Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album*

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Bir karşılaşma mekanını görselleştirmek: Bir Osmanlı-Venedik minyatür albümünde samimiyet, ötekilik ve trans-emperyal perspektif

Öz ■ Bu makale, İstanbul'da, Venedik balyosunun ikametgahında 1660 yılı civarlarında Venedikli bir diplomat, onun tercümanları, Osmanlı nakkaşları ve İtalyan teknik ressamlarının işbirliğiyle resmedilmiş olan bir minyatür albümünü incelemektedir. Makalenin savunduğu tez, bu elyazmasının, emektar Venedik katibi ve fiili elçisi Giovanni Battista Ballarino tarafından kendisinin yerine geleceğini umduğu halefi için Osmanlı toplumu hakkında bir rehber ve aynı zamanda Bâb-ı Âli'de Venedik diplomasisi için tercümanların hayati önemi hakkında uyarıcı bir hikaye olarak hazırlandığıdır. Bu elyazmasını, Girit Savaşı'nın (1645-1669) doruğundaki özgül tarihi anı çerçevesinde ve Osmanlılar'ı temsil etmekte kullanılan (gerek Osmanlı gerekse Osmanlı dışından) çeşitli yazılı ve görsel türlerle bir ilişki içine yerleştirerek, bu

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makale, yerel (ve "yerelleştirilmiş") aracıların bir Venedik-Osmanlı karşılaşma mekanı yaratmaktaki rolü hakkında sorular üretir. Özellikle bu elyazmasının üretiminde işbirliği etmeleriyle, tercümanların nasıl da aynı anda hem samimi hem de mesafeli, hem kozmopolit-İstanbullu hem de derinden Venedikli bir trans-emperyal perspektif sağladıklarını araştırarak bu iki devletin iç içe geçmiş erken modern tarihlerinin altını çizer.

Anahtar kelimeler: Venedik, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, minyatür albümleri, erken modern diplomasi.

In a series of publications in the 1980s and early 1990s, Thomas Goodrich has offered an apt critique of pervasive Orientalist notions of Ottoman insularity and lack of curiosity about the world beyond the Empire's borders. His meticulous research on the *Tarih-i Hind-i garbî* documented not only the enduring presence of New World spaces, flora and fauna in early modern Ottoman manuscript culture, but the complex circulation of tropes, texts, images, and representational strategies more broadly both over time (from the now-lost 1580s original to numerous manuscripts and eventual print editions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and across space.[1] In particular, Goodrich pioneered the study—to become a sub-field in its own right—of spatial representations as an aspect of cultural interaction between early modern Ottoman elites and their non-Ottoman counterparts.[2] Whereas much of the New World material for the *Tarih-i Hind-i garbî* came from specific Spanish texts, it was their Italian translations that served as the basis for the anonymous Ottoman author's own composition, reinforcing the role of Italian, and especially Venetian scholars in mediating objects, texts, and signifying practices across Ottoman and European spaces.[3]

1 Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbî and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990).

2 For recent examples, see, inter alia, Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, eds. *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Pinar Emiralioğlu, "Cartography and Geographical Consciousness in the Ottoman Empire," in *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World 1500–1750: Maps from the Collection of O. J. Sopranos*, ed. Ian Manners (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2008), 95–108; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Baki Tezcan, "The Frank in the Ottoman Eye of 1583," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye (1453–1750): Visual Imagery Before Orientalism*, ed. James G. Harper (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 267–296.

3 For elaborations of this point in various cultural domains, and for examples of multidirectional circulations, see Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance*

Goodrich's work has become part of a broader move to explore how interactions with European scholars shaped early modern Ottoman elite culture. It is now "common knowledge" among Ottomanists (though sadly, not always among early modern Europeanists) that the *translatio studii* that undergirded the great synthesis of the Süleymanic era incorporated humanist ideals and epistemological procedures alongside those of earlier imperial formations – be they Graeco-Latin, Arabic, or Persianate.[4] We know far less about how the emergent European human sciences re-appropriated and re-articulated Ottoman metropolitan perspectives on the Empire's history and culture.[5] That said, the growing presentism of historical scholarship, and the power of teleological narratives to shape our understanding of pre-Enlightenment "spaces of encounter" (a concept elaborated below) between the Ottomans and their neighbors, make it all the more imperative that we look at the multidirectional modalities of cultural interaction in the early modern Mediterranean. The following study aims to offer one example of a textual-cum-visual "space of encounter" and to reflect on some of the implications of such spaces for how we might approach the history of Ottoman-European interactions more broadly. Specifically, this study underscores the

Art Between East and West (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Gerald MacLean, ed. *Re-orienting the Renaissance* (London: Palgrave, 2005); Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Boston: Harvard University Press, forthcoming 2013).

4 Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kânûn for the State, a Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Documentation française, 1992), 195–213; Cornell H. Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah: The Making of the Imperial Image in the Reign of Süleyman," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, 159–178; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Gottfried Hagen, "Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late 15th to Early 17th Century," *Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2003): 95–134; Ebru Turan, "The Sultan's Favorite: Ibrahim Pasha and the Making of the Ottoman Universal Sovereignty in the Reign of Sultan Süleyman (1516–1526)," unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Chicago, 2007); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

5 For pioneering works in this vein, see Linda McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories About the Ottoman Turks* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2008).

need to attend to the institutions through which representational strategies were articulated, viz. diplomacy and travel, and to the particular circulatory regimes that defined diplomatic reporting as a genre.[6] It is therefore also intended as a contribution to a new kind of early modern diplomatic history which explores the role of social actors on the "edges of empire" in the development of diplomatic practice and protocol.[7]

To illustrate this argument, I focus on Cod. Cicogna 1971, an illuminated manuscript dating to the early 1660s and now housed in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice.[8] This miniature album offers a rare articulation of a trans-imperial perspective on Ottoman history, society, and culture that defies easy classification as either "Ottoman" or "Venetian." The Codex contains 59 folios, featuring a

6 On this see Thomas Cohen and Germaine Warkentin, eds., *Things Not Easily Believed: Introducing the Early Modern Relation, s*pecial issue of *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réforme* 34, 1-2 (2011).

7 I use "edges of empire" here not to imply that Istanbul was somehow marginal (a claim that cannot be sustained by anything but a modernist, Eurocentric bias), but rather to highlight the city's saturated imperial history. Istanbul's imperial "edginess" had to do precisely with this saturation, which certain mobile cadres like dragomans and other diplomatic personnel helped articulate and bring to the fore. On the call for a new kind of diplomatic history of early modernity, see John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 1–14. For a case exemplifying the analytical dividends of attending to historical actors at the edges of empire, albeit in a later period and in the context of British engagements in South Asia, see Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005). For a more systematic discussion of the role of diplomatic and other mobile cadres in the articulation of an Ottoman-Venetian space of encounter, see E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

8 Cod. Cicogna 1971 was bequeathed to the city of Venice by amateur Venetian historian Emmanuele Cicogna (1789–1868) as part of his enormous collection of 40,000 volumes and 5,000 manuscripts, all now housed in the Correr. Cicogna probably acquired the manuscript around 1828. A reproduction of the manuscript's miniatures (albeit with skewed colors and with only a partial transcript of the gloss) is to be found in Istituto italiano di cultura di Istanbul, Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi and Venedik Correr Müzesi koleksiyonlarından, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri - Vedute di Venezia ed Istanbul attraverso i secoli dalle collezioni del Museo Correr-Venezia e Museo del Topkapi-Istanbul* (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar, 1995). On Cicogna and his collections, see Paolo Preto, "Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 25 (Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1982), 394–397; Giandomenico Romanelli, *Il Museo Correr* (Milano: Electa, 1994).

miniature in water colors on each of the rectos, frequently gilded, and mounted on the page with an extensive Italian gloss preceding and following it, and sometimes "spilling over" onto the verso. Thematically, its miniatures can be divided roughly into three broad sections: (1) Sultans' portraits (fols. 1–16);[9] (2) genre scenes, major architectural monuments, institutions, and vessels (fols. 17–34 and 50–54); and (3) scenes from the Venetian-Ottoman War of Crete (1645–1669) (fols. 35–49 and 55–59).[10] The Codex was assembled in the house of the Venetian bailo in Istanbul through collaboration between a Venetian diplomat and his dragomans (diplomatic interpreters), Ottoman miniaturists, and Italian draftsmen. As I argue below, it was intended by long-time Venetian secretary and *de facto* ambassador to Istanbul, Giovanni Battista Ballarino, as a handbook on Ottoman society for his hoped-for replacement and as a cautionary tale about the vital importance of dragomans for Venetian diplomacy at the Porte. The manuscript is thus the product of the inevitable and intense interactions of entrepreneurial artists with both courtly and diplomatic milieus in the early modern Ottoman capital.

In order to appreciate the extent to which this Codex was a product of a Mediterranean space of encounter, a brief discussion is in order of some of the genres from which it borrowed its representational techniques. Several of these genres, as will become evident below, were typical articulations of a space of encounter in at least two senses. First, they were engaged in ongoing cross-fertilization that traversed political and linguistic borders, as humanist learning proliferated in the Ottoman court and Ottoman manuscripts circulated outside the Empire. Second, they highlighted and celebrated Ottoman ethnic diversity, and objectified Ottoman difference vis-à-vis other polities and societies. In other words, these genres point to the deep embedding of European sojourners in Ottoman elite milieus and their perspectives on Ottoman society. This embedding is all but absent from the scholarship on the topic. Take, for example, the following statement on how miniatures by Ottoman artists came to be collected by Europeans:

> European visitors to Ottoman Turkey were much taken by the picturesque or sensational sights that they saw—strangely dressed dervishes, Turkish baths, executions, tortures, the Bagnio where the galley slaves were chained, low women,

9 These appear more or less in chronological order, save for three missing sultans: Ahmed I (1603–1617), Osman II (1619–1622) and Murad IV (1623–1640). A portrait of Mustafa I (1617–1618) appears last.

10 Of these, fols. 35–44 and 49 focus on the maltreatment of Venetian diplomatic representatives by Ottoman officials; fols. 45–48 describe battle scenes; and fols. 55–59 depict Ottoman fortresses.

