PORTRAITS OF THE OTTOMAN SULTANS IN ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

by

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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Abstract

This study concentrates on the analysis of Ottoman sultan portraits in books printed in seventeenth-century England. In this era, as a result of the improving relationships between England and the Ottoman Empire through trade and politics, the interest of the English in the Ottoman Empire increased. This interest stimulated the publication of books on the Ottoman Empire by English scholars, diplomats and travelers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of those books included illustrations depicting the Ottoman sultans. This thesis aims to place the portraits of the Ottoman sultans in seventeenth century English publications into the corpus of visual representation of the Ottoman rulers, both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Through questioning the existence of a common iconography in visual representations of the Ottoman sultans until the eighteenth century and the compliance of the portraits in English publications to this iconographical language, this study demonstrates the possible sources for those portraits in Europe and reveals the aesthetical exchange between the Ottoman and European portraits of the Ottoman sultans.

Özet

Bu çalışma, on yedinci yüzyıl İngiltere'sinde basılmış kitaplardaki Osmanlı sultanı portreleri üzerinedir. Bu dönemde, İngiltere ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasındaki ilişkilerin, ticaret ve politika yolları ile gelişmesi sonucu, İngilizlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna olan ilgileri artmıştır. Bu ilgi, XVI. ve XVII. yüzyıllarda İngiliz akademisyenler, diplomatlar ve gezginleri Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerine kitaplar yayımlamaya yöneltmiştir. Bu yayınların bazıları Osmanlı sultanlarını betimleyen resimler içermektedir. Bu tez, öncelikle bu resimleri barındıran kitapları belirledikten sonra, bu yayınlardaki Osmanlı sultan portrelerini, XVI. yüzyıldan XVIII. yüzyıla kadar Avrupa ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda üretilmiş Osmanlı sultan imgeleri çerçevesi içine koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Tüm bu portrelerde ortak bir ikonografi geleneğinin varlığını ve İngiliz portrelerinin bu geleneğe uyup uymadığını sorgulayan bu çalışma, İngiliz portrelerin Avrupa'daki olası önörneklerini belirleyerek Osmanlı ve Avrupa kaynaklı sultan portreleri arasındaki estetik alış verişi ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This study concentrates on the analysis of Ottoman sultan portraits in books printed in England in the seventeenth century. Historians and literary critics such as V. J. Parry, Samuel Chew, C. J. Heywood, Süheyla Artemel and Orhan Burian have published studies on English history books and travel accounts. However, these studies have remained limited to the investigation of those publications from a textual point of view only. Art historians such as Banu Mahir, Günsel Renda, Funda Berksoy, Hans Georg Majer, Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Tülay Reyhanlı have incorporated these printed representations of Ottoman sultans in the English publications into their studies. While these studies reveal the existence of portraits, they only take single illustrations into account without regard to the whole series of sultan portraits available in these foundational books. Also, studies conducted on sultan portraits in English publications do not focus on the portraits' regional production.

Two major studies, carried out in the previous century, give an account of the engravings produced in Early Modern England. One of them is a catalogue, written by Sir Sidney Colvin, titled *Early Engraving and Engravers in England (1545-1695). A Critical and Historical Essay* (1905). This study deals with the earliest engravers and engravings produced in England by English and foreign engravers alike (E.H. 60-61). Sir Colvin, in fact, completed an earlier catalogue that was intended to be finished by other scholars in the eighteenth century and created his work at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Therefore, attempts to study English engravings were not a new enterprise. Colvin's catalogue begins with the first appearance of the copperplate engraving in England, in the 1540s, and is composed of two sections. One section gives historical information on the art and biographies of the artists and engravers. The second part presents a selection from the rarest and most interesting engravings in the British Museum collection (Cust 432).

The second study, a catalogue of all known engravings published in England, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. A Descriptive Catalogue with Introductions* (1955), was conducted by Arthur M. Hind. This study includes a chronological list of engravers who worked in England from the period of Henry VIII (1540) to the Glorios Revolution (1689)[1], with a discussion on their lives. Hind referred to various collections, like the collections of Rykspreten kabinet, Amsterdam, and the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris in addition to English collections, while preparing this catalogue (Auerbach 326-327). Hind's book has three parts. In the first part, he focuses on the more important works of engraving in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The second section is composed of a list of miscellaneous engravers in chronological order. Finally, the third part includes prints of anonymous engravers. The book discusses the works of each artist (Rowland 108), together with biographical and iconographical information. The work includes portraiture, maps and topographical engravings (Zigrosser 104). Although those catalogues on the art of engraving in England include seventeenth-century illustrated books, they are studies that dwell on the development of

[1] The Glorious Revolution of 1689 was the overthrowing of King James II of England and ascension of William of Orange (William III) (Coffin et al. 609).

English engraving, rather than being investigations focusing on the portraits of the Ottoman sultans.

In terms of the studies conducted on the portraits of the Ottoman sultans, the catalogue of the exhibition *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, held at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul (2000), has a significant position. This exhibition catalogue presents every phase of Ottoman imperial portraiture from the fifteenth century to the twentieth century, from a historical, iconographical and comparative point of view. The study, which includes articles from the most important scholars working on the subject, remains the most comprehensive of all art historical research conducted on the portraits of the Ottoman sultans.

Among the seventeenth-century English publications, I have selected histories of the Ottoman Empire such as Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) and *The Turkish History* (1687), which is an edition of Knolles's book with additions by Sir Paul Rycaut; Sir Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1667), *The History of the Turkish Empire from the Year 1623 to the Year 1677* (1680) and *The History of the Turks beginning with the Year 1679* (1687); and George Sandy's travel book *A Relation of a Journey Began An. Dom. 1610* (1615). These books exist in various libraries, among them are the British Library, the Library of Congress, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Cambridge University's St. John's College, Oxford University's Bodleian Library, the Harvard University Library, the New York Public Library, Yale University's Sterling Memorial and the Folger Shakespeare Library. In

Turkey, Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* is available in the Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (TBMM) Library and the Istanbul Kitaplığı Çelik Gülersoy Library. The 1687 edition of the book, *The Turkish History*, exists in electronic format on Ankara University's Faculty of Law Document Server. Sir Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* is in the collection of the TBMM Library, and there is a facsimile of the 1668 publication in Boğaziçi University Library Near East Collection and in the Koç University Library. *The History of the Turks beginning with the Year 1677* by Rycaut is accessible in the Koç University Library Rare Books Collection and an electronic copy exists on Ankara University's Faculty of Law Document Server. Finally, George Sandys's *A Relation of A Journey* is available in the Rare Books Collection, in Koç University Library.

The time span that this study covers was selected due to its being a period characterized by the initiation of intense cultural exchange between England and the Ottoman Empire through economic and diplomatic means. The foundational books, on which this thesis concentrates, are the products of interest in England and the Ottoman Empire[2] that begins with the sixteenth century. English awareness of the Ottoman Empire began with the attempts of the English to gain a share in the Mediterranean trade (Hale 1). During the reign of Elizabeth I, the English began to explore the Mediterranean and establish trade companies like the Turkey Company and the Levant Company. As a result of a series of

[2] In th eyes of the Europeans, the Ottomans, more than being a nation, were the representatives of Islam (Aksoy 15) and could represent any Muslim community. The concept "Turk" in the sixteenth century could substitute for 'Moorish." The word "Turk" was synonymous with "Muslim" (Kumrular 37). An Englishman of average education and intelligence had knowledge about the major events in the Ottoman history (Chew 103).

negotiations, the English gained the right to conduct trade in the Ottoman land (Reyhanlı 14). The conflicts between Anglican England and Catholic Spain, in terms of religion and superiority in the seas, propelled the English towards the Muslim Ottoman Empire, who indirectly supported the Protestant movement against Catholicism (Hale 1; Akdes 14; Meram 16; Aksoy 30; Wann 185). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also an era of travel and exploration, and the Ottoman Empire was one of the most popular itineraries. As a result of these factors, the interest of the English in the Ottoman Empire increased. Thus, English diplomats and travelers began to frequent to the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Era. The improvement of the relations between England and the Ottoman Empire led to the production of written texts in various genres such as translations, histories, travel books and theater plays among which Knolles's, Rycaut's and Sandys's works count. The distinguishing aspect of these books is that they include visual representations of the Ottoman sultans, in addition to the textual information.

These books, which were published in an era when the printing press was newly emerging, are also significant as the representatives of changing ideals and pursuits in Early Modern Europe. The interest in the Greco-Roman heritage, demonstrating itself in the translations of the Classics, brought along the necessity for the correct illustrations in these books (Eisenstein 37). In addition, the development of England's influence on the seas as an explorer, required maps for navigating (Cust 432). The Renaissance interest in the collection of portraits of important personages and the importance given to the documentary quality of the portraits was another tendency in the Early Modern Era (Berksoy 144-145). As a combination of all these motives, the art of engraving developed

in England in the sixteenth century, and the production of illustrated books became a part of the printing industry in London (Cust 432). The books chosen for this thesis are the embodiment of these ideals.

The histories and the travel books written in England in the seventeenth century did not only serve the purpose of describing the Ottoman Empire, but also helped the English to understand their new economical and political ally in addition to the trade territory in the East. The portraits of the Ottoman sultans in the above-mentioned books were "vehicles of communication," as Panofsky would describe them (Panofsky 12). These visual representations supported the textual information and presented new perspectives to its beholders as these books were the first examples to demonstrate the portraits of the Ottoman sultans to the English audience. The primary objective of this study is, therefore, to put into context, document, analyze and interpret these vehicles of communication, which, in this case, are the portraits of the Ottoman sultans.

This thesis incorporates the portraits of the Ottoman sultans in English publications of the seventeenth century into the corpus of the visual representation of Ottoman rulers, both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. With the analysis of these portraits in context, this study questions the existence of a common iconography in the visual representations of the Ottoman sultans until the eighteenth century and the compliance of the portraits in English publications to this iconographic language. In order to conduct a comparative study between the portraits in the seventeenth century England and other European and Ottoman examples, it was

necessary to reveal the sources of the portraits in English publications. Hence, this study also demonstrates the possible European sources of the portraits and reveals the aesthetic correspondences between the Ottoman and European portraits of the Ottoman sultans. The initiatives behind writing illustrated histories and travel books can be thoroughly understood only by considering the context in which they were written, as "the intentions of those who produce objects are conditioned by the standards of their period and environment" (Panofsky 13). For that reason, the first chapter of this thesis concentrates on the political, economic and cultural background in England and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The historical background is indispensable for understanding the iconographic communication between the artist and the beholder, as the beholders are conditioned by the era in which they live, their national, social and educational background in addition to their life experiences and present surroundings (Panofsky 27). This chapter also presents an account of publications on the Ottomans produced in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by dividing them into four groups. These are the translations of Latin works into English and compiled histories, books written by the English, travelogues and reports by English diplomats and, finally, drama literature. This section also discusses illustrations of the Ottomans -- other than the portraits of the Ottoman sultans-- in these publications and demonstrates them among the figures. Appendices I and II supplement this chapter; the former gives a comparative list of English monarchs, Ottoman sultans and English ambassadors in Istanbul; the latter provides a chronological list of publications made in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, starting with the first publication in 1481. The

final part of the first chapter, gives a brief account of the representation of the Ottomans in paintings and engravings in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The second chapter begins with a short history of the production of the Ottoman sultan portraits in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, covering the period beginning with Mehmed II and continuing through the seventeenth century. This chapter aims to give clear documentation of the portraits in each book and their possible sources, before moving into an iconographical analysis in the third chapter. The second chapter, thus, continues with the documentation of the portraits according to the publications, also providing biographical information the authors and the possible sources from which they benefited such as Paolo Giovo's collection and Jean Jacques Boissard's works. This chapter identifies the engravers of the portraits, frontispieces and title pages found in Knolles's, Rycaut's and Sandys's books, by referring to Appendix III, which gives extended biographical information on the engravers involved in those books, such as Theodore de Bry, Laurence Johnson, Michael van der Gucht, Francis Delaram, Tobias Stimmer and William Elder. The major sources for this appendix have been the *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* by Thieme and Becker, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Matthew and Harrison, along with electronic dictionaries and encyclopedias including *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* and *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*. Another complement to the second chapter is Appendix IV, which gives a classified list of the portraits found in each English publication, specifying the additional portraits or title pages in each edition of every book

that this thesis covers. Finally, Appendix V separately provides the copies of the portraits in each publication.

The last chapter of this study concentrates on the comparative and iconographic study of the Ottoman sultan portraits in seventeenth-century English publications. This chapter aims to put the portraits in those printed books in the context of other Ottoman sultan depictions produced in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The main sources to which this chapter refers are the Ottoman genealogical tree by Niccolo Nelli (1567), Giovio's *Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* (1577), Vavassore's view of Istanbul (1570s), Jean Jacques Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum* (1596) and *Pannoniae Historia Chronologica* (1596), *Cronica Breve de Fatti Illustri de gili Imperatori di Turchi* (1598), Ottoman illustrated manuscripts such as the *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579) and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583), in addition to individual European engravings, paintings, illustrations from Ottoman miniature painting and costume albums.

Having thus presented the topics to be covered in this study, the time-span of a whole century as well as the number of books chosen and the coverage of the portraits of the whole Ottoman dynasty from its beginning until the eighteenth century, may seem too broad in the context of a Master's thesis. Despite this study, with its limitations in terms of time and the number of libraries available for research, this study is a starting point in comparative art, historical and literary studies, taking the visual material into account, together with the textual material, for the illustrations are an essential component of

Europe's perception and representation of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2. CHAPTER I Politics, Trade and Culture

2.1. England in the Early Modern Era

The sixteenth century was a time of exceptional change for Europe. The monarchies of the Renaissance were evolving into different types of states, which constituted the predecessors of nation-states. The Habsburg Empire was divided between its two dynasties, the Spanish and the Austrian.While Christian Europe was in conflict with the Muslim East, the religious unity of Europe was shaken by the Protestant Reformation brought along by Martin Luther and his successors (Houston 138).

Even before the sixteenth century, the face of the Old World was changing with the newly discovered lands. In 1492, Columbus discovered America and a few years later Vasco da Gama, who sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, reached India and the Far East. The English in the sixteenth century were not pioneers of discovery; however in the seventeenth century, they became great colonizers, merchants and travelers (Smith 274). While the Spanish were discovering the world, the English, who defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, gained great prestige on the seas (Smith 273). Sixteenth-century England was labeled by the reign of a specific dynasty, the Tudors. Henry VII Tudor

(1491–1547) reigned as king of England between 1509 and 1547 ("Henry VIII" *The Columbia Encyclopedia*). Succeeding him, all three of Henry VIII's children, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I came to the English throne. The reign of the Tudors was notable for the significant organization of the government as supportive of the monarchy, the rise of the English naval forces and the reformation of the English church, the Anglican Church. The second half of the century after 1558, the Elizabethan period, is regarded as the blossoming period for English literature and scholarship ("Tudor," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*; Smith 273). Upon the death of Elizabeth I (1603), the house of Stuart succeeded the Tudor dynasty. King James VI of Scotland (James I of England, 1603-1625) came from Edinburgh in 1603 (Lockyer 12). Elizabeth and James bore titles that defined them as monarchs of England (including France and Ireland, and in James' case, Scotland) in addition to becoming the head of the Church of England (Elton 5). When James I came to throne, England was still at war with Spain (Lockyer 12). While the disagreements with Spain were continuing, the Protestant conflict was also emerging in England (Ashley 9). James I's reign seemed to have had a peaceful start, yet the religious quarrels in England grew under his successor, Charles I (Underdown 4). The religious conflicts turned to a revolution by 1640, and Oliver Cromwell established his military dictatorship under the name of Commonwealth, in 1649, which would last till 1660, and this period was later labeled as the "Interregnum." With the restoration of Charles II from exile, the monarchy was reestablished in 1660. However, after the revolution, England's new style of government was characterized by looser religious and political organizations (Adams 576).

As England moved towards manufacturing and export, the population living in the country was pushed to the cities. Consequently, London turned into a metropolitan market and business in the modern sense began to develop (Smith 274). London, as the home of tradesmen and merchants, poets and painters, was the largest port in England in the seventeenth century (Ashley 12). It had a population of more than 200.00 at the outset of the century; by the end of the century the population had increased by 500.00 (Ashley 12; Houston 148; Lockyer 7). The population of England and Wales at the beginning of the seventeenth century was over four million by the end of the century it had risen to five and a half million (Ashley 12; Coward 8; Lockyer 1). In the beginning of the seventeenth century, in addition to London, the other port towns were Bristol, York, Norwich and Newcastle upon Tyne. These big towns were the products of industrialization; yet the industry was still on a domestic basis. In other words, the work was carried out in private households rather than in big factories. Industry was still in the hands of nuclear families (Coward 18). Although small factories were being opened, they were not concentrated in cities yet; thus the cities were still sites of markets and cathedrals (Ashley 13).

England's main production since the Middle Ages was woolen cloth. Woolen cloth remained the most valuable source of export for England for centuries, including the seventeenth century. Woolen cloth trade constituted ninety percent of England's export (Ashley 13; Coward 21; Houston 138; Lockyer 4). After Henry VII made commercial treaties with European countries in the sixteenth century, by the beginning of the seventeenth century England's main source of revenue was cloth manufacture (Coward 9;

Lockyer 1). Ottoman lands were a good market for the English textile industry. The wars between the Ottomans and Persia created the need for textiles in the Ottoman Empire. Because of the ongoing wars, the Ottomans also needed metals required to produce weapons and artillery. Other than these products, selling goods of the Far East to the Ottomans was another source of revenue for the English. At the same time, Anatolia provided raw materials such as silk and cotton to the English (Aksoy 29; Anderson 290; Goffman 1998, 15). With development of the economy and trade relationships, the role that tradesmen had in the government increased. "The government of London was in the hands of Lord Mayor and the aldermen, who were elected from among its merchant oligarchs" and the rest were prominent figures in foreign trade companies. For example, Sir Thomas Smythe, a major advisor regarding commerce for James I, became one of the founders of the East India Company. Also, he was a noteworthy merchant active in the Levant. Similarly Sir Henry governed the Levant, East India and Russia Companies (Lockyer 9).

2.2. Europe and the Ottoman Empire

2.2.1. Wars and Treaties

In the sixteenth century, Süleyman I's alliance with François I was an important political event of the period. François I was defeated by Habsburgs in 1526 and the Ottoman power behind François I created a pressure on the Habsburgs. This created an atmosphere for Protestantism to easily spread in the Catholic Habsburg Empire (İnalcık 1074).

Because the Ottomans, for centuries, had been seen as a punishment for the sins of the Christians by European figures such as Martin Luther (Burian 228; Chew 102, 121), the Protestants could propagate against the Catholic belief, especially with the help of the printing press (St. Clair 1972, 317). In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the Battle of Lepanto (1571), the Long War with Austria (1593 - 1606) and the Peace of Zsitva-török (1606) were brought along with the relations of the Ottoman Empire with the Habsburg Empire. At the same time, the Ottomans were busy with campaigning against the Safavid Empire in the East (Goffman 2004, 192; Murphey 297).

In the seventeenth century, five sultans ruled the Ottoman Empire: Mustafa I (1617 – 1618/1622 - 1623), Osman II (1618 – 1622), Mehmed IV (1648 – 1687), Süleyman II (1687 – 1691) and Ahmed II (1691 – 1695). In this century, the economy of many regions of the empire flourished; bureaucratization emerged and the Ottoman Empire achieved military success (Goffman 2004, 192). In 1650, the Ottoman advance into the Balkans and Hungary in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was still continuing (Black 1999, 226; Ogg 14). In that period Ottoman control over Hungary, and hegemony over the Danubian Principalities-- Moldovia and Wallachia-- as well as over Transylvania was confirmed (Black 2002, 3). Finally, when the war with Russia, Poland and Venice ended with the treaty of Karlowitz (1699) the Ottomans surrendered Transylvania, Hungary, Croatia, the Morea and Azov (Ogg 14). The second half of the seventeenth century was significant with the period of the Köprülü family[3] and the long war from 1683 to 1699. During this period contacts with the West intensified. The

[3] The Köprülü family was the family of grand viziers who was in office between 1656 and 1710 ("Köprülüler," *Ana Britannica* 606).

European public became interested in any kind of information about the Eastern rulers due to the wars fought against the Ottoman Empire.[4] Another particular type of media which grew popular in this period was the portraits of the Ottoman sultans (Majer 2000, 336).

2.2.2. Relations between England and the Ottoman Empire

Before the Elizabethan Era, when first trade agreements were made between the Ottoman Empire and England, the first acquaintance of the English with the Ottomans happened in Venice during the travels of English pilgrims, at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Yıldız 921). In the fourteenth century, the travelogue by Sir John Mandeville, which was originally written in French, provided information about the Ottomans to the English audience. Geoffrey Chaucer also mentions Turks in the *Canterbury Tales*, both relying on Mandeville and stories by the Italian story-writer Boccaccio (Aybet 934).

The trade relationships of the Ottoman Empire were developing in the sixteenth century and the empire was initiating capitulary treatises with European countries like France (1569) and the Netherlands (1600) (Goffman 2004, 193). The late sixteenth century also signaled the time when English-Ottoman economic and political relationships began to develop.[5] The end of the sixteenth century is a relatively late date for the Ottoman Empire and England to approach each other in terms of politics and economy, because in the other parts of Europe such as France and the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire already

[4] Also see Appendix II for the news published on the Ottoman sultans in Europe.
[5] For an account of the earliest documents (*hazine-i evrak vesikaları*) on the support provided for England and English ambassadors in Istanbul by the Porte, see Altunay, Ahmet Refik. *Türkler ve Kraliçe Elizabet.* Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat, 1932, and Uzunçarşılı, İ. Hakkı. "On Dokuzuncu Asır Başlarına Kadar Türk İngiliz Münasebatına Dair Vesikalar." *Belleten*. Vol. XIII. No. 51, 1949.

had political relationships and also economical agreements (St. Clair 1973, 8). The most obvious reason for this delay is geographical: the two countries were situated at the farthest borders of Europe. Traveling from England to the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century took at least five or six months. Therefore the hardships of traveling led to a lack of communication. Because of the distance, again, England was outside of the Ottoman military advances, more than Venice or Austria (Burian 209). Nevertheless, the fact that England, at that time, struggled with Spanish naval forces created political motivations for England to approach the Porte in the late sixteenth century. In terms of religion, on the other hand, Anglican England was fighting against Catholic Spain. In that case, proximity with the Ottoman ruler could represent an opposing force against the naval power of the Spanish King Philip II (Akdes 14; Aksoy 30; Hale 1; Meram 16; Wann 185). Elizabeth I even based her approach to the Ottoman court on both of them being the enemies of the idolaters (Chew 104): while England was the first independent state of Protestantism, Spain was the most powerful representative of Roman Catholicism, and this approach gained favor from the Ottoman family (Burian 213-214).[6]

In addition to geography and religion, a more important reason for the delay in the initiation of English-Ottoman relations was that England had no share in the Mediterranean trade before the end of sixteenth century. The desire of the English merchants to gain a share in the Mediterranean trade, therefore, set the relationships between England and the Porte in motion (Hale 1). Although trade relations and political relations went hand in hand and created an intimacy between England and the Ottoman

[6] For the exchange of presents between the female members of the Ottoman family and European queens see Thys-Senocak, Lucienne. *Ottoman Women Builders*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006.

Empire, the initial trade agreements were not signed by the English government. Instead, enterprising individuals who discovered the opportunities of international trade established private companies in order to develop the trade relationships; those companies were the English and Dutch Levant companies (Goffman 2004, 194).

The first enterprises for trade between the Ottoman Empire and England were initiated by the merchant Anthony Jenkinson. Jenkinson acquired the right to trade in November 1553, from Süleyman I, during the sultan's expedition to Iran. However, Jenkinson did not utilize this right and it lost its validity. Only twenty years later, in 1575, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper took new steps in establishing trade bonds between the two countries (Reyhanlı 14). In 1575, the Ottoman government granted Edward Osborne and Richard Staper a permission to trade in its domains (Goffman 195). Their two representatives left England in 1575, and stayed in Istanbul for one and a half years (Akdes 13). After their departure, William Harborne, another envoy who was also related to Osborne and Staper, arrived in Istanbul in 1578. Engaging in political as well as economic relationships, Harborne made acquaintances with the Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his doctor Solomon, Murat III's teacher Sadeddin Efendi, and the dragoman of the *divan-ı humâyun* Mustafa Çavuş. In March 1579, he presented a letter written by the Sultan to Queen Elizabeth upon his return to England (Kocabaşoğlu 19). The letter, dated March 15, 1579, states:

> …. Leh ve France ve Venedik bazirganları gelüp gittiği üzere sizin vilayetinizin bazirganları dahi memaliki mahrusemize metâ getürüp ve metâ alup gidüp madam ki ol canibden Âsitane-i saadetimize arzı ubûdiyyet ve sadakat oluna beru cânibden dahi kimesnenüze dahlolunmayıp yolda ve izde kimesne rencide itmeyüp ne zamanda isterler ise gelüp ticaret üzre olalar … (Meram 13).

The English version of the letter states:

> … And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land either on foote of on horsebacke, no man shall at any time with-stand or hinder them; but as our familiars and confederates, the French, the Venetians, Polonians, and the king of Germany, with divers other our neighbours about us have libertie to come hither and to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort of merchants of our most excellent Regall Majesties kingdome shall have safe conduct and leave to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their own Country… (Meram 15).

In September 1579, Harborne came back with another letter from the Queen with permission for the English merchants to engage in trade in the Ottoman lands (Kocabaşoğlu 19). In 1580, an agreement on the details of English trade in Ottoman lands was made between Queen Elizabeth and Murad III (Meram 17).

The Turkey Company, established in 1581, with the permission of Elizabeth I to twelve merchants, including them Edward Osborne and Richard Staper, became rivals with the Venice Company, which dominated the trade with the Eastern Mediterranean. On January 7, 1592, these two companies collaborated and the Levant Company came into being (Kocabaşoğlu 20). Two years after the establishment of the Turkey Company, Queen Elizabeth appointed Harborne as the first English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire and Harborne set off for Istanbul (Kocabaşoğlu Ek.1). In January 1583, the *Great Susan*, the ship on which Harborne traveled, arrived in Istanbul, loaded with precious presents for the Ottoman sultan and his family. Among these gifts were “three mastiffs,

three spaniels, two bloodhounds, two little dogs in coats of silk, various clothes and utensils, a basin and ewer, two silver popinjays, a clock set with jewels that was elaborately decorated (valued at five hundred pounds), and many other articles" (Chew 156; Altunay 6). Even if the trade representatives were later appointed as ambassadors by the monarch, the consulage and the expenses of traveling were sponsored by the merchants trading with the Levant (Kocabaşoğlu 26; Burian 212; Chew 158; Anderson 25).

