



BRILL



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A PRONOUNCEMENT OF ALLIANCE: AN ANONYMOUS ILLUMINATED VENETIAN MANUSCRIPT FOR SULTAN SÜLEYMAN

This article introduces an anonymous illuminated manuscript created in Venice for Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), prior to his third military campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Austria in 1532.¹ The manuscript is a panegyric in honor of the Ottoman sovereign (henceforth referred to as Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman), written in Italian and imbued with strong political connotations.² Its fascinating text and superb illuminations offer a very particular construction of Ottoman history, one that highlights the most significant military conquests of this dynasty (see Appendix I for a reproduction of the manuscript [figs. 21–40], and Appendix II for a translation of the text). Its linear sequence of events begins with an assertion of the alleged semi-divine origin of the House of Osman from the Greek god Apollo and Cassandra (daughter of King Priam and Queen Hecuba of Troy). The celebratory account of a string of victories won by successive Ottoman sultans culminates with Sultan Süleyman's 1526 triumph at the Battle of Mohács, which marked the end of the Jagiellon dynasty in Hungary and Bohemia with the death of King Louis II. (Thereafter, the sultan's semi-vassal John I Zápolya [d. 1540] and the Austrian Habsburg ruler Ferdinand I [r. 1531–64] both laid claim to the throne of the kingdom of Hungary.) Our manuscript praises Süleyman's victory in Hungary as a feat none of his ancestors succeeded in accomplishing and hails the sultan as the "absolute King of the Hungarians" (*absolute ré de li Ungari*); it ends with a wish for his continued successes in the near future.³

The objective of this detailed eulogy of the deeds of the Ottoman dynasty was, according to the author, to demonstrate that the empire of Sultan Süleyman surpassed all others in greatness and duration. Conse-

quently, there was no other monarch alive in those times who deserved to be called Emperor of the World but him. The anonymous author of the manuscript emphasized this claim throughout the work, a claim that is highly significant in the complex political context of the early sixteenth century, when both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans vied to establish a universal empire reminiscent of the Roman *imperium*, with each adopting the title of "Emperor" for their respective rulers. After his imposing coronation by Pope Clement VII in Bologna as Holy Roman Emperor in 1530, Charles V (r. 1516–56) began to use the titles "Emperor" and "Caesar," much to the dislike of the sultan's court in Istanbul.⁴ The manuscript, however, does not make any direct reference to Charles V or his brother Ferdinand I, who was crowned "King of the Romans" in 1531; the latter ruled the Austrian hereditary lands of the Habsburgs, and laid claim to the kingdom of Hungary through his wife. The only European who is mentioned in the text and depicted in a painted vignette is the Doge of Venice, Andrea Gritti (r. 1523–38): he is shown in a folio that describes the peace treaty signed with the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) in 1503 through Gritti's mediation as ambassador of the Venetian Republic, prior to his election as doge (see fig. 10 on p. 110). For this reason, the manuscript sheds light not only on the political conflict and rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs, but also on Venice's alliance and artistic exchanges with the court of Sultan Süleyman in the course of his triumphs in Belgrade (1521), Rhodes (1522), and Hungary (1526), all of which are celebrated by the anonymous author.

Interestingly, we know of another text in praise of an Ottoman emperor, written in Veneto-Emiliana dialect

in Northern Italy during the early sixteenth century. In this case, it is an epic poem dedicated to Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20), Süleyman's father, recently discovered by Emilio Lippi in the town library of Treviso.⁵ Written by an anonymous poet in *ottava rima*, when Sultan Selim was still alive, this work extolls his victories over Safavid Iran (1514) and Mamluk Syria-Egypt (1516–18). The language analysis done by Lippi suggests that the poem may well have been written in Venice: there are at least two similarities with the Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman that make a connection between the two documents plausible. Firstly, the only European mentioned in the epic poem is once again Venetian, namely, the Consul of Damascus, who welcomed the Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Gawri during his march through the city prior to being defeated by the Ottoman sultan in 1516.⁶ Secondly, the poem mentions a supernatural visit Sultan Selim makes to a temple of Mars in Anatolia while on his way to battle with the Safavid Shah 'Isma'il. At the shrine, he encounters pagan deities and virtues, who speak favorably about his illustrious ancestors and predict his own victories, along with a splendid future for his son Süleyman, who is predestined to succeed Selim upon his death. According to the author of the poem, the procreation of Süleyman is Selim's most significant endeavor, for the son will bring the father's vision of world empire to its ultimate conclusion.

Another element shared by the two manuscripts is the anonymity of the respective authors; both the epic poem and the panegyric text in prose lack signatures that could help us identify their authors. Since these are documents that have only recently been discovered, there is not enough scholarship from which to draw. The Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman has been studied only by Eleanor Garvey, Phillip Hofer, Alfred Fairbank, and Vera Law.⁷ These brief studies, however, have focused largely on issues of attribution and style of illumination, without scrutinizing the contextual messages of text and image.⁸ The manuscript was briefly on display once, in the exhibition *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts* held at the Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library of Harvard University in 1955. On that occasion, two of its folios were published in the exhibition catalogue,⁹ which contains a brief description of the manuscript, focusing on its general characteristics,

including language, size, materials, techniques, and binding. The author speculates about the artist of the miniatures and suggests the Croatian painter Giulio Clovio (d. 1578).

The present article represents the first time that the manuscript has been reproduced as a whole, accompanied by an interpretative study of its text and images. The Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman is a brief document composed of ten vellum leaves and bound by nineteenth-century Italian red leather covers. Each one of its folios has a background of golden paint, over which the artist drew a white scroll to provide an adequate space for the text (fig. 1). The script of the Panegyric is written in a fine, golden-colored Italianate calligraphy; the identification of the author is still pending. In 1978, Vera Law attributed the elegant penmanship of the manuscript to the Vicentine papal scribe and type designer Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi (d. 1527), due to the strong resemblance of its Italianate calligraphy to his.¹⁰ In spite of the clear formal similarities between the two handwritings, I find the attribution problematic because the manuscript refers to the period following the Battle of Mohács in 1526, and Arrighi died shortly after the 1527 sack of Rome.¹¹

The design and iconography of the manuscript are unique, bringing together elements from Northern European and Italian artistic traditions. Many of its constituents correspond to North Italian book production, particularly in Padua, Venice, and Ferrara. Artists from these regions were skilled in *trompe l'oeil* illusionism and known for their talent in making the central part of a folio a scroll-shaped space for the text, as in the pages of the Süleyman manuscript. Moreover, some of the illumination motifs on the manuscript's borders also correspond to the North Italian artistic tradition. Examples include minute cameos with representations of classical motifs, such as Roman soldiers (fig. 2), pagan deities like Neptune (fig. 3), winged victories (fig. 4), and a two-tailed mermaid (fig. 5), among others. Illuminators from Padua and Venice, according to Jonathan Alexander, were the artists who most self-consciously introduced classicizing motifs such as cameos into their manuscripts.¹² The layout of the panegyric, however, displays a Netherlandish influence from the Flemish art of the second half of the fifteenth century.¹³ Forming an

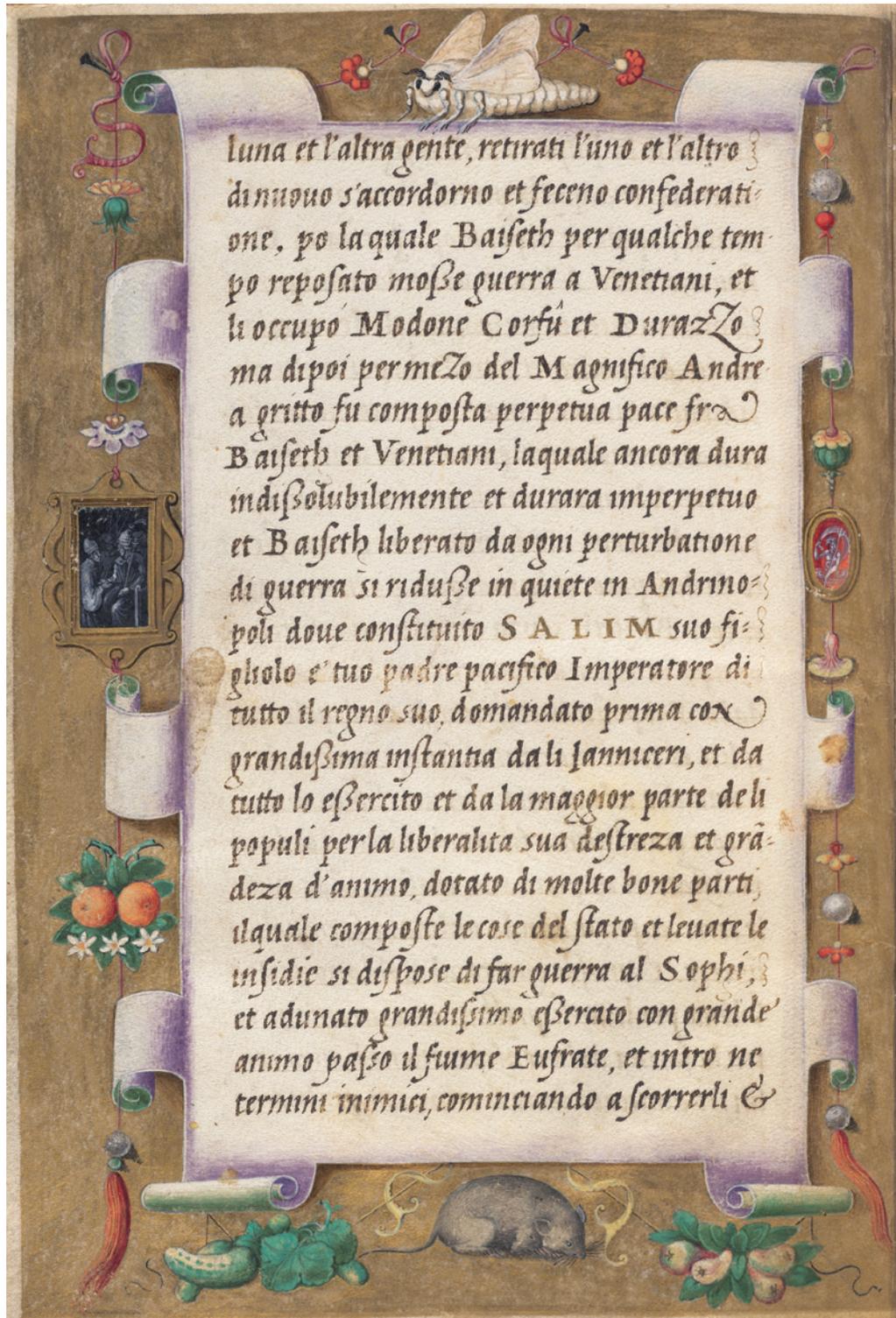


Fig. 1. Folio 5v, Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Example of an ornamental design from the anonymous Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 2. Detail of folio 6v (fig. 32), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Cameo with a classical motif, this one depicting a Roman soldier. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 3. Detail of folio 5v (fig. 30), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Cameo with a classical motif, Neptune holding his trident. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 4. Detail of folio 7r (fig. 33), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Cameo with a classical motif, winged victory. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 5. Detail of folio 6r (fig. 31), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Cameo with a classical motif, a two-tailed mermaid. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

ordered and multi-colored perimeter around the central scrolls are ingeniously variegated designs, such as flora and fauna, as well as jewels and precious stones, joined together by a slim red cord, as we see in folio 7r of the manuscript (fig. 6). Most relevant for the study of political relations between Venice, the Hapsburgs, and the Ottomans are the miniature vignettes painted in gri-

saille on the borders of each folio. These paintings are closely related to the accompanying text, yet they provide additional information and valuable insights, and thus deserve a study of their own. Accordingly, this article will focus predominantly on them and the stories they tell (see Appendix III for the ten miniatures not discussed in this article [figs. 41–50]).

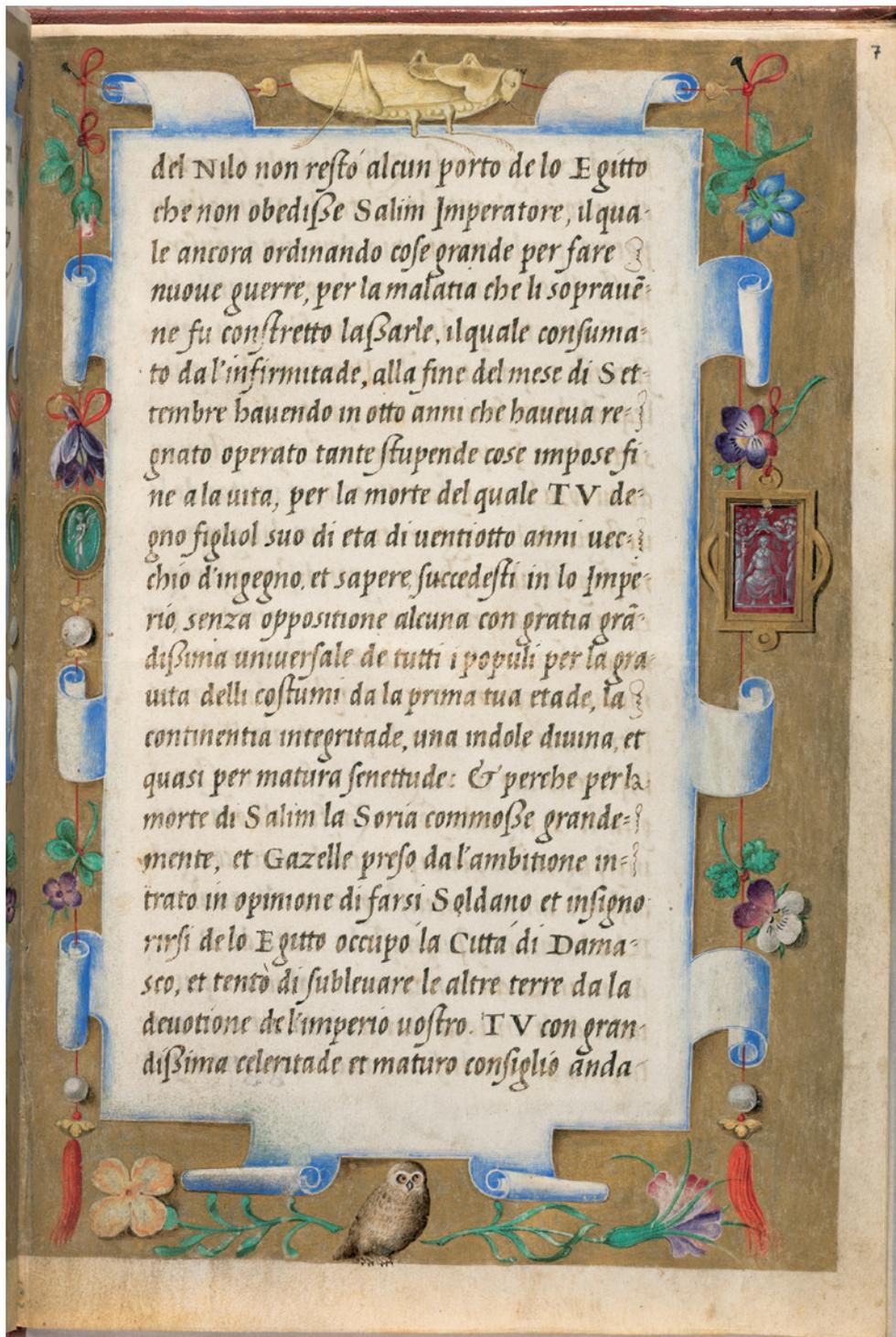


Fig. 6. Folio 7r, Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532, featuring an ordered and multi-colored border around the central scroll, with flora, fauna, jewels, and precious stones joined together by a slim red cord. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

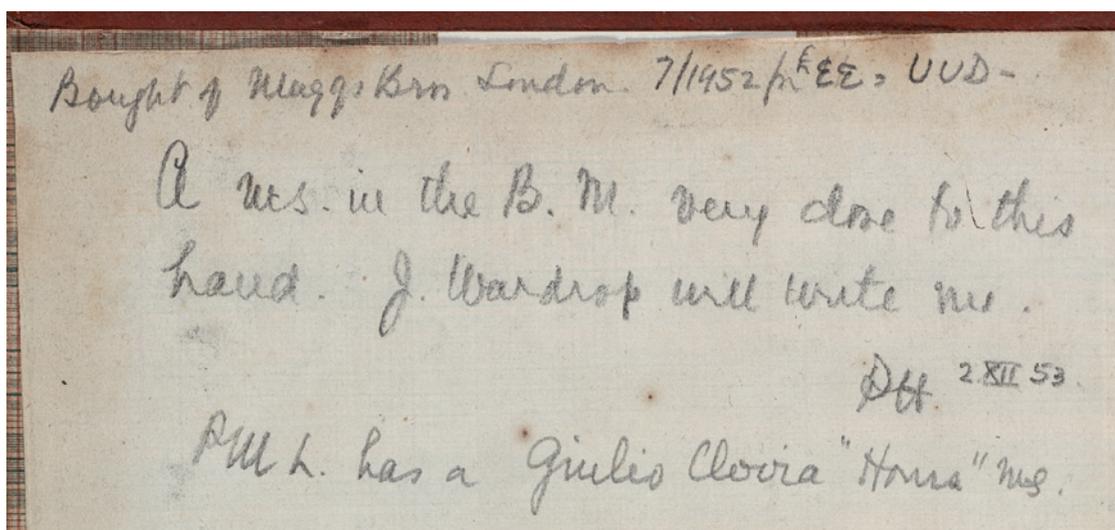


Fig. 7. Detail of Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Inner side of the binding pasted with a page inscribed with Philip Hofer's note. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

The identity of the miniature painter is another question that remains unresolved. When Philip Hofer—Harvard librarian, book collector, and curator of the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts at Houghton Library—bought the manuscript for the collection in 1953 he made a note inside its cover that reads: “A Ms in the B.M. [British Museum] very close to this hand. J. Wardrop will write me. P.M.L. [Pierpont Morgan Library] has a Giulio Clovio ‘Hours’ ms” (fig. 7). Hofer's trained eye permitted him to establish a connection between the panegyric he had just acquired and a manuscript similar in style that he had seen at the British Library. Following this lead, I spent some time doing research at this institution's manuscript collection and I believe that the document Hofer referred to is a book painted in 1540 by Giulio Clovio for Cardinal Marino Grimani, catalogued as “‘Beatissime Virginis Marie Officium,’ preceded by a calendar and followed by the ‘Septem Psalmi Penitentiales.’”¹⁴ Indeed, several folios of this manuscript bear a strong resemblance to the Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman. Folio 120r, for instance, has a very similar layout, and shares a number of formal elements: 1) the left margin is golden-colored and consists of a vertical row of figures joined together by a slim cord; 2) a ram's head painted on this page is very close to the one depicted on folios 3v and 4r of the Süleyman man-

uscript (figs. 8, 26, and 27); 3) the text is written on a white framed surface; and 4) shiny pearls decorate and enliven the composition.