> and such like – and were very ready to commission bazaar painters in Istanbul to do sketches of them. […] this very probably explains why such figures began to appear in albums made for the Ottoman Court.[11]

Such an account not only presupposes the factual presence of exotic types, but naturalizes European visitors' Orientalizing gaze and predisposition to see the people and institutions of the Ottoman Empire as strange and titillating. Yet such tropes as the "Turkish bath," "executions," "tortures" and "low women" became part of western European imaginations precisely through their repeated elaboration, both visual and textual, by Ottoman and non-Ottoman artists alike.[12] Their representations were multiple and often contradictory. To understand their impact one needs to undertake closer analysis of specific audiences and genres. Furthermore, the assumption that Ottoman courtly interest in figure-studies originated from European visitors' commissions is yet to be substantiated. Indeed, this assumption seems premised on the untenable notion that artistic change in Ottoman courtly art was always a unidirectional reaction to European market demands. Several Ottomanists have forcefully challenged this idea, including art historian Emine Fetvacı, who in a series of recent publications has underscored Ottoman courtly artists' deft manipulation of a variety of representational conventions and perspectives.[13] These insights, however, seem to be only partially integrated into Europeanist art historical narratives about representations of the Ottomans. As Oleg Grabar points out in an incisive critique of recent scholarship on artistic contact between Italy and Muslim societies, this body of scholarship still tends to see art and the world primarily from the point of view of Italy, while the providers

11 J. M. Rogers, Filiz Çagman, and Zeren Tanındı, eds. *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986), 251.

12 For several visual representations of executions in a courtly Ottoman artifact, see *Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān*, Istanbul, ca. 1571-1581, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 45b ("Execution of the ruler of Ju-yi Tawil"), fol. 122a ("Lala Mustafa Pasha's execution of Venetian commanders"), fol. 125b ("Flaying of the Venetian commander Bragadino"), fol. 143a ("execution of the voivode of Moldavia during Siyavuş Pasha's Moldavian campaign"). For details on this book, see Emine Fatma Fetvacı, "The Production of the Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān," *Muqarnas* 26 (2009): 263–315.

13 Emine Fatma Fetvacı, "Viziers to Eunuchs: Transitions in Ottoman Manuscript Patronage, 1566–1617," unpublished PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2005); Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007), 7–21; Fetvacı, "The Production of the Şehnāme-i Selīm Ḫān"; Fetvacı, "Enriched Narratives and Empowered Images in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Manuscripts," *Ars Orientalis* 40 (2011): 243–266.

of contact—late Byzantium and Muslim societies themselves—appear mostly as a display of available objects and sources of inspiration, leaving the role of Ottoman artists and patrons in the transformation of artistic production underexplored.[14] Such glossing over is evident, most recently, in art historian Ulrike Ilg's argument that whenever the influential French geographer-cum-spy Nicolas de Nicolay (in Istanbul in 1551-52) "could not directly set his eye on the subjects he wanted, he copied pictorial formulae and motifs that were locally available to him [...] All of these patterns... reveal a direct correspondence with the decorations then current in Ottoman arts and crafts."[15] Ilg's account thus obliquely acknowledges the "availability" of certain Ottoman pictorial formulae and motifs, while eluding the crucial role of Ottoman artists and other interlocutors in mediating these forms to European diplomatic sojourners such as de Nicolay, and thus in shaping (emerging) European genres of proto-ethnographic representation. Even when historians do recognize more fully the role of Ottoman artists in the process of articulating a visual vocabulary for such proto-ethnography, their account often seems to place agency rather in the hands of European patrons:

> The production of *kıyafet* (costume) books, showing all that was foreign and exotic in Turkish costume, suggests a possible sale to foreign visitors eager to return home with examples of what they had seen in Turkey. The presence of inscriptions in Latin […] Turkish […] and German […] bears out this contention.[16]

As discussed below, *kıyafetname* (physiognomy studies through portraiture) and costume albums were not one and the same, and while the genres interacted continuously, their target audiences (Ottoman courtly elites and European sojourners, respectively) were quite distinct. Furthermore, dating miniature

14 Grabar, Review of Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*; Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500*; Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*; Rosamund Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*, *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (2003): 189–192.

15 Ulrike Ilg, "On the Difficulties of Depicting a 'Real' Turk: Reflections on Ethnographic Orientalism in European Art (14th to the 16th Centuries)," in *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World : Trade, Gift Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, eds. Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), 231–244 at 239. On Nicolay and his *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales (Lyon:* Guillaume Rouillé*, 1567),* see Marcus Keller, "Nicolas De Nicolay's Navigations and the Domestic Politics of Travel Writing," *L'Esprit Créateur* 48, no. 1 (2008): 18-31.

16 Edwin Binney, 3rd, ed. *Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd* (Portland, OR: The Museum, 1979), 98–101.

albums and determining their intended purposes and audiences based on the captions of specific miniatures poses serious methodological problems. First, doing so presupposes a shared provenance, authorship, and date of production for all individual miniatures and the album in which they are presently conjoined. In fact, the argument for the existence of seventeenth-century "bazaar painters" whose work was intended specifically for a non-courtly and non-Ottoman European market rests heavily on the Latin-script captions on some miniatures in certain albums. But the multilingual captions in Ottoman Turkish, French, and English on the miniatures reproduced in at least one other such album were drawn by different hands and in different media (India ink, pencil, and tusche), and so could have been added at a later date or dates.[17] Indeed, we know that multilingual captions on miniatures were added by later owners of other albums, rather than by their initial makers, much like marginal notes in a frequently-read library book.

Similarly, the sultan portraits in the Cicogna Codex (fols. 1-16) all have captions in Ottoman Turkish on the back. Should we therefore conclude that these miniatures were intended exclusively for an Ottoman-Turkish viewership? More likely, the captions were meant to help workshop assistants identify specific images rather than to give an authorized and complete description of the image to the presumed viewers, let alone prescribe a particular buyer.

As the above discussion suggests, even if some of the images in the Cicogna Codex were intended to tantalize their viewers, categorizing them as "bazaar art" is rather unhelpful analytically. Instead, their production, whether by local artists with strong connections to the Ottoman court, or by European artists attached to diplomatic missions, should be understood in the context of sustained interaction.[18] It was part and parcel of an evolving structure of diplomatic engagement,

17 Patricia Rochard, ed. *Türkei: Abendland begegnet Morgenland: Internationale Tage Ingelheim* (Mainz: H. Schmidt, 1992). The same diversity of media applies to the inscriptions in Ottoman Turkish, Latin and German on the two miniatures reproduced in Binney, *Turkish Treasures*, 99.

18 On the Ottoman court atelier and the diffuse category of "court art," see Alan W. Fisher and Carol Garrett Fisher, "A Note on the Location of the Royal Ottoman Ateliers," *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture* III (1985): 118–120. See also Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian." For a thoughtful discussion of the multiple interactions between courtly and so-called "bazaar" art, on the latter's audiences both within the court and around the city, and on the need to further explore the very category of "bazaar painters" see Tülün Değirmenci, "An Illustrated Mecmua: The Commoner's Voice and the Iconography of the Court in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Painting," *Ars Orientalis* 41 (2011): 186–218.

rather than merely an exoticizing gesture towards an anonymous, uninformed marketplace.

That this Codex is more appropriately situated in the context of Mediterranean diplomacy than armchair travel is made evident by both images and text. Throughout, the narrative gloss marks its intended audience as members of the Venetian political elite and erases any gap between the narrator's voice and such authorized readers. It does so through several means—using the first person plural to refer to Venetian collective action, heavily emphasizing Venetian-Ottoman relations, and implicitly presupposing readers' prior knowledge of the history of these relations.

The Codex opens with a series of 16 iconic representations of Ottoman sultans, accompanied by a narrative detailing their military accomplishments and relations with Venice. Such a chronology of Ottoman political and military milestones was considered part of the necessary education of any foreign diplomat arriving at the Porte.[19] The Cicogna Codex was not unique in using sultans' portraits as a hinge for narrating a political-military chronicle. Indeed, the use of serial sultanic portraiture as a structuring device was common to several Ottoman genres, such as the *silsilename* (genealogical sultanic portraiture, see fig. 1), *şehname* (books of kings, see fig. 2), *kıyafetname* (physiognomy studies), and their immensely popular humanist cognates, such as the "Lives of the Sultans" produced by the likes of Paolo Giovio, Francesco Sansovino and Pietro Bertelli (see fig. 3).[20]

19 On the careful education of Venetian diplomats destined for Istanbul, see Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Eric R. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 1–30; Daniela Frigo, "Prudence and Experience: Ambassadors and Political Culture in Early Modern Italy," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2008): 15–34.

20 Paulo Giovio, *Commentarii delle cose de Turchi* (In Vinegia : In casa de' figliuoli di Aldo, 1541); Francesco Sansovino, *Gl'annali Tvrcheschi overo Vite de principi della casa Othomana* (In Venetia: Appresso Enea de Alaris, 1573); Pietro Bertelli, *Vite degl'imperatori de Turchi con le loro effiggie intalgiate in Rame* (In Vicenza: Ad instancia di Pietro Bertelli, 1599). On Paolo Giovio's role in the humanist revival of the Roman genre of *elogium*, a brief biographical explication of portraits in genealogies of illustrious families, see Guy Le Thiec, "L'Entrée des Grands Turcs dans le «Museo» de Paolo Giovio," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 104, no. 2 (1992): 781–830 at 812–13. For an overview of Giovio's diverse narrative sources, both oral and written, see V. J. Parry, "Renaissance Historical Literature in Relation to the Near and Middle East (with Special Reference to Paolo Giovio)," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 277–89 at 283–89. On Giovio's

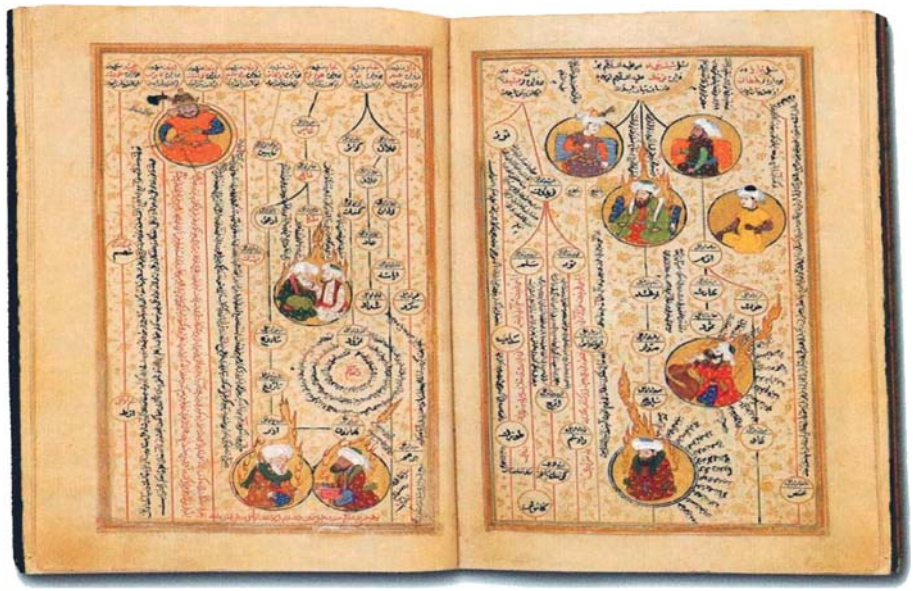

Fig. 1 *Silsilenâme*. Istanbul, c. 1595–1600.
Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1324, fol. 21r.

Fig. 2 *Mehmed II*. From Naḳḳāş ʻOsmān's *Şema'ilnâme* (Istanbul, 1579). Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1563, fol. 47b.

Fig. 3 *Bayezid I*. From Pietro Bertelli's *Vite degli Imperatori de Turchi* (Venice, 1599).