During the period of the second ambassador, Edward Barton (1588-1597), politics and trade were under the influence of each other. As a result, the English provoked the Ottomans to send their naval forces against Spain, who was active in the Indian Ocean and also tried to prevent the trade agreements between Spain and the Ottoman Empire (Aksoy 30-31). While Barton was still holding his post, Sultan Murad died in 1595, and Mehmed III acceded to the throne. This change caused an interregnum in the capitulatory arrangements between England and the Ottoman Empire partly because the English had not congratulated the new sultan with presents yet (Chew 162). Edward Barton, however, succeeded in establishing close relationships with the Porte by accompanying Mehmed III on his expedition to Eğri in 1596 (Reyhanlı 12). In 1597, the third English ambassador, Henry Lello, succeeded Edward Barton. During the period when Lello was in Istanbul, towards the end of 1598, the English court commissioned Thomas Dallam to build an organ for the Ottoman sultan. In 1599, Dallam arrived in the Ottoman lands and Mehmed III was delighted with the organ (Chew 164). Dallam even received a proposal

from the court to stay in the palace (Maclean 73).[7] Soon after this famous present, in 1601, the trade agreement with the Ottomans was renewed (Aksoy 30-31). At the same time the first Ottoman envoy, named Mustafa, was sent to the court of James I in 1607. However he did not hold the full responsibilities of an ambassador and stayed as an envoy for a few months only (Burian 212; Wann 185).[8]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the English expanded their trade agencies to Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Chios, Cyprus and Jerusalem. By the early seventeenth century, those cities were turned into "factories" with a complete team of consuls, treasurers, chancellor, chaplain and native staff. At the head of this factory organization there was an envoy, later to be identified as an ambassador, residing in Galata. Sir Paul Rycaut, whose histories on the Ottoman Empire include portraits of the Ottoman sultans, worked as the consul in the Smyrna factory between the years 1667-78 (Goffman 1998, 14; Anderson 25; Kocabaşoğlu 27; Aksoy 29). When Sir Paul Rycaut was in the Ottoman Empire, both in England and the Ottoman Empire new rulers came to throne. Charles II was restored to the English throne in 1660, after Cromwell's government; during Mehmed IV's reign, between 1648 and 1687, governmental decisions were in the hands of the Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü (1656-1661) and his son Ahmed (1661-1676). During this period, English writers compared the events in the two states. One of these writers, Sir Paul Rycaut, mentioned Sultan Mehmed's loathing of

[7] For the details on the travel and Thomas Dallam's diary on his way to Istanbul see Mayes, Stanley. *An Organ for the Sultan*. London: Putnam, 1956 and Maclean, Gerald. *Doğuya Yolculuğun Yükselişi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun İngiliz Konukları (1580-1720).*Istanbul: YKY, 2005.

[8] The first permanent embassy of the Ottoman Empire was founded in England in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Selim III. Cevdet Ahmet Pasa in Tarih-i Cevdet writes that Yusuf Agah Efendi is sent to London in 1793. Ahmet Cevdet Pasa. *Tarih-i Cevdet*. Dersaadet: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309 (1983).

Istanbul and the sultan's return to Istanbul, reminded Rycaut of Charles II's arrival back to London in 1660. Rycaut said "The humour which then possessed Constantinople appeared like that of London at the King's Restoration; all joy, even to transport, for this unexpected return" (Beck 68).

2.3. Cultural Life in Europe and the Turks

2.3.1. Education, Worldview and Printing

In late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Europe, education was available for boys, both at home and at school. Education began with an intense teaching of Latin, which was the main scholarly and diplomatic language of the period. The English used to write in Latin and also sometimes published in Latin. Most educated men also knew French and had some knowledge of Italian, Spanish, German or Dutch, which they improved in their youth during their tours around Europe, called the Grand Tour (Smuts 2; Smith 275).

Although Latin was the most important language of the Middle Ages, in the Early Modern Era, the question of whether writing in Latin or vernacular English began to take emerge. Vernacular seemed relatively new and unsound to learned men (Smith 276), yet it is hard to classify Latin and vernacular reading publics according to their social status. The majority of the translations from Latin to vernacular were aimed at readers who did not know Latin or apprentices, landed gentry, cavaliers and courtiers, shopkeepers and

clerks (Eisenstein 31). In addition, although the age of humanists emphasized the significance of the classical languages in Italy, France and England, a revolt flourished against the imitation of Classics. Joachim Du Bellay debated in *Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française* (1549) that the value of a language is not intrinsic to the language itself, but depends upon the great works written in that language. Roger Ascham (1515-68), tutor to Princess Elizabeth, included a section which defended writing in English in his book *Toxophilus* (1545) (Smith 276). Obviously, writing in English outweighed writing in Latin and soon after, in 1611, an English translation of the Bible was published; at that time, it was recognized as a glorious work of English prose (Ashley 39). Similarly, the books on which that this thesis concentrates are representative of their time and therefore include parts written in English and Latin. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, by Richard Knolles, was composed in English and the work is considered one of the masterpieces of the Elizabethan Era (Özbaran viii). Nevertheless, the fact that Knolles put epigrams in Latin and English under each sultan's portrait shows that Latin was still influential in works written in the vernacular. In addition, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1667), *The History of the Turks (1623-77)* (1680), and *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679* (1700) by Sir Paul Rycaut include sections both in Latin and English.

The appreciation of the vernacular versus Latin was an indication of the idealistic atmosphere tending towards a more liberating environment. In relation to that tendency, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Europe's philosophical environment began to transform. Aristotelian ideology slowly became abandoned the observation of nature and

experimentation began to gain popularity. A significant figure of the era, Sir Francis Bacon, the English philosopher and scientist, argued that abstract speculation (deductive reasoning) should be given up and instead, the observation of nature (induction) adopted. He urged the necessity for experiments and encouraged the idea of progress (Ashley 32; Coward 73). Moreover, chief developments occurred in anatomy and astronomy. In 1543, two major works in those areas were published: Vesalius's description of the human anatomy, *De Humanis Corporis Fabrica* and Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, in which he portrayed a heliocentric universe. Vesalius's work was based on the dissection of human body and Copernicus's work depended on observation, rather than the Aristotelian deductive method. Copernicus's work was later followed by Tycho Brahe, Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei (Coward 72). The developments in science and philosophy placed the earth in a less significant position in the universe. This was a break from old ideas such as the four elements, the four bodily humors and temperaments and the earth at the center of the universe. The emphasis on nature became more prominent as the group called "natural philosophers" insisted on studying observed evidence (Cameron 1999a, xxiii-xxiv).

The invention of the printing press had a great impact on the intellectual development of the time. With the ease of producing numerous copies of books, communication became simpler, and buying and selling books became a major part of men's lives in the era. Among the printed books, there were Bibles, mass-books (the guide books for the Roman Catholic), breviaries, encyclopedias and manuals for clergy and confessors (Cameron 1999b, 65-67). The printing press evolved as a solution to the extraordinary need of

books in universities, schools and colleges in the fifteenth century. By the early 1450s, with the perfection of printing techniques by Gutenberg, books became cheaper and thus, in England, literacy in the sixteenth century was higher than in previous centuries (Smith 273-274). By 1500, a printer's workshop was found in every important city in Europe (Eisenstein 12). In fifteenth-century England, mercers and scriveners dealt with producing manuscripts and the readership of which consisted of merchants, lawyers, aldermen or knights (Eisenstein 31). In the 1470s, William Caxton, who had learned and practiced the German invention of printing in the Netherlands, introduced printing to England. Although Caxton familiarized the English with printed books, his publications consisted of long prose romances translated from French, collections of moral sayings and other medieval works (Smith 273-274). In the seventeenth century, printing presses and publishers were concentrated in London. A majority of the middle-class population that molded literary tendencies also lived in London. Writers exhibited their books in St. Paul's churchyard and the customers purchased books there. A copyright system did not exist and payment was made to the author according to the numbers of the books he sold. An author sold his manuscript to the publisher. Writers usually had trouble finding a publisher; also they had to overcome the regulations of the political and ecclesiastical authorities. The number of printers was strictly limited; nothing could be printed except in the City of London and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; everything printed had to receive the permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London (Smith 282-284).

In Renaissance Europe, the need for illustrated books started with the reproduction of the Classics and the charts and drawings in them (Eisenstein 37). Also, there was a need for the production of maps, and consequently engravers were needed to perform this. Engraved images in illustrated printed books became more prevalent after print shops were founded in Europe. Engraved images were also used to spread propaganda about the Protestant dogma with cartoons and caricatures (Eisenstein 35), or for propagating wars against the Turks and Islam, especially in German-speaking countries. The content of those propaganda sheets included sultan portraits as well (Majer 2000, 337) (figures 176-177). In England, the art of engraving emerged during the reign of Elizabeth I (1558 - 1603). Engraving schools in continental Europe educated the first engravers in England. The first English engraver, Wiliam Rogers, attended Theodore de Bry's school in England. The archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, initiated the spread of the engraving production by hosting and employing drawers, binders, painters and cutters in his own residence (Cust 432-433; H. 60). Although engraving in England began with map production, it gained its popularity with portrait-making. After Elizabeth I's reign, printed books and the art of engraving became more and more attached to each other (Cust 432-433; H. 60). With the ease of visual assistance to the written text, common iconographic symbols and iconographic communication became possible (Eisenstein 37). As sultan portraits had been produced before in continental Europe, the portraits of the Ottoman sultans found in the English publications share common iconographic characteristics with the traditional representations of the Ottoman sultans in different parts of Europe.

2.3.2. Sixteenth -Century Views and *Türkengefahr*

Before the sixteenth century, information on the Turks in Europe was imaginary and marginal. The sixteenth century, however, was the apex of cultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In that period, two different approaches towards the Turks were dominant in works of art and scholarly writing. One approach was a combination of interest, fascination and fear (Heywood 34), created by the varied media which provided information about the Ottomans. In this century, there were various sources from which one could gain information about the Turks, such as history books, collections, news, travel books, reports and letters of the ambassadorial delegates and the memories of the captives (Artemel 13). Joseph von Hammer, in his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,* gave an account of the books written on the Ottoman Turks and provided a list of more than 3,000 books. The number of books known during the Elizabethan age is more than 1,600. Most of them are history books and some of them are stories in verse. The history of the Turks was a profitable subject in the European book market at that time, because the Ottoman Empire was the power center of the world and the interest towards it was intense (Wann 170).[9] As a result of the developing trade relationships, the products of the Ottoman Empire, along with books written on them,

[9] For the Turk in Italian documents see Soykut, Mustafa. *The Image of Turk in Italy. The History of Other in Early Modern Europe. 1453-1683*. Berlin: Klaus-Schwarz Verlag, 2001. For the image of theTurk in France see Rouillard, Clarence Dana. *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature.* Paris: Boivin, 1938, for the Turks and Austria see Babaoğlu, Lale. "16.-18. Yüzyıllar Arasında Avusturya Kültür ve Sanatında Türkler." *Aptullah Kuran için Yazılar*. Ed. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, Lucienne Thys-Senocak. Istanbul: YKY, 1999. 103-124, for the relations between Holland and the Porte see Mazgon, Marlies Hoenkamp. *Istanbul'da Hollanda Sarayı*. Tra.Gül Özlen. Boom. Amsterdam. 2002 and for the image of Turk in Spain see Lanza, Fernando Fernández. "Habsburg- Osmanlı Rekabeti Bağlamında 16. Yüzyılds İspanya'da Türk Imaji." *Dünyada Türk İmgesi.* Ed. Özlem Kumrular. Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005. 87-108 and Kumrular, Özlem. *Türk Korkusu*. Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2008. For Turks in the works in French, Spanish, Italian, German and Russian see Bilgegil, M. Kaya. *Rönesans Çağı Cihan Edebiyatında Türk Takdirkarlığı*. Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1973.

were circulating in Europe. Commerce in items like textiles, leather, decorated metal goods, rugs, embroidery and coffee spread a more realistic awareness about the Turk in Europe. Also, Turks working in publishing houses in Venice introduced the art of bookbinding in Italy (St. Clair 1973, 12-16). In the sixteenth century, Venetian painters used figures dressed in Turkish costumes in their paintings to depict Biblical scenes. Here, the Turk became a generic figure for any figure from the Middle East where Biblical stories took place. Antonio Pisanello, Vittore Carpaccio, and Bernardino Pinturrichio were some of the artists who used realistic Turkish figures, costumes and carpets in their paintings. These encounters were the result of the trade relationships between the Ottomans and Europe, especially Venice at the time (Renda 2003, 1095-6).

The second group of works was a reaction against the threatening power of the Turks, called *Türkengefahr* (Renda 2003, 1096-7). *Türkengefahr* (Turkish Peril) was the imagery created by publications related to the Turkish peril in a mystical and fantasized manner, especially after Süleyman I's victories in Eastern Europe (St. Clair 1972, 316).[10] Thomas G. Bergin's translation of Machiavelli's ideas on Turks, which he wrote in *The Prince* (1513), is an illustrative example: "The states governed by a Prince and his servants accord greater authority to their prince because in all his domain none is recognized as superior save him and when they obey another it is only as a minister or an official to whom they feel no particular devotion." He states that the Turkish empire is an example of this kind of government and goes on saying that

[10] For the Turk in German literature and culture see *I. Uluslararası Seyahatnamelerde Türk ve Batı Imajı Sempozyumu Belgeleri.* Eskişehir: Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1985 and Dellal, Nevide Akpinar. "Türk Karnaval Oyunu'nda Türk Imgesi." *Tarih ve Toplum*. Vol. 35. Issue. 210. June 2001. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, 2001. 30-32.

> The whole monarchy of the Turk is governed by one master; the rest are his servants… whoever studies this kind of states will find the state of the Turk difficult to conquer, but once conquered, easy to hold… The reasons for the difficulty in conquering the state of the Turk is that the invader cannot be called in by the princes of that kingdom nor can he hope his enterprise will be facilitated by the rebellion of those of the monarch has about him since, as we have indicated above, all being his servants and under obligation to their lord, they are difficult to corrupt and even if corrupted would be of little use since they cannot bring their people with them. Thus anyone planning to attack the Turk must expect to find a united state and must hope more in his own strength than in the dissention of others, yet once the Turk is beaten and broken in the battle and unable to reform his armies there is nothing more to fear save from the family of the prince himself and once his line were extinct there would be no one else to fear since no other had the prestige among the people from whom, as the victor would have nothing to hope before the occupation, he would have nothing to fear after (10-11).

Supporting Machiavelli's comments on the military characteristics of the Turks, Montaigne, in 1580, wrote in *Essays* that "Turks were a people trained to arms and scornful of learning and were consequently hardier than the more civilized nations." (Chew 100). These ideas presenting the Ottoman Empire as military power are reflected in Francis Bacon's expression of calling the Ottomans as "the terror of the world" (Chew 117). However, in the case of England there were no publications like those in German-speaking territories that lead to an extreme trend like the *Türkengefahr* (Chew 105).

2.3.3. Publications on Turks in England

The word "Turkey" appeared in an English written text for the first time in Chaucer in the year 1369. In medieval England, the terms "Saracen" and "Turk" were also two interchangeable names. The phrase "to turn Turk," a term used by Shakespeare, became popular at the end of the sixteenth century (Beck 29).[11] Apart from the casual occurrence of the word "Turk" in the English works, the first work published in England on Turks was the report announcing the siege of Rhodes by the Turks in 1480 (Artemel 12). The narrator, Guaillame Caoursin (1430-1501), was the secretary and chronicler of the Saint Jean Knights in Rhodes (Eyice 6). His work *Rhoidiorum Stablimente Obsidio Rhodio* was translated from Latin by Edward IV's court poet Johan Kay and published by William Caxton under the title *The Siege of Rhodes* in 1482 (Artemel 12-13).[12] The British Library holds a rare copy of this text which includes ten pamphlets (*risale*) on the life of Cem Sultan in Rhodes and seventeen woodcut portraits of him. These portraits depict Cem Sultan as an old, miserable Ottoman prince (Reyhanlı 9). However, in the English translation of Caoursin's book, these portraits do not exist. The next book that narrated the siege of Rhodes by the Turks was *The History of Godfrey Boulogne*. This work was published by Caxton in 1481 and gives a short history of the Turks in its introduction. Caxton also published *The History of Charles the Great* in 1485, a book on the Emperor Charlemagne, which included references to the Turks (Artemel 12-13).

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[11] "To turn Turk" means in Shakespeare's Othello to be cruel, wrathful, lustful, disloyal and agressive (Vitkus 2).

[12] The original Latin copy of that work is in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (PBN, Latin 6067) (Renda 2003, 1906).

Works published on the Turks in the English language in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be grouped into four groups: (1) translations from Latin to English and compiled histories from diverse Latin sources; (2) books by the English authors (3); travel books, memories of captives and reports written by the members of diplomatic groups and (4) theater plays, or drama literature.

The first group is composed of translations and works of compilations by scholars or commentators, usually without first-hand knowledge of the Ottoman Empire. This genre, which originated in Italy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, took root in England in the mid-sixteenth century. Peter Ashton's translation of Paolo Giovio's work into English under the title of *A Short Treatise upon the Turks Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jouius* (1546) was an example to the first group of works (Heywood 35). In the same year, Richard Grafton translated Geuffroy Antoine's *Briefve Description de la Court* into English with the title *The Order of Great Turckes Court* (Reyhanlı 9). In 1595, an Englishman, whose name is not known, used Bartholomeus Georgewitz's work *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome* as the introduction for his book entitled *The Estate of Christians under the subjection of the Turke*. Thomas Newton translated Augustine Curio's *Caelii Augustini Curionis* into English under the title of *A Notable Historie of the Seracens* and published it in 1575. In 1585, Washington the Younger published the translation of Nicolas de Nicolay's work *Les Quatre premiers livres de navigations et Peregrinations* under the title *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphino* (Reyhanlı 9). The book includes drawings of men and women from different territories under the rule of the Ottoman Empire under the

section “The Orientall”. The volume also includes a depiction of the “Wife of the Great Turke” (figure 1), Janissaries and different divisions of the Ottoman armyö in addition to believers of different Islamic sects. In 1603, Abraham Hartwell, secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, commissioned a translation of Lazaro Sorenzo’s *L’Ottomano,* which had been published in Ferrara in 1597. The aim of this work was to provide ideological support for a league of Christian powers against the Ottomans. In the same year, Richard Knolles published the first edition of the *Generall History of the Turkes* (Heywood 36). Richard Knolles’ book *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, which was published in 1603, was, again, a compiled history book.

The second group of English publications on the Turks consists of books written by English scholars or diplomats. In 1553, Anthony Jenkinson, the first merchant who gained the right to trade in the Ottoman Empire during Süleyman I’s campaign to Syria, wrote *The maner of the entering of Soliman the Great Turke with his Army into Alepa in Syria, anno 1553* (Reyhanlı 97). Andrew Boorde’s *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge The whych do the teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages* is one of the first books written by the English (Reyhanlı 10). In this book, published in 1555, different regions of Europe and the Middle East were described imcluding the chapter for Greek lands and Constantinople. The chapter on Constantinople begins with a drawing of a figure with a turban (figure 2). Yet the same image is illustrated repeatedly at the beginning of other chapters which are not related to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it is possible that its purpose does not go further than just embellishing the page. Francis Billerberg, in 1585, published a report on the circumcision ceremony which

Murat III organized for his son, Prince Mehmed, with the title *Most Rare and straunge discourses of Amurathe*. Another book printed by the English was *The English Myror* by George Whetstones, published in 1586. The book discusses the conquest of Istanbul and Ottoman history until the reign of Murat III. Although this text depends on supplementary sources written in other languages in the period, it is not a direct translation (Reyhanlı 10).

The third group is travel books by English travelers or members of diplomatic groups to the Ottoman Empire. After the initiation of the diplomatic relations between the Porte and the English court, English diplomatic groups started to visit Constantinople. Also, the increasing desire to visit foreign lands emerged at the close of the sixteenth century and during the first decades of the seventeenth century, when the Levant was among the most popular itineraries (Chew 26). Consequently, these visitors to the Ottoman Empire who wrote travel books depended on first-hand observation and provided documentary information about the military organization, governmental structure and social constitution of the empire. Those works, rather than ridiculing or presenting a prejudiced picture of the Turks, with their documentary and explanatory character, prepared to serve as guides to understand the Ottoman state and society (Reyhanli 9).

One of these visitors to the Ottoman Empire was the first ambassador, William Harborne, who came to Istanbul for the first time in 1578. Harborne, in his travelogue, discussed his sojourn in the mansions, his attendance at reception ceremonies and the presents that were given to the sultan. He later gave his memoirs and correspondence to Hakluyt to be

published. Another ambassador, Edward Barton, after his appointment to the post in 1588, attended the Eğri expedition with Mehmed III and left his memoirs to be written by Richard Wrag and published by Hakluyt. In the group who accompanied the sultan in the Eğri expedition, there was Thomas Glover, scribe to the group at that time, who later became the fourth ambassador to the Porte. He also left an account about his expedition. John Sanderson, a member of Turkey Company, came to Istanbul during his initial visit while he was part of the ambassadorial group in 1584. During the Eğri expedition, when the sultan and the English company left Sanderson behind in Istanbul, he left an account of the court and palace life in the period. In his later trips to Istanbul, Sanderson also witnessed the arrival of Thomas Dallam and his organ for Mehmed III in 1599 (Reyhanlı 25). In 1589, Richard Hakluyt published the first volume of *The Principal Navigations and Voyages.* This book was composed of translations and compilations of travel and history books. The second edition of this book was published in three volumes in 1598 and 1600. This second edition includes Hakluyt's own correspondence as well. He later gave his work to Samuel Purchas who published them in 1625 as *Hakluytus Posthumus* or *Purchas His Pilgrimages* (Reyhanlı 10-11). John Fox (Reynard), a captive who was imprisoned in Alexandria in 1563, wrote his memoirs in 1608, and had them published by Anthony Munday under the title *The Admirable Deliverance* (Reyhanlı 31). In 1600, William Biddulph set out from England to assume his duties as preacher to the Company of English Merchants in Aleppo. Biddulph wrote letters from the lands he visited. From Biddulph's letters, a person with the pseudonym "Theophilus Lavender" compiled *The Travels of Certaine Englismen… Begunne in the year of jubile 1600 and by some of them finished this year 1608. The others not yet returned* (1609). Later, it was reissued in 1611,

under the name *The Travels of Foure English Men and a Preacher*. Thomas Coryat published *Coryats Crudities, Hastily gobled up in Five Monthes Travels* in 1611. William Lithgow, who began traveling in 1610, published *A Delectable and True Discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination* in 1614. In 1632, he published *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travaleys*. Another travel book that touches upon the Turks is William Lithgow's *The Totall Discourse,* published in 1632 (Beck 52-54). Although there are no depictions of the sultans, Lithgow is depicted in Turkish costume both on the first page of the book and on page 124, where he mentions Troy (figure 3). George Sandys began his travels in 1610 and in 1615, he published *A relation of a journey*. In this book, the frontispiece portrays Sultan Ahmed I. Sir Henry Blount later published *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636). Fynes Moryson's (1566-1630) book covers his voyage through Europe until Jerusalem. It was titled *An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tvvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* and was published in 1617 (Yerosimos 423). The book contains drawings of the views of the locations and the plans of important buildings he visited however, it does not contain any drawing related to the Ottoman Empire other than a plan of Jerusalem and the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Sir Paul Rycaut's histories, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, published in 1667, *The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677*, which was printed in 1680 and *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679,* published in 1700 fall into this group of works created by English scholars or diplomats.

The fourth group of works produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on the Turks is theater plays, a prominent genre of English literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Remarkably, the date of the first known play dealing with the Orient (1579) and the beginning of the trade and economic relationships between England and the Porte (late 1580s) are very close. This proximity suggests a relation between the interests of the English in subjects related to the East. Louis Wann, in "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama" (1915), gives a list of the plays, their sources and the nations represented in plays. Wann lists the plays which include the Turk or a phrase related to Turks like "to turn turk" as such: Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* (1590), and *The Jew of Malta* (1592), Shakespeare's *Henry VI* (1590), *The Taming of the Shrew* (1591), *Comedy of Errors* (1591), *Richard III* (1591), *Richard II* (1595), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), *The Merchant of Venice* (1595), *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1597), *Much Ado About Nothing* (1597), *Henry V* (1599), *Hamlet* (1600), *Othello* (1603), *All's Well that Ends Well* (1603), Thomas Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda* (1599), Fulke Graville's *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609), John Mason's *The Turks* (1610), Robert Daborne's *The Christian Turn'd Turke* (1612), Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turke or Bajazed the Second* (1631), Ladowick Carlells's *The Famous Tragedy of Osmand the Great Turk* (1657), Nevile Payne's *The Siege of Constantinople* (1677), and Mary Pix's *Ibrahim the Thirteenth Emperor of the Turks* (1696).

Although mercenary, ambassadorial and leisure travels were introducing the English to the Ottoman lands, the sources from which the playwrights took their subject matter and

characterization were still the composed histories, pamphlets and stories written in previous years or translations from French and Latin (Wann 170-172)[13]. However, even if the playwright benefited from the contemporary sources like the travel books written by the English travelers, he would coincide with the Turks presented as Muslim warriors against Christianity. With religious motives in mind, these sources refer to the Ottomans as the follower of the Satan and the sultan was associated with Satan (Chew 107-147; St. Clair 1973, 7). Yet, as soon as the travelers reached the Ottoman land, they forgot about the animosity and cruelty and demonstrated an interest in the manners, customs and daily life, recognized the military power and decided once again that the Ottomans were a threat to the Christian world. Burian says that Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) was also written from that ideological perspective and in that context (Burian 228), and that it was also used as a source for four plays after its first publication in 1603: *Revenge for Honour* (1624), *The Courageous Turk* (1627), *The Raging Turk* (1627) and *Osmond* (1638) (Wann 431). Similarly, the Ottomans in Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* were called "barbarous and ignorant." He adds that that the western powers should study their eastern neighbor with more respect; the emperor had badly underestimated Turkish striking power in 1663, and the danger was by no means over.[14] He goes on saying that "if the tyranny, oppression and cruelty of that state, wherein reason stands in no competition with the pride and lust of an unreasonable

[13] Among the sources of the English plays were Georgievitz, Bartholomaeus. *De Turcarum Moribus,* ca. 1481, Wotton, Henry. *Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels*, 1578, Giovio Paolo, *Rerum Turcicorum Commentarius*, ca. 1550, Frigius, John Thomas. *Historia de Bello Africano*, 1580, Knolles, Richard. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first beginning*, 1603, Cervantes, Miguel de.*Comedia de los Banos de Argel*, about 1585, and *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605, Herbert, Sir Thomas. *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great*, 1638 and correspondence of an ambassador of Charles I at the Persian court to friends at Cambridge.