In spite of the formal similarities and common iconography, the attribution of the paintings to Giulio Clovio, considered one of the greatest illuminators of the Italian High Renaissance, is improbable. Particularly in the degree of detail and in the use of light and shadow, his illuminations differ significantly from those of the panegyric. The manuscript made for Süleyman is considerably more solemn; its margins are perfectly symmetrical and decorated austere with a single, vertical row of elements, whereas Clovio tends to create his compositions with a greater number of motifs, densely filling the margins of the manuscript with varied and lively figures.

In view of these differences between the two manuscripts, Clovio, who was mostly active in Renaissance Italy, seems an unlikely illuminator of the panegyric for the Ottoman sultan. Vera Law has suggested the Italian miniaturist Vincenzo Raimondi, a French illuminator who worked for Popes Leo X (r. 1513–21) and Paul IV (r. 1555–59), as a possible artist, and he is, indeed, a plausible candidate. I believe that the grisailles and cameos could have been made either by him or by another Italian manuscript illuminator, Girolamo dai Libri (d. 1555),

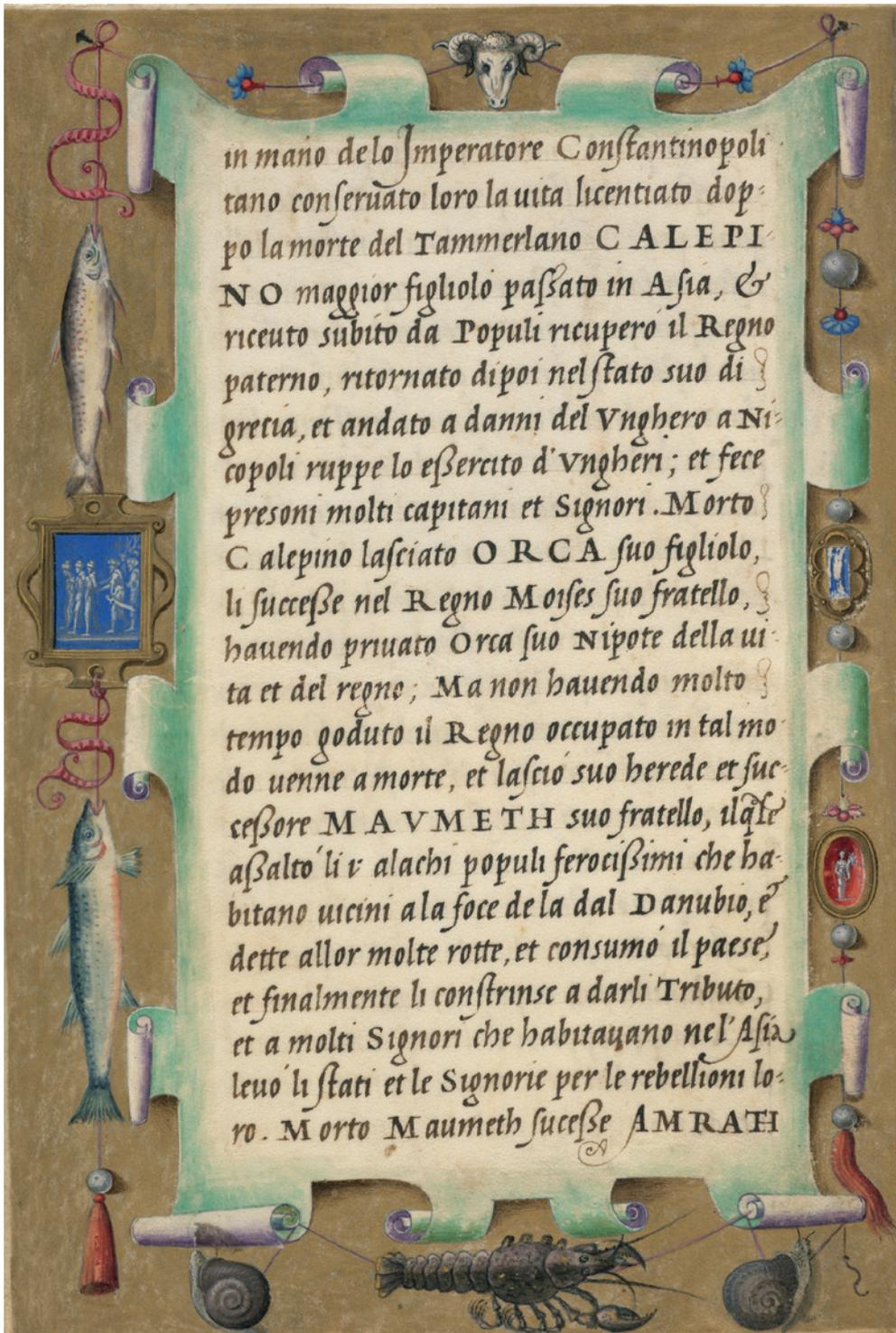


Fig. 8. Layout of folio 3v, Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: There are similarities in the layout of Ms. Typ 145 and Ms. Add 20927 ("Beatissime Virginis Marie Officium," preceded by a calendar and followed by the "Septem Psalmi Penitentiales"). Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

who was active mainly in Verona. This conjecture is based on the similar depiction of classical cameos by these illuminators.¹⁵ For instance, in an early sixteenth-century North Italian miniature made by dai Libri, now at the British Library,¹⁶ two minute classical cameos decorating the borders bear a striking resemblance to those of the Süleyman manuscript. The cameo's frame is shaped like two encompassing ovals, painted in pastel colors that resemble gilt wood, just like the examples in the Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman. The bodies of figures are executed in grisaille over colors that were not applied uniformly, but with various shades and tones.

A memorandum on the back of the British Library manuscript, written by collector William Young Ottley, attributes this illumination to Girolamo dai Libri, Giulio Clovio's master. This connection could explain the similarities, as well as the differences, between the works of the two artists:

This fine border is undoubtedly by the great miniature painter Girolamo dai Libri of whom Vasari says: "he would imitate small cameos and other engraved jewels and precious stones in such a manner that nothing could possibly be more similar" ... It would be difficult to speak too highly of the bea[uty] of the three following specimens which appear to have belonged to a Vol. written for Cardinal Giulio de Medici and are decorated with almost inconceivable diligence by the hand of the celebrated Girolamo dei Libri the master of Don Giulio Clovio.¹⁷

The identification of the scribe and illuminator of the panegyric manuscript has proved difficult thus far and requires more research that goes beyond the purview of my article. However, there are various indications in its text and images that speak about the context and circumstances in which the manuscript was created. I shall therefore attempt to trace the manuscript's origin based on these leads, analyzing its significance and political implications. It is hoped that this preliminary analysis may, in turn, help to one day identify the Italian humanist author of the text, as well as its scribe and its illuminator.

A MANUSCRIPT TO ACCOMPANY THE PRESENTATION OF THE VENETIAN-MADE FOUR-CROWN HELMET TO SULTAN SÜLEYMAN

In 1532, Sultan Süleyman's grand vizier, Ibrahim Pasha (g.v. 1523–36), who was born in Parga in Venetian Albania, organized a magnificent series of triumphal parades during his master's campaign against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Vienna. One of these parades staged an ostentatious display of power and wealth for the Austrian envoys who were present at Nish. The pasha and his Pera-born adviser-banker, Alvise Gritti (son of the reigning Doge of Venice, Andrea Gritti), collaborated in designing several luxurious imperial regalia for the occasion, commissioning them from the renowned Venetian jewelers and goldsmiths of the Rialto—particularly Luigi Caorlini and Vincenzo Levriero. Standing out among these costly objects was an elaborate headgear for the sultan that was very similar in its design to the papal tiara, but included additional features that symbolized an authority surpassing the combined power of Pope Clement VII and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V: a fourth crown, a crescent-shaped mount on the top, and the plumes of a "Bird of Paradise." This distinctive headgear has been studied by Otto Kurz¹⁸ and Gülru Necipoğlu,¹⁹ who have traced the origins of its commission and explained in detail its significance in the complex political landscape of the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century. According to Necipoğlu, the helmet "powerfully advertised the sultan's claims to universal sovereignty on the eve of a planned anti-Hapsburg/anti-papal military campaign that would have culminated in the conquest of Rome."²⁰

Until recently, the only known sixteenth-century representations of this helmet were two anonymous Venetian woodcuts and an engraving signed by the Venetian artist Agostino Veneziano (in addition to later seventeenth-century imaginary equestrian engravings of the sultan wearing this enormous helmet).²¹ The discovery of the Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman has provided us with eight hitherto unknown sixteenth-century miniature paintings of the same headgear (figs. 9–16), as well as various interesting insights regarding its political-cultural connotations.²²

Given the fact that the helmet constitutes one of the central pictorial motifs of the panegyric and that the

text makes a direct reference to it, I believe the manuscript in honor of Süleyman figured among the various luxury items commissioned by Ibrahim Pasha and Alvise Gritti for the sultan's triumphal parades en route to Vienna. It is possible that this manuscript was created to accompany the helmet-crown, and that the two objects were presented together to the sultan in 1532.

Interestingly, the concluding section of the text sheds light on the purpose of the entire manuscript. In these last two folios, the anonymous author extols the sultan's outstanding virtues and recapitulates themes presented earlier. This, in turn, leads to the panegyric's conclusion and to the anonymous author's final statement. Everything is summed up in the following reference to the helmet:

One sees how much you are worthy of every empire, of every triumph, of every crown, not just of myrtle and laurel, but of gold and precious, most ornate gems, such as that Helmet that we now see ornamenting your divine Caesarship.²³

This reference to the helmet and to Süleyman wearing it is particularly noteworthy, as it suggests a direct connection between the panegyric and this headgear. In addition, there are other clues in the manuscript that support such an interpretation. If we turn our attention to the miniature paintings, we notice that the helmet-crown is represented in them so often and in such diverse contexts that it is clear that the artist is drawing the viewer's attention to this central motif of the manuscript.

A remarkable aspect about the depiction of the helmet-crown is that the cameo paintings show other Ottoman sultans²⁴ besides Süleyman wearing it. Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81), the conqueror of Constantinople, is the first sultan shown wearing this distinctive headgear (fig. 9). Drawn over a blue background, we see the sultan in combat, riding a horse on the left side of the composition. He raises his sword in the air to defend himself from the attack of another rider, who is about to strike him. Several dead soldiers lie on the ground beneath them, a fierce battle is taking place in the background, and the large number of soldiers in combat can be sensed even in this small space. Despite its weight, which would have caused obvious difficulties for a warrior on horseback, the sultan is shown wearing it in

battle. This is relevant because the helmet-crown was always displayed but never worn by Sultan Süleyman during his parades and tent audiences in 1532, judging by contemporary descriptions.²⁵ By anachronistically representing Mehmed II wearing this idiosyncratic regalia of power, the illuminator is projecting it onto a distant past, almost a century before it was created in sixteenth-century Venice.

The black and white cameo depicting the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti signing a peace treaty with Sultan Bayezid II in 1503 is another example of an early Ottoman sultan represented with the crown years before it was even conceived (fig. 10).²⁶ The depiction of the ambassador of Venice with the headdress of the doge is likewise an anachronism, alluding to the then-current peace between Doge Andrea Gritti and his ally Sultan Süleyman. There is a remarkable irony in this image, since Sultan Bayezid II, unlike his father, Mehmed II, rejected the patronage of Europeanate figural arts and artifacts at the Ottoman court in favor of Islamicate art forms.²⁷ For this reason the use of a foreign symbol of power such as the four-crown helmet, which clearly emanates from the European iconographic tradition, is incongruous, and reveals more about a contemporary interpretation of the Ottoman past by the Italian manuscript's producers.

In this manuscript, the helmet-crown extends the Ottoman present to the past, thereby implying an uninterrupted continuity. This suggests that the headgear was promoted in 1532 as a dynastic insignia, as implied by a contemporary witness. When the Austrian-Habsburg ambassadors entered Süleyman's audience tent in Nish to negotiate a peace agreement, the impressive helmet-crown was on display and, as Gülru Necipoğlu points out, the observers believed that it was the Ottoman imperial crown:

Then were the two ambassadors conducted to the emperor's tent, and saw there the Turkish emperor sitting in majesty and pomp on a golden throne or seat with four columns. They also saw near him, on a small stool or standing on the same throne, the imperial crown (*Keyserliche kron*), which cost 115,000 ducats and had been made in Venice.²⁸

The particular design of this "imperial crown" was devised to assert in visual terms the superiority of Sultan Süleyman over the pope and the Habsburg emperor. It stands out for its clever use of the artistic vocabulary of



Fig. 9. Detail of folio 4r (fig. 27), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Mehmed II in combat on horseback, wearing the helmet-crown. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 10. Detail of folio 5v (fig. 30), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Bayezid II and the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti shaking hands in confirmation of a peace treaty. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 11. Detail of folio 7r (fig. 33), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: The coronation of Sultan Süleyman upon his accession to the throne. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 12. Detail of folio 8r (fig. 35), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Süleyman wearing the helmet-crown and pardoning the defeated Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 13. Detail of folio 9r (fig. 37), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Süleyman majestically enthroned, wearing the helmet-crown and holding an orb and scepter. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 14. Detail of folio 9v (fig. 38), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Süleyman enthroned, wearing the helmet-crown and flanked by scholars and literati. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 15. Detail of folio 10r (fig. 39), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Süleyman enthroned, holding the hand of a man wearing a hat or helmet, perhaps the donor of the manuscript. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 16. Detail of folio 10v (the last folio of the manuscript [fig. 40]), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Sultan Süleyman enthroned, holding a scepter and being crowned. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

a different culture to communicate effectively a claim for world dominion. Imperial ceremonial objects such as tiaras and crowns were of no particular relevance to the Ottomans. The imperial court historian Celalzade Mustafa, who described the same reception ceremony, therefore did not even mention the helmet-crown.²⁹ This regalia was intended for a European audience, on whom it did make an enormous impression. The universal imperial pretensions of Süleyman were communicated in a compelling manner to the Catholic and Protestant princes of Europe—the audience in mind—in a language that was familiar to them.

The history of Süleyman's reign begins on the seventh folio of the manuscript. After the death of his father, Selim I, he becomes sovereign of the Ottomans "without any opposition, and with the greatest universal gratitude of all the people."³⁰ From this moment on, Süleyman is depicted in every miniature wearing the helmet-crown that was designed for him. The painting on folio 7r represents the coronation ceremony of the enthroned monarch in a red-and-white composition (fig. 11). Two turbaned attendants invest the sultan with the regal crown, while in the background four witnesses observe this significant event. Aside from the helmet-crown, the scene stands out for the vast array of European symbols of royalty selected by the artist to represent the image of the Ottoman sultan: the scepter he holds in the right hand, the throne, and the sitter's studied, majestic posture.

No other headdress but this graces the head of Süleyman in the remaining paintings of the manuscript. Folio 8r refers to the sultan's third military campaign against Hungary in 1532 and he is depicted on horseback, with his right arm extended forward in a gesture of clemency as he spares the life of a kneeling man, identified in the accompanying text as the Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes (fig. 12).³¹ Court scenes and Europeanizing depictions of the sultan with various symbols of majesty are the subject of the engaging illuminations of folios 9r, 9v, and 10v (figs. 13, 14, and 16). In folio 9r, the artist shows Süleyman against a dark background sitting on this throne and resting his hand on an orb (fig. 13). In the next image, the sultan is again depicted on his throne, surrounded by four members of his court; elegant draperies frame the image of the sovereign (fig. 14). The last image of the manuscript is very simi-

lar to the latter, but the background is vibrant red and the members of Süleyman's court are holding the headdress above his head, as they are about to crown him (fig. 16).

The persistent representation of the helmet-crown in this manuscript, and its presentation as the imperial regalia of all Ottoman sultans, starting with Mehmed II, reinforces the hypothesis that the panegyric was designed to be presented to Süleyman together with the magnificent headgear. The depiction of jewelry in the manuscript's margins underscores the artist's intent to please the specific tastes of Sultan Süleyman, and therefore discloses the familiarity of the patrons and producers of this panegyric with the Ottoman emperor. Süleyman had a marked interest in the collection of gems. He was trained as a goldsmith in his early years, and, accordingly, upon becoming sultan, he fostered an intense trade in jewels with Venice and patronized jewelers and goldsmiths in the Ottoman court workshops.³² In fact, one way Alvise Gritti made his fortune in the Ottoman capital was by selling jewels to Sultan Süleyman and Ibrahim Pasha; this enabled him to enjoy a luxurious lifestyle in Pera, where he built a sumptuous palace.³³

If we take into consideration the sultan's expertise and appreciation of precious stones, several features of the manuscript stand out and permit us to validate the proposition that it was designed, in text and image, in accordance with Süleyman's personal preferences. Two of these features I have mentioned previously: the visual representation of the jewel-studded headgear itself, and the text that makes reference to the jewels ornamenting the gold helmet. A third and more conspicuous element is the presence of images of shiny gems painted in intense red and green colors on the borders of the manuscript's pages. Various interesting motifs figure on the margins of each folio: lobsters, mice, moths, half-eaten fish, butterflies, and caterpillars, arranged in an ordered perimeter. But among these images of flora and fauna—characteristic of Flemish and Italian manuscripts from the sixteenth century—there is a recurrent use of polished rubies, emeralds, and pearls of different sizes. The combination of pictorial and textual references to jewelry contributes to making the panegyric more personal and compelling for its royal recipient, as we can see in folio 3r (fig. 17).