Unlike either its Ottoman or humanist models, however, the chronology in the Codex is abbreviated enough to suggest it was intended as a mnemonic device for someone already familiar with that history (as, indeed, would have been any Venetian diplomat sent to Istanbul), rather than as an introduction to the subject for the layperson.

The function of sultans' portraits in Ottoman miniature albums which date from the reign of Mehmed IV (1648-1687) and which circulated in various European capitals has received some scholarly attention before. Ottomanist Hans Georg Majer, for example, has emphasized that while bearing only little relationship to their subjects, such portraits

> responded well enough to the need for information, illustration, and sometimes propaganda in parts of Europe. […] Several times Europe had received information on the sultan in the form of Ottoman miniature portraits which then were transformed into prints or even oils. The European influence might be found in the Ottoman painter's adoption of a style which more directly individualized and characterized the sultan. A second line of influence was the market, where production mostly for Europeans had begun when there was little demand from the court. In all probability, the Europeans demanded similitude and the Ottoman artists responded.[21]

This description unwittingly models cultural interactions between Ottoman artists and European patrons on the "exchange" of fungible commodities in a market

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relationship to emerging Orientalist discourses in Europe, and to broader historiographical trends in late Italian humanism, see Paul Ortwin Rave, "Paolo Giovio und die Bildnisvitenbücher des Humanismus," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 1 (1959): 119–54; Hans Georg Majer, "Nigâri and the Sultans' Portraits of Paolo Giovio," in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi: Bildiriler = 9th International Congress of Turkish Art*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), 441–455; Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, "Sultan Portraits in European Printed Books of the 16th Century: The 'Cronica Breve' of 1598," in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi: Bildiriler*, vol. 1, 451–463; T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-century Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Hans Georg Majer, "Giovio, Veronese und die Osmanen," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2000), 345–359; Bronwen Wilson, "Reflecting on the Face of the Turk in Sixteenth-century Venetian Portrait Books," *Word & Image* 19, no. 1 & 2 (2003): 38–58.

21 Hans Georg Majer. "New Approaches in Portraiture," in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000), pp. 336–375 at 344.

informed by "supply" and "demand." As I have argued elsewhere and as will be elaborated below, such a model relies in large part on notions of radical alterity premised on European encounters with indigenous groups in the Americas, but quite problematic in a Mediterranean context.[22] To present Ottoman producers and European consumers as mediated primarily by the market is to ignore the existence of enduring genres (like, indeed, sultans' portraits) and institutions (like resident embassies) which, by the mid seventeenth century, had facilitated ongoing and multidirectional interactions between the Ottomans and their neighbors for decades, if not centuries. Such a model of radical alterity reduces complex moments of cultural mediation to a vague (and unidirectional) notion of artistic "influence." Instead, in order to account for the complex nature of cultural mediation in the early modern Mediterranean, the histories of enduring political institutions and semiotic practices like diplomacy and portraiture should be studied together, allowing us to develop a more careful analytical vocabulary than "influence" and "adoption."

Just as Giovio's sultanic portraiture project had strong connections to Ottoman conventions of sultanic representation, Ottoman artists themselves were well familiar with the works of Italians such as Gentile Bellini and Costanzo da Ferrara, who had created sultans' portraits during their sojourns at Mehmed II's court.[23] Ottoman artists also drew portraits of European rulers, such as the French king Francis I and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, copied from prints "which [had]

22 See Rothman, *Brokering Empire*.

23 Franz Babinger, *Ein weiteres Sultansbild von Gentile Bellini aus russischem Besitz* (Vienna: H. Böhlaus Nachf., Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962); Franz Babinger, "Un ritratto ignorato di Maometto II opera di Gentile Bellini," *Arte Veneta* 15 (1965): 25–32; James Byam Shaw, "Gentile Bellini and Constantinople," *Apollo* 120 (1984): 56–8; Julian Raby, "Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal," *Studies in the History of Art* 21 (1987): 171–94. On Bellini's role in developing an "Ottoman mode" in Venetian painting, see Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (Totowa, NJ: Islamic Art Publications, 1982), 21 and passim. Regrettably, Raby does not consider any possible contacts that Bellini, or other European artists who visited Istanbul, may have had with Ottoman artists. For alternative views that emphasize Bellini's interactions in Istanbul, see the essays in Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, eds. *Bellini and the East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Bellini's sojourn in Istanbul is particularly significant for a study of the Cicogna Codex, given his Venetian connections, and the likely possibility that two of his portraits of Mehmed II were owned by Venetian patrician families in the mid seventeenth century. See Maria-Pia Pedani-Fabris, "Simbologia ottomana nell'opera di Gentile Bellini," *Atti—Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 155 (1): 2–29 at 2.

arrived in Istanbul with some diplomatic embassy."[24] Regardless of the degree to which sultans' portraits by both European and Ottoman artists shared their models, they served some similar purposes. As architectural historian Gülru Necipoğlu argues, the genre was intended in both milieus as a historical device, celebrating dynastic continuity and providing an opportunity to narrate the Ottomans' major territorial achievements through their embodiment in specific rulers.[25]

This is exemplified in the case of the Ottoman *şehname,* or "Book of Kings." Rather than a simple imitation of European conventions in response to market demand, this genre was a form of courtly historiography par excellence. Many of the "books of kings" produced in the Ottoman court in the sixteenth century were collaborations between the official court historiographer (*şehnameci*) and an artistic team employed long-term at court in a variety of functions. Unlike their Persian prototype, these Ottoman courtly collaborators derived their materials from "the lives of their imperial patrons, as they recounted the Sultan's accomplishments in war and in peace."[26] And as Christine Woodhead argues, most *şehnames* seem to have been kept in the inner palace, where access to them was restricted to the sultan and his immediate entourage and advisers.[27]

A closely related genre, *kıyafetname*, had its roots in the science of physiognomy. Kıyafet in Arabic means "to follow a person or his traces." In common Arabic and Ottoman usage, kıyafet also came to signify "dress, attire, costume, resemblance and features."[28] One branch of this science engaged in determining

24 Binney, *Turkish Treasures*, 24. Binney's catalogue includes reproductions of Ottoman portraits of the two European rulers, numbered 12a & 12b, now in the Harvard University Art Museum. On the multidirectional interaction between Ottoman, Venetian, and other artists who sojourned in early modern Istanbul, see J. Michael Rogers, "Mehmed the Conqueror: Between East and West," on *Bellini and the East*, 80–97.

25 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Serial Portraits of Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," in *The Sultan's Portrait*, 22–61 at 51. On Ottoman sultanic portraiture in general, see also the other excellent essays in the same volume.

26 Eleanor G. Sims, "The Turks and Illustrated Historical Texts," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Fehér (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 747–772 at 749.

27 Christine Woodhead, "Reading Ottoman 'Şehnames': Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century," *Studia Islamica*, no. 104/105 (January 1, 2007): 67–80 at 70. See also Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian" for important comments on the myriad courtly contexts from which artists were recruited to work on more ad-hoc *şehname* productions.

28 Seyyid Lokman Çelebi, *Kıyâfetü'l-İnsâniyye fî şemâili'l-'Osmâniyye* (Istanbul: The Foundation for Establishing and Promoting Centers for Historical Research and Documentation, 1987), 11.

the age or sex of people, horses, and other living beings by observing the traces of footprints left on the roads or paths they tread. Another was concerned with deducing moral and psychological tendencies of a person from the study of his physical appearance. Here, *kıyafetname* came quite close to serial sultanic portraiture. One of the most famous Ottoman works of this type, court eulogist Seyyid Lokman Çelebi's *Kıyâfetü'l-İnsâniyye fî Şemâili'l-'Osmâniyye* (known as the *Şema'ilnâme*), combined the two by providing a miniature portrait for each sultan, accompanied by accounts of his conquests and other great deeds.[29] Interestingly, Nakkaş Osman, the artist who created the portraits for Lokman's work, claimed to have done so after studying portraits of the Sultans made by European painters that had been kept in the palace.[30]

A third Ottoman genre, *Murakka'* (literally "that which is put together from several pieces"), was eclectic by definition, premised on the compilation and re-entextualization of disparate images and texts.[31] According to art historian Aimée Froom,

> Each work in a *murakka'* was customarily mounted on a page and embellished with decorated margins. These mounted and decorated pages were then bound together in a book […] Pages used to form a *murakka'* could come from a wide variety of sources, such as other albums, war booty, books or gifts. In addition, works were often directly commissioned for a *murakka'* by a royal patron.[32]

Perhaps the most significant feature of the murakka' is its functioning as "an open system where folios were both added to and taken away after its presentation."[33] The eclectic and fragmentary nature of the genre, and its emphasis on the composition of a new book through the compilation and juxtaposition of existing artifacts from diverse provenances, closely resembles the German *Stammbuch* and *album amicorum*. These sketch-books prepared by scholars or travelers to present to friends back home upon their return gained European-wide popularity by the seventeenth century, and were well-known

29 Ibid., 10.

30 Ibid., 14; but cf. Necipoğlu, "The Serial Portraits," 33 for an interpretation of Nakkaş Osman's classical synthesis in sultanic portraiture as a delineation of a boundary with European visual culture.

31 B. W. Robinson, "Muraḳḳa'," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VII (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 602b.

32 Aimée Froom, "Collecting Tastes: A Muraqqa' for Sultan Murad III," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* IV, no. 19 (2001): 1–14 at 2.

33 Ibid., 5; Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, "L'album d'Ahmed Ier," *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 13 (1963): 127–162.

in Venice with its large German population.[34] As I show below, the Cicogna Codex was similarly a potentially open-ended artifact, in which stock images were combined with especially-commissioned ones. The technique of mounting a gilded miniature on a page and adding an accompanying gloss to give it a new context also closely resembles *murakka'* and *album amicorum* production techniques.

Beyond overall similarity in organizing principles to specific Ottoman genres, the Cicogna Codex further shows affinity with more diffuse contemporary Ottoman painting conventions. In addition to sultanic portraiture, mentioned above, it also recalls the shape and color scheme used to depict certain types of vessels (cf. the galleass in fig. 4 with the galley in fig. 5) and representational techniques for naval battle scenes overall (cf. the set up, elevation, and juxtaposition of camps in figs. 6 and 7).

Fig. 4 *The Grand Admiral's Sail/Lateen Galley*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 54r.

Fig. 5 *Arrival of Osman II to the Palace by Sea*. From the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (Istanbul, ca. 1622). Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1124, fols. 73b-74a

34 William Barker, "Alciato's Emblems and the Album Amicorum: A Brief Note on Examples in London, Moscow, and Oxford," Alciato Homepage. 2002. Available URL: http://www.mun.ca/alciato/album.html; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 104.

Fig. 6 *Destruction of the Ottoman Navy near the Dardanelles*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 45r.