[14] Rycaut, Paul. "The Epistle Dedicatory." *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London. 1668. Unpaginated.

minister, seem strange to thy liberty and happiness, thank god that thou art born in a country the most free and just in all the World." [15]

Consequently, in those plays the Turk was represented as "valiant, proud spirited and cruel" (Wann 180). Other studies on the image of Turks in English literature agree with Wann's idea. Orhan Burian says that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Turk in literature was a just as a symbol of cruelty (221). Nazan Aksoy, however, argues that the Turk in those plays serves as a generic role, providing an exotic background that feeds the Renaissance curiosity for foreign lands. She supports Orhan Burian and Hamit Dereli in the idea that the Turk in Elizabethan drama is a substitute for the malevolent powers and negative values needed on stage (4). Like Aksoy, Kamil Aydın also suggests that these plays present the Turk as the incarnation of pride, passion, horror, cruelty, revenge, intrigue and treachery (54). Linda McJannet, who studies Marlowe's plays, suggests that historical cultural epithets like rage and violence are used to describe Turks in these plays.

In England, the Turk took place in masques in the Tudor, Elizabethan and Stuart periods. In these performances held at court, the Turks served as decorative elements because of their different costumes. Metin And quotes E. Bourcies who says that the colorful clothes of the Turkish ambassadors who went to France in 1552 caused excitement in public (And 1958, 23). The reason for this was the visit of Beyazid II's ambassadors to Siena in 1483 and 1487, which led to the emergence of a trend called *Alla Turchesa*. In 1555, at

[15] Rycaut, Paul. "The Epistle to the Reader." *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London. 1668. Unpaginated.

Queen Mary I's court, Nicolas Udall organized a masque called *A Masque of Turkes Magistrates with Turkes Archers for torchbearers* and *A Masque of goddess huntresses with Turkey women for their Torchbearers,* and in 1559 there was the *Masque of the Turks* (And 1958, 21-22).

2.3.4. Visual Representation of Turks

The sixteenth century, particularly Süleyman I's reign (1520-1566), was a time of intense cultural exchange between Europe and the Ottoman Empire (Renda 2003, 1096).[16] In this period, artists visited the Ottoman Empire by joining diplomatic or merchant groups. Several artists such as Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who came to Istanbul on behalf of a Gobelin company from Brussels, Nicolas de Nicolay, who escorted the French Ambassador in Istanbul and Melchior Lorichs, who accompanied Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of Holy Roman Empire, provided important visual documentation on contemporary Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire (Renda 2005, 44). After Süleyman I's reign, travel books and illustrated books related to the Ottoman Empire became prevalent in Europe. In these books, the sultans, royal ceremonies, Ottoman daily life and costumes were portrayed by the Europeans. These depictions were reproduced after being taken to Europe and the copies still exist in different libraries in Europe (Renda 1971, 183).[17]

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[16] For Süleyman I's portraits in Europe see Capellen, Jurg Mayer zur. Serpil Bağcı. "The Age of Magnificence." *The Sultan's Portrait. Picturing the House of Osman*. Isbank. Istanbul. 2000.96-132 and Necipoglu, Gülru. "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry." *The Art Bulletin*. Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sep., 1989).401-427.

[17] For a detailed account of these depictions, see And, Metin. *16. Yüzyılda Istanbul Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam*. Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları. Istanbul 1993.

In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, a more tolerant attitude towards Islam and Ottomans emerged in England (Heywood 50). In these centuries the relations between England and the Ottoman Empire were no longer a simple hostility between the religions, but a political and economic alliance. This attitude was reflected on the cultural productions of the era (Murphey 298). One of the most prominent type of works was costume albums, which led to a more realistic representation of the Ottomans in the seventeenth century. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the production of costume albums accelerated with orders from Europe. Albums with French, English and Italian explanations were mostly painted by local masters, copied from each other (Mahir 2005, 73-74) and presented as gifts to official visitors (Renda 1998, 153). They included illustrations of entertainment, *hamams*, dervishes, coffee houses, individuals from varied professions and women and men from different ethnicities (Mahir 2005, 109). These albums were taken to Europe; thus, they are mostly found in libraries in Europe.

In addition to studying costume albums, the artists and writers accompanying the European embassy delegates were witnessing the Ottoman court and daily life themselves. In the early seventeenth century, one of the English visitors to the Ottoman Empire was Peter Mundy. Mundy arrived in Istanbul as a representative of the Turkey Company in 1616 and commissioned a costume album, named the Mundy Album in his honor and entitled *A Brief Relation of the Turckes, their Kings, Emperours and grandsigneurs* (Renda 2005, 45-46). Later, a number of artists arrived in the empire together with diplomats and ambassadors, like the Austrian ambassador Ludwig

Kuefstein in 1628. Similarly George de la Chapelle came with the French ambassador Jean de la Haye in 1648. From 1665-1666, Johann Joseph Herberstein accompanied Count Walter Leslie to Istanbul and commissioned paintings (Renda 2005, 45-49). Among the artists who used Turkish figures in their works were George de la Chapelle, Cornelis de Bruyn, who traveled to the Near East (1674-1693), and well-known painters like Rembrandt and Rubens, who were inspired by the manuscripts taken to Holland by the Dutch ambassador, Levinus Warner, who arrived in Istanbul in 1655 (Renda 2005, 45-47).

3. CHAPTER II Portraits in English Publications

3.1. The Spreading Tradition of Ottoman Sultan Portraiture

The portraits of the Ottoman sultans began to appear in Europe during the reign of Mehmed II (1451-1481), when the reproductions of his medal portraits, modelled on the medals he himself had commissioned, began to spread (Raby 2000a, 66). Both Costanzo di Ferrara, who produced the sultan's portrait on medals (figure 63) and Gentile Bellini, who executed an oil portrait of the sultan in Western style (figure 60), produced other paintings about the Ottomans and documented Turkish costumes (Renda 2003, 1095). After Mehmed II's son Cem Sultan took refuge in Europe, Turkish figures started to appear more frequently in European paintings (Raby 2000a, 66). Cem Sultan, who escaped to Rhodes and was imprisoned in France and the Vatican, appears as a generic figure in turban and caftan in depictions located in Vienna, Basel, the Vatican, Venice and the Siena Cathedral (Eyice 48).[18]

Apart from the individual portraits of the Ottoman sultans, the creation of the Ottoman sultan portrait series started in Europe. The production of the first known example of Ottoman sultan portrait series coincides with Bayezid II's reign (1481-1512). Felix Petancius's scroll portrayed the sultans based on the information provided by the Hungarian Embassy delegation, that had visited Istanbul in 1495. Petancius dedicated his scroll to King Wladislas II of Hungary (1490-1516) and depicted the first seven Ottoman sultans in medallions (Raby 2000a, 77; Renda 2003, 1096) (figure 4). In addition to the

[18] There are 35 figures in an article by Eyice which shows depictions identified as Cem Sultan.

Ottoman sultan portrait series, Europeans started to produce sixteenth-century Ottoman genealogical trees, which showed the portraits of the Ottoman sultans on a tree representing the whole Ottoman dynasty. In 1553, Guillaume Rouillé published a family tree in a book entitled *Promptuarium Iconum*. In 1567, another family tree, drawn by Niccolo Nelli, was sketched in *Sommario el Alboro delli Principi Othomani* by the historian Franceso Sansovino (figure 7). This series took the portraits in Rouillé's work as a model (Capellen 453). *Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustrium* of 1577 included portraits of the Ottoman sultans for which the engraver, Tobias Stimmer, used the collection of Paolo Giovio as a model (Raby 2000b, 137; Renda 2005, 45). In the same decades, in 1570s or 1580s, Andrea Vavassore made use of the bust portraits of sultans in a drawing showing a bird's eye view of Istanbul (figure 8). The *Cronica Breve de Fatti Illustri de gili Imperatori di Turchi* in 1598, published in Venice, followed the Vavassore view. The *Cronica Breve* was a folio including sultan portraits and their short biographies and like Vavassore's view, it relied on the portraits in Rouillé (Raby 2000b, 138; Capellen 451).

In the second half of the sixteenth century, commissioning and collecting Ottoman sultan portrait series was widespread in Europe (Reyhanlı 59). In compliance with this sixteenth-century trend, the Ottomans imported the idea of creating a book illustrated with portraits from Europe, especially from works relying on Giovio's collection (Raby 2000b, 220). During the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), Seyyid Lokman bin Hüseyin el Aşuri wrote *Kıyâfetü'l-insâniye fî Şemâ'ilü'l-Osmaniye* (*Şemâ'ilnâme*). Nakkaş Osman illustrated this history with twelve sultan portraits from Osman I to Murad III and this series is the earliest surviving series of Ottoman sultan portraits (Çağman 2000a, 164).

During the same years, Seyyid Lokman was writing the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583),[19] a biblical and political world history (Renda 1971, 183) and the *Hünername* (1583). Both works included portraits of the Ottoman sultans (Çağman 2000a, 163-5; Bağcı et al. 118-120).

Despite all of the works illustrated with portraits of the Ottoman sultans, the painter Nakkaş Osman intended to capture a real likeness in his sultan portraits. Importating the Paolo Veronese series (figure 9) by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Murad III from Europe was to provide help in this endeavor (Çağman 2000a, 163-5). After receiving Murad III's portrait from a Veronese artist, who resided in the Venetian Embassy in Istanbul, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Murad III found this portrait to be successful and the sultan ordered a series of sultan portraits. Therefore, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha contacted Venice and ordered the Veronese series to be sent to Istanbul. As Lokman writes in the *Şemâ'ilnâme*, Osman compared his drafts with the portraits in the Veronese series (Berksoy 151; Çağman 2000a, 174; Mahir 2005, 165; Raby 2000b, 159; Reyhanlı 60). Also Osman undertook research on the fabrics that the sultans used to achieve a better likeness (Çağman 2000a, 174). Nakkaş Osman used the Veronese series for the sultans prior to Mehmed II. The fact that the Veronese series reflects an imaginary depiction of those sultans means that, for Osman, it was not possible to achieve a real likeness in his sultan portraits, especially in clothing; therefore he could only benefit from the facial features in the Veronese series. The facial features of these sultans in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579) and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583) also comply with the facial features of the sultans in the

[19] Three copies of the manuscript exist in the Topkapı Palace Museum, the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin and the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum in Istanbul (Atıl 17). The portraits in this study are from the copy of Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum.

portraits in the Latin and English publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the next chapter will demonstrate.

In seventeenth-century Europe, among the publications that included sultan portraits was Laonicos Chalkondyle's *L'historie de la decadence de l'Empire grec et establishment de Clevy des turcs* of 1612, Michel Baudier's *Histoire générale du sérail et de la cour du grand Turc* of 1624, and *Historie générale de la Religion des Turcs*, published in 1625 (Renda 2005, 45-47). In terms of the seventeenth century Ottoman sultan portraits, one of the most prominent figures was Baron Hans Ludwig Kuefstein (1582-1656). During the reign of Murad IV, the Holy Roman Empire sent Baron Kuefstein to the Ottoman Empire with artists in his entourage. Murad IV and his mother Kosem Sultan's portraits are among the paintings in the collection of the Kuefstein Family (Renda 2005, 46-49). A similar collection that includes sultan portraits belongs to the family of Johann Joseph von Herberstein, who arrived in Istanbul in 1665-66 with Count Walter Leslie. A portrait of Sultan Mehmed IV exists in the Herberstein collection (Renda 2005, 52).

3.2. Sultan Portraits in English Publications

3.2.1. Richard Knolles and *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* and *History of the Turkes*

Richard Knolles (1545-1611) studied at Lincoln College, Oxford and received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1564, and Master of Arts degree in 1570. After he left Oxford, he became the Master of the Free School at Sandwich, in Kent. There, he dedicated himself to his studies and composed a history book titled *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (Heywood 36; Parry 1). He published the first edition of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* in 1603,[20] after twelve years of preparation (Chew 112). The book was published six times.[21] The latest edition was in 1687, in which *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* was combined with Paul Rycaut's *The History of the Turkish Empire (1623-1677)* and *The History of the Turkes beginning with the Year 1679* and named *History of the Turkes* .[22]

Orhan Burian considers *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* the most comprehensive treatise on Ottoman history by an Englishman (Burian 1952, 228). This book is one of the earliest histories to be written in the English language and was elevated by figures like

[20] The full title of the book, in its first edition of 1603, is *The Generall Historie of the Turkes from the first Beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Ottoman Familie: with all notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. Together with the liuies and conquests of the Othoman kings and emperours faithfullie collected out of the best histories, both auntient and moderne, and digested into one continuat historie vntill this present yeare 1603: by Richard Knolles.*

[21] In 1603, 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638 and 1687 and an abridged version by John Savage was released in 1701 (Burian 1999, 100).

[22] Sir Paul Rycaut's two works, *History of the Turks 1623-77* and *History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679*.

Johnson and Coleridge as a monument of Elizabethan prose (Burian 1999, 100). In the seventeenth century, the book provided the plot for Shakespeare's *Othello* (Shrank par. 1). Even in the nineteenth century it was an inspiration to Lord Byron and Samuel Johnson for his historical tragedy *Irene* ("Knolles, Richard," *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature;* Chew 112).

The Generall Historie of the Turkes is an important work in the field of Ottoman sultan portrait studies because it is one of the rare books written in the seventeenth-century England that includes a series of Ottoman sultan portraits. Unlike many of the books written in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Knolles's book contains illustrations that are one of the first examples of the art of engraving in England (Matthew-Harrison 287). With that, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* is unique among the history and travel books published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The first edition of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, in 1603, contains one frontispiece, twenty seven portraits (sixteen of which are Ottoman Sultans) and a scene from the Danube River showing the "picture of the Bridge made over the Danube by Sinan Bassa, anno 1595." Sultans whose portraits are present in this first edition include Othomannus, Orchanes, Amurathes Primus, Baizethes Primus, Mahomethes Primus, Solymannus, Musa Zelebi, Amurathes Secundus, Mahometes II, Baizethes II, Selimus Primus, Solymannus Magneticus, Selimus Secundus, Amurathes Tertius and Mahomethes III. The other portraits depict Tamerlane, Scanderbeg, Campson Gaurus (Sultan of Egypt), Tomombeius the Last (Sultan of Egypt), Ionisses Bassa, his wife

Manto, Barbarossa, Abrahimus, Roxolana, Andreas Avria, Sinan Bassa, Mustapha Bassa and Sigismund (Prince of Transylvania).[23] Laurence Johnson is the engraver of the portraits in the 1603 edition.[24] Adam Islip, the printer, added the portrait of Achmat, in the 1610 edition. In the 1621 edition, the portraits of Mustapha and Osmanus were also included while in the 1631 edition, the portrait of Morat/Amurathes IV[25] was finally incorporated to the existing portraits.[26] Anonymous artists created the portraits of Ahmed I, Mustafa I and Osman II just as Thomas Cecill engraved the portrait of Murad IV.[27]

The sources that Knolles employed in composing *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* included various histories written in the previous century, consisting of sources in Latin or English translations of Latin works.[28] Knolles's book is thus a compilation of the histories written before. Similarly, the illustrations in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* are reproductions of the illustrations in the Latin sources written in the sixteenth century. Most of the portraits in Richard Knolles's book were copies of the portraits in Jean Jacques Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum, Principum Persarum aliorumque Heroum Heroinarumque ab Osmane usque ad Mahometem*, which was first published in Frankfurt in 1596 (Parry 106; Thieme-Becker 89). Theodore de Bry

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[23] Here the original spelling in the English books is given. The following chapter will provide the Turkish spelling of the names.
[24] For Laurence Johnson see Appendix III.
[25] Original spelling.
[26] For all portraits together, see Appendix V.
[27] For Thomas Cecill, see Appendix III.
[28] Among those sources are Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi* (*Commentaries*, which was translated by Peter Ashton), Hugh Gaugh's *Ofspring of the House of Ottomano*, Bertolomeo Georgevits's *De Turcacorum Maribus Epitome,* Thomas Newton's *Notable Historie of the Saracens*, R. Carr's *Mahumetan or Turkish Historie*, Augerius de Busbecq's *Itineria Constantinopolitanum*, Laonikos Chalconydas's *De Origine et rebus gestis Turcorum*, Philip Lonicerus's *Chronicorum Turchi e Persiani*, Marino Barletto's *De Vitis et Gestis Scanderbegi*, Sabellicus's *De Pugna inter Venetos et Turcas*, N.Secundinus's *Otthomanorum familia, seu de Turcorum imprerio historia* and Johannes Lowenklau's *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum …. Libri XVIII* (Chew 113-4).

illustrated the text with engravings. The *Vitae et Icones* of 1576 includes fifty portraits, thirty three of which depict Ottomans sultans, pashas and wives of some of those. In addition to this, a frontispiece employs a depiction of an Ottoman sultan with a European king and battle scenes. Laurence Johnson copied nineteen of these portraits for *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* in the first edition. Those portraits were of Othomannus, Orchanes, Amurathes Primus, Baizethes Primus, Mahomethes Primus, Solymannus, Musa Zelebi, Amurathes Secundus, Mahometes II, Baizethes II, Selimus Primus, Qansuh al-Ghauri, Tuman Beg, Ionisses Bassa, Manto (wife of Yunus Pasha), Solymannus Magneticus, Selimus Secundus, Amurathes Tertius and Mustapha Bassa.[29] The other four illustrations are reproductions of the images in Boissard and de Bry's *Pannoniae Historia Chronologica,* published in 1596. This book is another edition of *Vitae et Icones* (Parry 106). Those four illustrations are Amurathes Tetrius, Sinan Bassa, Mahomethes III, and the illustration of the bridge over the Danube, which Sinan Pasha constructed. The remaining three portraits are from the 1578 edition of *De Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi* by Marinus Barletius. Those are of Orhan, Murad I and Scanderbeg (Parry 108). The portraits, until Ahmed I in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, are mirror images of the portraits in Boissard's books. Theodore de Bry inserted the portraits in round frames, surrounded by another rectangular frame decorated with floral and animal designs. In the Knolles portraits the engraver Laurence Johnson omitted the decorated rectangular frame and preserved only the round frame. The background is blank in the series in Boissard and Knolles. In the Knolles-Rycaut portraits, on the other hand, the anonymous engraver has left out the ornamented round frame that Laurence used and changed it into a simple, plain round frame. The background in the Knolles-Rycaut portraits is darker.

[29] Original speelings in the English work.

The printer of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, Adam Islip, used the plates that Laurence Johnson prepared for the first five editions. Parry sees Johnson's technique as inferior to de Bry's (Parry 107). In the portraits for *The Generall Historie of the Turkes,* Laurence Johnson omitted the frames of De Bry, which were ornamented with animal and floral figures. While in *Vitae et Icones*, for each portrait a separate page is reserved, however, in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, the portraits are reduced in size and inserted into the text and cover only half of the page. Another reason for the poor quality of the illustrations possibly resulted from excessive use of the same plates. For the editions between 1610 and 1638, Adam Islip seems to have used the original plates which Johnson had prepared, because each successive edition of the portraits reveals a visible deterioration, as if the plates became increasingly worn with each use (Parry 107). After Islip's death in 1639, the plates used for earlier editions were lost or destroyed. Regarding the 1687 edition, an anonymous engraver prepared "Portraits newly engraven" (Parry 107). This edition was published under the title *The Turkish History*.[30]

3.2.2. Knolles-Rycaut and *The Turkish History* of 1687

The sixth edition of the *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* contained additions by Sir Paul Rycaut and was named *The Turkish History*. It was a compilation of three volumes. *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* constituted the first volume of *The Turkish History*.

[30] The full title is *The Turkish History from the original of that nation, to the growth of the Ottoman empire with the lives and conquests of their princes and emperours by Richard Knolles sometime fellow of Lincoln College with a continuation to the present year MCDCLXXXVIII whereunto is added the Present State of the Ottoman Empire by Sir Paul Rycaut, Late consul of Symrna*.

The second volume is composed of two parts: the first part covers the period from Mehmed III to the year 1687 and the second part, which Rycaut wrote, covers the period between 1623 and 1677.[31]The third volume is also by Rycaut and discusses the period beginning with the year 1679.[32]

The first volume of this edition begins with an oval portrait of Mehmed IV (figure 181), which appears for the first time in both Knolles's and Rycaut's books. It bears the signature of "W. Elder,"who is the engraver William Elder of Scottish origin.[33] This portrait of Mehmed IV bears the date 1687. The 1687 edition does not contain all the portraits of the previous editions. The title page of the first volume, namely *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, specifies that this edition of the book contains "portraits newly engraven." The "portraits newly engraven" consist only of sultans and exclude Süleyman Çelebi, Musa Çelebi, Scanderbeg, Campson Gaurus (Sultan of Egypt), Tomombeius the Last (Sultan of Egypt), Tamerlane, Yunus Pasha, his wife Manto, Ibrahim Pasha, Barbaros, Roxolana, Mustafa Pasha, Sinan Pasha, Sigismund and the scene from the Danube, which exist in the previous editions of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. The portraits included in this volume are Osman I, Orhan, Murad I, Bayezid I, Mehmed I, Murad II, Mehmed II, Bayezid II, Selim I, Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III. In the first volume, all of the portraits are basically copies of the portraits in previous editions of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes.*

[31] This part is a copy of *The Historie of the Turkes (1623-77)* by Rycaut.
[32] This part is also an edition of Rycaut's book *The Turkish History beginning with the Year 1679*.
[33] For William Elder see appendix III.

The second volume of *The History of the Turks* starts with the portrait of Ahmed I, dated 1610. The portrait of Mehmed III follows the one of Ahmed I and bears the date 1603. The other portraits in this volume are of Mustafa I and Osman II, both of which are copies of the portraits in the previous editions. The continuation of the second volume by Rycaut (*History of the Turkish Empire 1623-77*) starts with a portrait of Murad IV, depicting him as a young sultan. In the 1687 edition, Ibrahim follows Murad IV. This part also presents a drawing of a "forme of a Nachil, Turkish Pegeant", which is depicted as "High as Menar Pikes, each almost as long as a yard and spanns about att the bottome … vests of cloth and silke" (252).

The third volume, titled *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679*, written by Sir Paul Rycaut, begins with the portrait of Mehmed IV, which is the same portrait done by the engraver William Elder. Also, the same portrait illustrates the title page to the 1687 edition. In addition, the third volume contains the portraits of Comte Tekeli, Apti Pasha, Süleyman II and Mustafa II. The portraits in the third volume do not exist in previous works by Rycaut or Knolles. They are different in style from other portraits in the 1687 edition of the *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, being oval portraits placed on a platform, with a dark background and without any ornamentation on the frame. [34] Those four portraits bear the signature of "M.Van der Gucht," who is the Flemish engraver Michael van der Gucht (1660-1725).[35]

[34] See Appendices IV and V.
[35] For Michael van der Gucht, see Appendix III.

3.2.3. Sir Paul Rycaut and *The History of the Turkish Empire (1623-77)* and *History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679*

Sir Paul Rycaut's two books, which constitute the continuation of the *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* of 1687, were also published separately. *The History of the Turkish Empire 1623-1677* was introduced in London in 1680 and the work was published three times in 1687, and once in 1701. The first edition of the book, released in 1680, contains a portrait of Murad IV depicted as a child (figure 169). Later French (1682), German (1694) and Dutch (1684) translations entered the market (Anderson 297). The first publication of *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679* was made in 1700. 1701 and 1704 publications followed this edition. The German (1700) and French (1709) translations came next (Anderson 297). The 1700 edition of the *History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679* by Sir Paul Rycaut contains the same portraits as the 1687 edition.

3.2.4. Sir Paul Rycaut and *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* [36]

Sir Paul Rycaut worked as the secretary to the Levant Company and consul in its Smyrna (Izmir) branch. Paul Rycaut's interest in Turkey began at an early age when he went to school with Peter Wyche the Younger, the son of the British ambassador to the Porte, Sir Peter Wyche. In 1646, Paul Rycaut enrolled in Trinity College in Cambridge and received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1650 (Anderson 19-22). During both of his posts

[36] The full title is *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire containing the maxims of the Turkish politie, the most material points of the Mahometan religion, their sects and heresies, their convents and religious votaries, their military discipline with and exact computation of their forces both by land and sea illustrated with divers pieces of sculpture, representing the variety of habits amongst the Turks.*

in Istanbul and Izmir, he worked as an employee of the Levant Company, first as a secretary and later as the consul of the factory in Izmir. For the duration of these posts, he collected material for his most famous book, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which was first published in 1667 (Anderson 26). He wrote in *The History of the Turkish Empire 1623-77* that "from my first entrance into those Countries, to note down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to civil or military affairs; with what Casualties and Changes befel our Trade, that so both one and the other might serve for Examples and Precedents to Future Ages"[37]

The sources that Rycaut used for his works are controversial. His knowledge of the Turkish language must have helped him to establish close ties with Ottoman officials (Anderson 31). Rycaut attempts to prove the reliability of his book by claiming direct access to the Ottoman court, unlike the travelers of his age who, he thinks, have superficial knowledge on the Ottoman Empire. He writes in "The Epistle to the Reader" that he had been in contact with ministers, doctors and judges at court and that he had the chance to observe the Ottoman court circles personally.[38] Thanks to his posts as a foreign official he could also reach information through his acquaintances among foreigners who had close relationships to the court, like the imperial dragoman, Marc Antonio Mamucha della Torre and the court physician Giovanni Mascelini (Anderson 291). For more general or historical statements on Ottoman history, Rycaut benefited from a number of printed works, among which Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes* existed. Rycaut refers to this work as "our Turkish history" and he uses it as a source for general

[37] Rycaut, Paul. "To the Reader" *The History of the Turkish Empire 1623-77*. London 1700. Unpaginated.
[38] Rycaut, Paul. "The Epistle to the Reader." *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. London. 1668. Unpaginated.

statements regarding the early history of the Ottoman state. Another important source for Rycaut was the sixteenth-century Flemish diplomat and writer, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (Heywood 42).

The first work that Rycaut published on the Ottoman Empire was not *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. In 1661 Rycaut published *A Narrative of the Success of the Voyage of the Right Honorable Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea … from Smyrna to Constantinople, his Arrival there, the Manner of his Entertainment and Audience with the Grand Vizier and General Signor,* which related the adventures of himself and the Earl of Winchilsea, for whom Rycaut worked as a private secretary during their journey from Smyrna to Istanbul in 1661. Rycaut later included another copy of this work in the second edition of *History of the Turks* in 1687 (Anderson 28). The second work that Rycaut published was *The Capitulations* of the year 1663, printed in Istanbul. The content of the work was the renewed trade treaty articles between England and the Ottoman Empire following Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's accession to the Grand Vizierate after his father Mehmed Köprülü in 1661. For this publication, the choice was Abraham ben Jedidah Gabai's workshop as he already possessed a Latin font because he printed tracts in Spanish (Anderson 30). This publication is important because it stands as an example of early printing in the Ottoman Empire and as the first work in the English language to be published in the Ottoman Empire (Heywood 38).