Fig. 17. Folio 3r, Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: An example of the jewels—in this case, emeralds and pearls (left-hand side)—in the borders of the Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman. All the folios in the manuscript feature various gems. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 18. Detail of folio 1r (fig. 21), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: Passage in golden calligraphy referring to the alleged semi-divine origin of Sultan Süleyman's family, the House of Osman. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

THE PANEGYRIC FOR SULTAN SÜLEYMAN AND THE QUESTION OF OTTOMAN IDENTITY

In the opening folio of the manuscript, the first topic addressed by the author is the origin of the Ottoman dynasty. Both the beautiful miniature painting on the right margin of this folio and the passage in golden calligraphy speak about the alleged semi-divine origin of Süleyman's family: the House of Osman (fig. 18). The text goes as follows:

DIVINE SOLIMANO [SÜLEYMAN], MOST INVINCIBLE
But since I have intended to demonstrate with a most evident argument that your Empire has surpassed in

grandeur and longevity all other Empires that have ever existed in the world, it seems to me proper, before I arrive at the particularities of your Empire, to first begin from the birth of your Glorious House....³⁴

The question of origin was of no small importance to the Ottomans and to the Western European Renaissance audience for whom the manuscript and the four-crown helmet were produced. As James Hankins has pointed out, in the humanist environment in which this panegyric was created, it was believed that "origins were destiny and stamped an indelible character on a race."³⁵ The panegyric text of the manuscript is an example of this conviction. As mentioned above, the Ottomans are



Fig. 19. Detail of folio 1r (fig. 21), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: The Greek god Apollo, to whom the “origin” of the Ottoman dynasty is traced. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 20. Detail of folio 1v (fig. 22), Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532: The couple Apollo and Cassandra in an amorous embrace, conceiving the mythical ancestor of the Ottoman dynasty. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Photo: courtesy of Houghton Library)

presented here as descendants of the Greek god Apollo and Cassandra, the daughter of King Priam of Troy.³⁶ Accordingly, the first two images of the manuscript are representations of these two figures executed in grisaille, enclosed in elaborately drawn, gold-colored wooden frames (figs. 19 and 20). The nude body of the young god Apollo is crafted in white and contrasts marvelously with the dark blue background. This is an image marked by undulating movements, a testament to the skill of the unidentified miniaturist. Not only does Apollo’s winding scarf flutter smoothly behind him in elaborate pleats of drapery, but the arms and legs of the god in contrapposto pose echo the curvilinear movement of the scarf, towards which he turns his head. Similarly, the image that represents the union of the Greek deity and the daughter of the king of Troy is playful and erotic. Apollo and Cassandra, two gray, curvy shapes over a black background, join together in a dancelike embrace. In this specific scene, the delicate manner in which the artist represents the woman’s hair in such tiny, flowing curls is particularly impressive. The outcome of this

conjugal embrace is then explicated. Two male sons are born of Apollo and Cassandra: Franco and Teucro. Franco moves to Gallia, a region that is later on named after him, *Francia*. Teucro, on the other hand, leaves Troy after its defeat in the war against Greece, and, according to the manuscript, has a “better fortune” than his brother because he becomes the originator of Süleyman’s “divine house” (*Ma Teucro con miglior fortuna fu quello che dette principio alla divina Casa vostra* [fol. 1v, fig. 22]).³⁷ Sabocho, the first Ottoman emperor, is a descendant of Teucro.

This peculiar aetiology has a history charged with political and cultural content in terms of dynastic identity and the legitimation of authority. Among fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanist scholars, the notion of Ottoman descent from the Trojan king Priam’s lineage was far from unanimously accepted; in fact, there was a fervent debate regarding this matter. The discussions were shaped by the Ottoman military threat and sharpened by their expanding dominion over southeastern Europe. Opinions were divided between those who were

convinced of the Trojan origin of the Turks and called them *Teuceri* (henceforth exiles who desired to take revenge on the Greeks on account of the Trojan War), and others who attributed to the Turks a Scythian origin that made them unfit to rule Mediterranean territories.³⁸ The latter faction, out of politico-religious concerns, encouraged a crusade against the Ottomans, and therefore demonized this polity as the feared “Other,” a threat to the Christian world.

From these various standpoints regarding the origin of the Turks sprung an abundant literature known as *de originibus Turcarum* (which began roughly around the 1450s, after the fall of Constantinople, and extended until the end of the sixteenth century). During the reign of Mehmed II, the faction that James Hankins has called the “philoturks” wrote in opposition to a religious war against the Ottomans, seeking rather to incorporate them into the Western tradition.³⁹ Firm in their belief that the Turks were the descendants of the ancient Trojans, these intellectuals devoted long hours to the elaboration of texts that could challenge their opponents’ arguments regarding the Asiatic, barbarian origin of the “Turkish nation.”⁴⁰ The term *Teuceri* (Trojans), the name most favored by the turcophiles, was quite polemical. Italian humanists like Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (later the pro-crusade Pope Pius II [r. 1458–64]) refused to link the “Turks”⁴¹ with the Trojans and constructed an alternative history of the Mediterranean employing different sources. Among these was the text of the Greco-Venetian humanist Niccolò Sagundino who, drawing from Herodotus, attributed a Scythian origin to the Ottomans. Pope Pius II enthusiastically supported this theory and used it in his attempts to unite Europe in a crusade against the “Turks.” To Piccolomini, the “real” Teucrians came from Crete and Italy and formed a cultivated nation from which the Romans later arose.⁴² Italians and Ottomans, however, were not the only groups that claimed the name *Teuceri* for themselves. From the fourteenth century onwards, the princes of northern Europe (France and England) too claimed to be descendants of Trojan refugees and connected the legends of Troy with their own local heroes to legitimate their power.⁴³

In the sixteenth century, the writings of men like Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives⁴⁴ voiced a negative response to the Ottomans

and their presence in the cities of ancient Greece. In 1529, Vives wrote:

Numerous humanist voyagers traveled the Ottoman Empire to buy ancient Greek manuscripts, or to study the archaeological remains and, when they saw the consequences of the Ottoman occupation, they deplored the decline of ancient Greece and its culture.⁴⁵

These few lines encapsulate the author’s conviction that, aside from their tyranny, the Ottomans had brought nothing to the culture and political well-being of Constantinople, its archaeological remains, or the Greek population of the empire at large. Another common misconception regarding origin, fostered in this case by Erasmus, was the alleged absence of any reference to the ancestors of the Ottomans in the majority of ancient historical sources. In his *Consultatio de Bello Turcis Inferendo*, published in Fribourg in 1530, Erasmus states that the only classical author who had mentioned their culture was Pliny, in the sixth book of his *oeuvre*: “If you look for the origin of this group, you will only find an absolute darkness, which can be linked to their absolute barbarism.”⁴⁶

In light of these opposing standpoints, the panegyric text written for Sultan Süleyman becomes extremely interesting, as it accepts the alleged Trojan descent of the Ottomans, thereby conferring on them a prestigious lineage claimed by several Christian European polities for themselves. The author of the manuscript refashions a historical narrative that situates the House of Osman, from which Sultan Süleyman descends, in a highly privileged, semi-divine position. In the midst of a cross-cultural debate with reference to noble descent and authority, the author addresses the sultan in terms that are favorable from a Western perspective.

CONCLUSION: THE POSITION OF VENICE IN A FRAGMENTED EUROPE

Venice’s rulers clearly understood that their city’s economic and political viability was most closely linked to their ability to maintain good relations with the dominant Mediterranean power of the day. “When presented with the possibility of obtaining peace with the Habsburgs, the patrician Lunardo Emo ‘wept at the speaker’s platform’ as he warned his fellow senators

against angering the Ottomans by choosing Charles V over Süleyman.⁴⁷

The Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman sheds new light on Venice's unique relations and artistic exchanges with the Islamic world in the years following the Ottomans' military advances into Eastern Europe. This document presents the history of Venetian-Ottoman relations in a diplomatic manner that subtly avoids mentioning any previous confrontations between the two states. Textually and visually, the manuscript concentrates on the peaceful alliances between the two polities: regardless of the military conflicts they may have had, the relationship between Venice and the empire of Süleyman was marked by fruitful diplomatic and commercial interactions, profitable trade, and periods of cooperation. As Paolo Preto points out: "Venetians took pains to avoid conflict with the Turks; at times, they even went out of their way to congratulate the sultan on his military victories on land and sea."⁴⁸

Not surprisingly, one of the manuscript's folios specifically highlights the pacific relations between Istanbul and Venice. As we have seen above, the miniature painting on the fifth folio is an image of alliance (fig. 10). Two figures, carefully drawn in white with a precise, fine line, face each other, their silhouettes contrasting sharply with the black background of the composition. The figure of Bayezid II, on the right, is depicted in profile, on a royal throne that places him slightly above his interlocutor, Andrea Gritti. The two men are shown holding each other's right hands in a symbolic gesture of peaceful alliance. Behind them, in the background of the composition, an army painted in grisaille observes the scene, which was probably an allusion to the Ottoman-Venetian wars between 1499 and 1503. Through Andrea Gritti's diplomatic efforts, normal relations were formalized in 1503, when a peace treaty was signed between the Republic of Venice and Sultan Bayezid II. The panegyric actually refers to the historical truce of 1503, and mentions that it took place after this sultan's occupation of Venetian territories.⁴⁹

After this, Baiseth [Bayezid II], having rested for some time, began war with the Venetians, and occupied Modone, Corfu, and Durazzo, but subsequently, through the mediation of the Magnificent Andrea Gritto (Gritti), a perpetual peace was established between Baiseth and the Venetians,

which still continues indissolubly and will endure in perpetuity.⁵⁰

Hostilities might have taken place in the past, says the author, but the peaceful relations between the Ottomans and Venetians that began on this date continued throughout the reigns of Selim I and Süleyman until the present (war would break out again between the two states between 1537 and 1540, indicating the date before which the panegyric must have been composed). The image of the peace treaty brings out the political aspect of the manuscript and of the four-crown helmet, since they both address matters that go beyond a quest for artistic patronage, a desire to please the sultan, and even cross-cultural artistic exchanges.

Venice's singular political relations with the Islamic world were very polemical in the divided Europe in which the manuscript was produced. In Spain—the center of the Habsburg Empire—various intellectuals raised their voices in concern. For instance, in 1526, Juan Luis Vives published his essay *De conditione vitae christianorum sub turca* (On the Conditions Christians Live in under Turkish Rule), which he dedicated to Emperor Charles V. In this essay, Vives takes a stand against those whom he calls "defeatists," namely European groups that "due to firm aversion to particular princes or nations, prefer submission to the Turk...like some Italians."⁵¹ Concerned with the consequences that an alliance between any state of European Christendom and the Ottomans might have for the Catholic Monarchy, Vives summons the defeatists, particularly the Italians,⁵² to transform their hatred towards the Spanish, the Germans, and the French into an equally fierce aversion to the Ottoman sultan. His polemical text appeals to the cultural similarities among Christian Europeans, which he exaggerates in terms of customs, languages, social habits and, especially, religion.

Pondering the necessity to consolidate a pan-European Christian alliance against the Ottomans, Vives voices the belief that Süleyman's victory in Hungary in 1526 owed much to the help of Christian Europeans and their desire to live under the rule of the "Turk" rather than a Catholic prince.⁵³ The author voices the widespread fear that the Catholic Monarchy headed by Charles V might be defeated, and worries in particular about those powers in Italy that could join forces with

Süleyman. He accuses the Venetians of being motivated by short-term material goals, and calls them Christians who think only about their interests in the earthly life, instead of the eternal celestial kingdom.⁵⁴ Not wishing to antagonize the Italians, however, he also states that they do not seem to be aware that an alliance with Süleyman, instead of being beneficial, would reduce them to submission altogether.

In order to provoke a negative reaction against the Ottomans, Vives fosters an unfavorable image of them. The hyperbolic quality of his metaphors mirrors his growing concern. It also highlights his reaction against the less hostile attitude toward Islam and the Ottoman Empire recorded in the travelogues of Spanish and Italian voyagers to Istanbul. Other sixteenth-century descriptions usually fluctuate between fascination and critique, even when they support an anti-Ottoman crusade. For instance, Paolo Giovio in his *Commentario de le cose de' Turchi* (first published in Rome in 1532, with a dedication to Charles V encouraging him to mount a crusade against the Ottomans) wrote with respect and high regard for the Ottoman military,⁵⁵ pointing out that it generally surpassed Christian armies, due to its remarkable obedience to commands, energy in battle, and capacity to endure long periods of combat without food or water. Moreover, his unusually positive characterization of the Holy Roman Emperor's chief rival, the virtuous Sultan Süleyman, verges on eulogy.⁵⁶

The anxious Vives speaks about the situation faced by the Greek population after 1453 in order to dissuade possible alliances. He affirms that no men in history have suffered such an extreme condition of slavery as the Greeks under "Turkish" domination. He also suggests that the Greeks are waiting for the Christian army to liberate them from their suffering.⁵⁷ The worried humanist attempts to dispel any favorable impression of the Ottomans by exploiting the classical myths of Renaissance crusade literature to depict them as barbaric, xenophobic, intolerant, and illiterate, as well as the kidnappers and murderers of children.⁵⁸

The panegyric written for Sultan Süleyman, on the other hand, portrays a pacific image of the Ottoman sultans; they conduct themselves humanely, even in war

and conquest. Speaking to the widespread misconceptions voiced by political leaders and fearful intellectuals, the author of the text throws in a calculated reference to the alleged lack of violence exhibited by the Ottoman army during and after the conquest of Rhodes:

... you spared the lives of all the knights, and of their master, and you spared the citizens from offense and preserved their belongings and lives, a sure sign of your great integrity and highest clemency and temperance, and of what matters most in a ruler: to be observant of the faith. Nor do you delight, as many Kings and Emperors have done, in spilling human blood, but rather you always give pardon to all individuals whose deeds the furor of war excused: with the armed enemy you have war, with the vanquished perpetual peace.⁵⁹

Hence, whereas the production of pictorial images and popular literature in Europe was often oriented to criticizing and discrediting Sultan Süleyman and Ottoman culture by means of clichés derived from the Greek classics, the Venetian manuscript hailing his impending 1532 military campaign in Hungary and Austria stands out for its laudatory discourse. In this document, designed to praise the extraordinary virtues of Sultan Süleyman, the author constructs an alternative history in an attempt to correct the negative image promoted by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Renaissance humanist crusade literature.

The miniatures and text of this encomium of Süleyman address various crucial subjects that were debated in sixteenth-century Western Europe and Istanbul, and much of its singular content remains to be analyzed in greater detail and brought into clearer focus. As a splendid luxury item most likely commissioned by Ibrahim Pasha and Alvise Gritti to accompany the presentation of the four-crown helmet to Sultan Süleyman, this manuscript constitutes an invaluable source regarding the complex political and cultural interactions of the Ottoman court with the Habsburgs and Venice.

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APPENDIX I: FACSIMILE OF PANEGYRIC FOR SULTAN SÜLEYMAN

Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532. Houghton Library, Harvard University
(Photos: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 21. Folio 1r: An anonymous Venetian panegyric for Sultan Süleyman.

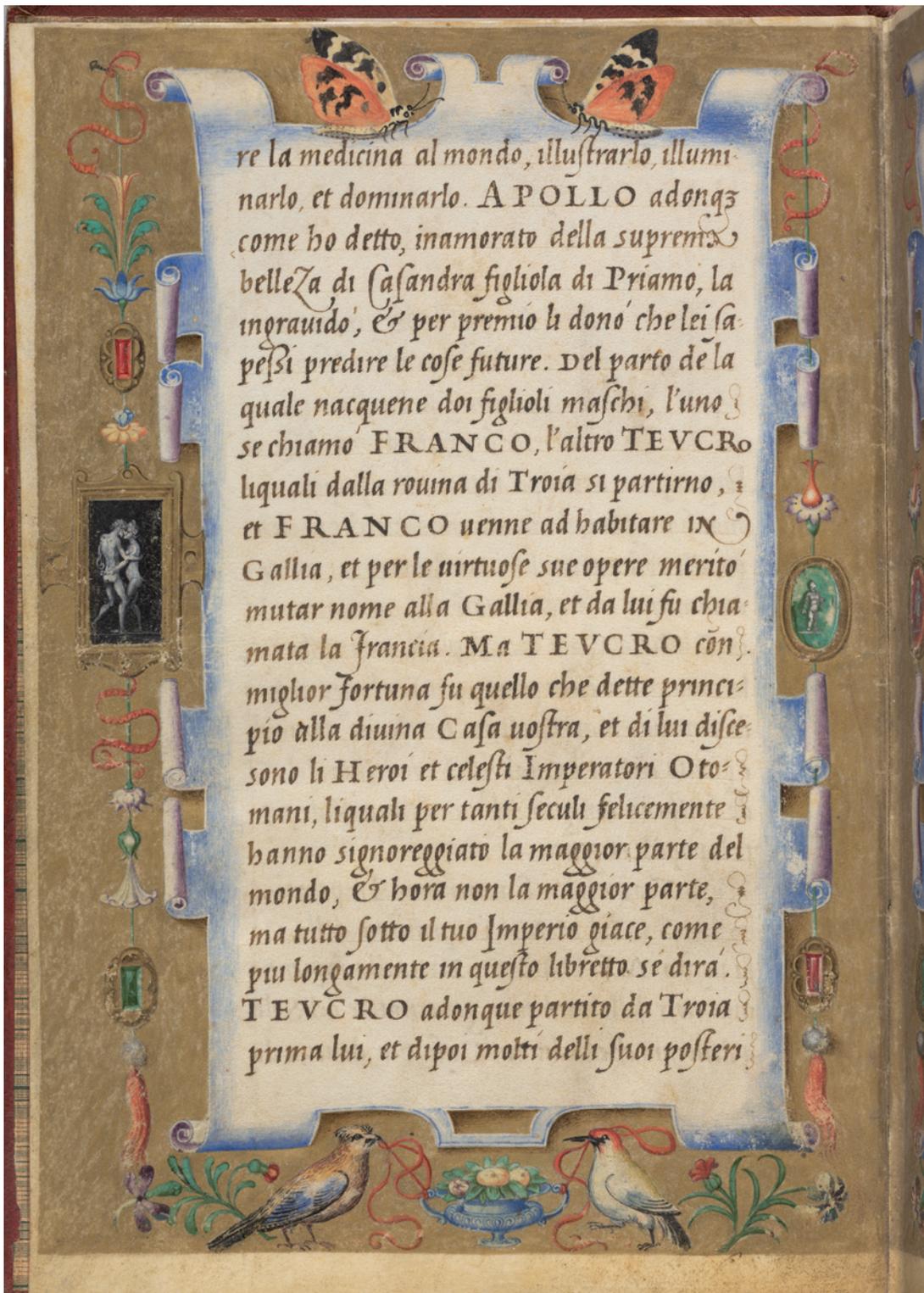


Fig. 22. Folio iv: The Greek god Apollo and Cassandra depicted in an amorous embrace that engenders the Ottoman dynasty.