Fig. 7 *Naval Battle*. From the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī*. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1124, fol. 29a

Descriptions of architectural monuments in the Codex also bear strong affinities with Ottoman visual and narrative conventions of representing architectural space. As Walter Denny suggests:

> In such works [...] of city-description, either in travelers' accounts or in compilations of architectural monuments [...] the concern is in enumerating long lists of buildings, in some arbitrary order, whether alphabetical, chronological, or by size, location, or degree of holiness; each building on the list is often given a brief note as well. The provided information rarely, if ever, deals with an architectural description of the building's form except in poetic metaphor or hyperbole; rather, in the same enumerative tradition, the treatise will discuss the number of minarets, the number and type of dependencies, or will provide anecdotes about the designer of the stained glass or the inscriptions, together with information on the founder and the burials at the mosque.[35]

35 Walter B. Denny, "A Sixteenth-century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 49–63 at 51. On Ottoman representation of architectural space, see also Norman J. Johnston, "The Urban World of the Matraki Manuscript," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30, no. 3 (1971): 159–176; Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 3 (1986): 224–243; J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B Harley, 2.1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 228–255.

Similarly, the Cicogna Codex often dwells on the social functions and (Venetocentric) historical significance of specific buildings. For example, it distinguishes between hans and caravanserais based not on their architectural features but on their social uses.

The frontal view of an unspecified "open caravanserai" on fol. 32r (fig. 8) is given the following gloss:

> This is the open caravanserai, with the door, guarded by chains, with the fireplaces and fire for the convenience of travelers, whose weapons are seen hanging on the wall, with the horses downstairs, in the same place where Turks of all ranks stay, in the same manner that in Christendom taverns are used.[36]

Fig. 8 *An Open Caravanserai*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 32r.

36 "Q[ue]sto è il Cavarsera aperto, con la porta, guardata da catena con li camini, et il foco p[er] com[m]odo di viaggianti, le cui armi pure si veggon' affise al muro, con li cavalli à basso, dentro il luogo med[esi]mo, ove capita ogni cond[itio]ne di turco, nel modo stesso che nella Christianità si usano le hosterie": Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 32r.

Fig. 9 *The Caravanserai in Istanbul*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 19r.

This gloss not only provides an explanation of how the building is used, but also suggests a calque, "tavern," as a familiar, "Christian" equivalent institution. Such calques and ethnographic details are a clear departure from Ottoman texts. The generic visual representation (fig. 9) and textual explication offered for hans are almost identical to those given for the open caravanserai, but with an important additional reference to their urban character:[37]

> Image of a han in Istanbul, where men and horses take a break from their travels; the door is crossed by chains, guarded by custodians; outside, adjacent to the same han, are shops of different kinds of merchandise for the convenience of the same passengers and travelers.[38]

37 On the distinction between caravanserais and hans, see Bozkurt Ersoy, "Façade Compositions of Ottoman City-hans," in *Art Turc - Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva: Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999), 297–303.

38 "Figura di un Can di Cost[antinopo]li, ove si riducono huomini, e cavalli da viaggio; la porta è attraversata da catene, guardata da custodi; al di fuori, attaccate all' istesso Can, vi sono botteghe di varie qualità di merci, p[er] com[m]odo delli stessi passaggieri, et viaggianti": Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 19r.

Hans also feature in the Codex as the sites of specific historical events. A han is first mentioned on fol. 15v, as the place where Venetian ambassador Giovanni Cappello was detained. The same han is then visually represented on fol. 44r (fig. 10) and identified as "the first Han of Edirne."

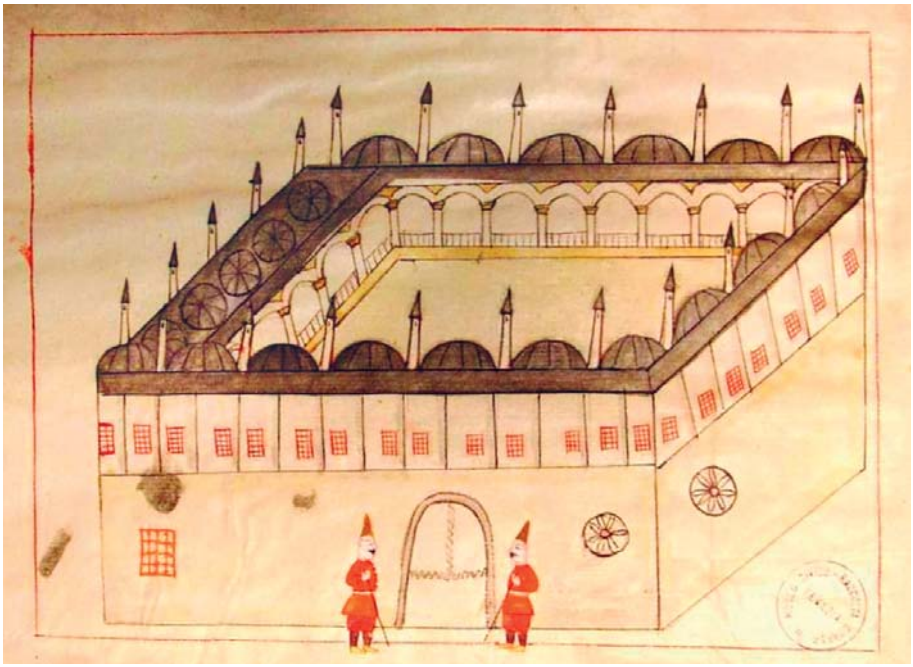

Fig. 10 *The First Han of Edirne.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 44r.

Two other hans are visually and textually represented in the Codex: the Büyük Valide Han on fol. 22r (fig. 11), and another, unspecified han of Edirne on fol. 49r (fig. 12). In describing the Büyük Valide Han, the author not only identifies the structure's patron, the queen mother (valide) Kösem Sultan (ca. 1589-1651, mother of sultans Murad IV and Ibrahim I), but also adds that "it is built of marble with great skill and expenditure; inside are many rooms, to keep the belongings of merchants; in the center, a mosque for prayer, and a fountain for washing and drinking."[39] By recalling the mosque in the courtyard of the Büyük Valide

39 "Il Càn della Validè, cioè della Sultana madre di Sultan Amurat, è fabricato di marmi con gran maestria, et spesa; quantità di stanze al di dentro, p[er] custodir li capitali di mercanti; nel mezzo, una moschea, p[er] orare, et una fontana, p[er] lavarsi, et p[er] bere": Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 22r.

Fig. 11 *The Büyük Valide Han*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 22r.

Han, and detailing its various ritual and public functions, the author is pointing to the great social importance of hans as nodes of urban life, rather than as mere tourist attractions.[40]

Significantly, the view of Istanbul which emerges from the Codex is decidedly secular. Two mosques are briefly mentioned (the one in the courtyard of the Büyük Valide Han on fol. 22r, and the "Mosque of Santa Sofia" on fol. 34r), but they are not the focus of either text or image. Nor is explicit reference made to Islam or Christianity in the narrative. Another characteristic feature of the Codex's selection of architectural views is the absence of any monuments from the "classical period" of Süleyman the Lawgiver (1520–1566), clearly distinguishing it from contemporary Ottoman works that list monuments of the city. While some of the monuments mentioned recall Istanbul's deep past, either Roman and

40 The Büyük Valide Han, the largest in Istanbul, was built by Kösem shortly before her death in 1650. See Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971, 359. On this and other architectural projects sponsored by the the valide sultans, see Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006).

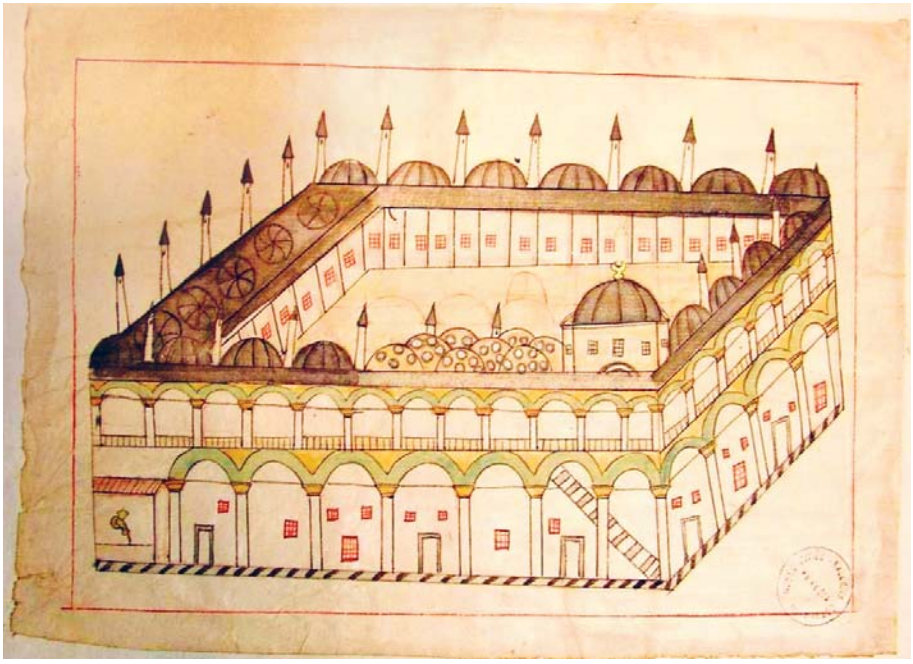

Fig. 12 *A Han of Edirne*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 49r.

Byzantine (the aqueducts, the hippodrome), or early Ottoman (Rumeli Fortress, the Castle of the Seven Towers), others were very recent, mid-seventeenth-century constructions: the Büyük Valide Han in Istanbul and the Valide Han in Edirne (built in 1650 and 1651, respectively) and the Grand Pavilion (whose construction began in the 1620s but continued throughout the seventeenth century). No reference, however, is made to the multiple impressive building projects carried out under Süleyman the Lawgiver, such as the vast Süleymaniye complex (completed in 1557).[41] Instead, the main selection criterion for inclusion in the Codex seems to have been military or commercial interest, as befits a diplomatic manual as opposed to a souvenir album.

As this brief overview suggests, the Cicogna Codex not only provides a decidedly metropolitan view of Ottoman life, but does so by deftly merging elite Ottoman and European-wide genres in the composition or style of specific miniatures and narrative glosses, as well as in their overall organization and sequencing. The

41 On Süleymân's architectural projects, see the articles by Gülru Necipoğlu, Aptullah Kuran, and Nurhan Atasoy in Gilles Veinstein, ed. *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris: Documentation française, 1992).

heavy thematic, structural and stylistic reliance on multiple genres distinguishes this codex and defies its clear categorization in any singular tradition.

Crucially, the Cicogna Codex does not simply integrate different genres, but insists on the key interpretive role of its author in making sense of the visual material presented to the reader. Whereas most early modern Ottoman costume albums compiled pictorial anthologies with only brief captions, the Cicogna Codex conjoins Ottoman miniatures with extensive accompanying Italian glosses. Indeed, its lengthy narratives are sometimes only illustrated by the miniatures, rather than the other way around. By superimposing a narrative gloss on miniatures predicated on multiple genres, the Codex simultaneously proclaims the images' unintelligibility or limited intelligibility on their own, as the products of a foreign world, and assumes the voice of their most qualified "interpreter." The act of cultural mediation thus becomes metonymic of the very role of Venetian diplomats and dragomans at the Porte.