When Rycaut returned to London in April 1666, following ten years of work as the consul of the Levant Company's Smyrna factory (Heywood 38), he handed the

manuscript and its illustrations to the publishers, John Starkey and Henry Brome. The two men made those manuscripts and illustrations into a folio at the end of August 1666, with a title page postdated 1667 (Anderson 43). After the first edition of 1667, six more editions of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* were published in English.[39] From 1670 onwards, translations of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* began to appear and the book became a best seller in French (1670), Italian (1672), German (1671), Dutch (1670) and Polish (1678) (Anderson 44). Among the readers of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* were prominent figures of the era, like Leibniz, who used this work for his "Egyptian Plan" by which he attempted to divert Louis XIV from the Netherlands to Egypt in 1672. Students of comparative politics, such as Temple, Locke and Montesquieu, were also among the possible readers of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. Nine chapters of Dimitrie Cantemir's treatise on Muhammadanism, published in Russian in St. Petersburg in 1722, were plagiarized from *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (Anderson 45-46).

In the 1667, 1668 and 1670 editions of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, the portrait of sultan Mehmed IV shows him on throne (figure 188). In the 1675 edition and the other editions released in 1682, 1686 and 1687, the printer added a title page depicting a reception scene of the sultan and changed the title of the book to *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*. The reception scene bears the signature of F. H. van Hove, the Dutch engraver Frederick Hendrick van Hove.[40] Other than the reception scene and the sultan's illustration, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* contains drawings of the palace workers, dervishes, members of the military and palace

[39] In 1668, 1670, 1675, 1682, 1686 and 1687.
[40] For F. H. Hove, see Appendix III.

guards and women from Constantinople (figure 5). The illustrations in the book are copies of the illustrations in a costume album (Anderson 42).

3.2.5. George Sandys, Samuel Purchas and Illustrated Travel Books

Patronage of an illustrated travel book was an expensive enterprise in the seventeenth century, especially for travelers who traveled these long-distance routes. Travel in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a tough venture, which meant more than five months of voyage from England to Istanbul (Burian 1952, 219) and it was both spiritually and financially demanding (Murphey 294-5). The cost of travel combined with the high cost of illustrations limited the number of illustrations in travel books of the time (Avcıoğlu 203).

The English-born colonist, treasurer of the London Company, traveler and poet George Sandys (1578-1644) studied in Oxford and is famous for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (1621) ("Sandys, George," *The Oxford Companion to American Literature;* "Sandys, George," *The Concise Oxford Companion to English Literature;* "Sandys, George," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*). After his journey to Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which began in 1610, he published his travel book *A Relation of a Journey* in 1615.[41] Among the travel books printed in this era, George Sandys' text is important in terms of the portraiture of the Ottoman sultans, because it contains a frontispiece with a depiction of Ahmed I, engraved by the English engraver Francis

[41] *A relation of a journey begun an. Dom. 1610 Foure bookes. Containing a description of te Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy and ilands adioyning.*

Delaram (figure 155).[42] Moreover, Sandys's book is illustrated with maps, drawings of people and views from the lands in which he traveled. George Sandys published the first edition of his book in 1615, followed by eight publications.[43]

Samuel Purchas, (1577-1626) rector of St Martin's, Ludgate, published *Purchas' Pilgrimages* in 1625 ("Purchas, Samuel," *The Oxford Companion to English* Literature). Although there is no depiction of the sultan himself in this book, there is an image of a *tuğra* of the Ottoman sultan, entitled "The Grand Turkes Letters Patents." Purchas used this image in the section in which he narrates the trade privileges provided by the sultan to the English merchants in the Red Sea (figure 6).

[42] For Francis Delaram, see Appendix III.
[43] In 1621, 1627, 1632, 1637, 1652, 1658, 1670 and 1673.

4. CHAPTER III Iconographic and Comparative Analysis

This chapter is divided into four parts, according to the availability of the sources that give evidence about the physiognomy of the Ottoman sultans in Europe and the Ottoman Empire: (1) from Osman I to Murad II, (2) from Mehmed II to Selim II, (3) from Murad III to Süleyman II and (4) unspecified sultans. The fact that we do not have any formal evidence about the physiognomy of the sultans before the reign of Mehmed II brings about some difficulty in tracing the real likeness in the visual representation of the first six sultans (Capellen 452). For that reason, the first part of this chapter concentrates on the Ottoman and European portraits of the sultans who reigned before Mehmed II. With the help of a comparative analysis of the portraits of these sultans until the seventeenth century, the first part will investigate the question of whether an accepted iconography and an established physiognomy existed for those sultans in the Ottoman and European traditions of portraiture. The second part of the chapter deals with the period starting from Mehmed II and ends with Murad III. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the intensifying encounters between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, European portraits of Ottoman sultans gained popularity. Consequently, we have a great number of contemporary European depictions of those six sultans. The third part of this chapter, covering the period from Mehmed III through Mustafa II, deals with the contemporary portraits of the eight seventeenth-century sultans painted by Ottoman and European artists and discusses them with descriptive evidence from Ottoman and European sources. The last part of this chapter interprets the frontispieces and title pages found in the illustrated books printed in seventeenth-century England. The illustrations in this part include sultan portraits, which remain unspecified

but stand as representative of the Ottoman sultan as a stereotype in the publications in Europe.

This chapter investigates the continuity in the traditional iconography in European and Ottoman portraits of the Ottoman sultans and puts the portraits found in the illustrated books printed in seventeenth-century England in context of this tradition in order to determine their compliance with iconographic tradition. The illustrated books of seventeenth century England that this thesis concentrates on are Richard Knolles's *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* of 1603,[44] the compilation of Richard Knolles's and Sir Paul Rycaut's works *The History of the Turkes* of 1687[45], Rycaut's other works *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1667), *The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677* (1680), *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679* (1700) and George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey* (1615).

4.1. The First Six Sultans: From Osman I to Murad II

This part covers the portraits of the first six Ottoman sultans, Osman I, Orhan, Murad I, Bayezid I, Mehmed I and Murad II, in relation to the lack of formal sources that provide information about the physiognomy of those sultans.

The depictions of Osman I (1281-1326) in sixteenth-century Ottoman painting, in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579) and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583) show him with a brown, thick

[44] The portraits in this book will be referred to as "Knolles" in the following sections.
[45] The portraits in this work will be referred to as "Knolles-Rycaut."

beard with sharp ends and a relatively long mustache. In those Ottoman portraits he has dark eyes and high, arched eyebrows (figures 10-11). The portrait of Osman I in Sansovino also depicts him with a thick, dark and bushy beard; however, in this portrait by Niccolo Nelli, a European artist, Osman I's long hair shows under his turban (figure 12). The *Cronica Breve* (figure 13) and the Vavassore view (figure 8) repeat the same long, bushy hair and the same type of turban. In all theses portraits the sultan has an aquiline nose. The Knolles portrait complies with both the Ottoman and the European stereotype of Osman I (figure 15). In this profile portrait, which is a copy from Boissard (figure 14), the sultan has a thick, shaggy beard and long mustache. Parallel with the above-mentioned European examples, his long hair shows under his turban. Osman, in the Knolles portrait, has a strong expression on his face, emphasized with a frown. The sharp end of his beard, the aquiline nose and his eyebrows create an aloof expression, which derives from the European portraits of the sultan. The inscription "Othomannus Primus Turcarum Rex Floruit 1300" surrounds the oval portrait. It also bears the signature of the engraver as "Laurentinus Johnsanus Sculpsit" and the date of 1603. The Knolles-Rycaut portrait, bearing the same inscription, is a reproduction of the Knolles portrait (figure 16). This portrait, though, differs from the previous one with the loss of the stern expression and the sharp looks of the sultan. Here the sultan, although with a sharper, curlier beard and the sharp arched nose, has a more benign expression due to his gentler gaze.

The depiction of Osman I's successor, Orhan (1326-1359), in the Sansovino tree presents the sultan with a long, thick beard (figure 19). In the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt*

Tevârîh, the sultan has a similar appearance to the Sansovino portrait with his beard (figures 17-18). The stern and vigilant look in the Sansovino portrait reappears in the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* portrait. In those portraits, the gaze of the sultan is directed towards the viewer. The Knolles portrait of Orhan, however, is different from those European and Ottoman depictions of the sultan (figure 21). The nonexistence of Orhan's portrait in Boissard led Laurence Johnson to refer to another source for a portrait for *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, and he copied it from *De Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi* by Marinus Barletius (Parry 108). The Knolles portrait depicts Orhan with a long, pendulous mustache and without a beard. This depiction, with its facial features, also has correspondences with the Giovio portrait (figure 20). Contrary to the depiction of Osman I in Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut, Orhan's turban and clothing are more ornamented: his turban is decorated with a precious stone and a band that makes an x shape in the front. In this three-quarter portrait, the sultan has a thin neck, thin face, a sharp chin, a big arched nose and small eyes. The inscription reads "Orchanes Othomani fi Secundu Turcarum Rex Floruit Anno 1328." Similar to Osman I's case, in the Knolles-Rycaut copy of Orhan portrait, the facial expression of the sultan completely changes (figure 16). Unlike the stern, unsympathetic face in the Knolles portrait, in the Knolles-Rycaut portrait, the sultan's eyes have a gentler look. The artist changed the sultan's frown completely, and the sultan's eyes here are larger. Other than this, in this portrait the turban and attire of the sultan remain the same.

Murad I (1359-1389), who acceded to the Ottoman throne after Orhan, has portraits in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh,* which show him with a short, light brown,

reddish beard and a mustache reaching down to his neck. In those portraits, the sultan has large eyes, in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* one they are hazel, while in the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* his eyes are darker (figures 23-24). In the Sansovino (figure 25) and the *Cronica Breve* (figure 26) portraits, the sultan has the same beard and mustache as in the Ottoman portraits. In the Vavassore view (figure 8), on the other hand, the artist depicted the sultan with a longer beard. In the Knolles portrait (figure 28), similarly, the sultan has a long mustache, however no beard. Also, the sultan's face is slim with sharper features. The sultan's facial features and expression is a reminder of his predecessor Orhan. Murad I's eyes are small; his gaze is stern and determined, which gives him a martial manner. The scepter he holds in his right hand emphasizes this attitude. The scepter seems to be a symbol for the Ottoman throne in the English works, as Knolles and Rycaut use the symbol of the scepter in different parts of their texts in the place of "throne" or "governmental authority." For example, the second line of the epigram for Orhan says: "His father dead, Orchanes takes his scepter up in hand" (Knolles 1603, 178). Rycaut, as well, employs the symbol of the scepter to indicate the Ottoman throne. In the section where he narrates Murat IV's period, he says: "Morat who always abhorred the ill-shap'd body and weaker mind of his brother envied him [Ibrahim] the dignity of the Ottoman scepter" (Rycaut 1680, 46).

The portrait of Murad I does not exist in Boissard's works, and Giovio did not possess Murad I's portrait (Majer 2000, 239). Stimmer engraved the same portrait for Murad I and Bayezid II for *De Vitis* (Raby 1999b, 142). In the portrait in *De Vitis* (figure 27), although the facial features are different from the Knolles portrait, the sultan holds a

scepter in his right hand, as in the Knolles portrait. When we look at another portrait in the Ambras series from the sixteenth century, we see Murad I again depicted with a spear in his right hand (figure 30). In spite of this association between the Giovio and Knolles portraits, according to Parry, Murad I's portrait, in Knolles, is a copy from the portrait of Murad I in *De Vita et Gestis Scanderbegi* (108).

In the Knolles-Rycaut portrait, the facial expression of Murad I changes; as in the case of the previous three sultan portraits, the sultan loses the unsympathetic and firm expression found in both the Giovio and Knolles portraits (figure 29). Here the sultan's gaze is directed at the viewer, unlike the gaze in the Giovio and Knolles portraits. This change in the gaze creates a visual communication between the sultan and the beholder, obliterating the distance of the sultan as an intimidating and martial figure in spite of the symbol of the scepter. The inscription of Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portraits is "Amurathes Primus Tertiuus Turcarum Rex Floruit Ano 1350."

After Murad I, Bayezid I (1389-1402) succeeded to the Ottoman throne. Ottoman painters, as exemplified in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh*, depict Bayezid I with a short beard and a long pendulous mustache down to his chin (figures 31-32). The Sansovino series (figure 33), the Vavassore view (figure 8) and the *Cronica Breve* (figure 34) show him with only a mustache, without a beard. Bayezid's portrait is the first portrait in the English publications, initially appearing in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, which we can trace from Giovio and Boissard to Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut in terms of iconography (figures 36 -39). In all of these portraits, the style of the sultan's

turban remains the same and he wears a caftan with a patterned collar on all of the portraits. Bayezid I's most distinguishing characteristic in the Giovio, Boissard, Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portraits is his beard, which is different from other European and Ottoman depictions of the sultan. Here the sultan's beard is long and curly; its ends divided into two and stand horizontally. His beard, which does not look natural with its sharp ends and curly shape, is obviously the pictorial representation of his sobriquet *yıldırım* meaning "thunder." The inscription in the Boissard portrait reads "Sultan Baiaset Gilderun Chan," the word *gilderun* being a variation of the word *yıldırım*. In the Giovio portrait (figure 36), a winged arrow symbol on the left corner is also another representation of the sobriquet "thunder." In the Giovio portrait of Bayezid I, the symbol of the scepter appears again. Theodore de Bry, however, eliminated the scepter and the winged arrows, in the Boissard portrait. Richard Knolles supports the visual symbols of thunder and scepter in his text, where he narrates the sultan's sobriquet related to his personality by saying: "Baizet, or as the Turks call him, Baiasit, of his violent and fierce nature surnamed Gilderun, or lightening, succeeded his father Amurath, in the Turkish kingdome, his younger brother Iacup, being strangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared" (Knolles 1603, 203). Complying with this description by Knolles, the facial expression of Bayezid I in the Giovio and Boissard portraits is stern with his characteristic beard and furrowed brow; however, his pensive gaze creates a contrast with this grotesque expression. In the Knolles portrait (figure 38), this same gaze remains, even with more emphasis, the artist creates a more contemplative and gloomy expression. This expression is clearly the pictorial representation of Bayezid I's defeat by Tamerlane and his captivity after the war, a story which the European audience knew very well.

Knolles emphasizes the victory of Tamerlane (also with a portrait of Tamerlane[46]) and Beyezid's defeat in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* with the epigram accompanying Bayezid I's portrait:

Prowd Baiazet most false of faith, and loathing blessed peace:
His warlike troupes like lightening, tos hake he doth not cease.
Of Hadrianople he makes choice, for his imperiall seat,
That Europs kingdomes he might joyne unto his empire great.
Constantinople he distrest, twice with straight siege and long
And vainly thought to have possest the Greacians wealth by wrong.
But overcome by Tamberlane, fast bound in fettrs sure,
Trod under foot, and cloas'd in cage, great shame did there indure (Knolles 1603, 202)

After eleven years of interregnum, Mehmed I acceded to the Ottoman throne, following Bayezid in 1413, and reigned until 1421. In European portraits of Mehmed I created before Boissard and Knolles, such as the Sansovino tree (figure 42), the Vavassore view (figure 8) and the *Cronica Breve* (figure 43), the sultan has a briskly mustache and a clean shaved beard. In these portraits, his face has a grotesque expression. Mehmed I in the portraits in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (figures 40-41), however, has a short beard and a thick mustache. Similarly in Boissard, Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut, he has the same facial features. In all those, the sultan has a small, arched nose and a contemplative stare (figures 44- 46). In the Knolles-Rycaut portrait of 1687 (figure 46), similar to Murad I's case, the sultan's gaze is directed towards the viewer rather than looking into the distance, as in the Boissard and Knolles copies. In the Knolles and the

[46] See Appendix V for the portrait of Tamerlane.

Knolles-Rycaut portraits, on the frame, “Mahometus Primus Ountus Turcarum Rex Anno 1405” is inscribed.

The first five publications of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* include the portraits of the other princes, Süleyman Çelebi and Musa Çelebi, who fought for the throne during the interregnum. The Süleyman Çelebi portrait in Knolles (figure 42) is the reproduction of the Boissard portrait, except for the ornamented rectangular frame. The inscription in this portrait is special and distinguishes itself from the other portraits in the series with its inscription. The inscription reads “Solymannus Baiazethis Fi: A Fratre Musa Strangulatus,” which means “Süleyman, son of Bayezid, whom his brother Musa strangled.” In the Boissard portrait the inscription is different: “Sultanus Soleimanes Chan.” Along with that alteration in the inscription, we observe a change in the facial expression of the prince. Although his attire, the turban shape and profile pose remains the same in both portraits, the engraver Laurence Johnson created a grim effect in the sultan’s gaze in his copy of the portrait. Süleyman Çelebi portrait’s does not exist in Knolles-Rycaut edition of 1687.

The portrait of Musa Çelebi is again a reproduction of the portrait in Boissard (figures 49-50). The portraits show the prince in plain attire, with a beard, and he is relatively older than his brothers, Süleyman and Mehmed. The inscription in this portrait says “Musa Zelebi Baiazethis Fi: Afratre Mahomete Strangulatus,” meaning “Musa Çelebi son of Bayezid, whom his brother Mehmed strangled.” Similar to Süleyman Çelebi’s portrait, Musa Çelebi has an unfriendly expression in the Boissard and Knolles portraits. In both

portraits, the prince has a large, aquiline nose and a beard with an unnaturally upturned end. This portrait is extant in the 1687 Knolles-Rycaut edition.

Murad II succeeded Mehmed II, coming to the Ottoman throne in 1421, to reign until 1451, with a short interruption from 1444 to 1446, when he turned to the empire over to his son. Murad II's turban shape appears as the most prominent attribute of his portraits, both in the Ottoman and European traditions. His elliptical and narrower turban style in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* is noteworthy for being dissimilar to the turbans of other sultans (figure 51-52). Similarly, in the Sansovino tree (figure 53), the Vavassore view (figure 8), the *Cronica Breve* (figure 54) and the Giovio portrait (figure 55), his turban is elliptical. Murad II's portrait in Giovio (figure 55) yet again distinguishes itself from the other portraits in the series with the turban shape. The turban in the Giovio portrait is elliptical, plaited and seems like a felt cap. This turban is the model for the portraits in Boissard, Knolles (figure 57) and Knolles-Rycaut (figure 58). Although Theodore de Bry, for the Boissard portrait, chose not to reproduce the elliptical shape, he preserved the plaited pattern, which is unique among all the sultan portraits in the Boissard series. In the Knolles portrait (figure 57), Laurence Johnson was loyal to the Boissard portrait, while the anonymous artist of the Knolles-Rycaut portrait (figure 58) changed the plaited pattern of the sultan's turban.

As for the facial features of Murad II, in all the portraits of the sultan explained above, the sultan has an oval face with a medium-length beard and a mustache. In the European portraits, the sultan has a straight nose. In the Ottoman depictions, however, the sultan

has a small, aquiline nose (figures 51-52). Regardless of the sultan's straight nose in the Boissard and Knolles' portraits, in the Knolles-Rycaut portrait, the artist recaptured the arched nose. This suggests that the artist had different depictions of the sultan at hand and added those features to the Knolles portrait he already possessed. With the arched nose and longer, sharper-ended beard, this portrait is reminiscent of Giovio's portrait of Murad II. The alterations to the Giovio portrait continue with the gaze of the sultan in the Boissard and the Knolles portraits. The proud and strong facial expression in the Giovio portrait turns to a more benign expression in Boissard and, finally, the Knolles portrait depicts the sultan with a miserable face. In the Knolles-Rycaut portrait, on the contrary, the sultan does not have a miserable expression any more, but a more proud, gracious expression with a sardonic smile. This adjustment in the facial expression of the sultan once more suggests the possibility of the existence of another sultan portrait series or a descriptive text. Both of the Knolles portraits bear the inscription "Amurathes secundus sextus Turcarum Rex Floruit Anno 1422."

4.2. The Sultan Becomes the Emperor: From Mehmed II to Selim II

This section of the third chapter interprets the portraits of the sultans, Mehmed II, Selim I, Süleyman I, Bayezid II and Selim II. Starting with Mehmed II, we have information about the physiognomy of the Ottoman sultans, derived from their portraits executed in the Ottoman Empire and Europe during their lifetime.

Mehmed II (1451-1481) is one of the sultans most frequently portrayed in Europe. Despite the existence of some imaginary and legendary portraits which associate Mehmed II with the Byzantine Emperor Johannes Paleologus (figure 59), the fact that Mehmed II commissioned medal portraits and invited Italian artists like Gentile Bellini and Costanzo da Ferrara to the Ottoman court resulted in the production of more realistic representations of the sultan. Especially with the medal portraits, the genuine physical appearance of Mehmed II spread throughout Europe (Raby 2000a, 65-9). As a result, in both Ottoman and European portraits, a recognized iconography with consistent facial characteristics was established in the portraits of Mehmed II.

One of the common characteristics found in Mehmed II's portraits is his furlined caftan (*kapaniçe*). In the Bellini portrait (figure 60) and the medals by Costazo da Ferrrara (figure 63), the sultan wears such a caftan. The Ottoman portraits, attributed to Sinan Bey (figure 61) and Şiblizade Ahmed (figure 62) show the sultan in the same kind of caftan. Similarly, this feature remains in the portraits of the Sansovino tree (figure 64), the Vavassore view (figure 8), the *Cronica Breve* (figure 66), another anonymous portrait of the sultan dated to the sixteenth century (figure 65), the Giovio portrait (figure 69), and the Boissard (figure 70), Knolles (figure 71) and Knolles-Rycaut portraits (figure 72). In later Ottoman portraits of the sultan, especially those in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (figures 67-68), there is a textured fur with a dotted pattern.

The furlined caftan is an important symbol to consider. The furlined caftan (*kapaniçe*) was a kind of attire associated with sultans and highest officials. The officials, voivodes

and grand viziers, upon their visits to the sultan, sometimes wore a *kapaniçe*; however, theirs were much simpler in comparison to the ones worn by the sultan (Koçu 144-5). While in Anatolia and Rumelia, the fur was used frequently because of harsh winters, in the court the usage of fur only pointed at highest rank and wealth (Żygulski 118). The furlined caftan, thus, seems to be associated with the supremacy and the authority that the sultan possessed. The Knolles portrait further demonstrates the iconography that emphasizes the power and dominance of Mehmed II with the inscription "Mahomethes II. Cog Magnus Turcarum Imperator Primus Floruit Anno 1450." This inscription, for the first time, in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, gives a sultan the title "imperator," meaning "emperor," instead of "rex," meaning "king," which defines the previous sultans. The inscriptions in Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut refer to all the sultans succeeding Mehmed II as "emperors."

In terms of facial features, thanks to the portraits produced during the sultan's lifetime, we have a consistent physiognomic depiction of Mehmed II. In all of the portraits, Mehmed II's typical attributes are small eyes, an arched nose, a small mouth and a medium-sized, sharp-ended beard. The shape of his turban, which Mehmed II himself created, is also consistent. [47] In the Boissard and Knolles portraits, the characteristic aquiline nose changes into a straight nose. As in the case of the portraits of Murad II and Mehmed II, in Knolles-Rycaut too, the artist retains the arched nose. This alteration, once more, gives the idea that the artist of the Knolles-Rycaut portraits had a textual depiction at hand, along with the Knolles portraits engraved in 1603.

[47] This turban was made of white gauze rolled and curled around a red *börk* (fez-like head gear) (Kumbaracılar 9).

Bayezid II (1481-1512) is known for his dislike of portraiture, unlike his father, Mehmed II. Even his invitation of Michelangelo to the Ottoman court during his reign was not based on Michaelangelo's professional reputation as a painter and a sculptor but for his talents as an engineer and architect. His rejection of portraiture resulted in a lack of contemporary representations of the sultan, both in the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The sultan's reluctance to use portraiture as a diplomatic means led to varied representations in Bayezid's images. The portraits of Bayezid II in contemporary Europe existed in the Petancius scroll (figure 4), in Giovio's collection, and a portrait in the Uffizi collection as recorded by Vasari in 1568 (Raby 2000a, 72-4). Sixteenth-century portraits of the sultan exist in the Sansovino tree (figure 75), the Vavassore view (figure 8) and the *Cronica Breve* (figure 76). The sixteenth century profile portraits of the sultan show him with a straggly beard and a surly expression. Posthumous Ottoman portraits in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (figures 73-74) portray the sultan again with a beard and a mustache.

The portraits of Bayezid II in English publications are copies of the portraits in Boissard. The Boissard portrait (figure 78) demonstrates familiarity with the Giovio portrait (figure 77). Both portraits of the sultan are in three-quarter profile. He wears a turban decorated with a large jewel on the left, an ornamented caftan and a cloak which covers only one shoulder. He has a curly beard of medium length. In the Boissard, Knolles (figure 79) and Knolles-Rycaut (figure 80) portraits, his facial expression is not intimidating, as he has a milder face without any trace of severity. While this expression complies with that of the Ottoman portraits of the sultan, it presents a contrast to the other sixteenth-century

representations of Bayezid II. The Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portraits carry the inscription "Baiazethes II Turcarum Imperator Secundus Floruit Anno 1481."

After Bayezid I, Selim I ruled the Ottoman Empire for eight years between 1512 and 1520. Ottoman painters consistently depict Selim I with a long mustache and shaven beard (figures 81-82). According to Lokman's description in the *Şemâ'ilnâme*, however, Selim I had "a thick and long mustache" and "an imposing beard" (Raby 1999a, 74-5). European artists portray Selim I either with or without a beard. While in the *Cronica Breve* (figure 84), Selim I has a mustache similar to those in his Ottoman depictions, in Sansovino (figure 83), Vavassore (figure 8) and Giovio (figure 85) he has a curly beard and mustache. Notwithstanding those sixteenth-century representations of the sultan, Giovio, in *Elogia,* writes that Selim I rejected a full beard even though it was thought "appropriate for great kings… He had no intention of being seen with a useless, dense beard which his nobles could use as a handle to lead him around, as they had his father. Instead his beard was shaven" (Raby 1999a, 74-5).