Fig. 23. Folio 2r: A history of ancient mythical rulers of the Ottoman dynasty and their conquests: Sabocho, Virogrisa, and Archoto.



Fig. 24. Folio 2v: A history of known early Ottoman rulers and their conquests: Sultan Osman I, Sultan Orhan, and Sultan Murad I.



Fig. 25. Folio 3r: The reign of Sultan Bayezid I.



Fig. 26. Folio 3v: Bayezid I's sons and the interregnum.

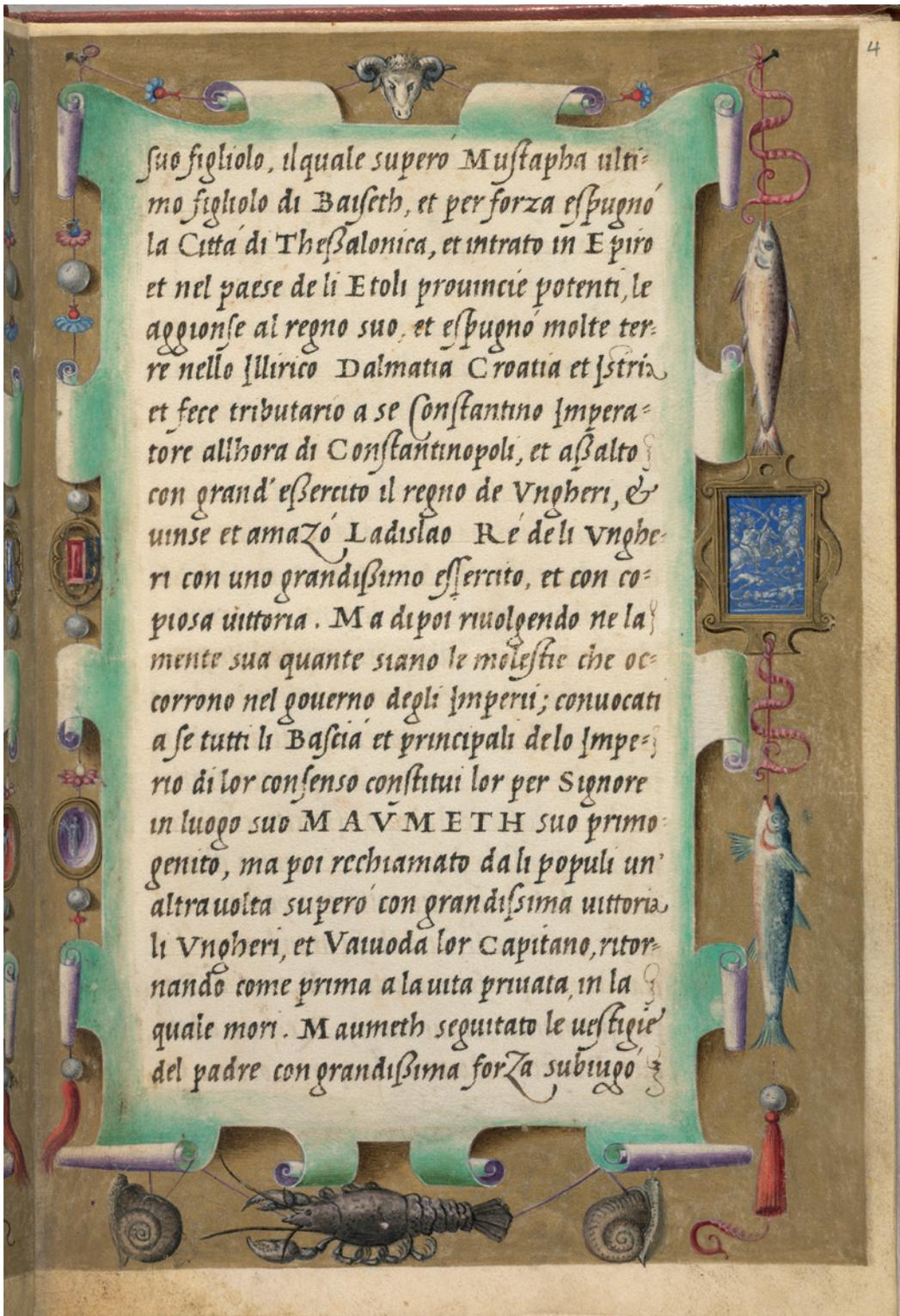


Fig. 27. Folio 4r: The conquests of Murad II and his abdication of the throne to his son Mehmed II.



Fig. 28. Folio 4v: The conquests and death of Sultan Mehmed II, followed by the war of succession between his sons Bayezid and Cem.

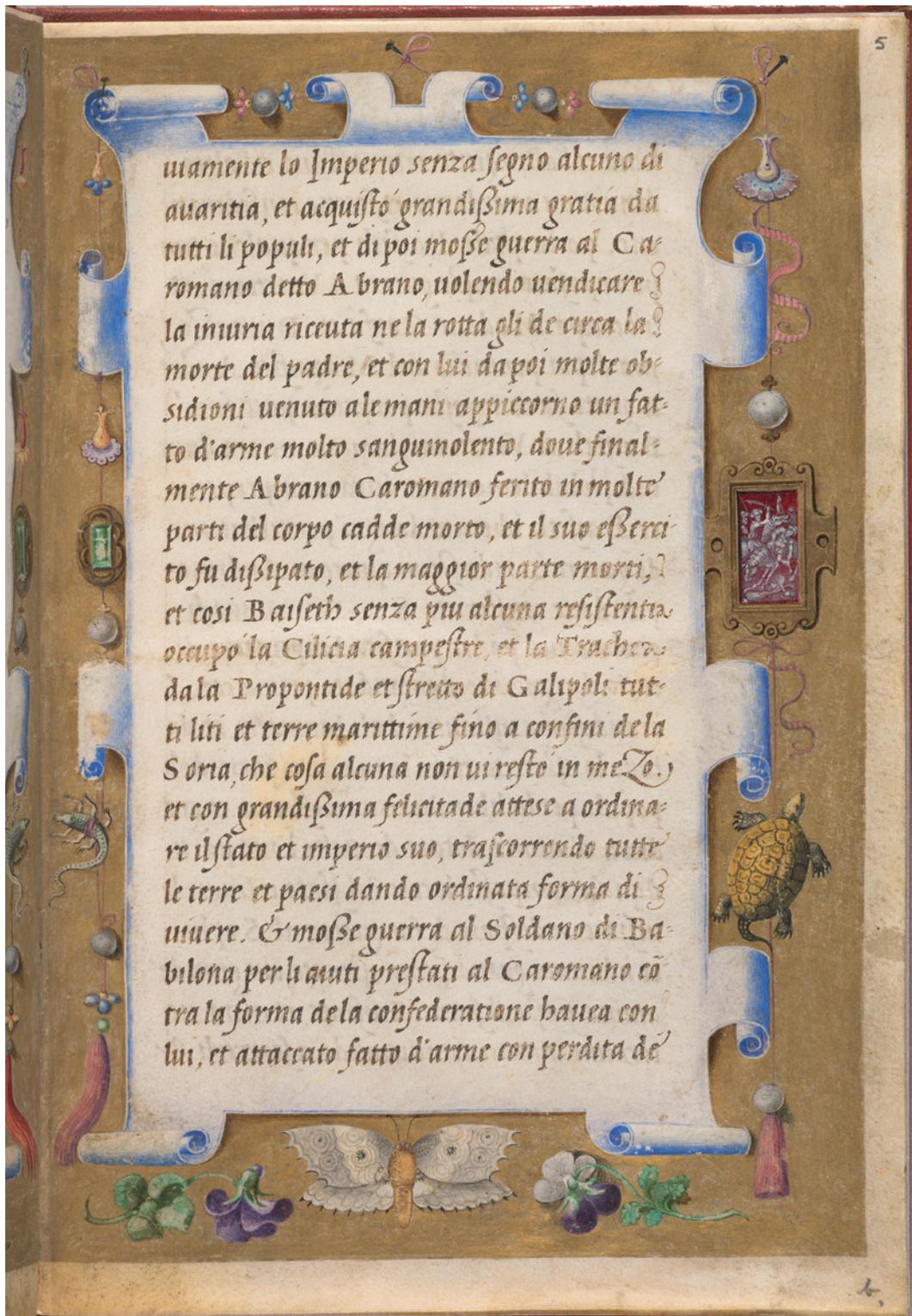


Fig. 29. Folio 5r: Bayezid II's wars and his consolidation of the Empire.

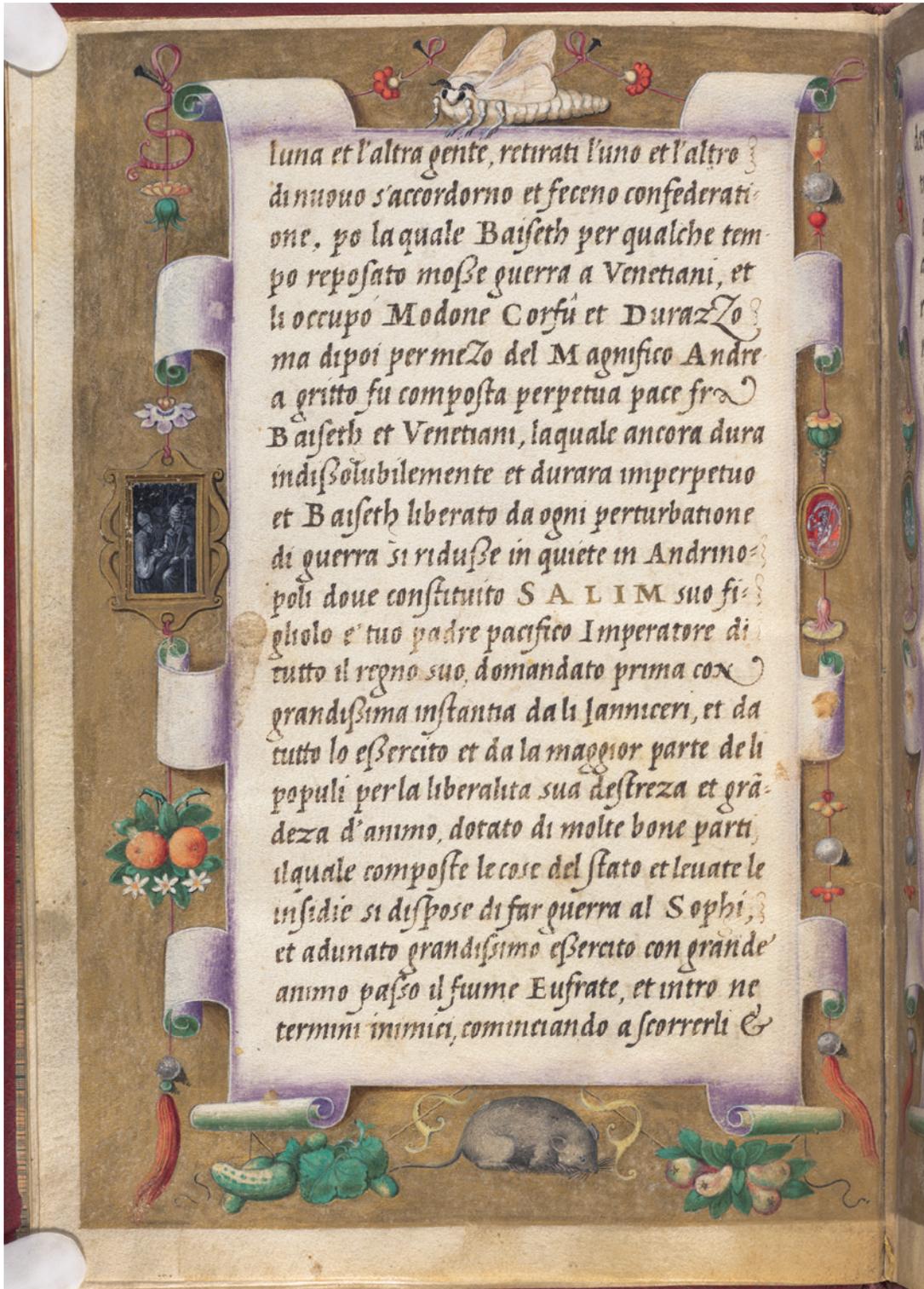


Fig. 30. Folio 5v: The establishment of a treaty of perpetual peace, with a vignette showing Sultan Bayezid II and the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti shaking hands.

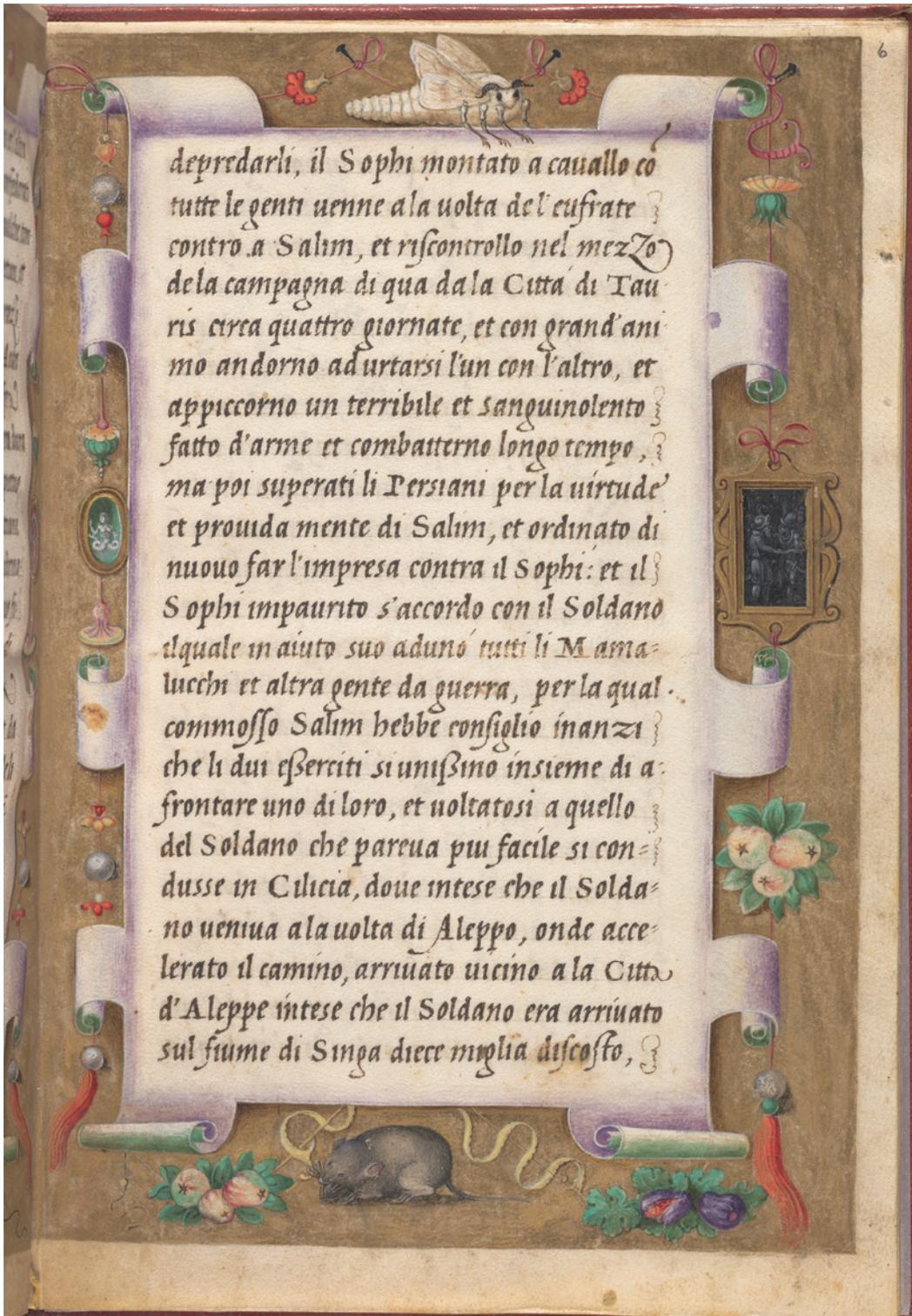


Fig. 31. Folio 6r: Sultan Selim I's battles against the Safavid Shah and the Mamluk Sultan, who form an alliance against him.