Whereas the first part of the Codex chronicles key moments in Venetian-Ottoman relations through the medium of sultanic portraiture, its second part uses genre scenes to discuss various aspects of contemporary Ottoman urban life.[42] But it does so in a way that diverges dramatically from the most popular genre of representing Ottoman society at the time, namely costume albums. These visual "surveys" and "catalogues" of the various peoples under Ottoman rule, in which costumes functioned as iconic signs of ethnic diversity, became enormously popular in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century among Ottoman sultans and European publics alike.[43] In contrast, the Cicogna Codex features no portraits

42 On the appearance of scenes from everyday life in Ottoman albums during the reign of Ahmed I (1603–1617), see Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: R. C. D. Cultural Institute, 1974), 65.

43 Claus-Peter Haase, "An Ottoman Costume Album in the Library of Wolfenbüttel Dated Before 1579," in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi: Bildiriler 9th International Congress of Turkish Art*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1991), 225–233 at 228; Tadeusz Majda, "Une collection de minatures du costume turc du 18ème siècle," in *IVème Congrès International D'art Turc* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1976), 117–122; Leslie Meral Schick, "Ottoman Costume Albums in a Cross-Cultural Context," in *Art Turc - Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 625–628; Hans Georg Majer, "Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women: The Works of Musavvir Hüseyin and Their East-West Context," in *Art Turc - Turkish Art*, 463–471; Leslie Meral Schick, "The Place of Dress in Pre-Modern Costume Albums" in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 93–102; Tülay Artan, "Arts and Architecture," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey* vol. 3, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi

of ethnic types, and in fact includes no individual portraits of ordinary Ottoman subjects at all. Although some of the costumes in its miniatures do stand for different kinds of persons (Muslims, Franks and Latins, court officials and street vendors), the figures wearing them are always situated in genre scenes rather than appear as stand-alone, individual portraits. They are not prototypes but interactionally-defined persons.

Fig. 13 *Varied Sorts of Slippers.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 21r.

Unlike costume albums, the Cicogna Codex engages surprisingly little in the objectification of social types through the elaboration of dress codes. The only explicit textual reference to dress in the entire Codex concerns the hastily drawn shoes on fol. 21r (fig. 13). Significantly, however, the gloss does not present the

(Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 408-480. On European albums, see Eleanor Sims, "Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein's Turkish Figures," in *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550-1800)* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 20–40; Hans-Albrecht Koch, *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1991); Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Late Sixteenth-century Costume Books," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 1–54; Karin Ådahl, ed., *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657-1658 and the Rålamb Paintings* (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2006). According to some, the *Şehnāme-i Nādirī* (ca. 1622), which was devoted to part of the reign of 'Osmān II (1618–1622), was the last illustrated Ottoman annals, and few other historical works of other kinds were illustrated in subsequent decades. Instead, courtly art moved toward more intimate figure-studies of social and ethnic types, and scenes from daily life. See Rogers et al., *The Topkapi Saray Museum*, 251. See also Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés* vol. 2: de Murad IV à Mustafa III, 1623–1773 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1971), 37 and 118, who identifies seventeenth-century Ottoman artists' desire to give individual character to personages as a "European influence."

shoes as belonging to any particular order of society, nor as metonyms of gendered wearers. Instead, they are simply "varied sorts of slippers, that is shoes, boots, and ankle-boots, used by Turkish men and women."[44]

The conspicuous lack of ethnic elaboration in the Cicogna Codex gains added meaning once we consider another miniature album which initially may have been part of the same manuscript. The whereabouts of the album in question are now lost, although its last owner, the German orientalist Franz Taeschner, did publish a facsimile edition in 1925 under the somewhat inaccurate title "Court and Folk Life of Old Istanbul: A Turkish Miniature Album from the Seventeenth Century."[45] Unfortunately, Taeschner's facsimile edition was in black and white (a few of the miniatures were schematically re-colored). Even though Taeschner indicated in his brief introduction that the miniatures had been accompanied by an Italian text, he did not include a transcript. Instead, he gave each miniature a caption in German. Whether these captions were translated from the Italian or were Taeschner's own interpretation of the scenes depicted remains uncertain.

My hypothesis that Taeschner's and Cicogna's codices formed one manuscript at some early point is supported by several facts. First, the only two sultanic portraits included in Taeschner's album (Osman II on p. 5 and Ahmed I on p. 9) are precisely two of the three missing in the Cicogna Codex (the third one being Murad IV, 1623–1640).[46] Second, Taeschner's album includes at least five genre scenes (pp. 1–4, 10), three Venetian diplomatic scenes (pp. 51–53) and one battle scene (p. 14) that show very close stylistic and thematic resemblance to the ones in the Cicogna Codex, without duplicating them (cf. figs. 14 & 15).

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44 "Varie sorti di papuzze, cioè scarpe, stivali, stivaletti, usati da huomini, e doñe turche": Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 21r.

45 Franz Gustav Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben: Ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung H. Lafaire, 1925). Taeschner purchased the manuscript from General von Bötticher, who had it displayed at the Exhibition of Islamic Art in Munich in 1910. In 1937 Taeschner gave the manuscript on loan to the Berlin Staatsmuseum, from which it was removed by Soviet soldiers in 1945. Its whereabouts since have been lost. On Taeschner and his manuscript collection, now at the Leiden University Library, see Jan Schmidt, "Franz Taeschner's Collection of Turkish Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library," in *The Joys of Philology: Studies in Ottoman Literature, History and Orientalism, 1500-1923*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2002), 237–266.

46 That Murad IV's portrait was included in the original manuscript is evinced by a reference to sultan Ibrahim at the opening sentence of fol. 14r as "the brother of Murad."

Fig. 14 *Blacksmiths and Saddlers*. Reproduced from Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler*, 10.

Fig. 15 *The Horse Market*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 30r.

Significantly, the diplomatic scenes in Taeschner's album describe benign Venetian-Ottoman diplomatic interactions ("the bailo accompanied to audience," "the bailo at audience with the Grand Vizier," and "the bailo perfumed by the Grand Vizier during audience"), as opposed to the acrimonious narrative of the Cicogna Codex. This may suggest that the scenes depicted in Taeschner's album had initially appeared early in the narrative sequence but were then excised either by the author or by a later owner who considered them inappropriate. If indeed these images were actively excluded from the Cicogna Codex as a conscious editorial move, rather than simply originated in a separate commission for a separate manuscript, then the virtual absence from the Cicogna Codex of portraits of social and ethnic types, compared with their abundance in the Taeschner album, raises some interesting questions about the two codices' ultimate intended audience and purpose, and reinforces the diplomatic function of the Cicogna Codex.

There are several further indications for the provenance of the Cicogna Codex within Venetian diplomatic circles in Istanbul, and for its intended use as a practical handbook. Two oversized and highly detailed plans of Ottoman fortresses, drawn in sepia and black pen according to contemporary geometrical perspective, are appended at the end of the Codex (figs. 16 and 17).

The artist(s) entrusted with executing these plans commanded not only the Italian language (as evinced by the detailed legend which accompanies the plan on fol. 59r), but also up-to-date Venetian conventions of visual

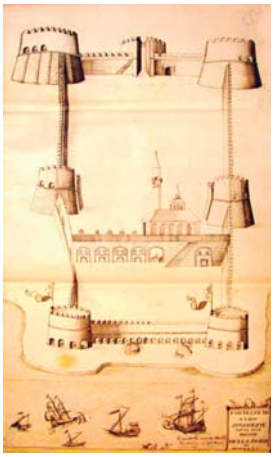

Fig. 16 *The Rumeli Fortress.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 58r.

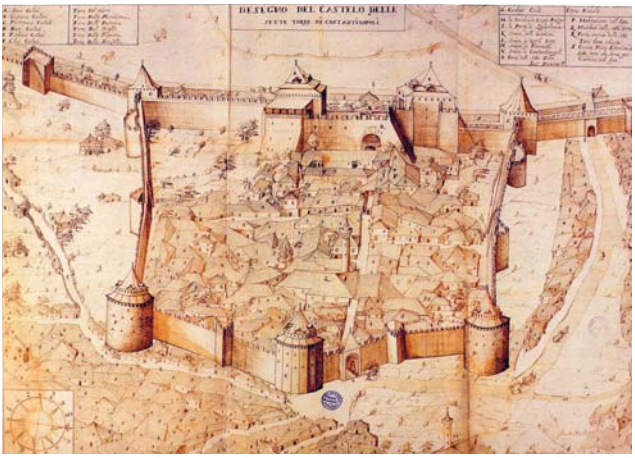

Fig. 17 *The Castle of the Seven Towers*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 59r.

representation of architectural space.[47] The plan on fol. 59r (fig. 17), in black ink, measures 43 X 60 cm, and is signed by "Antonio Prinsaji," who remains unidentified. Its striking similarity to a plan of the same fortress drawn by Vicentine artist Francesco Scarella c. 1685 (fig. 18) has already been noted by Franz Babinger.[48]

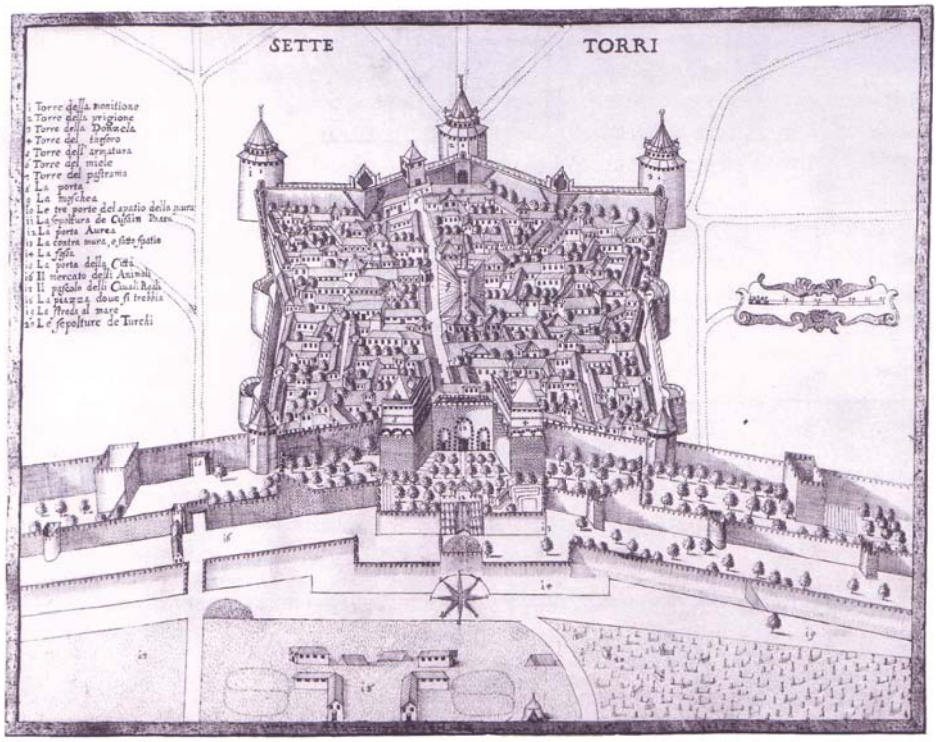

Fig. 18 Francesco Scarella, *The Castle of the Seven Towers* (c. 1685). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 8627, fol. 5.