Selim I's portrait in Knolles is a reproduction of the Boissard portrait. The Boissard portrait of Selim I (figure 86) again shows correspondences with the Giovio portrait. The Giovio portrait portrays Selim in profile, wearing a ring-shaped turban, with a mustache and a short beard. Although the Giovio portrait shows the sultan from the back, looking right, the Boissard portrait shows him in profile. Regardless of these differences, the turban's style, attire, collar and the sultan's facial features and beard are the same in both portraits. The sultan here has a medium-length, sharp-ended beard and a handlebar

mustache. His eyebrows, again, determine the facial expression of the sultan. The sultan without a frown, in the Boissard and Knolles portraits, is far from representing a grotesque sultan figure, contrary to what his sobriquet "the grim" would suggest. The Knolles-Rycaut portrait (figure 88) is noteworthy in the sense that the facial expression of the sultan changes into a more distant and surly state, which is more compatible with his sobriquet. The artist maintained this expression with an aquiline, longer nose, a sharp ended beard and the sultan's gaze. This gaze reminds more of the Giovio portrait than the Boissard and Knolles copies. In the Knolles-Rycaut portrait, the details in clothing and turban are altered to create a resemblance to those of the Giovio portrait. This modification in the depiction once more indicates the possibility of the artist having seen another sultan portrait series and blending the previous Knolles ones with the one he already possessed. The artist of the Knolles-Rycaut portrait kept the same inscription with the Knolles portrait, reading "Selimus Primus Turcarum Imperator Tetrius Ano 1512."

During the forty six years of Süleyman I's reign, between 1520 and 1566, encounters with Europe intensified and, thus, Süleyman I is one of the sultans depicted in an immense number and variety of portraits. In European examples of Süleyman I's portraits, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, many different styles exist. His representations are plentiful in equestrian, full-length and bust portraits, profiles and three-quarter portraits, among which bust portraits are the most common. Media also varies; there are painted, sketched, engraved, and even three-dimensional portraits. The printed portraits aimed at less prosperous groups, both literate and illiterate. It is possible

for the illiterate to have come across the sultan's picture in an illustrated propaganda news sheet, especially in German countries (Capellen-Bağcı 96).

Portraits of Süleyman I demonstrate the changes in his physiognomy due to old age. The younger portraits of the sultan depict him in profile or on horseback (figures 89-90-93-97-100-101-102). The portrait showing Süleyman I as an old man by Melchior Lorichs (figure 103) is possibly one of the most important portraits of the sultan. Jürg Mayer zur Capellen and Serpil Bağcı argue that Lorichs's portrait is the most accurate among the sultan's portraits, because of the strong possibility that the artist had seen the sultan several times before creating the representation (Capellen-Bağcı 104). The Ottoman portraits of the sultan create a contrast with the young, strong sultan as shown in his profile or equestrian portraits. Depictions of Süleyman I by Ottoman artists are rare and there are only two individual portraits of him that are dated to Süleyman I's lifetime. Both portraits show the sultan as an elderly, pensive and weary man contrary to European examples. One of them is a full-length portrait by Nigâri or Haydar Reis, dated 1560-65 (figure 111), and an equestrian portrait in an album in Paris, again attributed to Nigâri (figure 112). Other portraits of the sultan, in historical manuscripts, depict him in the same pensive pose, with simple clothing (figures 109-110) (Capellen-Bağcı 104-5). Solely those representations correspond with Lorichs' portrait of the sultan, which was produced in Europe during his lifetime. One type of portrait in Europe shows Süleyman I as a young man, in profile. Albrecht Dürer's drawing is an example of that type (figure 89). This prototype became widespread after the battle of Mohács in 1526. Another portrait, drawn relying on the same model, is the portrait of the sultan showing him with a

golden helmet, prepared by Venetian goldsmiths (figure 94) (Necipoğlu 1989, 401). Another drawing portrays the sultan in profile, with a mustache and a beard, wearing a large turban and a patterned caftan. This type is best represented by a woodcut published by Matteo Pagan (figure 92) (Capellen- Bağcı 101). The third type shows the sultan in profile as a young man, and Giovio's portrait is an example of this style (figure 105). These types of portraits show the sultan with a heavier mustache, a bulbous turban and the standard facial characteristics. This style had an influence on the sultan portraits produced in later decades and centuries (Capellen-Bağcı 100), such as the portraits of Süleyman I in the English publications, Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut. In line with the traditional depiction of the sultan in Europe, the Giovio and Boissard portraits show the sultan with a pendulous, thick mustache and a clean shaven beard. In the Giovio portrait, the sultan holds a scepter, repeating the iconography of scepter; however, Theodore de Bry omitted the scepter in Boissard. In the Boissard portrait the artist portrays the sultan's aquiline nose, as described by Lokman in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* (Capellen- Bağcı 100). The shape of the turban is bulbous in the Boissard and Knolles portraits (figure 107). In the Knolles-Rycaut portrait (figure 108), on the other hand, the turban is flattened on top and the details in the sultan's attire changes. In the Giovio, Boissard and Knolles portraits the sultan wears a furlined coat. Süleyman I is the second and last sultan after Mehmed, depicted in a *kapaniçe*. Süleyman I, with his long reign and his sobriquet "magnificent,"carries the fur as an indication of power and authority, following the iconography in the portraits of Mehmed II. The inscription in the Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portraits, "Solymanus Magnificus Turcarum Imperator Quartus 1520," emphasizes this iconography further.

Süleyman I's wife Roxalana, or Hürrem Sultan, in many cases accompanies Süleyman I's portraits. She was a charming figure for contemporary Europeans because of her political aspiration and influence on the sultan. Both engraved and printed portraits of Roxalana, among which portraits by engravers like Melchior Lorichs and Matteo Pagan exist (figures 113-116), were common in Europe; yet it has not been established to what extent these bear any similarity to her real physiognomy (Capellen-Bağcı 102). Roxalana's portrait in Knolles (figure 118) is a reproduction of the portrait in Boissard (figure 117), which seems to have taken Matteo Pagan's depiction as a model. In all the portraits of the sultana, she wears a headgear called *hotoz*.

Selim II (1566-1574), the successor of Süleyman I, was not a committed patron of portraiture and did not commission any illustrated manuscripts or his own portraits from Ottoman or European artists. Even the projects started during his father's period were interrupted and could only be completed under his successor, Murad III. Selim II did not commission any European artist to create medal, oil or printed portraits; therefore, his European portraits were made by third-rate artists, unlike those of Mehmed II and Süleyman I (Necipoglu 1999, 202-3). The European portraits of Selim II are less varied than those of his father Süleyman I. The portraits, which started to appear after his accession to the throne in 1566, show him either as a young man, or as a plump and aged man because of his excessive drinking habit (Necipoglu 1999, 203). Since the Rouillé, Giovio-Stimmer, and Cristofano dell'Altissimo (Uffizi) series ended with Süleyman I, Selim II's portrait does not exist in those series (Necipoglu 1999, 206). The other sixteenth-century portrait series, like those of Sansovino (figure 126), the *Cronica Breve*

(figure 124) and Vavassore (figure 8), illustrate the sultan with a round face, a little beard and a thick mustache. These portraits comply with the Ottoman portraits of Selim II by Nigari and in the *Şemâ'ilnâme* and the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (figures 121-122). Selim II's image also appeared in costume albums in Europe (Necipoglu 1999, 206). One equestrian portrait in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris (figure 127) shows a resemblance to the Boissard and Knolles portraits of the sultan in terms of the facial features and turban shape. Selim II's equestrian portrait by Balthasar Jenichen (figure 125) is also among this type of portraits, which shows the sultan with a grim expression.

Selim II's portraits in English publications are copies of the portraits in Boissard. The profile portrait in Boissard (figure 128) shows the sultan with a curly beard and a mustache. His turban shape complies with the turban he wears in the *Şemâ'ilnâme*, the *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* and other European portraits mentioned above. Like the other portraits, Selim II's portrait in Knolles-Rycaut (figure 130) depicts the sultan as an older man, although the artist preserved the clothing and the turban. The alteration must be related to Selim II's portraits which show him as an aged man, as the artist of the Knolles-Rycaut portrait seems to be aware of those depictions. Another reason for the changing illustration of the sultan in the Knolles-Rycaut edition is possibly because of Knolles's description of the sultan: "He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of a unconstant and hastie disposition, wholy given to wantonnesse and excesse so that he never went to wars himselfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the chrage of Selymus, his grandfather, given him to hid father Solyman, whereof he was never unmindfull" (Knolles 1603, 827).

In the Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portrait "Selimus Secundus Turcarum Imperator Qiuntus Floruit Anno 1566" is inscribed on the round frame.

4.3. The Seventeenth-Century Sultans: From Murad III to Suleyman II

The third section of this chapter examines the portraits of the sultans beginning with the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century. The portraits of Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I, Mustafa I, Osman II, Murad IV, Ibrahim, Mehmed IV, Suleyman II, Ahmed II and Mustafa II were executed during their lifetime. Since the frequency of expeditions and diplomatic activities increased during the seventeenth century, we can also reach textual information about the physiognomy of these sultans from the European and Ottoman written documents.

The European historical narratives from Murad III's reign (1574-1595) provide information about the sultan's appearance and personality. Knolles, in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes,* writes:

> He was about thirtie, or (as some write) seven and twentie yeares old, when he began to reigne: of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent and not the fierce nature of the Othoman princes, being indeed himselfe of a peaceable disposition, a lover of justice and in the manner of his supersitition very zealous. The riot and excesse growne amongst the Turks by his fathers evill example, he reformed, by his owne temperance, and the severe punishment of notorious drunkards yet it is reported that he would oftentimes himselfe drinke plentifully of wormewood wine. He was subject to the falling sicknesse and sore

> troubled with the stone, more spare handed than he was for the greatnesse of his stare and yeeding more to the counsell of his mother, his wife and sister, than of his great Bassaes (Knolles 1603, 919)

Another Englishman, F. Billerberg, who was in Istanbul during the circumcision ceremony of Mehmed III's son in 1582, describes Murad III in *Most Rare and Straunge discourses of Amurathe* as a short man with a large head, lazy and large eyes which seemed not to move and fat cheeks. He had a long nose, a thin, reddish beard which reached down to his neck and a pale face (Reyhanlı 61). Salomon Schweigger's portrait (figure 137) and the portrait of Murad III in the *Cronica Breve* (figure 138) reflect these descriptions in the written sources to a great extent.

The Ottoman portraits which depict the sultan as a younger man with a slim face demonstrate his physiognomy right after his accession to the throne at the age of twenty eight (figures 131-132) (Çağman 2000b, 209). Murad III had been ill since his youth and this illness caused him to put on weight (Reyhanlı 61). This sickness led to a change in Murad III's appearance as he aged. The Ottoman historian Selâniki describes the sultan as a man of medium height, inclined to be overweight and with a beard square in shape. The portraits of the sultan after 1580 demonstrate this physical alteration. In those portraits, the shape of the sultan's beard turns into a blunt manner. Both the European and Ottoman portraits and descriptions of Murad III suggest that he gained weight and altered the style and length of his beard as he became older (figures 134-135) (Çağman 2000b, 214).

A portrait in oil, in the collection of the Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie in Warsaw, is the reproduction of an original painted during the sultan's lifetime (Çağman 1999b, 215) and belongs to the group that shows the sultan in his ill and weary years (figure 130). Pietro Bertelli used the same portrait of Murad III in *Vite degli Imperatori Turchi* (figure 140). The Boissard portrait of Murad III in the *Pannonia Historia Chronologica* again portrays the sultan in the same manner (figure 141). The Boissard portrait is the model for the Knolles portrait (figure 142), which depicts the sultan with a full, round, plump face, a pug, long nose, raised eyebrows, a furrowed forehead, small mouth, thin mustache and long beard. His large eyes are compatible with the description by F. Billerberg. In the Knolles portrait, the sultan's eyes are light-colored, verifying the textual narrations which mention that he had hazel or pale hazel eyes (Çağman 1999b, 209-10). In this portrait, his gaze is directed at the viewer. On his turban, he has a feather and an aigrette. The black aigrette is a common feature that exists in almost all European and Ottoman depictions of the sultan (figures 133-135). This indicates that the sultan had an established iconography both in Ottoman paintings and European portraits and also proves that the Knolles representation follows a certain tradition with the pursuit of real likeness.

Among all the portraits in the Knolles-Rycaut history, Murad III's is the only one which is completely different from the ones in Boissard and Knolles (figure 143). Here the artist depicted the sultan, in contrast to the plump and young man in previous portraits, as an aged and tired-looking man with a white beard and mustache. His turban, again, bears the black aigrette, which seems to be a traditional component of the portraits of Murad III. This portrait verifies the textual description of the sultan as an aged and ill man as well as

the alteration in the style of his beard, because in this representation the sultan has a square beard. The usage of a different portrait in the Knolles-Rycaut edition again suggests the existence of another portrait series during the production of the new depictions for this book. The inscription reads "Amurathes Tertius Turcarum Imperator Sextus Floruit Anno 1574."

Mehmed III's (1595-1603) Ottoman portraits can be found in the *Fetihname-i Eğri* (1597) written by Tâlikizâde Mehmed and illustrated by Nakkaş Hasan. The portraits in this manuscript illustrate the sultan as a plump man with a wide chest and short neck. A thick, broad, and black beard coming down to his chest with eyebrows meeting over his nose is a typical feature of Mehmed III's physiognomy. European eyewitnesses also confirm this appearance, emphasizing especially his shortness and plumpness (Bağcı 216). Moryson describes the sultan as having a round face, fair complexion, red cheeks, dark beard and a frown on his face with a brusque expression. Dallam also says that the sultan is short and has a black beard. Humphrey Conisby depicts him as a dark man, with brown hair, dark eyebrows and beard. In the portraits of Mehmed III by the Ottoman artists we can trace the same facial features (figures 144-146) (Reyhanlı 61).

Taking the textual descriptions and the Ottoman portraits of the sultan into consideration, the portrait in Boissard and Knolles seems to be imaginary. The portraits in the English publications are reproductions of the portraits in Boissard's *Pannonia Historia Chronologica*. Contrary to the Ottoman portraits, in the Boissard (figure 148) and Knolles (figure 149) portraits, the sultan has a goatee and a thin beard. Some features in

the Boissard and Knolles portraits, however, comply with the textual depictions of the sultan. The sultan's court doctor in his report after the sultan's death, describes Mehmed III as fond of jewels and precious stones, and his turban and aigrette were decorated with invaluable stones (Reyhanlı 62). The Boissard and Knolles portraits reflect this love of precious stones on his turban and on his earring.

The frontispiece of Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum* portrays Mehmed III in full length (figure 149). Here Mehmed III holds a sword and a scepter with a crescent at the tip. On the opposite side, a European monarch stands, carrying a scepter as well. With the battle scene in between two rulers, this frontispiece puts the Ottoman sultan as an opposing power against Europe. Mehmed III's physical appearance is again a reproduction of the Boissard portrait.

The Knolles-Rycaut portrait (figure 151) is again dissimilar to the Boissard and Knolles portraits in minor details. Here the artist omitted the jewels in the sultan's turban. This portrait is more in line with Ottoman portrayals and textual evidence, in the sense that the sultan has a longer, darker and thicker beard rather than a goatee. His facial expression and clothing remains the same. The inscription in this portrait is also changed to "Mahometes III Turcarum Imperator Septimus" from the one in Knolles portrait which reads "Mahometes III Turcarum Imperator Septimus Qui Nunc Regnat an 1603." Theodore de Bry's portrait was also influential on the other European portraits of Mehmed III. Another reproduction of Boissard's portrait appears in the *Cronica Breve* (figure 147) (Bağcı 219). In addition, an anonymous portrait of the sultan dated to the

seventeenth century (figure 152) and a portrait from the nineteenth century (figure 153) also share correspondences with the portrait in Boissard and Knolles.

The Ottoman miniature portraits depict Mehmed III's successor, Ahmed I (1603-1617) as a young man (figure 154-155) (Mahir 2000a, 307). There are very few portraits of Ahmed I by Ottoman artists executed during his reign. Among these is an album portrait in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (figure 155). This portrait, signed "el fakir süleyman," portrays the sultan during the early years of his reign, and is regarded as the only portrait dating from this period (Mahir 2000a, 307). In this portrait, Ahmed I has an oval face, is clean shaven, and has a *selimî* turban[48] with two aigrettes.

The production of Ahmed I's portrait in Knolles coincides with Ahmed I's reign because Adam Islip, the printer, added this portrait in the 1610 edition of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (figure 156). For this portrait, Knolles's one source must be the description by his cousin Roger Howe, who had been in Istanbul before Knolles started his edition, as he mentions in the 1610 edition. Knolles gives information on the physical appearance and personality of the sultan in this second edition:

> This great Sultan Achmat, of whom we now speake and now reigneth, was (as it before said) about fifteene yeares old when he came to the Empire, and is now about the age of two and twentie yeares old, round and full faced, and withall well favoured, but that the signes of small pox are yet in his face somewhat seene. His beard being but little, is of a browne chestnut colour, growing in little tusses in foure severall places, on each cheeke

[48] *Selimi* turban takes its name from Selim I, who used it for the first time. It was a long, plain headgear, made up of hard material covered with Indian gauze outside and cotton inside. Sultans, grand viziers and court eunuchs used it (Kumbaracılar 10).

> and each side of his chinne once: as by his lively counterfeit, taken by a most skillfull workemans hand at Constantinople, at the cost and charge of my kind friend and cousin Master Roger Howe, at his late being there, and set before the beginning of this his historie, is to be seene. He [Ahmed I] is of a good and just stature, well complexioned, and enclined to be fat, as was his father Mahomet: strong and well limmed, and withall active, as appeareth by the casting of an horsemans mace of nine or tenne pounf weight (one of his common exercises) which he casteth so farre, as that the strongest man in his court is not able to come neere him... He is by nature ambitious and proud, which by some are in him accounted but qualities well beseeming his great and stately magnificence. He is not altogether so cruell as some of the Othoman Emperours his predecessors have beene: howbeit, that some few examples of great severitie have beene by him shewd. He is much given to sensualitie and pleasure, wherein there is some hope, that he will at lenght burie himselfe, so as did his father Mahomet before him (Knolles 1610, 1297).

A costume album may be the source for this portrait, because all the portraits of Ahmed I dating from the seventeenth century show the sultan as a mature man with beard and moustache (Mahir 2000a, 307). The portrait in Knolles corresponds with the younger portraits of Ahmed I by the Ottoman artists, with his oval face and his *selimî* turban with one aigrette.

George Sandys provides another description of the sultan in *A Relation of a Journey* (1615):

> He is in this yeare 1610 about the age of three and twenty, strongly limd and of just stature, yet greatly inclining to be fat; in so much as sometimes he is ready to choke as he

> feeds and some do purposely attend to free him from that danger. His face is full and duely proportioned. Onely his eyes are extraordinary great but then esteemed (as said above) an excellency in beauty. Fleame hath the predominency in his complexion. He hath a little haire on his upper lip but lesse on his chin, of a darksome colour. His aspect is haughty as his Empire is large, he beginneth already abstain from exercise; yet there are pillars with inscriptions in his Seraglio betweene which he threw a great iron mace that memorise both his strength and activity … his turbant like in the shape of a pumpion but thrice as great. His under and upper garments are lightly of white satin or of cloth of silver tishued with an eye of greene and wrought in great branches (Sandys 67).

This description mostly complies with the portrait in Knolles, which depicts the sultan with a faint mustache, and a large turban. It is, yet, more possible that Sandys wrore this description relying on the portrait and textual depiction in Knolles. A procession of the sultan was the only occasion during which a traveler could see the sultan; however, Sandys does not mention that he witnessed any of these parades in his book. In addition, the portrait in Knolles came out before Sandys published the first edition of his book in 1615. For that reason, Sandys's description seems to rely on the Knolles portrait.

The portrait of Ahmed I in Sandys's frontispiece, *A Relation of a Journey*, corresponds to Ahmed I's portrait in Knolles. The creation of this portrait in the frontispiece also coincides with Ahmed I's reign (figure 158). In this portrait, Ahmed I is recognizable from his physiognomy and the inscription reads "Achmet Sive Tyrannus" which means the reigning Ottoman sultan (Avcıoğlu 203). The engraver Francis Delaram must have derived this outlook from both the descriptions of Knolles and Sandys and the portrait in

Knolles.[49] In this full-length portrait, the sultan holds a yoke in one hand and a sphere in the other. There are books under his feet and a broken scale on the floor. Avcıoğlu suggests that the books under his feet symbolize the condemnation of Christianity; the broken scale is the symbol of injustice, while the yoke is a symbol of his power to enslave and the sphere is his ambition to rule the world (Avcıoğlu 210). The sphere, in relation to this interpretation, also, is the symbol of the *Kızıl Elma* (golden apple) which was a widespread symbol in the iconography of Ottoman sultan paintings in the seventeenth century (Mahir 1997, 95).

The symbol of the golden sphere, identified by Banu Mahir as *Kızıl Elma,* is one of the symbols that dominate the portraits of the Ottoman sultans from the first half of the seventeenth century until the early eighteenth century. The *Kızıl Elma* had long been a concept in Turkish literature, referring to a country or city desired to be conquered, constituting an ancient Turkish symbol of world hegemony.[50] The term *Kızıl Elma* became increasingly used by Ottoman writers during the seventeenth century to symbolize cities like Rome, Vienna and Buda. At the same time, the *Kızıl Elma* was engaged to gain sovereignty in West and East. The *Kızıl Elma* was a symbol employed in miniature portraits of the sultans in albums produced during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Mahir 1997, 95). A portrait series named "Ahmed I Album" (TSM B. 408), preserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum, portrays twelve Ottoman sultans, from Osman I to Murad III, holding a golden sphere (Mahir 1997, 91-12). In addition, a seventeenth-century costume album, found in the Marciana Library in Venice (Cod. It.

[49] See Appendix III.
[50] Banu Mahir also adds that the word *kızıl* means "gold" in Turkmen and Azeri (1997, 96).

IV, 491 [5578]), includes portraits of the Ottoman sultans from Murad I to Bayezid II, carrying a golden sphere (Mahir 1997, 94). This symbol also appears in European works (Mahir 1997, 96-97), among which George Sandys's frontispiece exists. The golden sphere of Ahmed I, thus, symbolizes the world hegemony of the Ottoman Empire and the desire to conquer new lands. As a work produced in the seventeenth century, this frontispiece conforms to the tendencies in the iconography in East and West. We can deduce that the yoke that Ahmed I holds in his other hand is a symbol related to tyranny in the Western iconographic tradition. The image of Ahmed I as a tyrant also complies with Sandys's depiction of the sultan as "as haughty as his empire is large." The yoke and sphere stands for the large territories that the sultan rules (Avcıoğlu 212).

A posthumous portrait of Ahmed I, found in Knolles-Rycaut, shows the sultan with a completely different physiognomy and an unusual shape of turban compared with the other portraits of the sultan (figure 157). Here Ahmed I, who has a thick, black beard and a longer face, does not wear a *selimî* turban anymore, yet the aigrette still remains. This alteration, once more, supports the argument that the artist of the Knolles-Rycaut series had another portrait series available to him.

There are no contemporary portraits of Mustafa I (1617-18/ 1622-23) by Ottoman artists. A firm conclusion cannot be reached regarding Mustafa I's character and physiognomy from the series by Ottoman artists in the second half of the seventeenth century. Musavvir Hüseyin, an Ottoman artist, portrayed Mustafa I as a mature bearded man (Mahir 2000a, 308). However, the portrait series, in the books printed in Europe in the

late seventeenth century, depict Mustafa I both as a bearded mature man and as a young man with a moustache (Mahir 2000a, 308). In a portrait attributed to a Spanish artist, the artist portrays the sultan with a dark, long beard, a thin mustache and a *selimî* turban (figure 159).

We find Mustafa I's portrait for the first time in the 1621 edition of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. The date indicates that the portrait was executed during Mustafa's reign (figure 160). However, the absence of contemporary portraits of the sultan by Ottoman artists stands as an obstacle against establishing a comparative analysis in order to determine the common iconography used in the portraits of Mustafa I. The 1700 edition of *The Historie of the Turkes beginning with the Year 1699* by Rycaut provides a description of the sultan: "Mustapha being about 33 yeares of age, and in his prime, appeared very robust and comely … People had a great esteem for this his son [Mustafa] being young and robust and mature age" (Rycaut 1700, 522). In the Knolles portrait, the sultan has a long mustache, with ends turned upward and without a beard. His long nose and large eyes can be traced in the portrait by the Spanish artist as well. By the description Rycaut relates about this portrait, the sultan looks healthy with his body standing straight. The Knolles-Rycaut depiction shows the sultan as a bust portrait and confines itself to the same facial features as depicted in the Knolles representation (figure 161).

Osman II succeeded Mustafa I in 1618 to reign for four years until 1622. Ottoman artists, such as Ahmed Nakşi, portrayed Osman II during his lifetime either seated on a throne or

on horseback. All those portraits show Osman II as a young sultan (figures 162-165). His portraits executed in Europe depict Osman II either without any beard or mustache or just with a moustache (Mahir 2000a, 309). Osman II's portrait in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (figure 166), which the printer, Adam Islip, added in the 1621 edition, shows the sultan in a half length portrait, as a very young man. With his round chin and heavy eyelids, in this portrait the sultan resembles his depictions in the Ottoman portraits. These Ottoman and European portraits do not portray Osman II in a martial manner. Knolles supports this visual representation with an epigram accompanying the portrait of the sultan, which says: "Osman thy gentle nature far declin'd / from Turkish tyrannie and pride of mind" (Knolles 1638, 1376). The sultan's attire in English portraits differs from his attire in portraits by Ottoman artists. In the Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut portraits, he wears a turban with an aigrette placed in the middle, unlike his depictions in Ottoman miniature paintings, which portray the sultan with a *selimî* turban with two aigrettes. The Knolles-Rycaut portrait is a reproduction of the Knolles portrait, converted to a bust portrait (figure 167).

Murad IV came to the Ottoman throne as a boy of twelve, succeeding Osman II in 1623, and ruled the Ottoman Empire until 1640. The Ottoman portraits depict Murad IV typically on horseback in the Baghdad campaign. During this campaign, the headgear that Murad IV wore became a typical attribute of this sultan's portraits. According to the information that Nâima gives, he had an iron helmet with a red turban whose end cloth hung down over his shoulders (figure 173) (Mahir 2000a, 311). The European portraits of the sultan also illustrate him with a similar turban, as seen in the cover page engraving of

Recuell de Divers Portraits des Principales Dames by George de la Chapelle dated to 1648 (figure 174). This engraving became the prototype of Murad IV's portrait in the Herberstein family collection in Ptuj (figure 172). Among other Murad IV's representations in Europe are the portraits in the Kuefstein family collection in Austria and a portrait attributed to a Spanish artist (figure 171) (Mahir 2000a, 311).