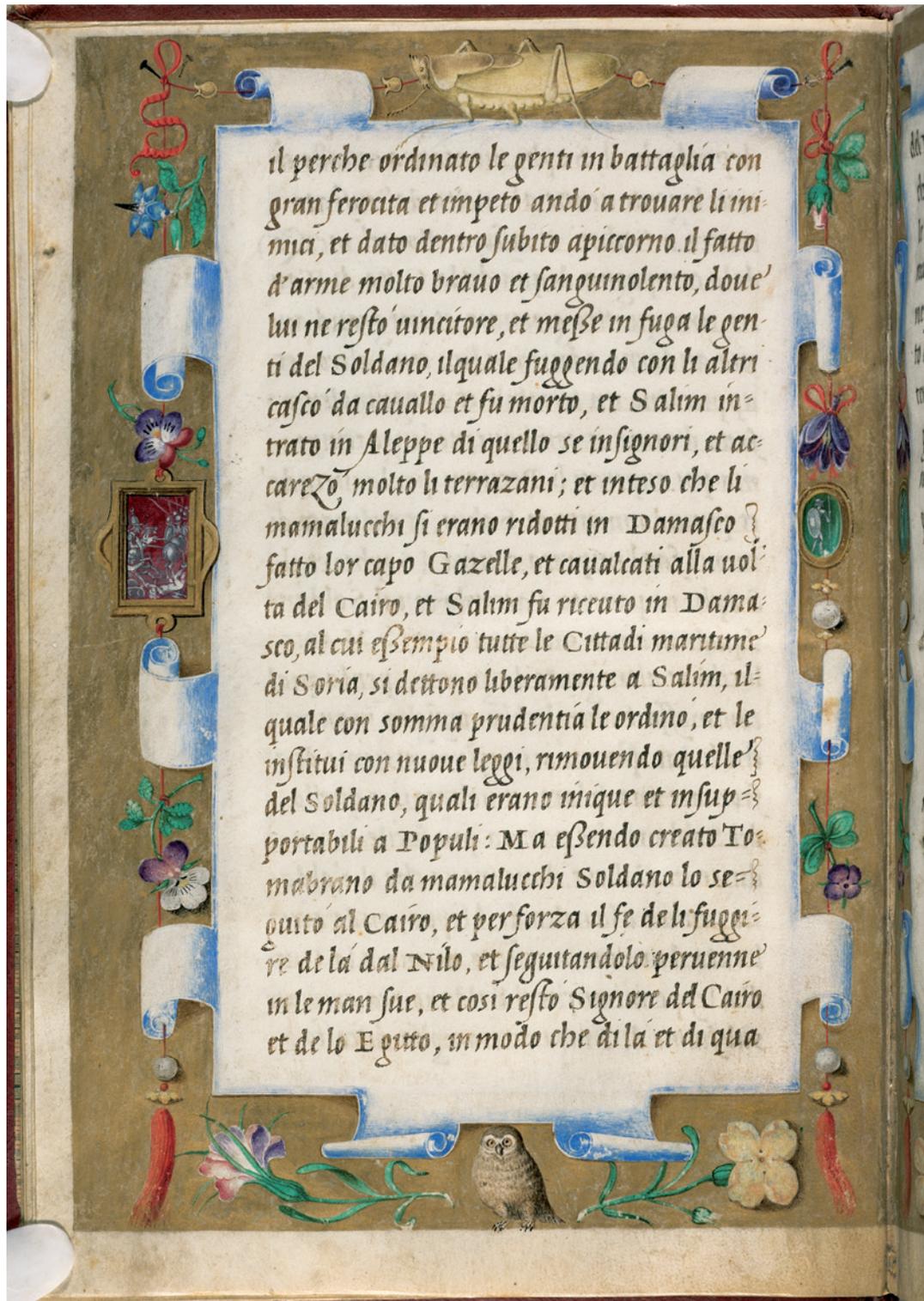


Fig. 32. Folio 6v: Sultan Selim I conquers Aleppo, Cairo, and Egypt.

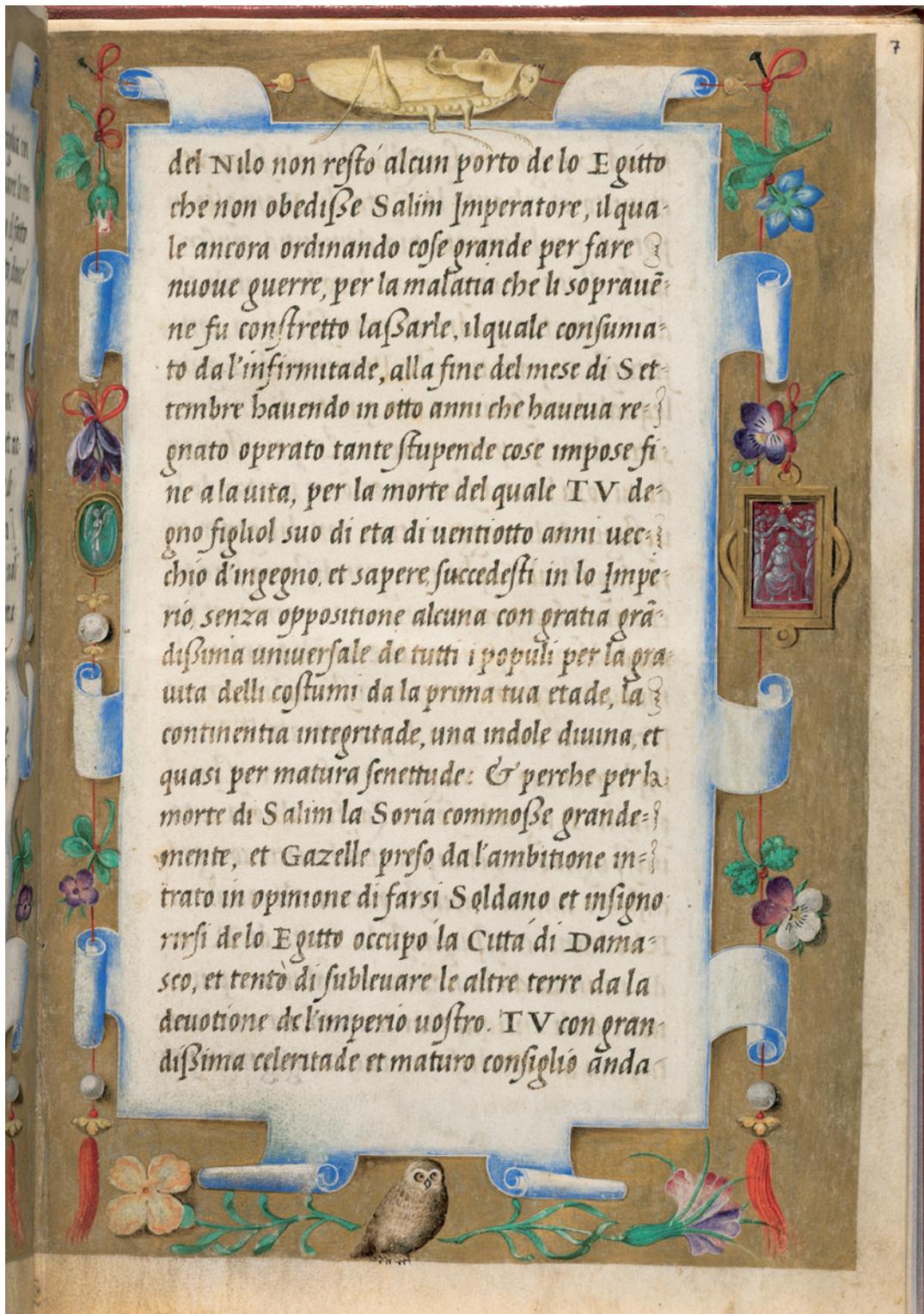


Fig. 33. Folio 7r: The death of Sultan Selim I and the accession of Sultan Süleyman I to the throne.

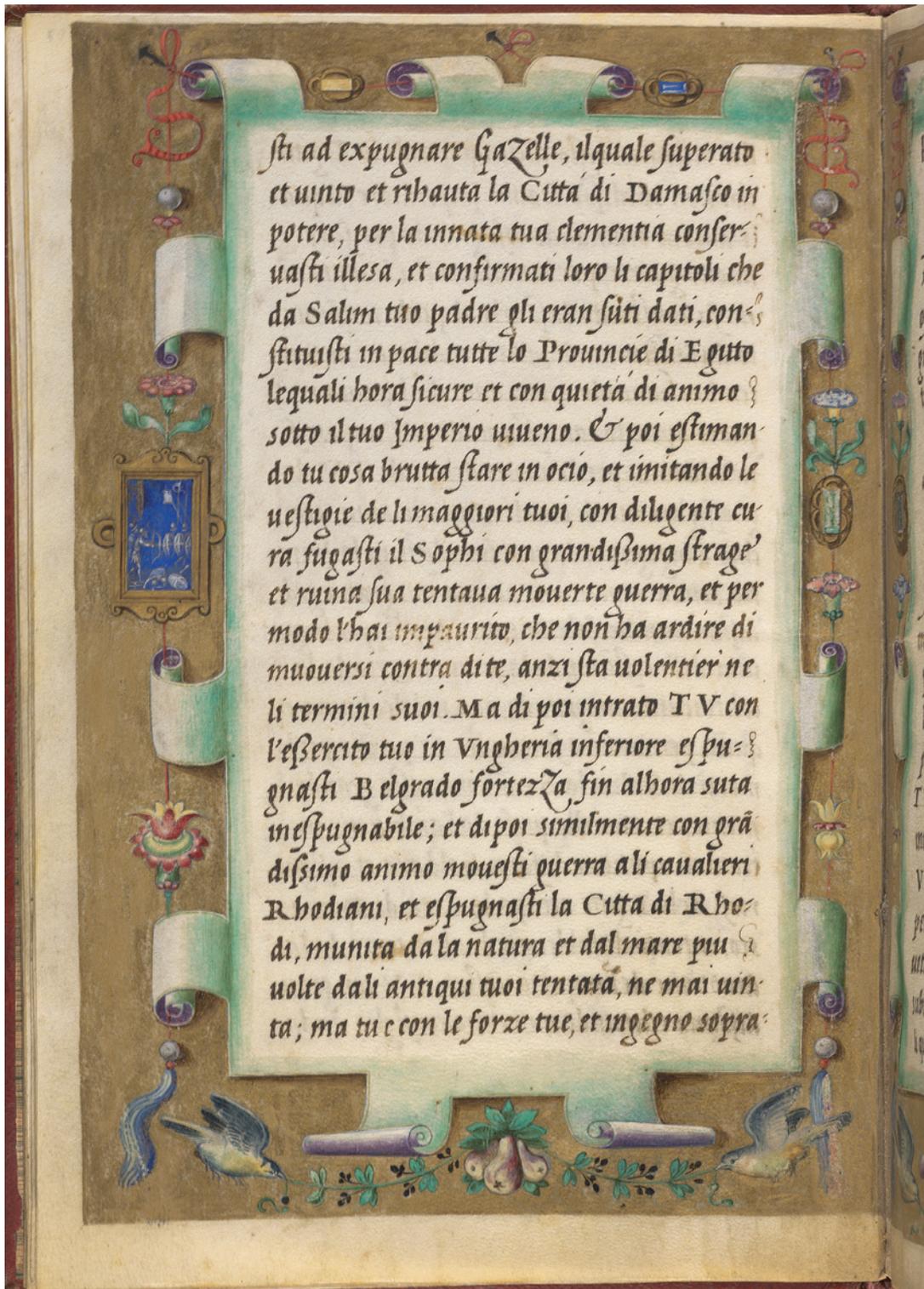


Fig. 34. Folio 7v: Sultan Süleyman I quells the rebellion in Damascus, restores peace to the provinces of Egypt, and conquers Belgrade (1521), in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Rhodes (1522).

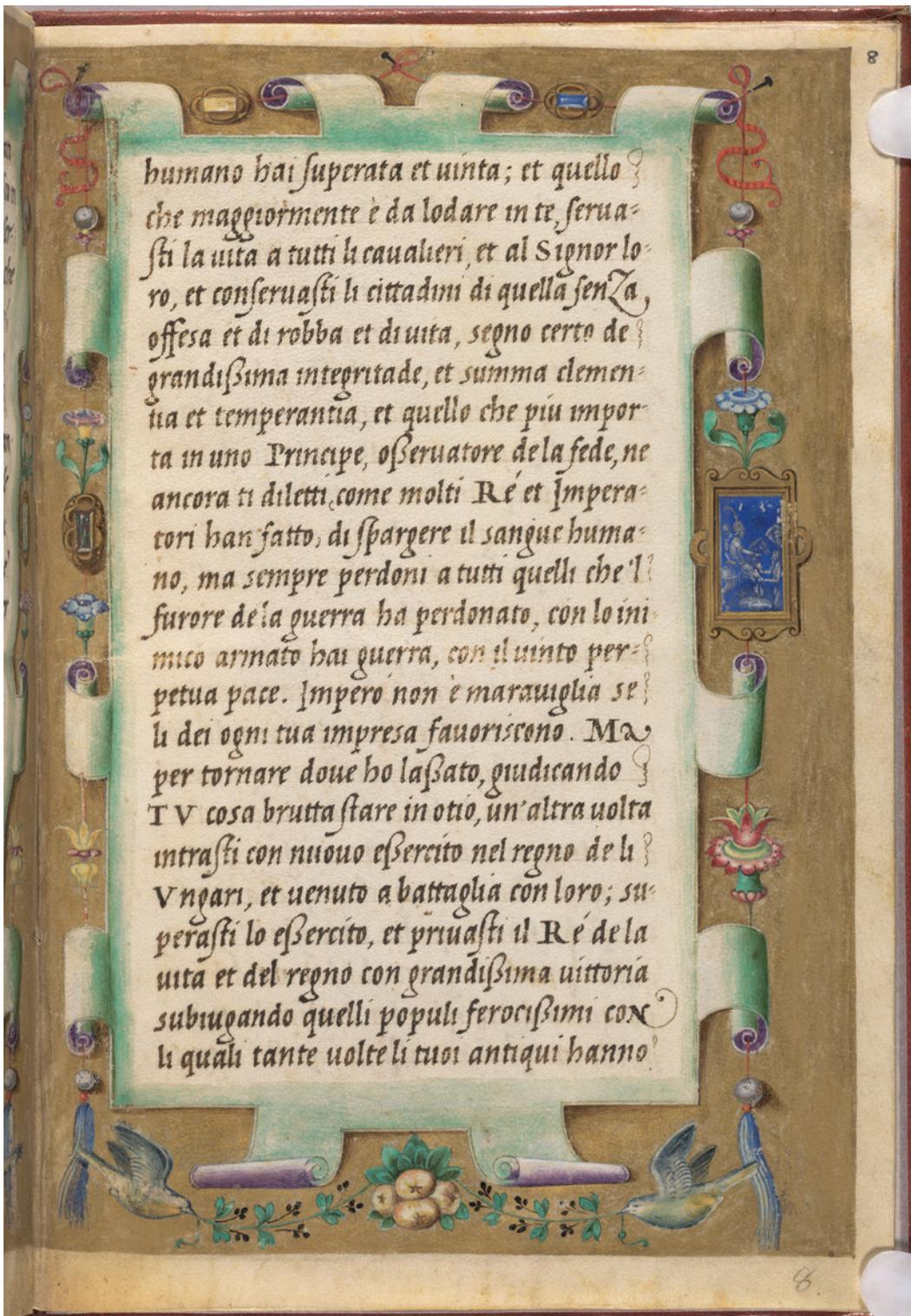


Fig. 35. Folio 8r: Sultan Süleyman pardoning the defeated Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes and waging his first war in 1526 against the Hungarians, whose king, Louis II, perishes in the Battle of Mohács.

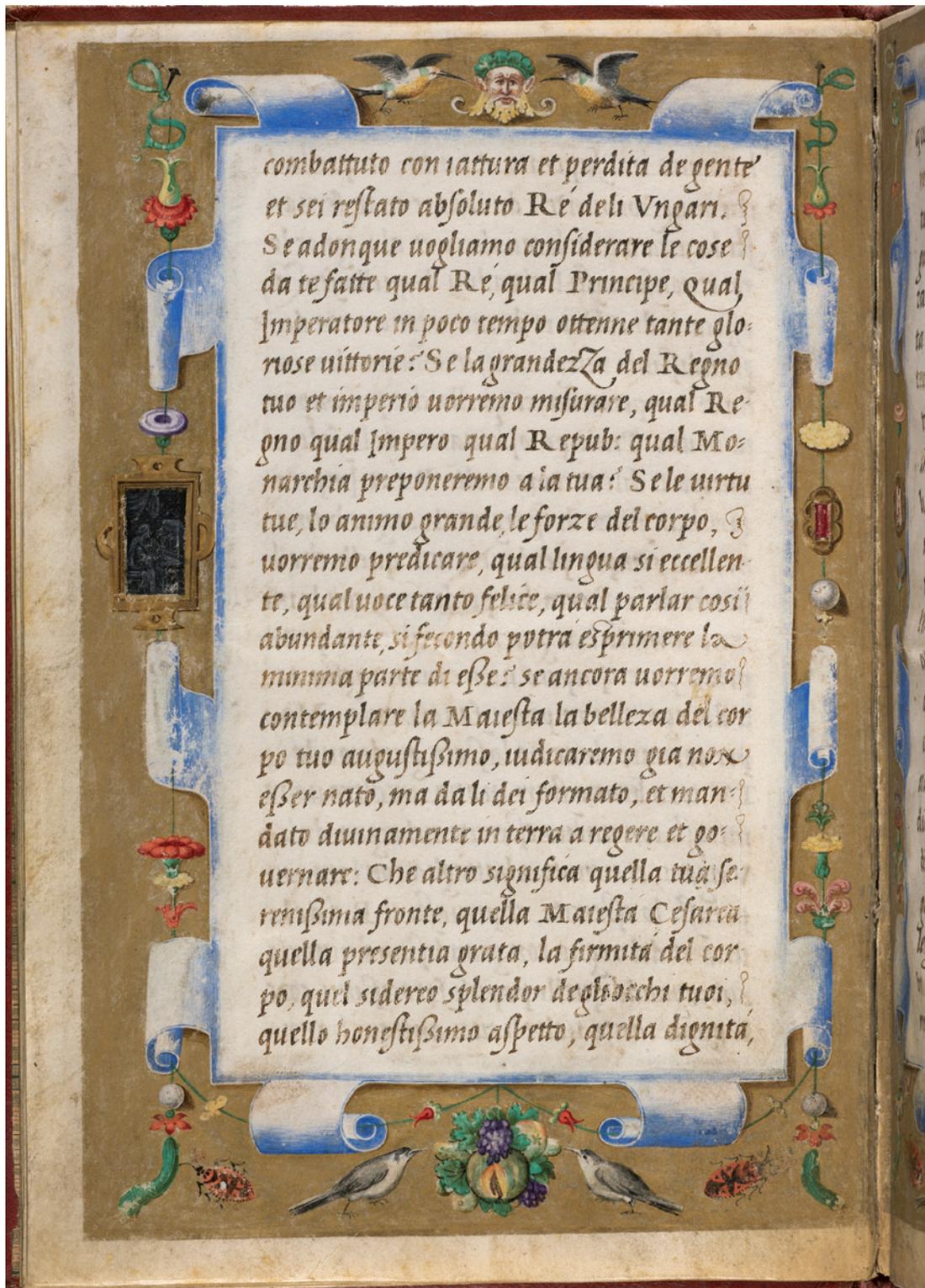


Fig. 36. Folio 8v: The author's eulogy of Sultan Süleyman, whom no other king, emperor, or ruler rivals.