47 On topographic drawings of Istanbul produced for Venetian military purposes, see Giovanni Curatola, "Drawings by Colonel Giovanni Francesco Rossini, Military Attaché of the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople," in *Art Turc - Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1999), 225–231.

48 Babinger, "Francesco Scarella e i suoi disegni di Costantinopoli (circa 1685)." *Rivista d'arte* 35 (1960): 153–67 at 156; see also Cyril Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 173–188.

That the plans of both the Castle of the Seven Towers (Yedikule) and the Rumeli Fortress (Rumelihisarı) were included in the Codex from its inception is clearly indicated on an earlier folio, where the author tells us that "a description of the two other fortresses, renovated, is on another page, done by a very careful hand, and will be in the back of this book."[49] This underscores the original integrity of the Codex, and suggests its intended use as a practical handbook, rather than as a mere souvenir.[50]

As already suggested, some of the miniatures in the Codex, especially the sultans' portraits and certain genre scenes, bear close similarities to other miniature albums produced in Istanbul in the mid seventeenth century (compare, for example, figs. 19 and 20), suggesting their possible provenance in an atelier specializing in such generic miniatures for a relatively broad clientele.[51] On the other hand, those miniatures depicting the misfortunes of the Venetian diplomatic corps during the Venetian-Ottoman War of Crete (1645–1669) were unlikely to have been generic products, as their value for patrons not directly connected with the Venetian embassy would have been rather limited.[52]

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49 "La descrittione de gl' altri due forti, novam[en]te fabricati, è in altra carta, formata da mano assai dilig[en]te, et sarà nel fondo del p[rese]nte libro": Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 55r.

50 Later, in the eighteenth century, the Venetians' need for expert visual-military knowledge of the Ottoman Empire led to the sojourn in the bailo's house in Istanbul from 1723 to 1727 of Giovanni Francesco Rossini as military attaché. Rossini, who had extensive prior experience in creating topographic reliefs, produced several drawings of the city, including "Hydrographic and Topographic Description of the Dardanelles completed in the year 1726," and "View of Constantinople from the garden of the Palace of Venice." See Curatola, "Drawings."

51 For a list of these albums' measurements and current locations, see Günsel Renda, "17. Yüzyıldan Bir Grup Kıyafet Albümü," In *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı 19-20 Mart 1998 : Sempozyum Bildirileri* (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 153–178 at 171. A few miniatures from several such albums have been reproduced in full color: In addition to the portrait of Sultan Ibrahim from an unidentified costume album now in the Naval Museum in Istanbul (fig. 20), see Rochard, *Türkei*, 131 for portraits of Sultan Ibrahim and of an unidentified sultana from a manuscript in the Eric Grünberg Fine Arts gallery in Paris. A whole series of miniatures from the Rålamb album is available in full color online, at: http://www.os-ar.com/kiyafet/. Black and white reproductions of two miniatures from another such album are in Binney, *Turkish Treasures*, 99. The miniatures are a "portrait of an officer of janissaries wearing a high aigrette" and a "portrait of a seated woman, her face hidden by a red veil." While Binney dates them to the early eighteenth century, they bear striking similarity to other miniatures from the 1640s and 1650s, including the ones in the Cod. Cicogna 1971.

52 At the same time, the relative stylistic cohesion of all the miniatures (in terms of

Fig. 19 *Sultan Ibrahim*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 14r.

Fig. 20 *Sultan Ibrahim*. From the *Gastallan Histori Tahtureks*. Istanbul Deniz Müzesi Kitaplığı, ms. 2380, fols. 28–29.

The (minor) differences between the Cicogna Codex's generic and custom-made miniatures correspond to its thematic divisions.[53] The by-now mostly faded captions on the back of the sultans' portraits contrast with the rest of the Codex

physiognomy, color schemes, and the representation of architectural space) precludes the possibility that they originated from widely different stocks. Rather, a Venetian patron may have either specified a list of miniatures to be painted in one commission, or purchased some generic pre-existing miniatures and then commissioned from the same artist or workshop additional miniatures to fit a specific narrative. For details on late sixteenth-century Ottoman miniature album production, which frequently involved more than one artist even for a single commission, see Günsel Renda, "New Light on the Painters of the «Zubdet al-Tawarikh» in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts in Istanbul," in *IV^ème Congrès International d'art Turc* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1976), 183–200.

53 As suggested above, the first section of the Codex functions as a stand-alone narrative sequence a la "lives of the sultans," although the text accompanying Mehmed IV's portrait is then elaborated in later diplomatic and military scenes. The second section representing buildings and social institutions again can be read separately from the final, more historical section.

miniatures, which show no evidence of previous Ottoman captions. The gilded frames of the sultans' portraits likewise differ from the orange, brown or black frames of most other miniatures.[54]

The contrast between the lengthy texts which accompany the sultans' portraits and the Venetian diplomatic scenes, on the one hand, and the much shorter glosses of most other miniatures, also suggests that they were understood by the Codex author to serve different narrative functions.

Indeed, it is not so much the provenance of the miniatures per se, but rather their relationship to the narrative, which provides important clues as to the author and approximate date of this Codex. In chronological terms, the last sultan whose portrait is included in the Codex is Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687). Mehmed acceded to the throne at age 7, and his early portraits frequently presented him as a beardless youth, as does his portrait in this Codex (fol. 15r). The narrative accompanying Mehmed IV's portrait ends in 1660, even though he ruled until 1687. Similarly, the latest firmly dated events mentioned in the Codex as a whole are the Ottoman conquest of Varadino, now Oradea in Rumania (fol. 15v) and the great fire of Istanbul (fol. 34), both of which also took place in 1660. There is no mention of the conclusion of the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669, a momentous event in the history of Venetian-Ottoman relations that would surely have warranted some discussion had the Codex been produced afterward.

Another important event that is not reported in the Codex and therefore helps date it is the change of the guard in the bailo's house in the mid 1660s. In 1660 Secretary Ballarino, still in Edirne (where the consulate was re-located intermittently from 1652 to 1664), was elected Venetian Grand Chancellor—the highest position open to members of the non-patrician citizen class.[55] By 1660 Ballarino

54 The captions and gilded frames could also suggest different conventions of sultanic representation and a concern with potential misidentification of individual sultans.

55 The appointment as Venetian Grand Chancellor often followed service as secretary to the bailo in Istanbul: Of the five people elected Grand Chancellors from 1630 to 1660, four had served in Istanbul. See Eric R. Dursteler, "Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Venetian Nation in Constantinople, 1573–1645," Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Brown University, 2000), 177. On secretaries in the Venetian civil service in general, and on the importance of Grand Chancellors in particular, see Giuseppe Trebbi, "La Cancelleria veneta nei secoli XVI e XVII," *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi* 14 (1980): 65–125; Mary Frances Neff, "Chancellery Secretaries in Venetian Politics and Society, 1480–1533," unpublished PhD Dissertation (University of California, Los Angeles, 1985); Giuseppe Trebbi, "Il Segretario Veneziano," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 144, no. 527 (1986): 35–73; Andrea Zannini, *Burocrazia e burocrati a Venezia in età moderna: i cittadini originari (sec XVI–XVIII)* (Venice: Istituto veneto di

had spent over 11 years in the Ottoman Empire.[56] His dispatches to the Senate and private correspondence convey an anxious desire to return to Venice to assume his new and prestigious post. This he never accomplished. The war delayed his departure from Ottoman territory, and he died in Macedonia on his return trip to Venice in 1666. Yet, it is likely that upon receiving news of his election as Grand Chancellor in late 1660, he expected to leave for Venice soon. He may have initiated production of this Codex at that time as a handbook for his successor.

That Ballarino is the likely author of the narrative is also suggested by a slip of the pen on fol. 35v. It concerns the rumor of an impending death order, issued for Ballarino by the Ottoman Grand Vizier. Whispered to Ambassador Giovanni Cappello by his French counterpart, it was overheard by the apprentice dragoman Tarsia. The phrase "mia morte" ("my death") is crossed out and replaced with "la morte di Ballarino" (fig. 21). This is the only place in the entire narrative where Ballarino discloses his identity, for a brief moment, only to immediately resume the first person plural of a generalized Venetian collective. Ballarino was

scienze, lettere ed arti, 1993); James S. Grubb, "Elite Citizens," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, eds. John Martin and Dennis Romano (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 339–364; Massimo Galtarossa, "La formazione burocratica del segretario veneziano: Il caso di Antonio Milledonne." *Archivio Veneto* CLVIII (2002): 5–64.

56 Ballarino's extensive career in the Venetian civil service began at age 19, following his graduation in philosophy from the University of Padua, when he was elected extraordinary secretary in the ducal chancery. It consequently included several lengthy sojourns outside the lagoon as secretary to *provveditor generale* Francesco Molino on Crete (1627–1631) and to *provveditor* Francesco Zeno in Dalmatia (1632–1634), and as Resident in Vienna (1635–1638). In 1639 he was appointed secretary to the Council of Ten, and in 1643 he reached the delicate position of secretary to the *Inquisitori di Stato*. In Istanbul, Ballarino had first served as a secretary to ambassador Simone Contarini and bailo Giorgio Giustinian (1624–1626), then to ambassador Giovanni Soranzo while the latter was held captive by the Ottomans (1648–1650), and then, from 1653 on, as an aide and de facto replacement to the old ambassador Giovanni Cappello upon the latter's attempted suicide in 1654. See Gian Franco Torcellan, "Ballarino, Giovanni Battista," in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani* vol. 5 (1963), 570–571. Available URL: http://www.treccani.it/Portale/elements/categoriesItems.jsp?pathFile=/sites/default/BancaDati/Dizionario_Biografico_degli_Italiani/VOL05/DIZIONARIO_BIOGRAFICO_DEGLI_ITALIANI_Vol05_003358.xml; and Ballarino's extensive biography written by his lifelong friend, the patrician Marco Trevisan, *L' immortalita di Gio Battista Ballarino caualiere, della Sereniss. Repub. di Venetia gran cancelliere descritta dalla penna amica di Marco Triuisano Nobile Veneto l'amico heroe: Dallo stesso dedicata al merito riueritissimo dell'illustriss et eccellentiss Sig Caualiere, e Prestantiss Procuratore di S Marco il Signore Andrea Contarini* (In Venetia: Appresso Gio. Pietro Pinelli, Stampator ducale, 1671).

not so much hiding his identity (the word "mia" is crossed out, but remains easily legible). Rather, he may have considered the third person to be a more appropriate register, which would strengthen the sense that he intended the work not as a personalized object to take back to Venice, but rather as a professional diplomatic guide to be given to his successor.