The portraits of the sultan in English publications of the seventeenth century do not illustrate this type of headgear and neither do portray him as a warrior sultan. Instead they show Murad IV as a child sultan (figures 168-170). Adam Islip, the publisher, added the portrait of Murad IV to *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* in the 1638 edition. Despite the fact that in 1638 Murad IV was twenty five years old, the portrait still portrays him as a child of twelve, with a juvenile, innocent expression on his face. Knolles describes the young sultan as such: "The new emperor the next day made his solemne entry into the city, a youth of fourteene yeares of age, fat, and of a lively countenance, and good stare, a prince of two faire hopes sone know himselfe, and prove a stirring nature" (Knolles 1638, 1430). Rycaut's *Rycaut History of the Turks 1623-77* (1680) and the 1687 edition of *The History of the Turks* also use the same child-sultan portrait (figures 169-170). In spite of the naïve, childlike outlook of the sultan in these youth portraits, the description of the sultan by Rycaut displays a young, but powerful sultan. Rycaut says that he had a "warlike disposition" and was "the most martial man of his age" (Rycaut 1680, 82). Also, Rycaut in *The History of the Turks (1623-77)* writes:

> Hereupon Amurat, a youth of about fourteen years of age, was brought forth to the people and placed in the throne … Morat was of lively countenance, full fac'd, dark hair, of black and lively eye, ruddy and fanguine complexion, and in every degree of a promising

> and hopeful aspect; but his exteriour appearance did not correspond with the internal cruelty of his violent spirit, having some similitude with the swan, which hath white feathers and black flesh (Rycaut 1680, 2).

These descriptions comply with both Ottoman portraits that depict the sultan as a warrior on horseback and European portraits showing him as a young, child-ruler.[51]

Sultan Ibrahim came to the Ottoman throne in 1640 and stayed in power until 1648. In English publications of the seventeenth century, Ibrahim's portrait exists in Knolles-Rycaut of 1687 (figure 178). This portrait is a copy of Ibrahim's portrait on the title page of George de la Chapelle's *Recvel de Divers Portraits des Principales Dames* dated 1648 (figure 177). On the title page and Knolles-Rycaut portrait, the sultan has a thick, dark beard and long nose. He wears a *selimî* turban with three aigrettes, connected with a chain. One can say that a thick beard, although varying in color in Ottoman sultan portraits and the *selimî* turban with three aigrettes (figures 175-176) (Mahir 2000a, 312-3) are common attributes in Ottoman and European depictions of Sultan Ibrahim in the seventeenth century.

After Ibrahim, Mehmed IV acquired the throne to reign for thirty nine years between 1648 and 1687. During Mehmed IV's long reign, frequent interactions and intense cultural exchange occurred between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. These encounters brought along the production of a great number of sultan portraits during the seventeenth

[51] According to Banu Mahir the three-quarter portrait of Murad IV in the Dutch translation of Rycaut's *The History of the Turks beginning with the Year 1679*, published in 1684, shows him as a young man with a mustache, in a furlined cloak, a turban with an aigrette decorated with jewels, holding a scepter. However, the English publication of the same book, dated 1700, includes a portrait of the sultan as a child (Mahir 2000b, 171).

century. Mehmed IV's European portraits are abundant in number and can be divided into four groups according to age: portraits of a beardless boy, portraits of a young man with mustache and portraits of a bearded, elderly sultan (Majer 2000, 336-45). Regardless of age, however, in all of the portraits of Mehmed IV produced in Europe, a common iconographical symbol, the crescent, is outstanding. The symbol of the crescent exists in the earliest portraits of the sultan, which depict him as a child. Baltazar Moncornet (ca. 1630- ca. 1670) is the creator of the prototype of the portraits depicting Mehmed IV as a child-sultan (Majer 2000, 336) (figure 179). In these portraits, dated 1652, there are three crescents on the sultan's turban, on the brooch and on the tip of his scepter. The second type of portraits presents Mehmed IV as a young man and bears the same iconographical symbol. In these portraits, enclosed in an oval shaped medallion within a rectangular frame, the sultan has a gentle and friendly disposition (figure 180). Some of Mehmed IV's portraits bear German inscriptions, describing the sultan as tyrant and bloodhound. For example, some depictions served as propaganda in German-speaking countries during the 1683-99 war, as the young sultan had a mustache and a highly decorated turban. He again holds a scepter with a crescent at the top (figure 187). In wartime portraits, contrary to other portraits showing him as a young man, the sultan looks uncanny and dangerous, his attire foreign to the European public (Majer 2000, 338). Another portrait of the young sultan, in Boethius' book, illustrates the sultan within a large crescent (figure 186). In this portrait, lightning crashes into the crescent, symbolizing the Christian powers destroying the Muslim Ottoman army (Majer 2000, 357). Even though Rycaut describes Mehmed IV in *The History of the Turks (1623-77)* as "a child of seven years old age" (Rycaut 1680, 81), the portraits of Mehmed IV, which

are illustrated in Knolles-Rycaut of 1687, *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679* by Sir Paul Rycaut, show the sultan again as a young man, with a long, pendulous mustache and a turban with three aigrettes connected with chains to each other. Here, yet again the symbol of the crescent as frame decorated with crescents surrounds the portrait (figure 184).

The portrait that illustrates the numerous editions of Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (figure 192), shows the sultan sitting on a throne with a high back. His attire is simple; he wears a *selimî* turban with three aigrettes. The sultan has big dark eyes under heavy eyelids, a small mouth, and a mustache with its ends twirled upwards. The inscription reads "Sultan Mahomet Han the present Emperour of the Turkes aged 23 yeares Anno 1666." Since Rycaut had been in Istanbul for many years, he most probably had the opportunity to obtain the Ottoman miniature portrait, obviously as a part of a costume album (Majer 2000, 338). The costume albums found in Europe, like the Berlin album, include similar depictions of the sultan (figure 191) (Majer 2000, 360).

The Rycaut portrait was influential in Europe. The printed portrait illustrated in *Historia di Leopoldo Cesare* (1676) is an example of its popularity (figure 184). The portrait shows the sultan in a *selimî* turban with two aigrettes, connected by chains and decorated with jewels and pearls. The portrait bears the date 1666; its artist is Jacob Toorenvliet and its engraver Moritz Lang. Similarly, for the anonymous portrait of Mehmed IV in the collection of the Herberstein family, the Toorenvliet portrait was the prototype (figure 181). Another portrait showing an aristocrat as Mehmed IV, in the Ptuj Museum, also

took the Toorenvliet portrait and the portrait in Rycaut as model (figure 182) (Majer 2000, 338-9; Istanbul 2005, 178).

In all European portraits of Mehmed IV, the crescent symbol is continually existent. However, the portrait depicted in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which Majer argues to be of Ottoman origin (Majer 2000, 338), does not bear any crescents. Similarly, Musavvir Hüseyin, being an Ottoman artist, did not use crescents to decorate the portraits of the sultan (figures 183-189-193). In addition, some European portraits executed after 1683 in France and Italy show the sultan with a beard as in the Musavvir Hüseyin's portrait which lacks crescents (figures 188, 190). This is due to these portraits relying on more realistic information on the sultan obtained from sources like Giambattista Donado who wrote in 1684 that the sultan "had a complexion between pale and olive, his eyes were big and black, his nose prominent, his mouth well proportioned, his hair dark chestnut but sparse, especially his beard" (Majer 2000, 341). In these French and Italian depictions of the sultan and in the above mentioned Ottoman and European examples, the sultan's attire and the throne are plain and without crescents. The difference between earlier European wartime portraits and more realistic sultan portraits produced both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire indicates that, together with the crescent, the ornamented turban and the outlandish attire created a distance between the European audience and the sultan. Therefore, the combination supported the figure of the sultan as being the representative of Islam, in addition to crescents contributing to the idea that he was the enemy of Christianity and Europe.

Mehmed IV's successor, Süleyman II, attained power in 1687 and reigned until 1691. Dimitrie Cantemir describes Süleyman II as having a "gross body, low stature, pale and bloathed face, an oblong beard." *Silâhdar*, the Ottoman historiographer, put emphasis on his arched nose. The portraits of the sultan by the Ottoman painters illustrate these descriptions almost exactly (figures 194-195) (Majer 2000, 344). In Europe, Süleyman II was a figure in which the Europeans were interested and even an embassy was sent to Vienna, in order to announce the enthronement of the new sultan to initiate peace negotiations. The new sultan's accession to the throne had its reflection in the visual arts. For instance, European artists created portraits of Süleyman II, showing Mehmed IV's dethronement and Süleyman II's succession illustrated in the background (figure 196). Like the full-length sultan portrait in this scene, European artists seem to have followed the depictions of Mehmed IV's portraits as a young man with a mustache, crowned turban and scepter (Majer 2000, 344). The portrait in Rycaut's *The History of the Turks beginning with 1679* (1700) shows Süleyman II with a long, thin mustache, a turban with three aigrettes and a cloak (figure 197). European portraits of Mehmed IV, depicting him as a young man, must be the model for Süleyman II's portraits produced in Europe.

Ahmed II (1691-1695), another late-seventeenth-century sultan, was not a well-known figure in Europe; therefore, the European artists had difficulties portraying him. Artists and printers tried to solve this problem by reusing, reproducing or renaming other sultan portraits, such as, the portraits of Mehmed IV as a young sultan. Consequently, those European depictions mistakenly represent Ahmed II as a young man, despite the fact that he was older during his reign. In other instances, Ahmed II, who was famous for his

peaceful character, had representations as a mounted warrior, as in the portrait by Johann Hoffmann (figure 198) (Majer 2000, 346). We can trace the similarities in his facial features, attire and turban to an anonymous portrait of Ahmed II as an older man (figure 199) and the portrait of Süleyman II by Musavvir Hüseyin (figure 195).

The second volume of the 1687 edition of Knolles-Rycaut's *History of the Turkes* does not contain a portrait of Ahmet II. The absence of Ahmet II's portrait in English publications indicates the fact that Ahmed II's portraits in his real likeness were not widespread in Europe. Consequently, the publisher chose not to use a pseudo-portrait for Ahmed II and left the chapter narrating his reign without illustration. This choice reflects the idea that English publications in the seventeenth century were in the pursuit of real resemblance to the visual representation of the Ottoman sultans.

Although English publications left out Ahmet II's portrait, they included a portrait of his successor, Mustafa II (1675-1703). Mustafa II was described by Dimitrie Cantemir as being "of moderate size, his face round and beautified with red and white; his beard red, thin and not long, his nose short, and a little turned up; his eyes blue, and his eyebrows thin and yellow." Another contemporary description narrates that Mustafa II was of "a low stature, but broad and corpulent, has a short neck, a large squat yellow fleshy face, a flat nose, a low forehead, with cheeks remarkably long and squabby" (Majer 2000, 349). Ottoman and European portraits of the sultan reflect this description to a great extent (figures 200, 202). Several European depictions of the sultan, yet, do not go beyond being imaginary portraits, like the portrait showing the sultan in full length (figure 203) and the

portrait used for Mustafa II in Rycaut's history (figure 201) (Majer 2000, 346). The portrait of Mustafa II in Knolles-Rycaut edition of *The History of the Turks* is reminiscent of Mehmed IV's portrait, as is Süleyman II's portrait in the same volume (figure 197), with his facial features, turban and cloak.

4.4. Unspecified Sultans: Knolles' Frontispiece and Rycaut's Title Page

4.4.1. The Frontispiece of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*

The frontispiece of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* contains an Ottoman sultan in a kind of attire suggestive of an armed Roman soldier in his garb. The sultan has an Ottoman turban and a shield in his right hand, decorated with crescents and an axe on his left hand (figure 204). In this frontispiece there are two marble columns, which Avcıoğlu argues to be of Byzantine type and thus associates them with the Byzantine Empire (Avcıoğlu 204). On the left side of the two columns stands a European monarch with a sword and a shield decorated with a cross on it. As the identity of the sultan in this frontispiece is unspecified, the sultan seems to be representative of a generic stereotype. Between the two rulers, the artist has illustrated a battle scene, just as represented in Boissard's frontispiece (figure 149). The fact that the Ottoman sultan's attire resembles a Roman warrior garb and that he stands near Byzantine Corinthian columns represents Ottoman control of Byzantine lands. The shield decorated with crescents symbolizes Ottoman supremacy as the guardian of Islam. The decorated shield, intended to protect its user, symbolizes the idea that Islam is also the protector of the Ottoman Empire. The

European ruler and the Ottoman sultan, at two opposite poles of a battle scene and adorned with armor, present the Ottomans and the Europeans as opposing powers.

4.4.2. The Title page of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*

The reception scene in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* appeared for the first time in the 1675 edition, which is the fourth edition (figure 205). The sultan in this scene matches, in physiognomy and in clothing, with Ahmed I's portraits by European and Ottoman artists. However the engraver, F. H. van Hove, did not specify the identity of this sultan. In this scene, in front of the sultan, three figures in Ottoman clothing are presenting their reverence to the sultan. Behind the venerating figures, two other figures in European outfits stand further behind them as an army approaches. With the marching army and the Janissaries in the foreground, the sultan's visitors are surrounded by Ottoman forces. The sultan stands in front of a building with Doric columns, obviously not an Ottoman structure but representative of Western architectural style. In the background stands a monument, which is clearly the converted Hagia Sophia and next to it there is a Roman monumental sculpture. This scene again represents the Ottoman conquest of Byzantine territory. The sultan, here, appears as a symbol of sovereignty and dominance with figures prostrating in front of him. Another engraving, dated 1687, illustrates the accession scene of Süleyman II and thus reproduces a scene similar to the title page of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* of 1675 (figure 206).

5. CONCLUSION

In Europe, collecting portraits of famous figures was an ancient tradition, with roots in the Classical era. In fifteenth-century Europe, the interest of collecting portraits re-emerged as the Greco-Roman heritage was rediscovered. The main inspiration for this Renaissance tendency was the Classical idea, put forward by Plinius the Elder in *Naturalis Historia,* which argued that portraits are documentary evidences (Berksoy 144-5). The use of portraits in Renaissance biography books also invigorated the ancient way of memorializing an individual, which is the use of *vita* and *effigies*, meaning "life and looks" (Raby 2000b, 142). In terms of illustrated printed books in Europe, the collector and historian Giorgio Vasari's (1511-1574) *Vite* (1550) was an important turning point, because *Vite* was the first illustrated compilation of biographies, created through systematic research based on interviews, correspondence and field trips. Another notable innovation of Vasari's work was the usage of woodcut portraits designed to accompany each biographical entry (Eisenstein 130). Vasari was the contemporary of another important Renaissance figure, Paolo Giovio (1438-1552). Tobias Stimmer copied and reproduced Paolo Giovio's portrait collection preserved in his museum in Como. These copies were published in *Elogia virorum bellica illustrium* (1596) and *Vitae illustrium virorum* (1578) (Berksoy 148; Raby 2000b 142), which were also biograpies like Vasari's *Vite*. Giovio's collection is important regarding the sultan portraits printed in England during the seventeenth century as the portraits produced, based on Giovio's collection, were also a source for Jean Jacques Boissard's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum* (Berksoy 152; Parry 108) and for the portraits in Richard Knolles's *The*

Generall Historie of the Turkes (Parry 105), as demonstrated in the second and third chapter.

Paolo Giovio, while collecting works of art, was meticulous in choosing images that had reliable sources, like medals or bust portraits of earlier decades, to serve as models (Berksoy 145; Raby 2000b, 141). Giovio's narration of a story about his finding a series of sultan portraits is reflective of his pursuit for the real "likeness" in the illustrations he selected for his collection. He relates the story of obtaining a series of portraits in *Elogia* (1575): in the year 1543, when the French King Francois I put Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha in charge of helping the French against the Emperor Karl V, Barbaros met with the commander of the French navy, Virginio Orsini, in Toulon. During this meeting Barbaros presented gifts to Orsini. Among the gifts, there was an ebony and ivory box which contained eleven miniature sultan portraits. Giovio saw these portraits and tried to obtain them. Consequently, Orsini allowed Alessandro Farnase, a companion to Giovio, to make copies of these portraits on canvas (Berksoy 148; Raby 2000b, 145). This series, which no longer exist, has been attributed to the Ottoman miniature portraitist Haydar Reis, who is also known as Nigari (Majer 1991, 443-444; Raby 2000b, 145).

The Renaissance demand for *somiglianza* (likeness) (Capellen-Bağcı 96) was indispensable for Giovio, Boissard and Knolles alike. The pursuit of "capturing the resemblance" takes root from the ancient idea that assumes art as "imitation" and the painter as "imitator". Plato's *Republic*, Book II, demonstrates this idea in the Socratic dialogue:

> 'When a man in speech makes a bad representation of what gods and heroes are

> like, just as a painter who paints something that doesn't resemble the things whose likeness he wished to paint.'
>
> 'Yes, it's right to blame such things' (Bloom 55).

Republic Book X also calls the painter an "imitator" of forms (Bloom 280). Aristotle, similarly, defines art as an "imitation" of life in *Poetics.* He says: "Epic poetry and tragedy, as also comedy, dithyrambic poetry, and most flute playing and lyre playing, are all viewed as modes of imitation" (Bywater 2316).

After examining the political, economical and cultural tendencies in Early Modern Europe, and analyzing the Ottoman sultan portraits in seventeenth-century English publications, by taking the context of the whole body of Ottoman imperial portraiture into consideration, a number of conclusions can be determined:

(1) Taking into account Giovio's pursuit of likeness in his collection of portraits, the Renaissance ideal of *somiglianza,* which arises from the perception of the painter as an "imitator of life" together with the Classical thought that accepts portraits as documentary support for the text, the sultan portraits of Renaissance Europe and England attempted to reflect the likeness of the personages they portrayed. The portraits in English publications, in many cases, comply with the established physiognomy of the sultan in European or Ottoman portraits. Also, they reproduce consistent iconographic attributes associated with a certain sultan in the European or Ottoman portraits, such as Murad I's spear, Murad II's plaited turban, Mehmed II's furlined caftan, Süleyman II's bulbous turban, Murad III's facial features, Ahmed I's physiognomy, Murad IV's portraits as a child-sultan and Mehmed IV's representations decorated with crescents. The fact that *The*

History of the Turks does not include a portrait of Ahmed II is supportive of that argument. Since European publishers did not have knowledge about the physiognomy of Ahmed II, they attempted to reuse the portraits of other sultans as substitutes (Majer 2000, 346). The printer of *The History of the Turks* did not use a counterfeit portrait for the sultan, obviously, as a complementary to the idea of creating a real likeness in the illustrations.

(2) The portraits of the late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century sultans in the English publications, mostly comply with the textual description of the appearance and personality of the sultans. This interpretation, definitely, is valid only about the sultans of which we have a description at hand. Murad III's portraits, for example, demonstrate the alteration in his physical appearance due to age and sickness, as narrated in written sources. Similarly, the portraits of Ahmed I in Knolles's and Sandys's books show similarities to each other and demonstrate the textual description in the visual representation. The portraits of Murad IV in Knolles's and Rycaut's works are also among the portraits that illustrate the textual evidence in the contemporary sources.

(3) The portraits in the *History of the Turks* of 1687, which are specified as "newly engraven" in the title page of the book, are basically the copies of the portraits in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* of 1603. When examined more closely, however, differences in minor details are prominent. These differences, exposed in the facial expression, attire, turban and sometimes in the beard of the sultan (in the case of Murad III, the artist used a completely different portrait of the sultan), suggest that the

anonymous artist of the portraits of the *History of the Turks* of 1687 either had another portrait series or a written source to which he referred for the portrayal of the sultans for this edition.

(4) The portraits of the Ottoman sultans in English publications depict the sultans in different ages, as in the case of Murad III in Knolles and Knolles-Rycaut, and of Mehmed IV, whose portraits show him as a younger or older sultan. However, Ottoman miniature painting, portray the sultans as a young adult, but not as a child or as an old man.

The conclusions we reach are the results of a comparative examination of the known portraits of the Ottoman sultans produced until the seventeenth century in Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Certainly, this study is the first step in the assessment of English printed portraits in the seventeenth century. In line with the aesthetic correspondence demonstrated in this study, the journey of the Ottoman sultan portraits through the Ottoman Empire, Europe and England; the networks among the engravers, authors and publishers, and the sources of the sultan portraits in English publications still remain as subjects to be revealed by further studies in the area.

6. FIGURES



Figure 1 Wife of the Great Turke, Nicolas de Nicolay (1585)



Figure 2 Figure with turban, from Boorde (1555)



Figure 3 Lithgow in Turkish Costume (1632)



Figure 4 The Petancius Scroll (ca. 1496)[52]

[52] Istanbul 2000, 92



Figure 5 The Habit of a Lady in Seraglio, Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, (1667)

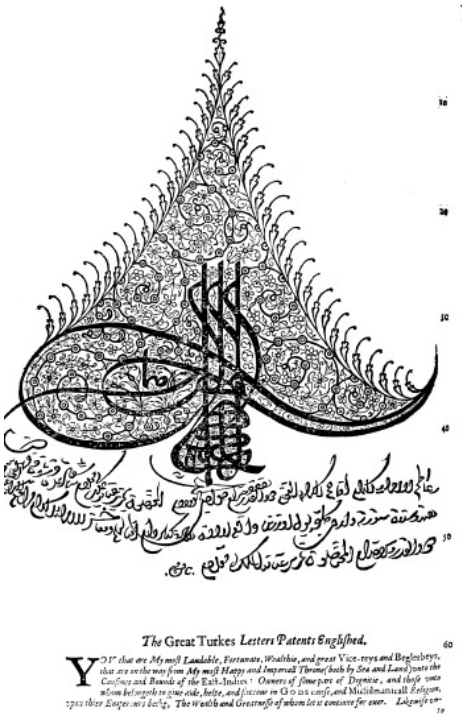


Figure 6 The *tugra* of the Ottoman Sultan, Samuel Purchas (1625)



Figure 7 Sansovino's Ottoman Family Tree, Niccolo Nelli, (1567) [53]

[53] Istanbul 2000, 236



Figure 8 Vavassore view (1570s-80s) [54]

[54] Capellen 169

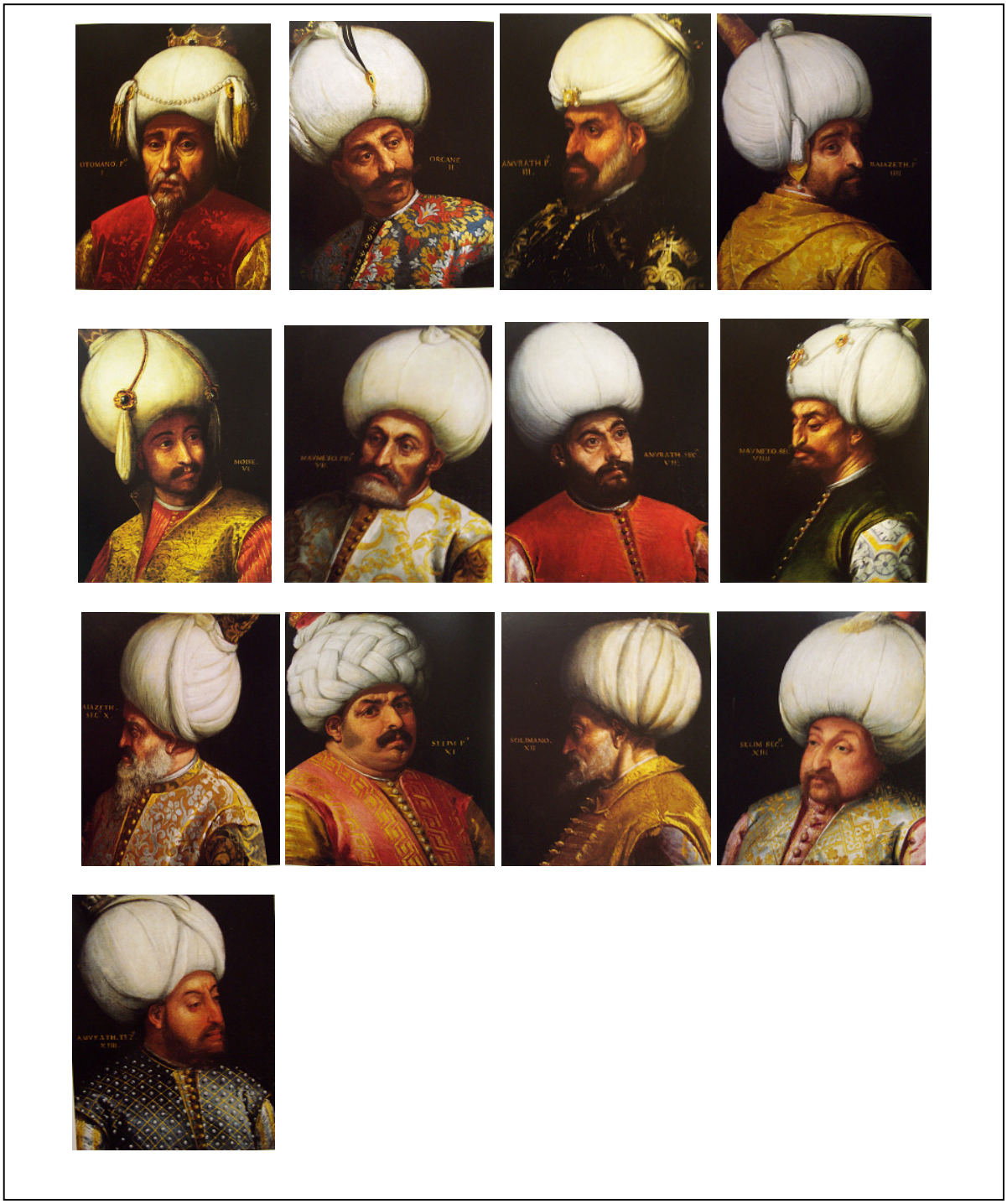


Figure 9 Veronese Series, Anonymous (last quarter of the 16th century)[55]

[55] Istanbul 2000, 244-257



Figure 10 Osman I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[56]



Figure 11 Osman I, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[57]



Figure 12 Osman I, Sansovino (1567)[58]



Figure 13 Osman I, Cronica Breve (1598)[59]

[56] Çağman 2000a, 166.
[57] Ibid
[58] Raby 2000b, 154
[59] Capellen 458

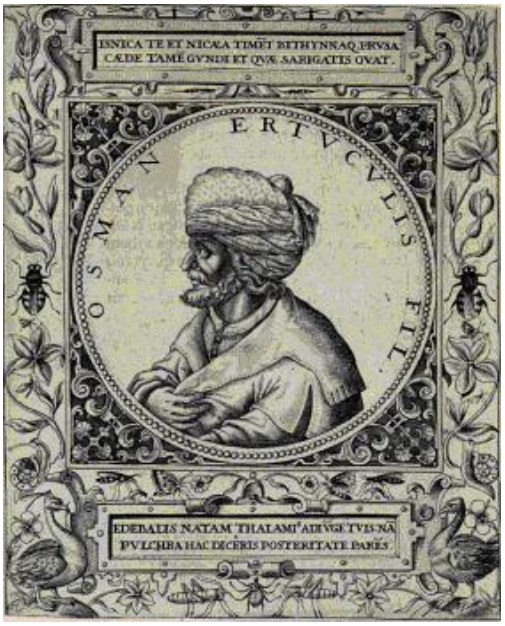


Figure 14 Osman I Boissard (1596)