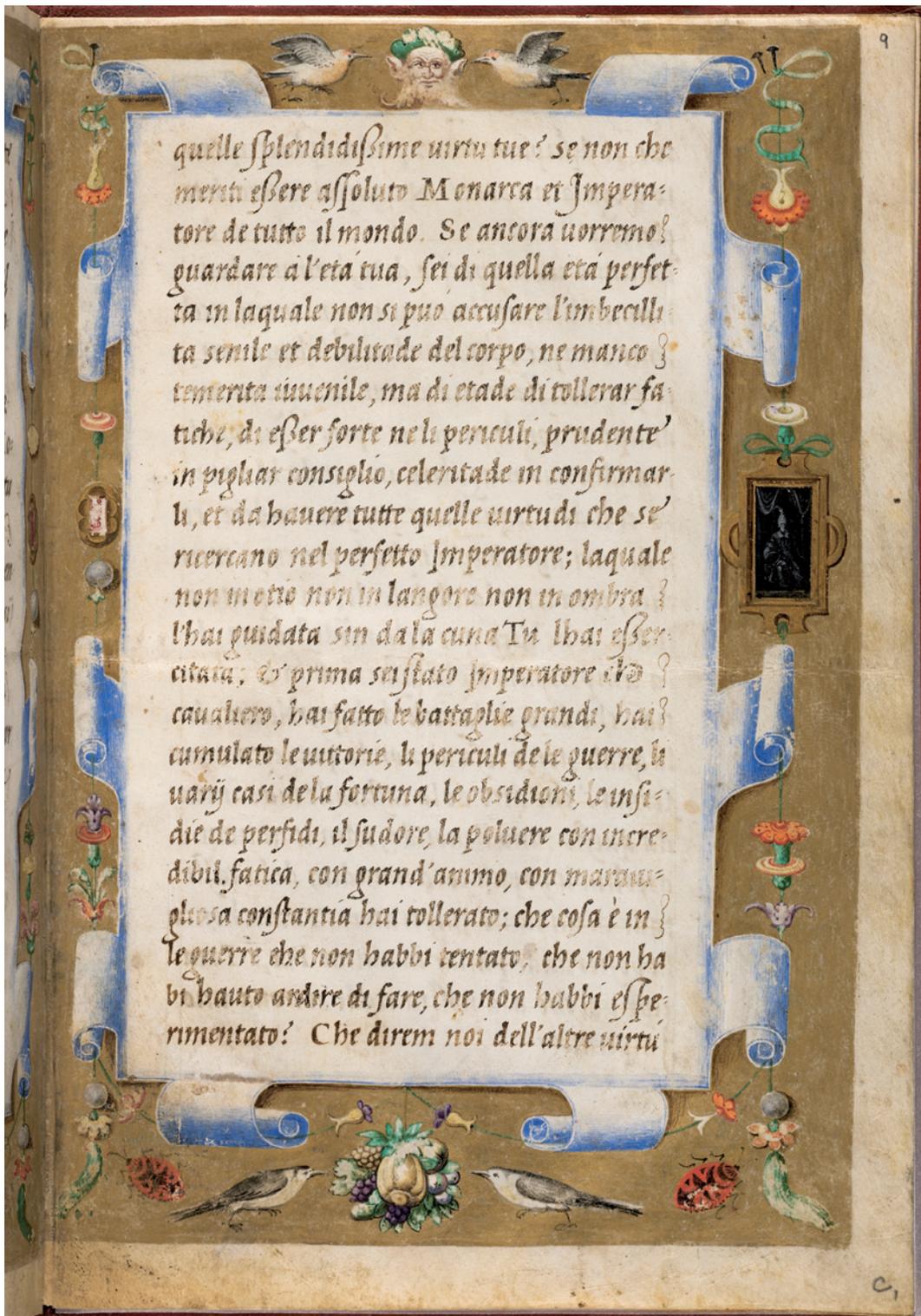


Fig. 37. Folio 9r: The virtues and divinely sanctioned sovereignty of Sultan Süleyman, which make him worthy of becoming Emperor of the whole world.

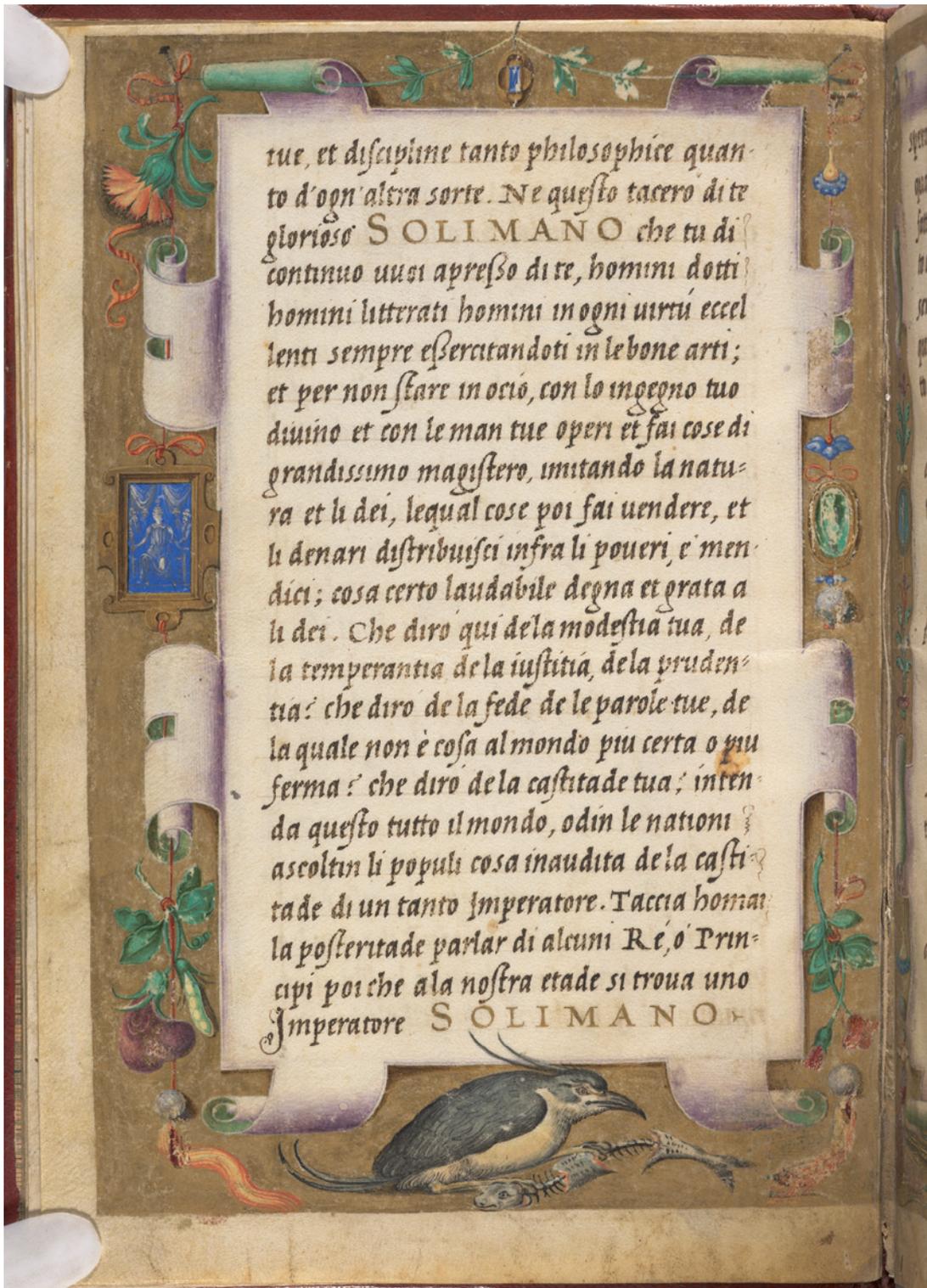


Fig. 38. Folio 9v: The ideal ruler, Sultan Süleyman, as possessor of virtues, patron of scholars and literati, and practitioner of the fine arts.

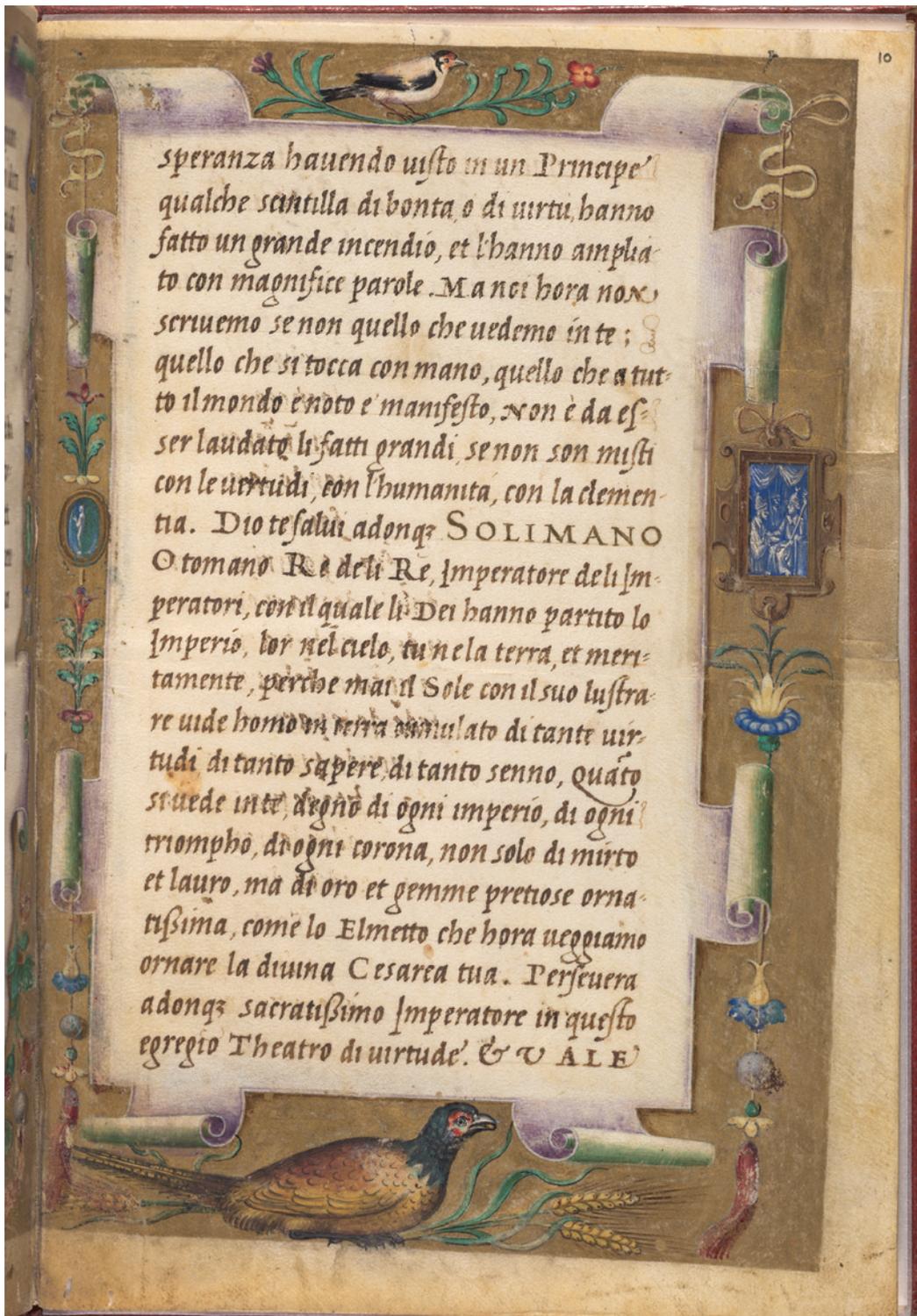


Fig. 39. Folio 10r: Reference to the helmet-crown of Sultan Süleyman, signifying his status as the divinely sanctioned, sacred Emperor of Emperors.

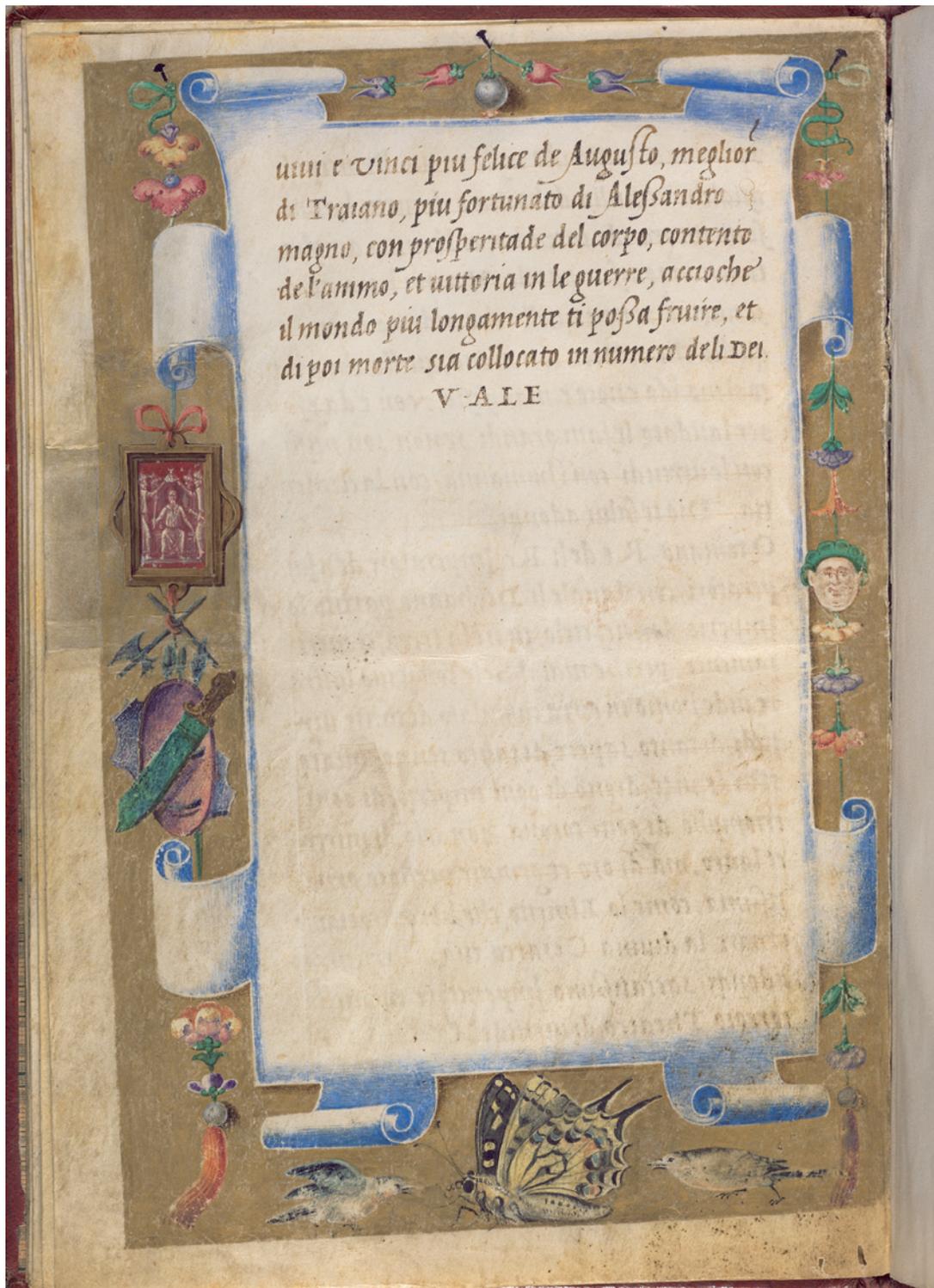


Fig. 40. Folio 10v: The closing lines of the panegyric, ending with good wishes and comparing the divine Sultan Süleyman with Augustus, Trajan, and Alexander the Great.

APPENDIX II: PANEGYRIC FOR SULTAN SÜLEYMAN

Translated by Christopher Brown

Revised, edited, and annotated by Gülru Necipoğlu

[Folio 1r (fig. 21), with a vignette of Apollo (fig. 19)]

DIVINE SOLIMANO [SÜLEYMAN], MOST INVINCIBLE
 But since I have intended to demonstrate with a most evident argument that your Empire has surpassed in grandeur and longevity all other Empires that have ever existed in the world, it seems to me proper, before I arrive at the particularities of your Empire, to first begin from the birth of your Glorious House, which even in the [*nella ala illegible script*] began to become great and through a long order of succession has continually grown better, such that it has reached to you, whose World Monarchy is awaited by all nations and peoples with the utmost felicity.