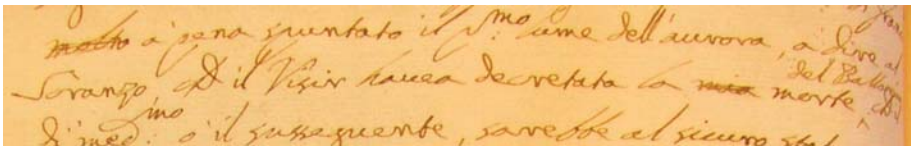

Fig. 21 MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 35v (excerpt).

Ballarino was a career bureaucrat, who dedicated his life to Venetian civil service. In that respect, his social position mirrored in interesting ways that of some of the most prominent compilers of Ottoman chronicles in the late sixteenth century, whose works the Codex recalls. Like the *şehnamecis*, Ballarino was embedded in a dense network of patronage, making him acutely aware of the collaborative nature of statecraft (in his case: running the bailo's household and negotiating with the Ottomans during wartime), and the need to please both those in Venice to whom he owed his appointment, as well as those working under him in Istanbul, particularly his dragomans. In other words, his perspective was multifocal by default. Also similarly to the *şehnamecis*, Ballarino was not groomed to be a member of the top echelons of his society, yet found himself entrusted with considerable authority, and with the task of producing texts to be read by his employers, where the challenges of his daily work had to be delicately negotiated. Thus, he was perhaps less invested in the self-aggrandizing textual strategies of patrician baili and ambassadors.

Ballarino's multifocal perspective and keen sense for the collaborative dimensions of diplomacy were shared by the dozen or so dragomans working under his employ in Venetian service. As I have argued elsewhere, these dragomans could be—much like Ballarino himself—highly educated individuals with some humanist training and extensive ties within the Venetian elite, but not patricians themselves.[57] Unlike Ballarino, however, dragomans were also for the most part native or long-term residents of Istanbul, well embedded in local networks of

57 E. Natalie Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 771–800; Rothman, "Self-Fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone: Giovanni Battista Salvago and His *Africa Overo Barbaria* (1625)," in *Renaissance Medievalisms*,

patronage, fluent Turkish speakers, with access to Ottoman courtiers, artists, and scholars, and potentially some familiarity with those diverse elite Ottoman genres of representing genealogy, history and society which this Codex recalls.

We can deduce dragomans' involvement in the production of the Codex from its formal correspondence with Ottoman representational strategies, and, on a more basic level, from the very practicalities of commissioning miniatures under conditions of war, and given Ballarino's own house arrest and periodic exile in Edirne. Dragomans' intervention is further evinced by the prominent place they are assigned throughout the Codex, both visually and textually. Dragomans or their apprentices are mentioned by name in four of the ten folios devoted to Venetian diplomacy and are depicted in miniatures on two others, in ways that subvert the official Venetian order of precedence. For example, on fol. 43r (fig. 22), the dragoman (identifiable as a local Latin through his dress) is presented riding a horse flanked by two Ottoman officials *ahead of* secretary Ballarino, his assistants and dragoman apprentices. The dragoman's visual alignment with—and enclosure between—Ottoman officials, and his separation from the rest of the Venetian contingent behind, suggest his hinge status, as simultaneously Ottoman and Venetian. His visual positioning may also represent his imagined or actual elevated status in the bailo's house, against the official order of precedence which subordinated him to Ballarino.[58]

Fig. 22 *Venetian Secretary Ballarino Led to Prison*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 43r.

ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 123–143.

58 On the Venetian consulate's order of precedence, see Dursteler, "Identity and Coexistence," 172.

The dragomans' perspective is further reflected in the sequencing of a series of visual representations of alleged Ottoman executions of Venetian representatives, starting with the strangling of Grand Dragoman Giovanni Antonio Grillo in 1649 (fol. 38r, fig. 23), and moving through the hanging of Grand Dragoman Marcantonio Borisi in 1620 (fol. 39r, fig. 24) to the undated hooking and impalement of two letter carriers (fols. 40r–41r, figs. 25 and 26).[59] Archival evidence suggests that Borisi's death in 1620 stemmed not from Ottoman caprice, but rather from a secret plot by the Venetian State Inquisitors, who suspected that he had spied for the Spaniards.[60] Placing Borisi's hanging in a series of Ottoman executions of Venetian diplomatic employees (rather than in the equally long list of secret killings of such employees by the Venetian government for suspected treason) could thus be read as an effort to fix his memory as a loyal, martyred Venetian subject, an ominous precedent for Grand Dragoman Giovanni Antonio Grillo's execution 29 years later.

Even more significant for our understanding of how the dragomans' perspective shapes this Codex is the role both image and text ascribe to a specific dragoman apprentice in preventing his Venetian employers, bailo Giovanni Soranzo and secretary Ballarino, from exacerbating an already precarious situation during their interrogation by the Ottoman Grand Vizier in 1649.[61] On fol. 35r (fig. 27) the apprentice visually figures as the person situated *in between* the Ottoman interrogators, who are standing to the right, and the Venetian diplomats Soranzo and Ballarino, who are seated to the left. His in-between-ness is conveyed in terms of his placement higher and more centrally than his employers; while his bright orange cloak and distinct, fur-lined headgear single him out as neither a Muslim nor a "Frank," but rather a "Latin." The text refers to him obliquely as "giovane della lingua Tarsia," (dragoman apprentice Tarsia) and therefore does not allow us to determine his exact identity. The future Grand Dragoman Cristoforo Tarsia, a nobleman from the Venetian colony of Capodistria, lived and worked in the bailo's house from 1620. His two younger brothers and three sons were all either

59 Impalement in particular became a sign of Ottoman cruelty. Luigi Bassano devoted an entire section in his *Costumi et modi particolari della vita de' Turchi* (Rome, 1545) to a very graphic description of Ottoman executions by impalement (fols. 39v-40v). Boerio's Venetian dictionary even defines "impalar" as "infilare alla turchesca." Giuseppe Boerio, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1960 [1829], 326.

60 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (henceforth: ASVe), Inquisitori di Stato, reg. 148, fol. 27 (June 6, 1620).

61 The interrogation is described in some detail in Trevisan, *L'immortalita di Gio Battista Ballarino caualiere*, 92–95.

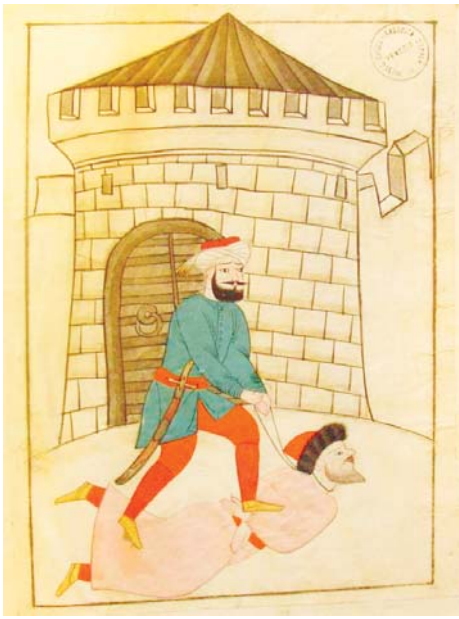

Fig. 23 *Grand Dragoman Grillo Strangled by Order of the Grand Vizier.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 38r

Fig. 24 *Grand Dragoman Borisi Hanged.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 39r.

Fig. 25 *A Letter-Carrier Hooked.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 40r.

Fig. 26 *A Letter-Carrier Impaled.* MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 41r.

Fig. 27 *Ottoman Officials Come to Interrogate Bailo Soranzo*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 35r.

born or raised there. In the late 1640s, when the events described took place, several Tarsia family members were employed as apprentice dragomans in the bailo's house.[62] Whoever the specific person in the picture, the very positioning

62 The person in question could have been one of Cristoforo's brothers, Marco and Giacomo, or sons, Leonardo, Tommaso, and Giacomo, who were all in Venetian service at some point during the war. On Cristoforo Tarsia, see ASVe, Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Lettere di Ambasciatori, Costantinopoli, b. 7, c. 129 (October 22, 1620); Senato, Dispacci Costantinopoli, filza 124, fols. 521r-521v, 525r (Oct. 8, 1643), filza. 138, fol. 128r (25, 1654), filza. 144, fols. 130r--131v (July 24, 1660); Collegio, Risposte di dentro, b. 61, (Jan. 21, 1663); Senato, Deliberazioni Costantinopoli, reg. 34, fols. 34r–36v, 105v (January 7, 1678). On Ruggiero Tarsia, see Senato, Deliberazioni Costantinopoli, reg. 23, fols. 71r-v (August 21, 1635); Collegio, Risposte di dentro, b. 43 (September 18, 1652); Collegio, Risposte di dentro, b. 46 (November 16, 1655). On Marco Tarsia, see Senato, Deliberazioni Costantinopoli, filza 32 (June 17, 1641 and Aug. 5, 1641). On Leonardo Tarsia, who was born ca. 1631, and who died of the plague while in Ballarino's service in Edirne in 1660, see Senato, Dispacci Costantinopoli, filza 139, fol. 613r (Sept. 1, 1655) & 614v (Sept. 19, 1655). Tommaso Tarsia (b. 1641) worked in the 1660s for the English and French as well as the Venetian embassies in Istanbul. At age 30 he was already a public dragoman in Venetian service in Dalmatia. In May 1671 he was transferred to Istanbul, and was promoted to the office of Grand Dragoman under

of a young member of the Tarsia family at the center of this politically-charged narrative and image, and his crowning as the savior of Venetian diplomats, suggest family involvement in producing this Codex.

In other ways too, this Codex reflects dragomans' perspective on the Ottoman world, which is consistently Venetian, and therefore external to its object, yet claims intimate knowledge of it. Several mechanisms are at work in producing this trans-imperial, rather than metropolitan perspective. First, the narrative repeatedly wavers between admiration for and critique of the sultans by interspersing the chronicle of their accomplishments with anecdotes invoking their cruelty.[63] In addition to their dramatic effect, such anecdotes reinforce distance from the Ottomans, who are otherwise depicted in a rather admiring tone. It could be argued that emphasis on cruelty might have served to enhance the narrative's affective force rather than to cast the Ottomans in a particularly negative light. Yet in addition to generic cruelty, both text and images pay special attention to personal atrocities that the Ottoman rulers committed against their political rivals. In particular, the Codex rarely fails to specify—both verbally and visually—the exact form of capital punishment meted out to such rivals, impalement featured most prominently.[64]

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bailo Pietro Civrano (1679–1681), in which position he served until 1706. Tommaso composed several texts, including a report on the Ottoman siege of Vienna which he published in 1683. See G. Paladino, "Due dragomanni veneti a Costantinopoli (Tommaso Tarsia e Gian Rinaldo Carli)," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 17, no. 33 (1917): 183–200 at 199. The youngest brother, Giacomo (Giacometto) Tarsia, who in 1663 was still living with his father Cristoforo, later became an accomplished interpreter and translator. In 1675 he completed an Italian translation of a chronicle by the Baghdad-born Ottoman historian Hasan Vecihi (1620–1661). Tarsia's autographed translation, the 360-page *Successi dell'Impero Ottomano*, is preserved in the Marciana library in Venice (MSS It. VI 84 [6053]). On Giacomo's earlier career, see ASVe, Collegio, Risposte di dentro, b. 61, unpaginated (Jan. 21, 1663 m.v.); Inquisitori di Stato, b. 418 (December 22, 1668).