Figure 15 Osman I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 16 Osman I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 17 Orhan, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[60]



Figure 18 Orhan, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583) [61]



Figure 19 Orhan, Sansovino (1567)[62]

[60] Çağman 2000a, 166
[61] Ibid
[62] Raby 2000b, 154



Figure 20 Orhan, Giovio (1577)[63]



Figure 21 Orhan, Knolles (1603)



Figure 22 Orhan, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[63] Raby 2000b, 143



Figure 23 Murad I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[64]



Figure 24 Murad I, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[65]



Figure 25 Murad I, Sansoviono (1567)[66]



Figure 26 Murad I, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[67]

[64] Çağman 2000a, 166
[65] Ibid
[66] Raby 2000b, 154
[67] Capellen 458



Figure 27 Murad I, Giovio (1577)[68]



Figure 28 Murad I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 29 Murad I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 30 Murad I, Anonymous (16th century)[69]

[68] Raby 2000b, 142
[69] Istanbul 2000, 239





Figure 31 Bayezid I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[70] **Figure 32 Bayezid I,** *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[71]





Figure 33 Bayezid I, Sansovino (1567)72 **Figure 34 Bayezid I,** *Cronica Breve* (1598)73



Figure 35 Bayezid I, Anonymous (16th century)[74]

[70] Çağman 2000a, 166
[71] Ibid
[72] Raby 2000b,154
[73] Capellen 459



Figure 36 Bayezid I, Giovio (1577)[75]

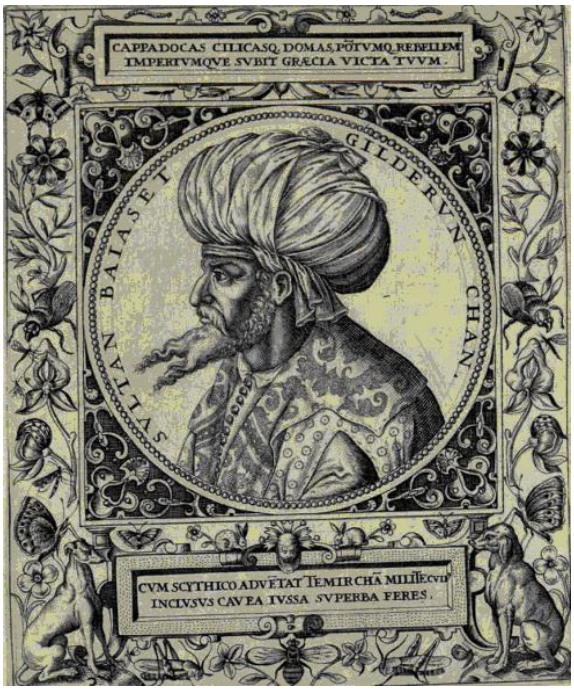


Figure 37 Bayezid I, Boissard (1596)



Figure 38 Bayezid I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 39 Bayezid I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[74] Istanbul 2000, 240
[75] Raby 2000b, 142



Figure 40 Mehmed I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[76]



Figure 41 Mehmed I, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[77]



Figure 42 Mehmed I, Sansovino (1567)[78]



Figure 43 Mehmed I, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[79]

[76] Çağman 2000a, 166
[77] Ibid
[78] Raby 2000b, 154
[79] Capellen 459



Figure 44 Mehmed I, Boissard (1596)



Figure 45 Mehmed I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 46 Mehmed I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 47 Suleyman Çelebi, Boissard (1596)



Figure 48 Suleyman Çelebi, Knolles (1603)



Figure 49 Musa Çelebi, Boissard (1596)



Figure 50 Musa Çelebi, Knolles (1603)



Figure 51 Murad II *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[80]



Figure 52 Murad II, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[81]



Figure 53 Murad II, Sansovino (1567)[82]



Figure 54 Murad II, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[83]

[80] Çağman 2000a, 166
[81] Ibid
[82] Raby 2000b, 154
[83] Capellen 459



Figure 55 Murad II, Giovio (1577)[84]



Figure 56 Murad II, Boissard (1596)



Figure 57 Murad II, Knolles (1603)



Figure 58 Murad II, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[84] Raby 2000b, 143



Figure 59 El Gran Turco, Anonymous (1460s)[85]



Figure 60 Mehmed II, Bellini (1480)[86]



Figure 61 Mehned II, Sinan Bey (1470s) [87]



Figure 62 Mehmed II, Siblizade Ahmed (ca.1480)[88]

[85] Raby 2000a, 65
[86] Ibid, 81
[87] Ibid, 90
[88] Ibid, 82





Figure 63 Mehmed II, Costanzo da Ferrara (ca. 1480)[89] **Figure 64 Mehmed II,** Sansovino (1567)[90]





Figure 65 Mehmed II, Anonymous (16th century)[91] **Figure 66 Mehmed II,** *Cronica Breve* (1598)[92]

[89] Ibid, 87
[90] Raby 2000b, 154
[91] Istanbul 2000, 243
[92] Capellen 459



Figure 67 Mehmed II, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[93]



Figure 68 Mehmed II, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[94]



Figure 69 Mehmed II, Giovio[95]



Figure 70 Mehmed II, Boissard (1596)

[93] Çağman 2000a, 166
[94] Ibid
[95] Raby 2000b, 142



Figure 71 Mehmed II, Knolles (1603)



Figure 72 Mehmed II, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 73 Bayezid II, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[96]



Figure 74 Bayezid II, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583) [97]

[96] Çağman 2000a, 166
[97] Ibid



Figure 75 Bayezid II, Sansovino (1567)[98]



Figure 76 Bayezid II, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[99]



Figure 77 Bayezid II, Giovio (1577)[100]



Figure 78 Bayezid II, Boissard (1596)

[98] Raby 2000b, 154
[99] Capellen 549
[100] Raby 2000b, 142



Figure 79 Bayezid II, Knolles (1603)



Figure 80 Bayezid II, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 81 Selim I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579) [101]



Figure 82 Selim I, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[102]



Figure 83 Selim I, Sansovino (1567)[103]



Figure 84 Selim I, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[104]

[101] Çağman 2000a, 166
[102] Ibid
[103] Raby 2000b, 154
[104] Capellen 159



Figure 85 Selim I, Giovio (1577)[105]



Figure 86 Selim I, Boissard (1596)



Figure 87 Selim I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 88 Selim I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[105] Raby 2000b, 142





Figure 89 Süleyman I, Albrecht Dürer (1526)[106] **Figure 90 Süleyman I,** Monogramist AA (1526)[107]





Figure 91 Süleyman I, Anonymus (1526)[108] **Figure 92 Süleyman I,** Matteo Pagan (1543-55)[109]

[106] Capellen-Bağcı 97
[107] Istanbul 2000, 110
[108] Ibid 111
[109] Capellen-Bağcı 100



Figure 93 Süleyman I, Alfonso Lombardi (ca. 1497)[110]



Figure 94 Süleyman I, School of Titian (ca 1532)[111]



Figure 95 Süleyman I, Sansovino (1567)[112]



Figure 96 Süleyman I, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[113]

[110] Istanbul 2000, 112
[111] Ibid 113
[112] Raby 2000b, 154
[113] Capellen 460



Figure 97 Süleyman I, Anonymous (1553)[114]



Figure 98 Süleyman I, Anonymous (not dated)[115]



Figure 99 Süleyman I and Roxalana, Anonymous (not dated)[116]

[114] Istanbul 2000, 113
[115] Ibid 114
[116] Ibıd 115



Figure 100 Süleyman I, Hans Eworth (1549)[117]



Figure 101 Süleyman I, Pieter Coecke van Aelst (ca.1533-1553)[118]

[117] Ibid 116



Figure 102 Süleyman I, Domenico de' Franceschi (1563) [119]



Figure 103 Süleyman I, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[120]



Figure 104 Süleyman I, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[121]

[118] Ibid 117
[119] Ibid 118
[120] Çağman 2000a, 166



Figure 105 Süleyman I, Giovio (1575)[122]



Figure 106 Süleyman I, Boissard (1596)



Figure 107 Süleyman I, Knolles (1603)



Figure 108 Süleyman I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[121] Ibid
[122] Raby 2000b, 143



Figure 109 Süleyman I, Melchior Lorichs (1559)[123]



Figure 110 Süleyman I Circle of Veronese (16th century) [124]



Figure 111 Süleyman I, Nigari (1560-65)[125]



Figure 112 Süleyman I, Nakkas Osman (ca. 1570-75)[126]

[123] Istanbul 2000, 120
[124] Ibid 121
[125] Ibid 122
[126] Ibid 127



Figure 113 Roxalana, Melchior Lorichs (1581)[127]



Figure 114 Roxalana, Melchior Lorichs (1579)[128]



Figure 115 Roxalana, Anonymous (1540-50)[129]



Figure 116 Roxalana, Matteo Pagan (ca. 1543)[130]

[127] Ibid 52
[128] Dreier 52
[129] Dreier 49



Figure 117 Roxalana, Boissard (1596)



Figure 118 Roxalana, Knolles (1603)

[130] Ibid 50



Figure 119 Selim II, Nigari (1561-62)[131]



Figure 120 Selim II, Nigari (1561-62)[132]



Figure 121 Selim II, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[133]



Figure 122 Selim II, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583)[134]

[131] Istanbul 2000, 222
[132] Ibid 226

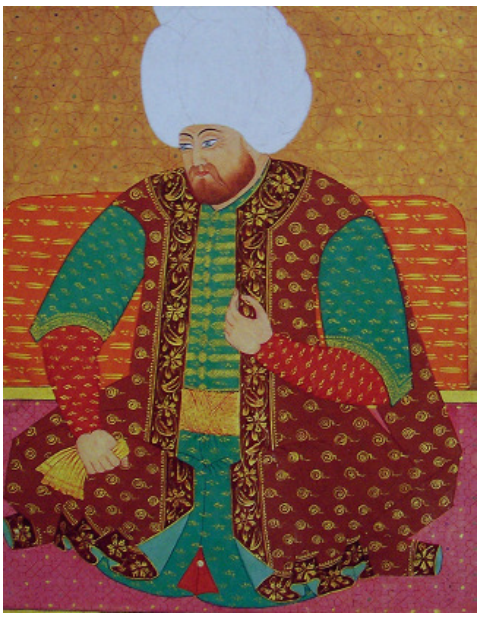


Figure 123 Selim II, Anonymous (ca.1588)[135]



Figure 124 Selim II, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[136]



Figure 125 Selim II, Balthasar Jenichen (1568)[137]



Figure 126 Selim II, Sansovino (1567)[138]

[133] Çağman 2000a, 166
[134] Ibid
[135] Istanbul 2000, 228
[136] Capellen 460
[137] Istanbul 2000, 237



Figure 127 Selim II, Anonymous (1570s)[139]

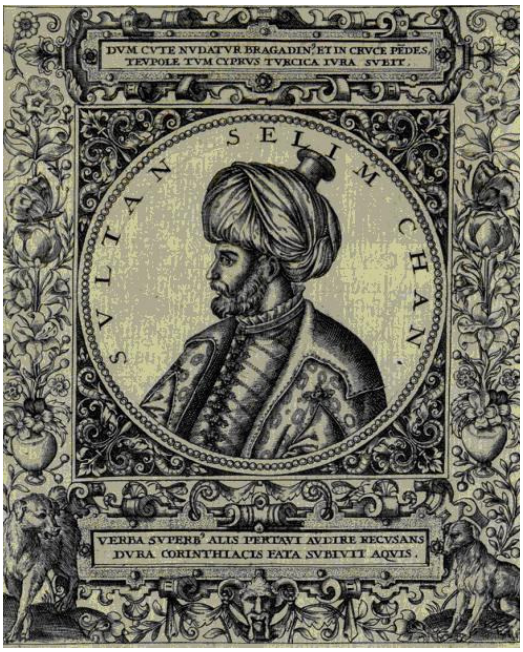


Figure 128 Selim II, Boissard (1596)

[138] Capellen 460
[139] Ibid 238



Figure 129 Selim II, Knolles (1603)



Figure 130 Selim II, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 131Murad III, *Şemâ'ilnâme* (1579)[140]



Figure 132 Murad III, *Zübdet'üt Tevârîh* (1583) [141]

[140] Çağman 2000a, 167
[141] Ibid



Figure 133 Murad III, Nakkaş Hasan (1574-80)[142]



Figure 134 Murad III, Ahmed Nakşi (1595-1600)[143]



Figure 135 Murad III, Anonymous (16th century)[144]



Figure 136 Murad III, Anonymous (19th century)[145]

[142] Istanbul 2000, 271
[143] Ibid 274
[144] Çağman 2000b, 213
[145] Ibid 215





Figure 137 Murad III, Salomon Schweigger (1578-81)[146] **Figure 138 Murad III,** *Cronica Breve* (1598)[147]





Figure 139 Murad III, Anonymous (after 1585)[148] **Figure 140 Murad III,** Bertelli (1599)[149]

[146] Istanbul 2000, 276
[147] Capellen 460
[148] Istanbul 2000, 280
[149] Çağman 2000b, 215



Figure 141 Murad III, Boissard (1596)



Figure 142 Murad III, Knolles (1603)



Figure 143 Murad III, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 144 Mehmed III, Nakkas Hasan (ca.1597)[150]



Figure 145 Mehmed III, Anonymous (ca.1595-1603)[151]



Figure 146 Mehmed III, Anonymous (17th century)[152]

[150] Istanbul 2000, 291
[151] Ibid 292
[152] Istanbul 2000, 328





Figure 147 Mehmed III, *Cronica Breve* (1598)[153] **Figure 148 Mehmed III,** Boissard (1596)





Figure 149 Mehmed III, Boissard Frontispiece (1596)

[153] Capellen 460



Figure 150 Mehmed III, Knolles (1603)



Figure 151 Mehmed III, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 152 Mehmed III, Anonymous (17th century)[154]



Figure 153 Mehmed III, Anonymous (19th century)[155]

[154] Istanbul 2000, 294
[155] Ibid 295



Figure 154 Ahmed I, Anonymous (17th century)[156]



Figure 155 Ahmed I, El-Fakir Süleyman (17th century)[157]



Figure 156 Ahmed I, Knolles (1610)



Figure 157 Ahmed I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[156] Mahır 306
[157] Istanbul 2000, 315

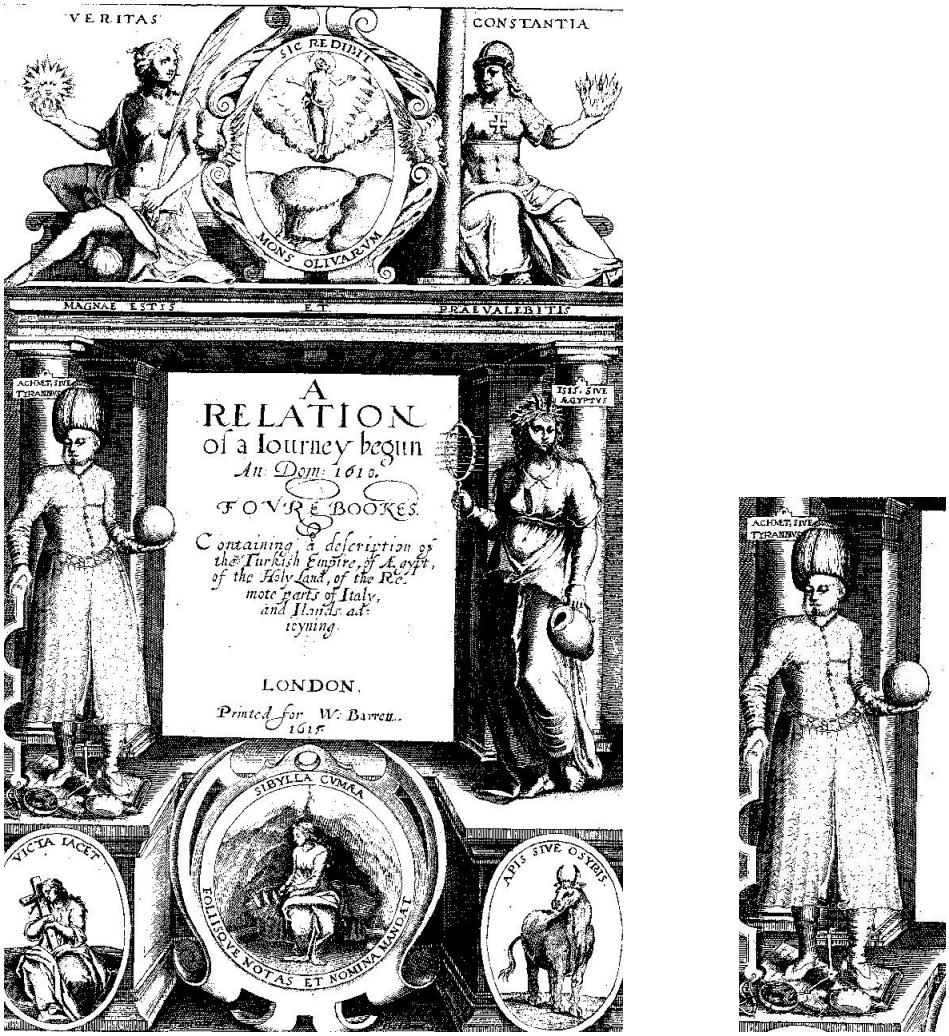


Figure 158 Ahmed I, Sandys's Frontispiece (1615)



Figure 159 Mustafa I, A Spanish artist (17th century)[158]



Figure 160 Mustafa I, Knolles (1621)



Figure 161 Mustafa I, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[158] Istanbul 2000, 316



Figure 162 Osman II, Ahmed Nakşi (ca. 1620)[159]



Figure 163 Osman II, Ahmed Nakşi (ca. 1620)[160]



Figure 164 Osman II, Anonymous (17th century) [161]



Figure 165 Osman II, Ahmed Nakşi (ca. 1620)[162]

[159] Ibid 318
[160] Ibid 317
[161] Ibid 326
[162] Ibid 324



Figure 166 Osman II, Knolles (1621)



Figure 167 Osman II, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 168 Murad IV, Knolles (1638)



Figure 169 Murad IV, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)



Figure 170 Murad IV, Rycaut *History of the Turks 1623-77* (1680)



Figure 171 Murad IV, a Spanish artist (17th century)[163]



Figure 172 Murad IV, Anonymous (17th century)[164]



Figure 173 Murad IV, Anonymous (17th century)[165]



Figure 174 Murad IV, George de la Chapelle (1648)[166]

[163] Mahir 310
[164] Istanbul 2000, 352
[165] Ibid 330
[166] Ibid 329



Figure 175 Ibrahim, Anonymous (mid 17th century)[167]



Figure 176 Ibrahim, Anonymous (ca. 1645-48)[168]

[167] Ibid 335
[168] Ibid 334



Figure 177 Ibrahim, George de la Chapelle (1648)[169]



Figure 178 Ibrahim, Knolles-Rycaut (1687)

[169] Ibid 329



Figure 179 Mehmed IV, Balthazar Moncornet (1652) [170]



Figure 180 Mehmed IV, Fred Bouttats (ca. 1660) [171]

[170] Ibid 351
[171] Ibid 354-5





Figure 181 Mehmed IV, Anonymous (ca. 1666)[172] **Figure 182 Mehmed IV,** Anonymous (after 1666)[173]





Figure 183 Mehmed IV, Musavvir Huseyin (1683)[174] **Figure 184 Mehmed IV,** Toorenvliet (1670)[175]

[172] Ibid 362
[173] Ibid 363
[174] Ibid 364



Figure 185 Mehmed IV, Knolles (1687) & (1688)[176] Rycaut *History of the Turks beginning with 1679* (1700)



Figure 186 Mehmed IV, Anonymus (Before 1688)



Figure 187 Mehmed IV, Jacob Gole (after 1683)[177]



Figure 188 Mehmed IV, Johann Hainzelmann (1641-1693)[178]

[175] Istanbul 2005, 178.
[176] Istanbul 2000, 357





Figure 189 Mehmed IV, Musavvir Hüseyin (17th century)[179] **Figure 190, Mehmed IV,** Venetian Print (1684)[180]

[177] Ibid 358
[178] Ibid 367
[179] Majer 343
[180] Ibid 341



Figure 191 Mehmed IV, Berlin costume album (ca. 1650)[181]



Figure 192 Mehmed IV, Rycaut *The Present State* (1666)



Figure 193 Mehmed IV, Silsilename, Musavvir Hüseyin (1683)[182]

[181] Majer 350
[182] Istanbul 2000, 365



Figure 194 Süleyman II, Musavvir Hüseyin (1687-88)[183]



Figure 195 Süleyman II, Istanbul University Library[184]



Figure 196 Süleyman II, Anonymous (after 1687)[185]



Figure 197 Süleyman II, Rycaut *The History of the Turks beginning with 1679* (1700)

[183] Istanbul 2000, 369
[184] Majer 340



Figure 198 Ahmed II, Johann Hofmann (1692-95)[186]



Figure 199 Ahmed II, Anonymous (1694-95)[187]

[185] Istanbul 2000, 368
[186] Ibid 370
[187] Ibid 371





Figure 200 Mustafa II, Anonymous (17th century) [188] **Figure 201 Mustafa II,** Knolles-Rycaut (1687)





Figure 202 Mustafa II, Anonymous (1700-1)[189] **Figure 203 Mustafa II,** Christoph Weigel (1703)[190]

[188] Majer 346
[189] Istanbul 2000, 375
[190] Ibid 374

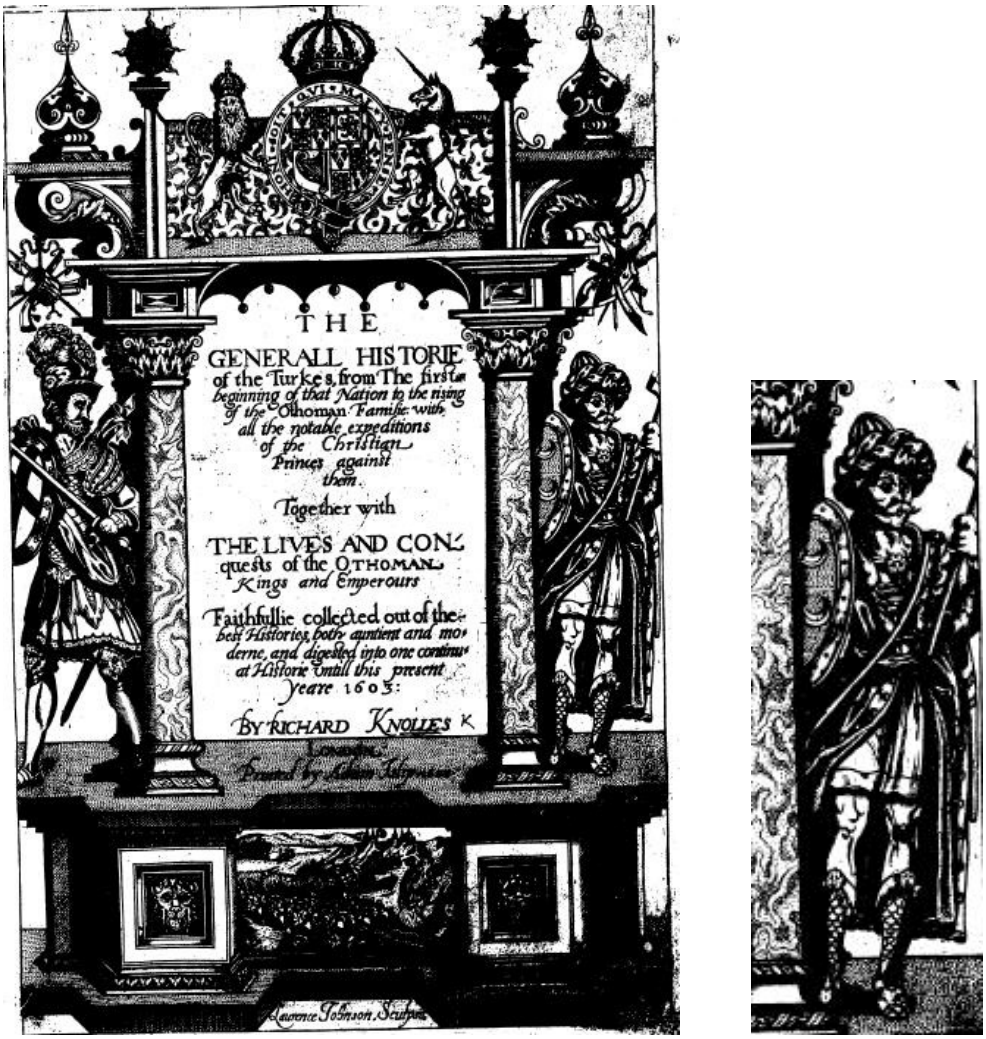


Figure 204 An Ottoman Sultan, Knolles Frontispiece (1603)

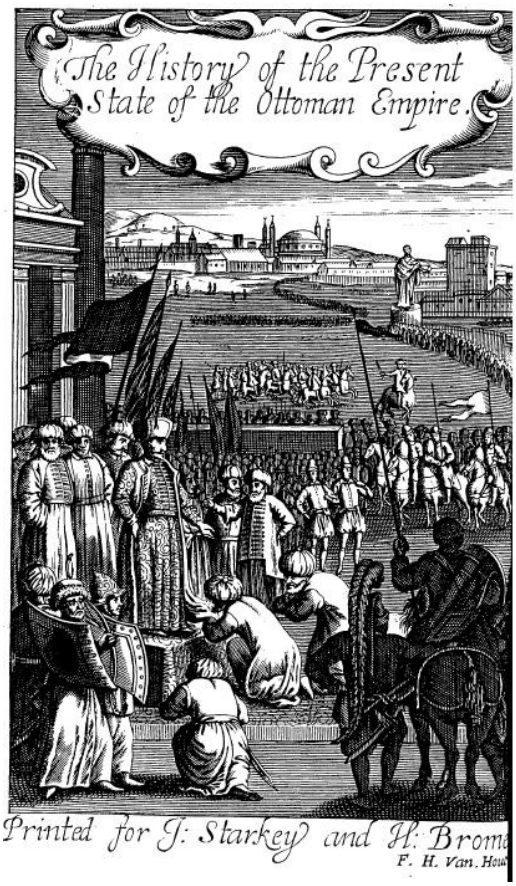


Figure 205 An Ottoman Sultan, Rycaut Reception scene *The Present State* (1675)



Figure 206 The enthronement of Süleyman II, Anonymous (after 1687)[191]

[191] Istanbul 2000, 368

7. APPENDICES

7.1. Appendix I Seventeenth century English and Ottoman Rulers, English Ambassadors

English Monarchs	Ottoman Sultans	Ambassadors
Elizabeth I 1558–1603 James I 1603–1625 Charles I 1625–1649 Oliver Cromwell 1653–1658 Richard Cromwell 3 September 1658 – 7 May 1659 Charles II 1660-1685 James II 1685 –1688 William III and Mary II 1689–1694 William III 1694-1702 Anne 1702-1714	Mehmed III 1595 - 1603 Ahmed I 1603 - 1617 Mustafa I 1617 - 1618 (first reign) Osman II 1618 - 1622 Mustafa I 1622 - 1623 (second reign) Murad IV 1623 - 1640 Ibrahim 1640 - 1648 Mehmed IV 1648 - 1687 Suleyman II 1687 - 1691 (Köprülü 1645 - 1661) Ahmed II 1691 - 1695 Mustafa II 1695 - 1703 Ahmed III 1703 - 1730	William Harborne: 1582-1588 Edward Barton: 1588-1597 Henry Lello: 1597-1607 Sir Thomas Glover: 1606-1611 Paul Pindar: 1611-1620 Sir John Eyre: 1619-1621 John Chapman: 1621-1622 Sir Thomas Roe: 1621-1622 Sir Peter Wyche: 1627-1638 Sir Sackville Crowe: 1633-1647 Sir Thomas Bendysh: 1647-1661 Heneage Finch 1660-1667 Sir Daniel Harvey 1668-1672 John Finch 1672-1681 James Brydges 1681-1687 William Trumbull 1687-1691 William Hussey 1691 William Paget 1692-1701

7.2. Appendix II English Publications on the Ottomans: From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century

1481 *The History of Godfrey Boulogne*

1482 Caoursin, Guillaume. *Siege of Rhodes*. Tra. John Kay.

1485 *The History of Charles the Great*

1511 Guylforde, Sir Richard. *This is the Begynnynge and continuance of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richarde Guylforde.*

1515 *Here begynneth a lyteil treatise of the turkes lawe called Alcaron.*

1515 *Indulgence in English in favour of the redemption of the children of Lady I. Lascarina, from the Turks.*

1517 *Causes that to be proponed and tracted in a consultacyon of a journey, to be made with the tokyn of the holy Crosse, against the infidels and Turkes.*

1518 *These be the articles of Pope's Bulle under leade.*

1525 Hayton. *Here beginneth a lytell cronycle translated and imprinted.*

1530 *Here after followeth a lytell treatyse against Mahumet and his cursed secte.*

1532 *The triumphant victory of the Imperyall mageste ahaynst the turkes.*

1542 Borde, Andrew. *The first boke of the introduction of knowledge, the which dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages.*

1544 Geuffroy, Antoine. *The Order of the Great Turckes courte, of hys menne of warre, and all of hys conquests, with the summe of Mahumetes doctrine*. Tra. Richard Grafton.