Accordingly, Most Sacred Emperor Solimano [Süleyman I, r. 1520–66], the origin of your House was Apollo—God of wisdom, inventor of medicine, ruler of the Sun—denoting that your divine House should provide

[Folio 1v (fig. 22), with a vignette of Apollo and Cassandra in an amorous embrace, conceiving the mythical ancestor of the Ottoman dynasty (fig. 20)]

medicine to the world, make it illustrious, illuminate it, and rule it. Apollo, as I have said, enamored by the supreme beauty of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, impregnated her, and granted her the gift of prophesying the events of the future. From this pregnancy were born two sons, one named Franco and the other Teucro [Teucer]. After the ruin of Troy, the two departed, Franco coming to inhabit Gaul, and for his virtuous deeds he deserved to rename it; and thus it was called Francia [France] by him. But Teucer, with greater fortune, was the one who initiated your divine House, and from him descended the heroic and celestial Ottoman Emperors, who for many centuries have felicitously ruled over the major part of the world. Now, not just the greater part, but in fact all the world lies under your Empire, as will be illustrated in this booklet. It was Teucer, therefore, who

first departed from Troy, and subsequently many of his descendants

[Folio 2r (fig. 23), with a vignette depicting the victory of a mythical ancient Ottoman ancestor (fig. 41 [see Appendix III for figs. 41–50])]

settled around the Caucasus Mountains, and parts of Persia and of Media; and through time, with greatest virtue, they expanded up to the Adriatic. [This expansion continued] until Sabocho, King of your House and descendant of Teucer, with great valor drove out from all of Asia the Saracens, who had come from Arabia to subjugate it; and for many years they had pillaged and oppressed it. This resulted in the greatest increase of your holdings. Sabocho was succeeded by Virogrisa, who further chased away the remnants of the Saracens from the rugged lands of Syria and Palestine, to which they had fled. He also acquired and subjugated, with great spirit, many illustrious cities that were once subject to the Roman people. After Virogrisa succumbed to death, he was succeeded in the kingdom by Archoto, who subjugated Mesopotamia and conquered Seleucia and Laodicea, magnificent and highly populated cities. Then, with the passage of time, for many years, many other Kings ruled successively for long periods, but in order to arrive at your particular deeds

[Folio 2v (fig. 24), with a vignette of Osman's coronation (fig. 42)]

in the present, I will remain silent [about them]. One man, Mano [Osman I, b. 1258–d. 1326], a man of great spirit and supreme virtue, for the greatness of whom your house was given its name, was crowned with the Kingdom. This man prevailed over and ruled almost all of Asia, Phoenicia, and Media, all the way to the Hellespont; with greatest admiration from all of the people,

and with greatest order, he imposed law and structure on the Empire. But having succumbed to death, he was succeeded by his son, Orcane [Orhan, r. 1326–59], who with diligent care followed the example of his father, and he not only maintained the Empire as it had been left to him, but greatly increased it. At the death of Orcane, he was succeeded by his first-born, Amaratho [Murad I, r. 1361–89], who, having subjugated the court in Bythina, established the seat of his Kingdom in Bursa, situated at the foot of the root of Mount Olympus, and waged war with the Greeks, and became master of Gallipoli, a city located on the Propontis [Sea of Marmara], on the bank of the sea close to the mouth of the Hellespont Strait. And he took over the majority of Romania, the principal part of Thrace.

[Folio 3r (fig. 25), with a vignette depicting Bayezid I's victories in the West (fig. 43)]

After Amaratho died, the succession of the paternal state passed to Baisete [Bayezid I, r. 1389–1402], who took over the government, organized the state of Asia, sent new populations to Europe, and resumed the war against Greece, and did not leave to the Greek Emperor anything except Constantinople and Pera. After having moved the war to the heart of Greece with a course of astonishing victory, he occupied Thessaly, Phocis, Boeotia, the major part of the province of Attica, Macedonia, Paeonia, and Paphlagonia [Pelagonia?]: and his men, raiding Bosnia and Serbia, sacked them all. And in this manner, he besieged Constantinople, which would have passed into his hands had he not been impeded by Tammerlano [Timur] of the Parthian nation, who with a huge army assaulted Asia. Baisete was forced to abandon the siege of Constantinople and pass with all his people to Asia to put up resistance against the enemy [Timur], where in a battle he was defeated and, taken into captivity, he died. And the sons of Baisete fell

[Folio 3v (fig. 26), with a vignette of Bayezid I's sons and the interregnum (fig. 44)]

into the hands of the Emperor of Constantinople, who, having spared their lives, released them after the death of Tammerlano. Calepino (Süleyman Çelebi [b. 1377–d. 1411]), the oldest son, passed to Asia and having been

immediately received by the people, recovered the paternal Kingdom. Then, having returned to his state in Greece and departing for Nicopolis to fight against the Hungarians, he defeated the army of the Hungarians; and he made many captains and lords prisoners. On his death, Calepino left his son Orca [Orhan] to succeed him in the Kingdom. Moises [Musa], Calepino's brother, deprived his nephew Orca of his life and reign, but not having much time to enjoy the Kingdom that he occupied in this manner, he succumbed to death. He left as his heir and successor his brother Maumeth [Mehmed I: r. 1413–21], who assaulted the Wallachians, ferocious peoples living in the vicinity of the mouth of the Danube. He brought to them much destruction, and wasted away the country, and finally forced them to pay him tribute, and from many lords who inhabited Asia he took away their states and dominions because of their rebellions. When Maumeth died, he was succeeded by his son Amrath [Murad II, r. 1421–44, 1446–51],

[Folio 4r (fig. 27), with a vignette of Mehmed II in combat on horseback, wearing the helmet-crown (fig. 9)]

who defeated Mustapha [Mustafa], the last son of Baiseth [Bayezid I]. Perforce, he conquered the city of Thessalonica, and entering Epirus and the country of the Aetolians, powerful provinces, he annexed them to his Kingdom, and he conquered many lands in Illyria, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Istria, and he made Constantine, the Emperor of Constantinople at that time, his tributary. He attacked with a great army the Kingdom of Hungary, and defeated and killed Ladislao [Ladislaus III, d. 1444], King of the Hungarians, with a huge army and with a copious victory. But afterward, because he recalled in his mind the great number of troubles that occur in governing empires, he summoned to himself all of the pashas and grandees of the Empire, and with their consensus he put in his place his oldest [living] son, Maumeth [Mehmed II, r. 1444–46, 1451–81] as their Lord. But later, having been recalled by the people once more [to reign], he defeated with the greatest of victories the Hungarians, and their captain the Voivode, returning again, like before, to a private life, in which he died. Maumeth, following the example of his father with great force, subjected

[Folio 4v (fig. 28), with a vignette of the war of succession between Mehmed II's sons (fig. 45)]

many cities and lands, and having resolved at all costs to make himself absolute Emperor of Greece, he set up camp in Constantinople, which he conquered—during which its Emperor died. Triumphant with victory, he then subjugated many other lands in various places, and he possessed such greatness of spirit that he entered into Italy and took Otranto. And he would have accomplished many greater things, if he had not died suddenly, not without suspicion of poisoning. After his death, discord arose between his sons Baiseth [Bayezid II, r. 1481–1512] and Gem [Cem], with Baiseth convening the people of Greece, and the other son occupying the Empire in Asia. Therefore, both drafted grand armies and came to fight in the plain of Bursa; after a great slaughter of each other's armies, Baiseth remained superior. Gem, abandoned by his defeated followers, went with a few men to Rhodes, and from there was sent to France, from where he was then conducted to Rome to Papa Innocentio [Pope Innocent VIII], and there he died. Thus remaining alone in the Empire, Baiseth ruled

[Folio 5r (fig. 29), with a vignette of Bayezid II defeating the Karamanid prince (fig. 46)]

the Empire wisely, without any sign of avarice, and he gained great gratitude from all the people. He then declared war on Caromano called Abrano [the Karamanid prince Kasım], wanting to avenge the abuse received from him during the war of succession around the death of his father, and with him many of his followers battered their arms in very bloody feat, where finally Abrano Caromano, wounded in many parts of his body, fell dead.ⁱ His army was dispersed, and the majority of it killed, and thus Baiseth occupied without any resistance the countryside of Cilicia and [Cilician] Trachea, [thereby ruling] from the Propontis and the Strait of Gallipoli and all the shores and maritime lands until the confines of Syria, such that nothing remained uncon-

ⁱ The Karamanid prince Kasım Bey died in 1483, not during a war with Bayezid II but as his vassal, after having obtained the Ottoman sultan's pardon.

quered in between. And with utmost happiness he attended to regulating his state and empire, spreading through all the lands and countries an orderly way of living. He went to war with the Soldano di Babilona [Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay], because of the help that the latter had given to Caromano [the Karamanid prince], in violation of the conditions of the previous alliance he had with Baiseth.ⁱⁱ And after feats of arms and losses were experienced

[Folio 5v (fig. 30), with a vignette of Bayezid II and the Venetian ambassador Andrea Gritti shaking hands in confirmation of a peace treaty (fig. 10)]

by both sides, the two rulers retreated and renewed their alliance. After this, Baiseth, having rested for some time, began war with the Venetians, and occupied Modone, Corfu, and Durazzo, but subsequently, through the mediation of the Magnificent Andrea Gritto (Gritti), a perpetual peace was established between Baiseth and the Venetians, which still continues indissolubly and will endure in perpetuity.ⁱⁱⁱ Baiseth, freed from all perturbations of war, retired in solitude to Adrianople [Edirne], where he appointed Salim [Selim I, r. 1512–20], his son and your father, as the undisputed Emperor of his entire Kingdom, which was first demanded with utmost insistence by the janissaries, by the whole army, and by the majority of the population, for his liberality, his dexterity, and his greatness of spirit. Supported by many good parties, having put the affairs of the state in order and removed the internal threats, he decided to make war with the Sophi [Safavid Shah Isma'īl I], and he raised a huge army, and with great spirit crossed the Euphrates River, and entered into enemy borders, commencing to pillage

ⁱⁱ The Mamluk Sultan Qaytbay (r. 1468–96) is probably referred to as "Sultan of Babylon [Baghdad]" due to the legitimization of the Mamluk Sultanate through the presence in Cairo of the pseudo-Abbasid Caliphate (which was transferred there after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols).

ⁱⁱⁱ The peace treaty mentioned in the text was signed in 1503 and remained unbroken until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1537–40, during the reign of Süleyman, indicating that the manuscript dates before this war.

[Folio 6r (fig. 31), with a vignette of the Safavid Shah and Mamluk Sultan holding hands in alliance (fig. 47)]

and plunder them. The Sophi, mounted on horseback, came with all of his people toward the Euphrates against Selim and met him in the middle of the field about a four-day distance from the city of Tabriz and with great spirit the two sides clashed with each another. They engaged in a terrible and bloody feat of arms and battled at length, but eventually the Persians were defeated, due to the virtue and the provident mind of Salim. And he then ordered a new attack against the Sophi. Frightened, the Sophi made an alliance with the Soldano [Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri], who, in order to help, gathered all the Mamluks and other men of war. Concerning this move, Salim received advice that, before the two armies united together, he should confront one of them. Turning towards the army of the Soldano, which seemed easier [to defeat], he went to Cilicia, where he realized that the Soldano was coming to the border of Aleppo. Hence, he accelerated the march, and having arrived close to the city of Aleppo, he learned that the Soldano had arrived on the Singa River ten miles away.

[Folio 6v (fig. 32), with a vignette of Selim I's victory over the Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri, depicted as having fallen from his horse (fig. 48)]

Therefore, ordering his men in battle with great ferocity and impetuosity, he went to find the enemies, and when he attacked, they [his people] made a very brave and bloody, in which he emerged the victor and sent into flight the army of the Soldano. The latter, fleeing with the others, fell from his horse and died, and Salim entered Aleppo, of which he became the ruler and treated the inhabitants with much affection. After he heard that the Mamluks had retreated to Damascus, had made Gazelle (Janberdi al-Ghazali) their leader, and had ridden toward Cairo, Salim was received in Damascus. Following its example, all the coastal cities of Syria submitted themselves freely to Salim, who regulated them with the highest prudence and instituted new laws for them, removing the laws of the Soldano, which were wicked and unbearable for the people. But since Tomabrano [Tumanbay II, the last Mamluk Sultan] had

been made Soldano by the Mamluks, Salim followed him to Cairo, and by force made him flee from there down the Nile, and by following him he captured him. Thus [Salim] became Lord of Cairo and of Egypt, such that up and down

[Folio 7r (fig. 33), with a vignette of the coronation of Süleyman with the helmet-crown upon his accession to the throne (fig. 11)]

the Nile there was not one port that did not obey Emperor Salim, who, still ordering grand things in order to engage in new wars, was forced to abandon these because of the sickness that overcame him. Consumed by infirmity at the end of the month of September, after having reigned for eight years and having managed many stupendous things, his life came to an end. Upon his death, you [Süleyman I], his worthy son, at the age of twenty-eight years, possessing genius and wisdom, succeeded in the Empire, without any opposition, and with the greatest universal gratitude of all the people for the gravity of your habits since the early years of your youth, your substantive integrity, a divine disposition, and an almost mature old age. And because on the death of Salim Syria experienced great commotion, Gazelle, overtaken by ambition, decided to make himself Soldano and to rule Egypt. He occupied the city of Damascus and attempted to stir up other lands in rebellion and away from devotion to your Empire. You, with the greatest celerity and mature counsel, went

[Folio 7v (fig. 34), with a vignette of Süleyman's early victories (fig. 49)]

to expel Gazelle, who was subjugated and defeated, and having reclaimed authority over the city of Damascus, with your innate clemency, you left its people unharmed and confirmed the capitulations your father had given to them. You restored peace to all the provinces of Egypt, which now live with security and quietude of spirit under your Emperorship. And then, deeming what a terrible thing it is to remain in idleness, and imitating the examples of your ancestors, you put to flight the Sophi [Safavid Shah Tahmasp I] with a grand strategy and spoiled his plan to begin a war with you. In this way, you struck fear into him, and he did not then dare to

move against you; on the contrary, he remained voluntarily within his own borders. Thereafter, you entered with your army into lower Hungary and conquered Belgrade, a fortress believed up until that point to be unconquerable. Next, with similarly great spirit, you initiated a war against the Knights of Rhodes, and you conquered the City of Rhodes, fortified by nature and by the sea and targeted many times by your ancestors, but never before defeated. But you, with your forces and your superhuman ingenuity,

[Folio 8r (fig. 35), with a vignette of Süleyman wearing the helmet-crown and pardoning the defeated Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes (fig. 12)]

subjugated and conquered it. And what is even more praiseworthy in you is that you spared the lives of all the knights, and of their master, and you spared the citizens from offense and preserved their belongings and lives, a sure sign of your great integrity and highest clemency and temperance, and of what matters most in a ruler: to be observant of the faith. Nor do you delight, as many Kings and Emperors have done, in spilling human blood, but rather you always give pardon to all individuals whose deeds the furor of war excused: with the armed enemy you have war, with the vanquished perpetual peace. An empire is not a marvel if the gods favor all of your undertakings. But to return to where I left off, since you judged that it was a bad thing to remain in idleness, you entered another time into the Kingdom of the Hungarians, and came to battle with them. You defeated their army, and you deprived the King of his life and his reign with the grandest victory, subjugating that most ferocious people, against whom your predecessors fought so many times,

[Folio 8v (fig. 36), with a vignette that probably depicts the humanist author of the eulogy, writing at his desk (fig. 50)]

with captures and losses of men.^{iv} And thus you remained as absolute King of the Hungarians. If, then, we

^{iv} At the Battle of Mohács in 1526, Süleyman vanquished the Hungarian king Louis II, who lost his life in the battle.

wish to consider the things achieved by you, what King, what Prince, what Emperor in such a short time obtained so many glorious victories? If we wish to measure the grandeur of your reign and your Empire, what Kingdom, what Empire, what Republic, what Monarchy could we compare to yours? If we would want to preach your virtues, your great soul, your strength of body, what excellent language, what happy voice, what speech so profuse and so prolific will be able to express even a minimal part of these? If, still, we wish to contemplate the majesty, the beauty of your most august body, we would judge you not born, but fashioned by the gods and divinely sent to earth to rule and govern. What else is signified by your most serene forehead, that Majesty of Caesar, that pleasing presence, that firmness of body, that sidereal splendor of your eyes, that most honest appearance, that dignity,

[Folio 9r (fig. 37), with a vignette of Süleyman enthroned wearing the helmet-crown and holding an orb and scepter (fig. 13)]

those most splendid virtues of yours, if not that you deserve to be Absolute Monarch and Emperor of the whole world? If, still, we wish to take a look at your age, you are of that perfect age in which one cannot succumb to senile imbecility and debility of the body, nor to youthful temerity, for [you are] of that age of enduring great efforts, of being brave in the face of dangers, prudent in taking advice, and quick in following it, and of having all those virtues that one searches for in a perfect Emperor, which you have conducted not in leisure, not in languor, not in darkness, having exercised them even from the cradle. And before you were Emperor, you were a knight, and you fought grand battles, amassed victories, and tolerated the dangers of wars, the various whims of Fortune, sieges, and the treacheries of perfidy, sweat, and dust, with incredible efforts, with grand spirit, and with wondrous constancy. What is there in wars that you have not attempted, that you have not dared to undertake, that you have not tried? What will we say about your other virtues,

[Folio 9v (fig. 38), with a vignette of Süleyman enthroned, wearing the helmet-crown and flanked by scholars and literati (fig. 14)]

and discipline, as much in philosophy as in every other sort? About this, I will be silent, glorious Solimano, you who always want near you erudite men, literati, men excellent in every virtue, always exercising you in the fine arts; and so as to not stay idle, you execute with your divine genius and with your hands works and things of great mastery, imitating nature and the gods, things which you then sell, and you distribute the money among the poor and the mendicants: an act that is certainly laudable, worthy, and pleasing to the gods. What will I say here about your modesty, your temperance, your justice, your prudence? What will I say about the faithfulness of your words, than which there is no more certain or steadfast thing in the world? What will I say of your chastity: this is understood by the whole world; the nations hear and the people listen to this unheard of thing concerning the chastity of such an Emperor. Posterity will not talk about any King or Sovereigns, because in our age one finds one Emperor: Solimano.

[Folio 10r (fig. 39), with a vignette of Süleyman enthroned, holding the hand of a man wearing a hat or helmet, perhaps the donor of the manuscript^v (fig. 15)]

In the hopes of having seen in a ruler some spark of goodness, or of virtue, they have set a great fire and they have amplified him with magnificent words. But we will

^v The phrase “touched by hand” in the passage below seems to refer to the accompanying vignette on folio 10r (fig. 15), which depicts Süleyman enthroned, shaking hands with a man, perhaps the donor of the manuscript, who may have been Alvise Gritti.

now not write anything if not what we see in you; that which can be touched by hand, that which is well known and manifest to the entire world. Great deeds are not to be lauded, if they are not mixed with virtues, with humanity, with clemency. God save you, then, Solimano, Ottoman King of Kings, Emperor of Emperors, with whom the gods have divided the Empire, they in heaven and you on earth, and deservedly, because never has the Sun, with its luster, seen a man on earth endowed with so many virtues, with so much knowledge, with so much wisdom. One sees how much you are worthy of every empire, of every triumph, of every crown, not just of myrtle and laurel, but of gold and precious, most ornate gems, such as that Helmet that we now see ornamenting your divine Caesarship.^{vi} Persevere, then, most sacred Emperor, in this distinguished theater of virtue and Live Long.