63 For example, Osman was "of vile birth, but sagacious and valorous, struck great terror and advanced violently (fol. 1r). Bayezid I "robbed" (svaliggiare) "Bosnia, Dalmatia, Albania, Croatia, and Wallachia" (fol. 4r). Mehmed I caused the "emptying out" (insecutione) of Christians, who were "forced to run away from his violence" and leave Serbia, Walachia, and parts of Dalmatia (fol. 5v). Bayezid II (fig. 28) had the Venetian bailo dismissed and all the Venetian merchants imprisoned and robbed (fol. 8v). Selim I exercised "many cruelties" during his war against the Holy League (fol. 11v).

64 The complete list is as follows: The Serbian despot was "killed cruelly" by Murad I (fol. 3v); Murad II "harassed the Serbian despot," taking out the eyes and genitalia of his two sons (fol. 6r); Mehmed II "had his brother strangled and buried in his father's tomb, saying that this way, neither of them will have the displeasure of staying by

Fig. 28 *Sultan Bayezid II*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 8r.

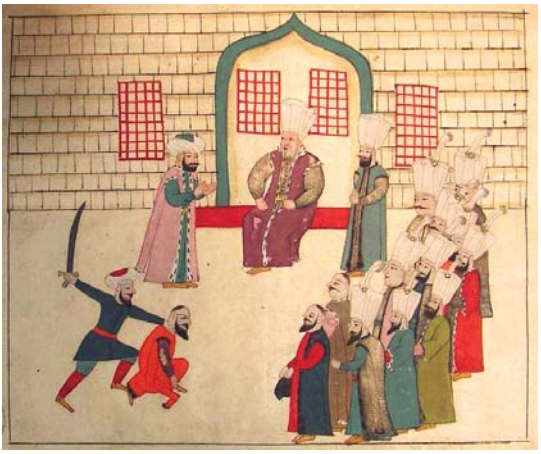

Fig. 29 *Execution of the Ambassador of Prince George Rákóczi II of Transylvania*. MCC, Cod. Cicogna 1971, fol. 20r.

The onset of the War of Crete saw trans-imperial subjects, and particularly dragomans, increasingly emphasizing Ottoman barbarity in their petitions to Venetian officialdom. Dragomans were not unique in this respect: As the historian Lucette Valensi has shown, Ottoman whimsical cruelty, and especially the sultan's despotism, became one of the key tropes of an emerging early modern anti-Ottoman discourse.[65] Yet, parallel to its emphasis on Ottoman cruelty, the Codex also makes noticeable, and repeated, gestures to Ottoman-Venetian parity, not only military, but political, economic, and artistic as well. First, while the text

himself" (fol. 7); Mehmed II also had Venetian bailo Girolamo Minio murdered, and two Venetian diplomats, Erizzo and Barbaro, impaled (fol. 7v); and, under pretence of peace, he had the prince of Misnia (Meissen) come visit him, and then had him skinned alive (scorticare) (ibid.); Selim I killed his brother as well as the captain of Cappadocia (fol. 9r), had one Mamluk sultan strangled and the other hanged (fols. 9r-9v); Selim II exercised "the cruelest acts of barbarity," having skinned alive Marcantonio Bragadin (the Venetian commander of besieged Famagusta, Cyprus) and having had another Venetian, Lorenzo Tiepolo, hanged, and many other private masters and cavaliers decapitated or enslaved (fol. 11v); Mehmed IV had Venetian Grand Dragoman Grillo strangled by order of the Grand Vizier (fols. 15r, 38r); the ambassador of Prince George II Rákóczi of Transylvania was decapitated in the Divan (fol. 20r, see fig. 29); Venetian Grand Dragoman Grillo was strangled in 1649 (fol. 38r), while Grand Dragoman Borisi was hanged by the throat (fol. 39r) and two Venetian letter carriers were hooked and impaled (fols. 40r & 41r).

65 Valensi, *Birth of the Despot*.

points out some cultural differences (as in the form of musical instruments used to accompany the sultana to the sultan's chambers, fol. 24r), other differences are glossed in a way that makes them seem less insurmountable (as on fol. 32r, where the caravanserai is said to be used "in the same manner that in Christendom taverns are used").

Initially, the text emphasizes the sultans' military prowess, especially in describing the early sultans up to Mehmed II, whose "great exploits" during 32 years of rule are readily acknowledged on fol. 7v. This emphasis (much in line with contemporary Ottoman periodization and nostalgia for the early sultanate) eventually gives way to discussions of Ottoman urban life, where great appreciation is expressed, among other things, for the abundance and variety of fruit in the fruit-sellers' stands (fol. 26r), the size of rooms and quality of decorations in the sultan's summer pavilions (fol. 25r), and the quality of materials, mastery and expense of the Büyük Valide Han (fol. 22r). By the mid seventeenth century, Venetian open praise for Ottoman cultural landmarks was by no means standard. Especially in light of ongoing Ottoman threat to the integrity of the Venetian empire, the Codex's visual and textual gestures toward the comparability, commensurability, and mutual influence of Ottoman and Venetian urban styles, cultural achievements, and economic systems is an important indication of the intimate understanding of things Ottoman, from a Venetian perspective, that the author sought to convey.

As discussed above, the sense of intimacy with the Ottoman world is also achieved, in part, through the particular juxtaposition and merging throughout the Codex of several visual and textual genres. The skilled manipulation of these genres reinforces the sense that a successful diplomat must be able to assume a very particular perspective, integrating knowledge that emerged from cultural centers that were distinct, but, as I have shown, not a priori unrelated. It is exactly in such acts of mediation by those in-between, both overtly and tacitly, that the interdependence as well as the boundaries between Venetian and Ottoman cultural centers were established. The dragomans' perspective places the intermediary in the center of the text, and by so doing, subordinates Ottoman narratives to Venetian ones. Here, then, we see the production of a trans-imperial perspective on the Ottoman world.

The ability to manipulate multiple genres, both Ottoman and European-wide, and merge them into a unique, individualized whole, gains ironic additional meanings here. Like the sultan's *murakka'*, the Cicogna Codex is a "diplomatic gift," which celebrates the Ottomans, yet also its author's own power

of discernment and ability to outwit the Ottomans, through the help of his dragomans to be sure, as in the scene on fol. 35r where apprentice dragoman Tarsia advises Ballarino to remain silent in order to avoid incurring the Grand Vizier's wrath.

To conclude, as the Codex's presumed author, Ballarino exercises his chief right of selecting and re-organizing its visual material. By adding a detailed gloss, rather than mere captions, he makes explicit his own remarkable knowledge of things Ottoman. His occasional deletions, corrections and interlineal additions serve the same overall purpose, by amplifying his extensive knowledge, and his position as ultimate arbiter of the text's authority, accuracy, and completeness.[66] At the same time, by granting such extensive narrative and visual space to dragomans' accomplishments, Ballarino acknowledges their specialized knowledge and unique perspective, without which his own authority would be greatly undermined. While there is no indication that Ballarino had any direct familiarity with the office or function of *şehnameci* (which in any case was abolished decades before his own arrival in Istanbul), the similarities in his and theirs structural positions as "subordinate elites" embedded in complex networks of patronage, and the resultant multifocal perspective evinced by their textual-cum-visual artifacts, remind us once again of the entwined histories of Venetians and Ottomans in the early modern Mediterranean, and the need to study acts of cultural mediation, commensuration, and boundary-marking in this space of encounter as inherently relational, saturated with layers upon layers of accumulated imperial and trans-imperial sensibilities.

66 For example, on fol. 7v, an interlineal comment was inserted, providing information about territories conquered by the Ottomans from the Venetians in 1470 and about the impalement of two Venetian diplomats; on fol. 8v, Bayezid's twenty-six year long reign is acknowledged above the line; on fol. 14v a date is added above the line for a major Venetian loss during the War of Crete. Many more examples are to be found throughout the Codex.

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1 Osman I	32 An open Caravanserai
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3 Murad I	34 The Great fire of 1660
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6 Murad II	37 A tower on the Black Sea
7 Mehmed II	38 Grand Dragoman Grillo strangled by order of the Grand Vizier
8 Bayezid II	39 Grand Dragoman Borisi hanged
9 Selim I	40 A letter-carrier impaled
10 Süleyman I	41 A letter-carrier speared
11 Selim II	42 The bailo and others interrogated
12 Murad III	43 Venetian Secretary Ballarino led to prison
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14 Ibrahim I	45 Destruction of the Ottoman navy in the Dardanelles
15 Mehmed IV	46 The Fortress of Limno
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18 The Hippodrome	49 A Han of Edirne
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20 Execution of the ambassador of Prince George Rákóczi II of Transylvania	51 A *caique* led by mercenaries carrying Turkish women in Istanbul
21 Varied sorts of slippers worn by Turkish men and women	52 A Turkish *saica* (two-masted sailing ship) with various passengers
22 The Büyük Valide Han	53 A Turkish galleass
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Visualizing a Space of Encounter: Intimacy, Alterity, and Trans-Imperial Perspective in an Ottoman-Venetian Miniature Album

Abstract ■ This article examines a miniature album constructed in the house of the Venetian bailo in Istanbul ca. 1660 through collaboration between a Venetian diplomat and his dragomans (diplomatic interpreters), Ottoman miniaturists, and Italian draftsmen. It argues that the manuscript was intended by long-time Venetian secretary and *de facto* bailo in Istanbul, Giovanni Battista Ballarino, as a handbook on Ottoman society for his hoped-for replacement and as a cautionary tale about the vital importance of dragomans for Venetian diplomacy at the Porte. By situating this Codex in its specific historical moment at the height of the War of Crete (1645-1669) and in relationship to diverse textual and visual genres (both Ottoman and non-Ottoman) of representing the Ottomans, the article raises questions about the role of local (and "localized") intermediaries in articulating a Venetian-Ottoman space of encounter. Specifically, it explores how, through their collaboration in this manuscript, dragomans lent it a particular trans-imperial perspective on the Ottoman Empire, at once intimate and foreignizing, metropolitan-Istanbulite and profoundly Venetian, underscoring the two polities' entwined early modern histories.

Key words: Venice, Ottoman Empire, Miniature Albums, Early Modern Diplomacy.