1546 Giovio, Paolo *A Short Treatise upon the Turks Chronicles, compyled by Paulus Jouius …* tra. Peter Ashton.

1553 Jenkinson, Anthony. *The maner of the entering of Soliman the Great Turke with his Army into Alepa in Syria, anno 1553*

1555 Aubanus, J. Boemus *The Mannes, Lawes, Customs of All Nations* (*Fardle of Factions*)

1562 Cambini, Andrea. *Two Commentaries The One of the Originall of the Turks. The Other of the Warre of the Turks Against George Scanderberg.*

1565 *Copie of the last advertisement that came from Malta of the Miraculous deliverie of the isle from the Turke.*

1566 *Newes from Vienna the 5. day of August 1566 of the strong Towne and Gastell of Jula in Hungary … which was cruelly assaulted by the great Turke.*

1570 Ascham, Roger. *A report and discourse written by Roger Ascham.*

1570 Georgievitz, Bartholomeus. *The offspring of the House of Ottomano.*

1571 *Letters sent from Venice anno 1571. Containing the certaine and true newes of the most noble victorie of the Christians ouer the army of the Great Turk.*

1571 Mexia, Pedro. *The foreste or a collection of histories.* Tra. Thomas Fortescue.

1571 *The whole discourse of the victorie that it pleased God to giue to the Christians against the Turkes.*

1572 Martinengo, Nestore. *The true report of all the successe of Famagosta*. Tra. W. Malin.

1572 Münster, Sebastian. *A Briefe collection and compendious extract of straunge and memorable thinges.*

1575 Curio, Augustine. *Caelii Augustini Curionis* tra. Thomas Newton *A Notable Historie of the Seracens*

1579 *A discourse of the bloody and cruell bataile of the late loste by the great Turke Sultan Selim.*

1580 Harborne, William. *A Relation of the Turkish Empire gathered in anno 1580.*

1581 Harborne, William. *The Presents made to Grand Signor and others the chief of his court by the English ambassador in Constantinople.*

1582 Harborne, William. *The Voyage of Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein William Harborne was sent first ambassador unto Zuldan Murad Can the Great Turke anno 1582*

1582 Report on Prince Murat's Circumsition Ceremony.

1584 Sanderson, John. *The Travels of John Sanderson.*

1585 Billerberg, Francis. *Most Rare and straunge discourses of Amurathe*.

1585 Nicolay, Nicolas de. *Les Quatre premiers livres de navigations et Peregrinations* tra. Washington the Younger *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois…*

1585 Austel, Henry. *The Voyage of Master Henry Austel.*

1586 Whetstones, George. *The English Myror.*

1589 Hakluyt, Richard. The first volume of *The Principal Navigations and Voyages.*

1589 Cavendish, Henry. *Mr. Harrie Cavendish, his journey to and from Constantinople*

1590 Webbe, Edward. *The rare and most wonderful things which Edward Webbe an Englishman borne hath seene*.

1595 Anonymus. Bartholomeus Georgewitz's *De Turcorum Moribus Epitome* as the introduction for *The Estate of Christians under the subjection of the Turke.*

1593 Smith, Henry. *Gods arrowe against atheists.*

1595 Minadoi, G. Thomaso. *The history of warres betweene the Turkes and the Persians*. Tra. Abraham Hartwell.

1596 Lavardin, Jacques de. *The Historie of George Castriot surnamed Scanderbeg*. Tra. Z.I. Gentleman.

1596 Barton, Edward. *The Journey of Edward Barton Esq.*

1597 Lello, Henry. *A briefe noate of rembrance of sich Bassaes and Chief Vicereies that gouerned under the Great Turke*.

1598 Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations and Voyages* (three volumes)

1600 Conisby, Humphrey. Report.

1600 Carr, R. *The Mahumetane or Turkish Historie*.

1601 Botero, Giovanni. *The travelers breviat or an historicall description of the most famous kingdoms in the world*. Tra. Robert Johnson.

1601 Parry, William. *A new and large discourse of the travels of Sir Anthony Sherley*.

1603 Sorenzo, Lazaro. *L'Ottomano* tra. Abraham Hartwell

1603 Knolles, Richard. *A Generall Historie of the Turkes* (First edition).

1606. *Ahmed I. Letters from the great Turke lately sent vnto the hold Father the Pope.*

1607 *Mehmed II. The Turke's secretorie, conteining his sundrie letters sent to diuers emperours, kings, princes and states.*

1608 Fox, John (Reynard). *The Admirable Deliverance* ed. Anthony Munday

1609 Biddulph, William. *The Travels of Certaine Englismen… Begunne in the year of jubile 1600 and by some of them finished this year 1608.*

1611 Biddulph, William. *The Travels of Foure English Men and a Preacher.*

1611 Coryat, Thomas. *Coryats Crudities, Hastily gobled up in Five Monthes Travels.*

1614 Lithgow, William. *A Delectable and True Discourse of an admired and painefull peregrination.*

1615 Sandys, George. *A Relation of a Journey.*

1615 Bedwell, William. *Mohommedis Imposturae.*

1617 Moryson, Fynes. *An itinerary vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine tongue, and then translated by him into English: containing his ten yeeres trauell through the tvvelue dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland*

1618 *Newes from Turkie or the death of Achmet.*

1621 *True copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous and blasphemous letter lately written by the Great Turke.*

1622 *Newes from Turkie and Poland.*

1622 *The strangling and death of the Great Turke and his two sonnes.*

1622 *A true relation of the murther of Osman the great Turke.*

1625 Purchas, Samuel. *Hakluytus Posthumus* or *Purchas His Pilgrimages*

1629 Bacon, Francis. *An advertisement touching an Holy Warre.*

1630 Smith, John. *The true travels, adventures and observations.*

1632 Lithgow, William. *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travaleys*

1635 Baudier, Michel. *The History of the Imperiall Estate of the Grand Signieurs*. Tra. William Stansby.

1636 Blount, Sir Henry. *A Voyage into the Levant.*

1637 Raleigh, Sir Walter. *The life and death of Mahomet.*

1638 *Murad IV. A vaunting, daring and a menacing letter sent from Sultan Morat the Great Turke.*

1642 *Charles I. King Charles His Letter to the Great Turk; the hisgh and mighty Emperpour Sultan Morat Han.*

1645 *Ibrahim. The Great Turkes Letter.*

1645 *Newes from the Great Turke.*

1649 *A True Relation of what passed in Constantinople, in August last, about the deposing of the Great Emperour Sultan Hibrahim.*

1650 Withers, Robert. *A description of the Grand Signior's Seraglio or the Turkish Emperor's Court.*

1652 Andreas, Johannes. *The confusion of Mahumed's sect, or a confutation of the Turkish Alcoran.*

1656 Osborne, Francis. *Political Reflections on the Government of the Turks.*

1658 Perrot, John. *A visitation of love, and gentle greeting of the Turk and tender trial of his thoughts for God.*

1660 B.M. *Learne of a Turk; or instructions and advise sent from the Turkish army at Constantinople to the English army at London.*

1660 Moore, Andrew. *A Compendious history of the Turks.*

1661 Perrot, John. *Blessed openings of a day of good things to the Turkes.*

1663 *Capitulations.*

1663 Marsh, H. *A new survey of the Turkish Empire and Government.*

1666 Palmer, Roger. *An account of the present war between Venetians and Turk.*

1667 Rycaut, Sir Paul. *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire.*

1670 T.S (Thomas Smith) *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.) An English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turkes of Algiers*

1676 Coke, Thomas. *A true narrative of the great solemnity of the circumsition of Mustapha Prince of Turkie.*

1678 Smith, Thomas. *Remarkes upon the manners, religion and government of the Turks.*

1679 *Capitulations.*

1680 Rycaut, Sir Paul. *The History of the Ottoman Empire (1623-1677)*

1683 D.R. *Historical and political observations upon the present state of Turkey.*

1683 Grelot, Guillaume Joseph. *A late voyage to Constantinople*. Tra. J. Philips.

1683 *Mehmed IV A declaration or denouncing of war*

1683 *A defiance and indication of war sent by Sultan Mehomet IV to Leopold Emperour of Germany.*

1683 S.I. *The history of the Turks.*

1683 *A true account of the actions with the whole defeat of the Turkish Army at Vienna.*

1683 *A particular relation of the victory obtained by the Christian armies.*

1684 Brahe, Tycho. *Predictions of a sudden and total destruction of the Turkish Empire.*

1687 *A brief discourse of most assured ways and means to ruine and pull down the vast monarchy of the Ottoman Princes.*

1687 Knolles, Richard and Sir Paul Rycaut. *The Turkish History from the Original of that Nation.*

1700 Rycaut, Sir Paul. *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679.*

7.3. **Appendix III** Engravers

Bry, Théodore De: (1528-98). Flemish Engraver and publisher, born in Liège. He lived in Frankfurt-am-Main. He visited London and prepared a series for *The Procession of the Knights of the Garter* and *The Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney*. He was assisted by Richard Hakluyt while he was working on *Collectiones peregrinationum* (1590–1634). In addition to publishing a series of portraits of the notable individuals, and he illustrated the works of Thomas Harriot and engraved portraits for J. J. Boissard. His son John Théodore de Bry is known to have assisted him and continued or completed several of his works ("Bry, Théodore de," *The Columbia Encyclopedia*).

Cecill, Thomas: (1625-1640) Engraver and draughtsman. He was influenced by Dutch and Flemish engravers active in London in terms of style and was much admired by his contemporaries. He engraved portraits of historical figures, courtiers and clerics often after his own drawings. Among them are full-length portraits of Queen Elizabeth on horseback and King Edward. He also engraved title pages (Matthew-Harrison 798). He is known to have engraved thirteen portraits and twenty four title pages (Thieme-Becker 259-60). He also engraved the portrait of Murad IV, found in the 1638 edition of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* by Richard Knolles.

Delaram, Francis: (1615-1624) He was a contemporary of Simon de Passe, with whom he dominated the London engraving trade in the second half of the reign of James I. Nothing is known about his life apart from what can be deduced from his forty seven surviving prints. He was trained abroad and arrived in London around 1615. He stands near Dutch engraving stylistically; however, there is no record of him being active in the Netherlands. Delaram is known mostly with his title pages and portraits, which seem to

be his own design. He also made the first English books of flowers, beasts, and birds, and probably the earliest English drawing book (of which no copy survives). Delaram worked for all the main London publishers of the day, although he never published anything himself. His portrait of Queen Elizabeth is one of his most famous works. His major plate, though, was a very large portrait of James, published by Edward Pierson, dated 1619. Only one impression of it survives and now in the British Museum (Matthew-Harrison 716). He also engraved the frontispiece for George Sandys's *A Relation of A Journey Begun An.Dom. 1610,* of which the first edition was published in 1615.

Elder, William: A Scottish engraver who worked in the years 1680-1700 in London. He engraved for J. Bunyans's "Pilgrim's Progress" (1679), theologist J. Pearson's "Exposition of the Creed (1692), Rich Morton's "Exercitationes" (1692), the astrologist G. Parker's "Ephemeris" (1694), and J. Ray's "Stirpium Europaeaurum Sylloge" (1694). He is known to have made the portraits of notable personages of his time (Thieme-Becker 449). Also he engraved the portrait of Mehmed IV for the 1687 edition of the *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (the same portrait is used for the1687 edition of Rycaut's *The History of the Turks beginning with the year 1679,* which constitutes the third volume of Knolles-Rycaut of 1679).

Gucht, Michael van der (1660-1725): Flemish engraver, born in London. In the years 1672-3 he was a student of Bouttats in Antwerp. After his marriage to Maria van Hogenbergh he went back to London and studied under the engraver David Loggan von Danzig. He is famous for his anatomical figures which he prepared for James Drake's *Antropologia Nova* (1707). In addition to this his drawing portraits under the historian J. Savage has been his major work. He also worked for Clarenden's *History of England*,

Ward's *History of the Rebellion* (1713) and Kennett's *History of England* (1706), "An Account of Livonie" (1701), "Description de la Livonie" (1705), and "The Works of Abr. Cowley" (1707-10) (Thieme-Becker 449). He also produced a portrait of Shakespeare in 1709 (Tite par.1). He prepared the engravings for the Bible printed in 1716-17 (Bentley par. 9). He trained the English engraver and antiquarian George Vertue (1684-1756) (Rodgers par. 1). He also prepared the portraits of Mehmed IV, Suleyman II, Ahmed II, Mustafa II, Count Tekely and Apti Pasa for Sir Paul Rycaut's *The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679* (1700).

Hove (Hoove, Hoven) Frederick Hendrick van (van den Hooven): (1628-1698) Dutch engraver and draughtsman, born in The Hague. He was a student of Fredrick Bouttats in Antwerp in 1643-44. During the years 1650-51 he was active as a freelance artist in the Guild of Saint Luke (Thieme-Becker 577). He worked for the publisher John Dunton in London, where he came in 1692, during the last years of his life.[192] He mostly worked on small portraits and title pages (Hind, appendix I). He engraved a portrait of John Featley in 1646 for the frontispiece of "Fontaine of Tears" and an equestrian portrait of William III of England for "Epitome of War" of 1692 (Thieme-Becker 577). Among other portraits, he engraved are King Charles II, Sir Philip Sidney, Francis Bacon, Oliver Cromwell and King James II.[193] He also engraved the title page of *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, for the 1675 edition.

Johnson, Lawrence (Laurence Johnson): English engraver. He was one of the earliest native print-makers practicing in England (Matthew-Harrison 287). In 1603 he made the portraits and title page for Richard Knolles's *Generall Historie of the Turkes*. He copied

[192] *National Portrait Gallery*. 2009. National Portrait Gallery, London. 20 May 2009. www.npg.org.uk
[193] Ibid.

the portraits from Jean Jacques Boissard and Theodore de Bry's *Vitae et Icones Sultanorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt am Main 1596) (Thieme-Becker 89). Johnson also engraved a half-length portrait of James I, which is of extreme rarity. Its copies exist in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Besides these works, nothing by or about Johnson is known (Matthew-Harrison 287).

Stimmer, Tobias (1539-84): German-Swiss painter, draughtsman, and woodcut designer who worked mainly in Schaffhausen and Strasbourg. He is referred to as a versatile artist who used his talent on portraits and facades of architectural structures, on designing and decorating the clock of the Strasbourg Cathedral and stained glass. He is however mainly known for illustrating books. He worked for reproduced Paolo Giovio's portrait collection in Como, preparing woodcuts for a Bible and illustrating publications of Livy and Flavius Josephus (Belkin par. 1). He is known for his Holbeinesque paintings ("Stimmer, Tobias" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists*).

7.4. Appendix IV List of Portraits According to Publication

1) ***Generall Historie of the Turkes*** **(1603), Richard Knolles**

Engraver: Laurence Johnson

1 Frontispiece
27 Portraits (16 Sultans)
1 Scene from Danube River

Sultans	**Other Portraits**
Osman I	Suleyman Celebi
Orhan	Musa Celebi
Murad I	Tamerlane
Beyazid I	Scanderbeg
Mehmed I	Campson Gaurus (Sultan of Egypt)
Murad II	Tomombeius the Last (Sultan of Egypt)
Mehmed II	Yunus Pasa
Bayezid II	His wife Manto
Selim I	Barbarossa
Suleyman I	Ibrahim Pasa
Selim II	Roxolana
Murad III	Andreas Avria
Mustafa I	Sinan Pasa
Mehmed III	Sigismund (Prince of Transylvania)

Generall Historie of the Turkes **(1610)** (Same + Ahmed I)

Generall Historie of the Turkes **(1621)** (Same + Ahmed I + Mustafa I + Osman II)

Generall Historie of the Turkes **(1632)** (Same + Ahmed I + Mustafa I + Osman II + Murad IV)

Generall Historie of the Turkes **(1638)** (Same+ Ahmed I + Mustafa I + Osman II + Murad IV)

2) ***The History of the Turks*** **by Richard Knolles and Sir Paul Ryacut**

1st Volume: The Turkish History from the Original of that Nation to the Growth… (1687), **Richard Knolles**
(Sixth edition of the Generall Historie of the Turkes with portraits "newly engraven")

Engraver: W. Elder

Mehmed IV

19 Sultan portraits
2 Other portraits
A Turkish Pageant

Osman I
Orhan
Bayezid I
Mehmed I
Murad II
Mehmed II
Bayezid II
Selim I
Suleyman I
Murad III
Ahmed I

2nd Volume: The Turkish History Beginning from Mehmed III to 1687

Mehmed III
Mustafa I
Osman II

The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677 **by Sir Paul Rycaut**

Murad IV
Ibrahim I

The History of the Turkes Beginning with the Year 1679 **by Sir Paul Rycaut**

Mehmed IV in the title page
Count Tekeli
Apti Pasa
Suleyman II
Mustafa II

3) *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1667)* by Sir Paul Rycaut
Mehmed IV

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1668) (Same)

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1670) (Same)

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1675) (Same + A reception scene in the title page)

Engraver of the title page: F. H. Van Hove

The Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1682) (Same)

The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1682) (Same)

The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1686) (Same)

The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire (1687) (no illustrations.)

4) ***The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677 (1680)***

Murad IV

The History of the Turkish Empire from 1623 to 1677 (1687)

No illustrations

5) ***The History of the Turks Beginning with the Year 1679 (1700)***

Engraver: M. Van der Gucht

Mehmed IV (the same portrait in 1679 edition)
Count Tekely
Apti Pasa
Suleyman II
Ahmed II
Mustafa II

6) ***A Relation of a Journey (1615)*** **by George Sandys**

A Frontispiece with the portrait of Ahmed I

A Relation of a Journey (1621)

A Relation of a Journey (1627)

A Relation of a Journey (1632)

A Relation of a Journey (1637)

A Relation of a Journey (1652)

A Relation of a Journey (1658)

A Relation of a Journey (1670)

A Relation of a Journey (1673) (all same)

7.5. Appendix V Illustrations According to Publication

I. ***The Generall Historie of the Turkes***



Osman I



Orhan



Murad I



Bayezid I



Tamerlane



Mehmed I



Suleyman Çelebi



Musa Çelebi



Murad II



Mehmed II



Scanderbeg



Bayezid II



Selim I



Campson Gaurus



Tomombey



Yunus Pasa



Yunus Pasa's Wife Manto



Süleyman I



Barbaros Hayreddin Pasa



Ibrahim Pasa



Roxalana



Selim II



Murad III



Mustafa Pasa



Mehmed III



Sinan Pasha



Sigismund



Scene from Danube



Ahmed I (1610)



Mustafa I (1621)



Osman II (1621)



Murad IV (1632)



Frontispiece of *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*

2) ***The Turkish History of*** **1687**



Osman I



Orhan



Murad I



Bayezid I



Mehmed I



Murad II



Mehmed II



Bayezid II



Selim I



Süleyman I



Selim II



Murad III



Mehmed III



Ahmed I



Mustafa



Osman II



Murad IV



Ibrahim



Mehmed IV



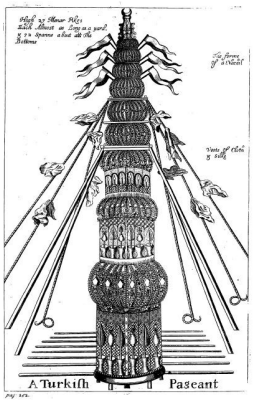
Mustafa II



Apti Pasa



Comte Tekeli



A Nahil

3) ***The History of the Turks (1623-77)***



Murad IV

4) ***The History of the Turks Beginning with 1679***



Mehmed IV



Ahmed II



Mustafa I



Suleyman II



Comte Tekeli

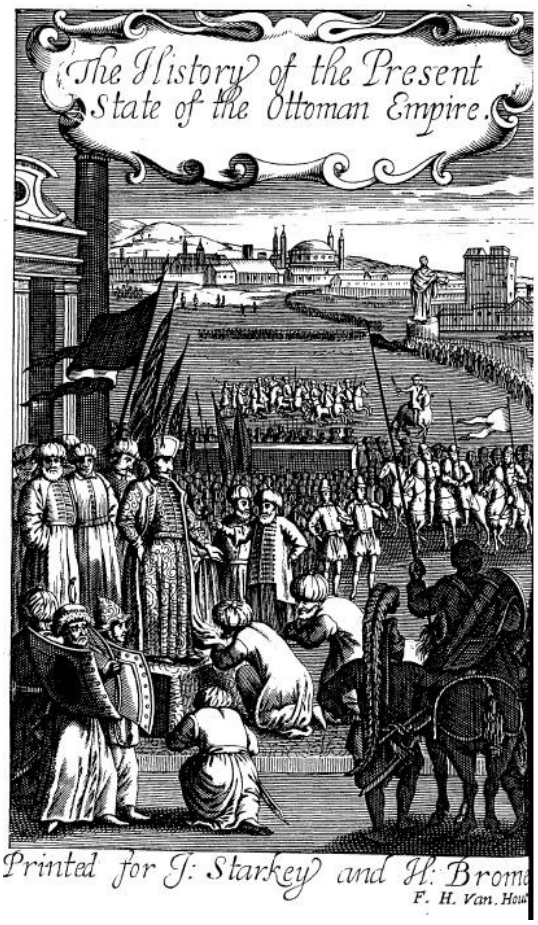


Apti Pasa

5) ***The Present State of the Ottoman Empire***

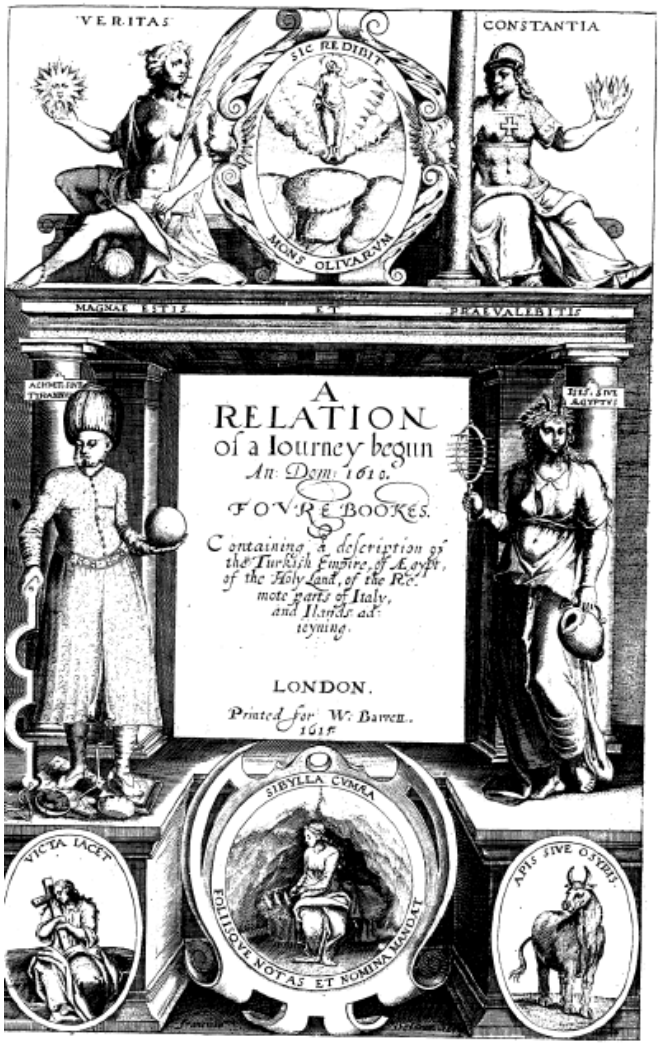


Mehmed IV



Title Page

6) ***A Relation of a Journey***



The frontispiece and Ahmed I

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