[Folio 10v (fig. 40), with a vignette of Süleyman enthroned, holding a scepter and being crowned (fig. 16)]

Live and conquer more happily than Augustus, better than Trajan, more fortunate than Alexander the Great, with prosperity of body, contentment of soul, and victory in wars, so that the world can benefit from you longer, and after your death you will be placed among the number of the gods.

^{vi} A reference to the helmet-crown that was made in Venice for Süleyman, according to a design prepared by Alvise Gritti and Ibrahim Pasha; the latter presented it to the sultan in 1532.

APPENDIX III: THE REMAINING VIGNETTES OF PANEGYRIC FOR SULTAN SÜLEYMAN

Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532. Houghton Library, Harvard University.
 (Photos: courtesy of Houghton Library)



Fig. 41. Detail of folio 2r (fig. 23): Vignette depicting the victory of a mythical ancient Ottoman ancestor.



Fig. 42. Detail of folio 2v (fig. 24): Vignette depicting Osman's coronation.



Fig. 43. Detail of folio 3r (fig. 25): Vignette of Bayezid I's victories in the West.



Fig. 44. Detail of folio 3v (fig. 26): Vignette of Bayezid I's sons and the interregnum.



Fig. 45. Detail of folio 4v (fig. 28): Vignette showing the war of succession between Mehmed II's sons.

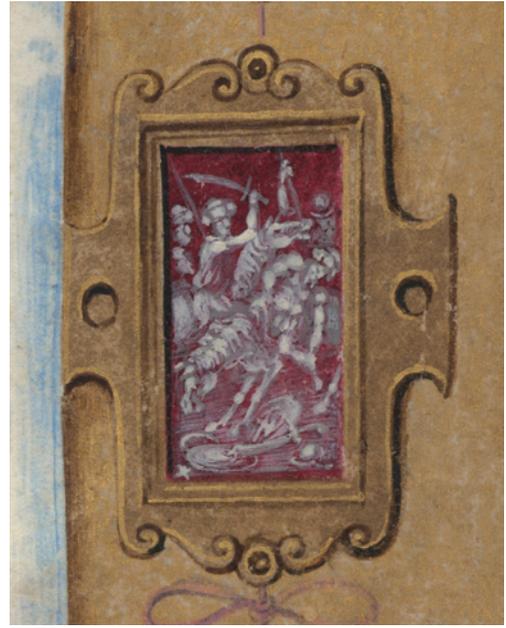


Fig. 46. Detail of folio 5r (fig. 29): Vignette of Bayezid II defeating the Karamanid prince.



Fig. 47. Detail of folio 6r (fig. 31): Vignette of the Safavid Shah and Mamluk Sultan holding hands in alliance.

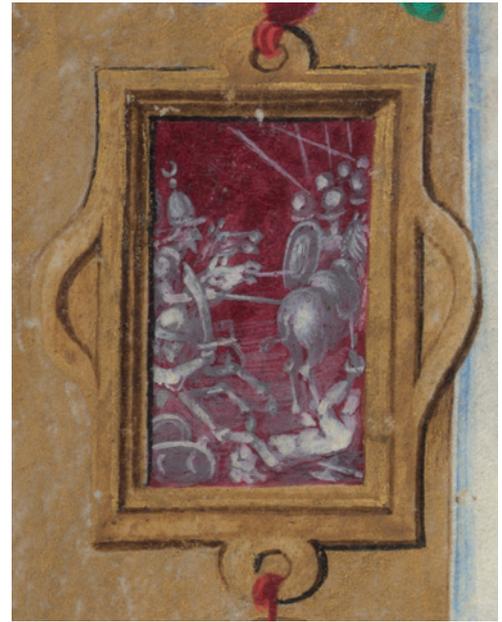


Fig. 48. Detail of folio 6v (fig. 32): Vignette of Selim I's victory over the Mamluk Sultan Qansuh al-Ghawri, depicted as having fallen from his horse.



Fig. 49. Detail of folio 7v (fig. 34): Vignette of Süleyman's early victories.



Fig. 50. Detail of folio 8v (fig. 36): Vignette probably depicting the humanist author of the eulogy, writing at his desk.

NOTES

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1. Süleyman and his army fought several battles in Hungary after the conquest of Belgrade in 1521, seeking to gain control over this kingdom. The first campaign took place in 1526 and culminated in the Battle of Mohács and the death of King Louis II. The second was a response to the occupation of northern Hungary by the Habsburg Ferdinand I; this time Süleyman came back to Europe to fight against the Habsburgs, and besieged Vienna in 1529. Some historians speculate that Süleyman's main objective in 1529 was to assert Ottoman control over the whole of Hungary, the western part of which (Royal Hungary) was under Habsburg control. The sultan thereafter mounted a third campaign against the Habsburgs, in Hungary and Austria, in 1532. Although unable to conquer Vienna, the sultan's forces consolidated Ottoman control of southern Hungary, and damages wrought in Habsburg Hungary and Austria impaired Ferdinand's capacity to mount a counter-attack. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Ms. Typ 145, Venice, ca. 1532. The manuscript is catalogued

in HOLLIS (the Harvard University online library catalog) as "Address to Süleyman the Magnificent."

3. After Süleyman tried to defeat the Austrian forces in his failed siege of Vienna in 1529, the title of king of Hungary was disputed between Zápolya and Ferdinand until 1540. After the seizure of Buda by the Ottomans in 1541, central and southern Hungary was transformed into a province administered by Ottoman governors. The West and North recognized a Habsburg as king, while the East was ruled by the son of Zápolya as the Eastern Hungarian Kingdom, which after 1570 became the principality of Transylvania.
4. When Charles V claimed the title of emperor after his coronation in Bologna, both Süleyman and the Ottoman court historian, Celalzade, refused to use this title and referred to him simply as "king." See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (Sept. 1989): 411. For more on the rivalry between the two emperors, see Özlem Kumrular, *El duelo entre Carlos V y Solimán el Magnífico (1520–1535)* (Istanbul, 2005), and Özlem Kumrular, *Las relaciones entre el Imperio Otomano y la Monarquía Católica entre los años 1520–1535 y el Papel de los estados satélites* (Istanbul, 2003). Kumrular mentions that both rulers sought to be called "emperor" and quotes historian Tomas Campanella: "He (the Turk) wants to be greeted as a universal ruler in the same way as

- the Catholic monarch; both are fighting each other to create a universal empire.”: Kumrular, *El duelo*, 21.
5. On this epic poem, see Emilio Lippi, “‘Born to Rule the World’: An Italian Poet Celebrates the Deeds of the Sultan Selim I,” *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 19, 1 (July 2004): 87–92; Emilio Lippi, “1517: L’ottava al servizio del Sultano,” *Quaderni Veneti* 34 (2001): 49–88; and Gülru Necipoğlu’s article in this *Muqarnas* volume, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople.”
 6. Lippi “‘Born to Rule the World,’” 91.
 7. Eleanor Garvey, the Philip Hofer Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts at Houghton Library, suggests that the manuscript was designed as a peace offering for Sultan Süeyman: see Eleanor Garvey, *The Philip Hofer Collection in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 42. Alfred Fairbank suggests that the author of the calligraphy is Ludovico degli Arrighi: see Alfred Fairbank, “Another Arrighi Manuscript, Douce 29,” *The Book Collector* 23 (Winter 1974): 551–52. Vera Law, a founding member of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators, supports this belief and also suggests that the possible author of the miniatures was Vincenzo Raimondi, who had worked with Arrighi in other, similar manuscripts. See Vera Law, “Two More Arrighi Manuscripts Discovered,” *The Book Collector* 27 (1978): 368–79.
 8. Previous mentions of the panegyric can be found in the following references: Garvey, *Philip Hofer Collection in the Houghton Library*; Fairbank, “Another Arrighi Manuscript”; Alfred Fairbank and Berthold Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (London, 1960); and Law, “Two More Arrighi Manuscripts.”
 9. *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts: An Exhibition Held at the Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library, February 14–April 1, 1955* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955).
 10. Law, “Two More Arrighi Manuscripts.”
 11. The last historical event mentioned is Süleyman’s campaign in Hungary: “un’altra volta intrasti con nuovo essercito nel regno de li Ungari, et venuto a battaglia con loro; superasti lo essercito, et privasti il Re de la vita et del regno con grandissima vittoria subiugando quelli populi ferocissimi con li quali tante volte li tuoi antequi hanno...” Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 8r (fig. 35). Additionally, Jonathan Alexander mentions that “[s]ince there is no mention of Arrighi after c. 1526, it has been assumed that he was killed in the Sack of Rome in 1527.” Jonathan Alexander, ed., *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination 1450–1550* (London, 1994), 242.
 12. Alexander, *Painted Page*, 16.
 13. John Bradley, *The Life and Works of Giorgio Giulio Clovio, Miniaturist, 1495–1578* (London, 1891), 77.
 14. London, British Library, Ms. Add 20927.
 15. Giorgio Vasari, *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, 9 vols. (Florence, 1998), 5:326–34 (Dai Libri), and 7:557–69 (Clovio). See also Gino Castiglioni, ed., *Per Girolamo Dai Libri: Pittore e miniatore del Rinascimento veronese* (Venice, 2008). On Clovio, see Webster Smith, “Giulio Clovio and the ‘Maniera di Figure Piccole,’” *The Art Bulletin* 46, 3 (Sept. 1964): 395–401; and Maria Giononi-Visani and Grgo Gamulin, *Giorgio Clovio, Miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York, 1980).
 16. London, British Library, Ms. Add 35254: Miniatures and borders taken out of Italian illuminated manuscripts from the collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch.
 17. London, British Library, Ms. Add 35254.
 18. Otto Kurz, “A Gold Helmet Made in Venice for Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 74 (1969): 249–58.
 19. Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent,” 410.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. The first woodcut was made ca. 1532 and the second ca. 1535. Veneziano’s engraving bears the date 1535. Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent,” 329–30, figs. 1, 2, and 4. The three versions of the equestrian engraving are illustrated in figures 7, 8a, and 8b.
 22. The distinctive helmet designed by Alvise Gritti and Ibrahim Pasha is clearly depicted in eight of the manuscript’s grisaille miniature paintings: fols. 4r, 5v, 7r, 8r, 9r, 9v, 10r, and 10v (figs. 9–16).
 23. “Qualo si vede in te degno di ogni imperio, di ogni triumpho, di ogni corona, non solo di mirto et lauro, ma di oro et gemme pretiose ornatissima, come lo Elmetto che hora veggiamo ornare la divina Cesarea tua [my emphasis]”: Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 10r (fig. 39).
 24. The sultan is not consistently depicted with this specific headgear in the manuscript: there are several cases, particularly in the folios that correspond to the early periods of Ottoman history, in which the four-crown, jewel-studded helmet is not employed, and helmets of a different shape are depicted. In the miniature on folio 2v (fig. 24 and 42), for example, the sultan wears a small, round crown that has a half-crescent on top. This cameo painting corresponds to the narration of the early conquests of the Turks in Asia, Phoenicia, and Romania.
 25. Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent,” 409.
 26. Bayezid II reigned from 1481 to 1512, that is, more than 20 years before the helmet-crown was made.
 27. Julian Raby, “A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts,” *Oxford Art Journal* 5, 1 (1982): 3–8.
 28. B. Curipeschitz, *Wegrayss Keyserlicher Maiestät Legation im 32. Jar zu dem Türcken geschick* (Augsburg, 1533), fol. B iiv, reprinted as an appendix to pt. 5 in Anton von Gévay, *Urkunden und Actenstücke zur Geschichte der Verhältnisse zwischen Oesterreich, Ungern und der Pforte*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1840), vol. 1; cited in Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent,” 409.
 29. *Ibid.*, 174.
 30. “TU degno figliol suo di eta di ventiotto anni vecchio d’ingegno, et sapere, succedesti in lo Imperio, senza oppositione alcuna con gratia gradissima universale de tutti i populi.” Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 7r (fig. 33).
 31. The gesture of clemency reminds the viewer of the sculpture of Constantine at the Capitol and brings to mind

- questions of body language and rhetoric, as described in Michael Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 66, 4 (Dec. 1984): 620–33.
32. Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent," 405.
 33. Ibid.
 34. "Divo Solimano Invictissimo. Ma perche ho pensato mostrare con evidentissimo argomento lo Imperio tuo haver superato di grandezza et longinquità di tempo tutti li altri Imperii che mai siano stati al mondo, innanzi che io venga alle cose particolari tue Impero me parse conveniente cosa commciare dal nascimento della Gloriosa Casa tua." Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 1r (fig. 21).
 35. James Hankins, *Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II* (Washington, D.C., 1995).
 36. In the manuscript the author states as well that as descendants of Apollo, the Ottomans possessed the gift of medicine and had the responsibility to share it with the rest of the world; this, in turn, gave the Ottomans the right to dominate other cultures. See Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fols. 1r and 1v (figs. 21 and 22).
 37. "Del parto de la quale nacquene doi figliogi maschi, l'uno se chiamo Franco, l'altro Teucro liquali dalla rovina di Troia si partimo et Franco venne ad habitare in Gallia, et per le virtuose sue opere merito mutar nome alla Gallia, et da lui su chiamata la Francia. Ma Teucro con miglior fortuna fu quello che dette principio alla divina Casa vostra..." Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 1v (fig. 22).
 38. Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008).
 39. Hankins, *Renaissance Crusaders*, 37. See also Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, and Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, 2004).
 40. Hankins, *Renaissance Crusaders*, 26.
 41. "Turk" is a pejorative term used by Europeans of that time; the Ottomans referred to themselves as "Ottoman" (*Osmanlı*).
 42. Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 31.
 43. Hankins, *Renaissance Crusaders*, 29.
 44. Juan Luis Vives (d. 1540) was a Spanish humanist and a student of Erasmus of Rotterdam. He specialized in education theory but also wrote extensively on politics, philosophy, and psychology. Vives was particularly concerned with the Ottomans' conquests of Rhodes and Belgrade, and feared the possibility of Ottoman rule in Europe. He explores this topic in his essays "De Europae dissidiis et bello Turcico" (1526) and "De conditione vitae Christianorum sub turca" (1526). See Spanish translations in Juan Luis Vives, *Obras completas*, trans. and ed. Lorenzo Riber, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1948).
 45. Alain Servantie and Ramón Puig de la Bellacasa, eds., *L'Empire ottoman dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Idées et imaginaires d'intellectuels, de diplomates et de l'opinion publique dans les Anciens Pays-Bas et le monde hispanique aux XVe, XVIe et début du XVIIe siècles; Actes du programme organisé par l'Institut Cervantes de Bruxelles* (Leuven, 2005), 31.
 46. Ibid., 35.
 47. Eric Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006), 5.
 48. Paolo Preto, "Relations between the Papacy, Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent," in *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul, 1993), 201; and Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*.
 49. The war of 1499–1503 directed against the Venetian empire in the Levant and the Balkans resulted in the Ottoman conquest of Venetian strongholds in Morea (Peloponnesus) and on the Adriatic shore—a triumph amply justifying the program of naval construction that Bayezid had approved in the years before the beginning of the war.
 50. "Baiseth per qualche tempo reposato mosse guerra a Venetiani, et li occupo Modone Corfu et Durazzo ma dipoi permezo del Magnifico Andrea gritto fu composta perpetua pace fr Baiseth et Venetiani, la quale ancora dura indissolubilmente et durara imperpetuo." Panegyric for Sultan Süleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 5v (fig. 30).
 51. "No faltan quienes por antipatia irreducible con determinados principes o naciones, antes que a ellos prefieren sujetarse al Turco o a otro cualquier príncipe, por más bárbaro que sea, como algunos italianos, algunos de los cuales profesan un odio tan enconado y ciego al francés, o al alemán, o al español, que prefieren mil muertes y, cosa que es peor todavía que la muerte, ejecutar las órdenes indignas y malvadas de quienquiera." Vives, *Obras*, 67.
 52. Ibid., 47.
 53. Ibid., 50.
 54. Ibid., 63.
 55. As quoted in Ramón Puig de la Bellacasa and Bart Severi, "Érasme de Rotterdam et Juan Luis Vives. Le conflit avec les Turcs, critique et justification de la guerre," in Servantie and de la Bellacasa, *L'Empire ottoman*, 41: "Elle consistait en partie de troupes temporaires, avec des soldats provenant des provinces de l'empire et d'une partie permanente, dont les janissaires formaient l'essentiel. Ces janissaires, un corps d'infanterie fort de 20.000 hommes et consistant en chrétiens convertis, était le coeur de l'armée tres redoute en Europe."
 56. Ibid., 41.
 57. Vives, *Obras*, 31.
 58. Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 2, points out that: "The myth of East and West as polar opposites was introduced over two thousand years ago by the Greeks and adapted by the Romans. From about the eleventh century on, Europeans used the terms 'Christian' and 'Infidel' to articulate this renewed sense of cultural division. By the Modern colonial period Western European powers had come to view themselves as superior to Eastern peoples both militarily and culturally." For Renaissance humanist crusade

- literature, see also Hankins, *Renaissance Crusaders*, and Meserve, *Empires of Islam*.
59. "...et conservasti li cittadini di quella senza offesa et di robba et di vita, segno certo de grandissima integritade, et summa clementia et temperantia, et quello che piu importa in uno Principe, osservatore de la fede, ne ancora ti diletta come molti Re et Imperatori han fatto, di Spargere il sangue humano, ma sempre perdoni a tutti quelli che 'l furore de la guerra ha perdonato, con lo inimico armato hai guerra, con il vinto perpetua pace." Panegyric for Sultan Suleyman, Ms. Typ 145, fol. 8r (fig. 35).