1) post-957/1550; (2) completed 980/ 1571–72	Abridged version of al-Ṭabarī’s history compiled for the grand vizier Rüstem Paşa: (1) up to the reign of the Sassanian king Bahrām Chūbīn, 430 fols., no illus.; (2) from the legendary ruler Oğuz Khan to the Ottoman campaign of 1569 in the Yemen, 230 fols., no illus.	British Library, London, MS. Or. 12879 and MS. Or. 12592 ^l
<i>Fütūhāt-i cemile</i> (Book of five conquests)	‘Ārifī (Fethullāh ‘Ārifī Çelebi, d. 969/1561–62)	964/1556–57	The 958/1551–52 Hungarian campaign led by the viziers Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Ahmed Paşa against the fortresses of Temesvár, Pécs, Lipva, and Eger; 31 fols., 7 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 1592 ^j
<i>Süleymānnāme</i> (History of Sultan Süleymān)	‘Ārifī	965/1558	Reign of Süleymān between 926/1520 and 962/1555; the culmination of a projected five-volume <i>Şāhnāme-i āl-i ‘Osmān</i> (Book of the kings of the family of Osman); 617 fols., 69 illus. attributed to five different artists	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 1517 ^k
<i>Nūzhetü’l-ahbār der sefer-i Şigetvār</i> (Chronicle of the Szigetvār campaign)	Ahmed Feridūn (Feridūn Beg, d. 991/1583)	976/1568–69	The 974/1566 Hungarian campaign, including Süleymān’s death and Selim II’s accession ceremonies. Text was presented to the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa; 305 fols., 20 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 1339 ^l
<i>Süleymānnāme</i> (History of Sultan Süleymān)	Loqmān (Seyyid Loqmān ibn Hüseyn ibn el-‘Āşūrī el-Urmevi, fl. 977–1010/1569–1601)	987/1579–80	Conceived as the completion of ‘Ārifī’s <i>Süleymānnāme</i> , which recorded the sultan’s activities only to 962/1555; focuses on the 974/1566 Szigetvār campaign; 121 fols., 32 illus.	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. 413 ^m
<i>Şāhnāme-i Selīm Hān</i> (History of Sultan Selim, composed ca. 983/1575)	Loqmān	988/1581	The reign of Sultan Selim II; includes the conquest of Cyprus and La Goulette (Goletta) near Tunis; 158 fols., 43 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, A. 3595 ⁿ
<i>Şāhanşāhnāme</i> (History of the king of kings)	Loqmān	(1) 989/1581–82 (2) 1001/1592	Two-volume biography of Sultan Murād III: (1) 153 fols., 58 illus.; (2) 95 illus.	(1) Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, FY. 1404; (2) Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, B. 200 ^o
<i>Sūrnāme-i hümāyūn</i> (Book of the festival)	Loqmān	ca. 991/1583	Celebrations of the circumcision of the sons of Murād III in 990/1582; 437 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, H. 1344

<i>Nuşretnâme</i> (Book of victories)	Muştafâ 'Âli (Gelibolulu Muştafâ 'Âli, 948–1008/1541–1600)	992/1584–85	Conquest of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Shirvan by the grand vizier Lala Muştafâ Paşa in 986/1578; 280 fols., 11 illus.	British Library, London, Add. MS. 22011 ^p
<i>Hünernâme</i> (Book of accomplishments)	Loğmân	(1) 992/1584–85 (2) 996/1587–88	History of the Ottoman sultans, originally a four-volume work, of which two volumes have survived: (1) the sultans up to Selim I, 234 fols., 45 illus.; (2) the life of Süleymân, 302 fols., 65 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, H. 1523 and 1524 ^q
<i>Şahnâme-i Sultân Mehmed</i> (Sultan Mehmed's book of kings; also called <i>Eğri fetihnâmesi</i> , The proclamation of the conquest of Eger)	Şubhî Çelebi (Ta'likizâde, fl. end of sixteenth century)	ca. 1004–9/1595–1600	Mehmed III's campaign in Hungary (1003–5/1594–96), including the surrender of Eger and the battle of Mezökerecsztes; 74 fols., 4 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, H. 1609 ^r
<i>Şahnâme-i Nâdiri</i> (Nâdiri's book of kings)	Mehmed Nâdiri	post-1031/1621	Records the Mediterranean campaign of 1029/1620 and 'Osmân II's campaign of 1031/1621 into Boğdan (Moldavia) that culminated in the capture of Khotin. 77 fols., 20 illus.	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, H. 1124

ⁱMaṭrâkçı Naşûh's name is mentioned in the preface of volume 1 (fol. 4b). The second volume, titled *Tarih-i Oğuziyan ve Çingiziyân ve Selcûkiyan ve 'Osmâniyan* but lacking a colophon, was copied for the library of Selim II. The final section, which records Ottoman history beyond the death of Rüstem Paşa in 1561, was completed by an anonymous author.

^jSix illustrations are reproduced in Fehër, *Turkish Miniatures* (note f).

^kEsin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, D.C., and New York: National Gallery of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1986).

^lAlthough the text was presented to the grand vizier, the presence of this illustrated volume in the Topkapı Sarayı

Müzesi Kütüphanesi suggests it was a copy for the sultan. Eight illustrations are reproduced in Fehër, *Turkish Miniatures* (note f).

^mVladimir Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1958), 19–21 and pls. 5–12.

ⁿA second version is held at the British Library, London, MS. Or. 7043.

^oAuthorship of the *Şahanşahnâme* is somewhat disputed. I follow the attribution to Loğmân given in Hanna Sohrweide, "Luğmân b. Sayyid Husayn," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., 5:813–14, and Fehmi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi: Farsça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 1961), no. 792.

This chronicle has also been attributed to 'Alâ al-Dîn Manşûr Shirâzi, an individual who remains obscure, in Fehmi Edhem [Karatay] and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1933), 3–6, and Aydın Sayılı, "'Alâ al-Dîn al-Manşûr's Poems on the Istanbul Observatory," *Belleten* (Türk Tarih Kurumu) 20 (1956): 429–84.

^pA second version dated 990/1582–83 is held at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, İstanbul, H. 1365.

^qNigar Anafarta, *Hünernâme Minyatürleri ve Sanatçıları* (İstanbul, 1969). Fourteen illustrations are reproduced in Fehër, *Turkish Miniatures* (note f).

^rFour illustrations are reproduced in Fehër, *Turkish Miniatures* (note f).