

The Walters Art Museum's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*: Istanbul and Cairo

by

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**The Walters' Art Museum's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*:
Istanbul and Cairo**

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences

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*For Nancy Bragdon (1929–2024) and
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ABSTRACT

The Walters' Art Museum's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*: Istanbul and Cairo

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In the thesis, I conduct a single-manuscript study of the Walters Art Museum's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, or *Book of Sea Navigation*, (W.658) an atlas of sea charts and seafaring texts by the Ottoman sea admiral Piri Reis. I argue the manuscript, which is based on the 1526 edition of Piri Reis' work and made during the reign of Mahmud I (1730–1754), has ornamentation and topography reminiscent of eighteenth-century Ottoman architectural styles, print culture, and contemporaneous Ottoman painting. I contend that the interplay of past and present, sixteenth and eighteenth century influences, and painting and print within both the text and image creates a unique and multifaceted eighteenth-century viewer experience. On the foundation of my single-manuscript study, I conduct a dual art historical and urban historical study of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* sea charts of Istanbul and Cairo, which are elaborately painted city views vastly different in style, perspective, aesthetic, and relationship to the manuscript's text. My study reveals that urban spatial practices, like architectural patronage and imperial use of the city, influenced the Walters' Istanbul and Walters' Cairo's singular depictions, reflecting differing Ottoman imperial engagement with the urban landscape. The result is not two views of eighteenth-century cities, but rather two eighteenth-century painted views of cities with two centuries worth of urban development inventively and originally applied. This thesis is the first singular art historical study of the entire Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (text and image) and the first work on a *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript contextualized within its temporal, social, urban and art historical context.

ÖZET

Walters Art Museum'deki *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*: İstanbul ve Kahire
Jane Rogers Bragdon
Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Bölümü
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Bu tezde, Walters Sanat Müzesi'nde bulunan *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (W.658) el yazmasına odaklandığım bir çalışma sunuyorum. Sultan I. Mahmud (1730–1754) döneminde hazırlanan bu eser, Osmanlı deniz amirali Piri Reis'in denizcilik haritaları ve metinlerinden oluşan ve 1526 tarihli *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* nüshasına dayanan bir atlas. Tezimde bu el yazmasının süslemeleri ile topografik unsurlarının 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı mimari üslupları, matbuat kültürü ve çağdaş Osmanlı resim sanatıyla benzerlikler taşıdığını öne sürüyorum. Metin ve görseldeki geçmiş ile şimdi, 16. ve 18. yüzyıl etkileri ile resim ve matbuatın iç içe geçmesini sağlayarak 18. yüzyıl seyircisi için özgün ve çok katmanlı bir deneyim yaratmıştır. Bu tek yazmaya dayalı çalışmamın temelinde Walters Müzesi'ne ait *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*'de yer alan İstanbul ve Kahire deniz haritalarına hem sanat tarihi hem de kent tarihi perspektifinden bakan çift yönlü bir analiz sunuyorum. Bu şehir manzaraları, metinle ilişkileri, perspektifleri, estetik yaklaşımları ve üslupları bakımından son derece farklıdır ve özenle resmedilmişlerdir. Çalışmam aynı zamanda mimari himaye ve imparatorluk nezdindeki kent kullanımı gibi kentsel mekân pratiklerinin, Walters İstanbul ve Walters Kahire manzaralarının özgün betimlemelerini nasıl etkilediğini de ortaya koymaktadır. Bu bağlamda ortaya çıkan eserler yalnızca iki 18. yüzyıl kent manzarası değil, aynı zamanda iki yüzyıllık kentsel gelişimin özgün ve yaratıcı biçimde uygulandığı iki resimli şehir görüşleri sunar. Bu tez Walters'a ait *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*'nin (metin ve resim olarak) ilk kapsamlı sanat tarihi çalışması olmasının yanı sıra, herhangi bir *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* el yazmasının da kendi dönemsel, toplumsal ve sanat tarihsel bağlamı içinde incelendiği ilk araştırmadır.

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https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.12. Detail of Old Cairo (*Atik Mısır*), Island of Rhoda, and Nilometer in “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.13. Detail of Al-Hassan Mosque and Citadel in “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.14. Detail of Nile River boats *Çerim* and *Kiyâse* in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.15. Detail of Nile River boats Akabe and Shahtor in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.16. Detail of Imam al-Shafi’i Mosque, Muqattam Hills, and Qarafa Cemetery in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.17 Detail of Birkat al-Hajj in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.18. “Eastern Mediterranean with city view of Cairo” in the Walters’ Maritime Atlas, also known as the Walters’ *Deniz Atlası*, sixteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 660, fol. 7b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W660/data/W.660/sap/W660_000018_sap.jpg.

Figure 3.19. “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, seventeenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. Turc 956, fol. 363v. <https://images.bnf.fr/#/detail/735837/25>.



ABBREVIATIONS

BnF Bibliothèque nationale de France



NOTE ON TRANSLATION

For the purposes of this thesis, I generally use the Modern Turkish transliterations of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic text for ease of reading and for coherence with the wider literature on the subject. For translations of texts from the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, I use the translations and transliterations from the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye, Piri Reis: Book of Navigation* (Republic of Türkiye Prime Ministry Undersecretaryship of Navigation, 2002), adapting when necessary to improve English readability. In cases of familial proper names, I use the most common Modern Turkish equivalent used in English language texts, for example, “Pîrî Reis” becomes “Piri Reis” or “İbrahim Paşa” becomes “Ibrahim Pasha.” For architectural names and district names in Istanbul, I use the Modern Turkish equivalent based on its name during the Ottoman period; thus, I refer to the Hippodrome as the Atmeydanı and the Hagia Sophia as the Ayasofya. For architectural places in Cairo, I use the most commonly used English form of Arabic words, as most of the scholarship on Ottoman Egypt uses English translations and transliterations. I do keep Modern Turkish transliterations of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* Ottoman Turkish annotations, because they come directly from Ottoman Turkish. With the goal of this thesis being a reference for future scholars working on the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, I keep the same “titles” for sea charts as the Walters Art Museum’s cataloguing, meaning that the sea chart titles are based on English place names.

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The history of Ottoman cartography includes painted narrative histories, military and architectural plans, sea charts, and illustrated itineraries.¹ The Ottomans welcomed foreign knowledge into both their original works and into the Topkapı Imperial Treasury from East and West, including translations of Medieval Islamic maps, European printed maps, and ancient geographic treatises.² Ottoman topographic and geographic material was collected and created according to the interests of particular sultans, grand viziers, and travelers, rather than officially and systemically produced through a formal state-sponsored guild. Until the opening of the

¹ For more information on the history of Ottoman naval cartography, see Svat Soucek, *Piri Reis & Turkish Mapmaking after Columbus: The Khalili Portolan Atlas* (Nour Foundation in association with Azmiuth Editions and Oxford UP, 1996); *Studies in Ottoman Naval History and Maritime Geography* (Gorgias Press, 2011) and “The ‘Ali Macar Reis Atlas’ and the Deniz Kitabı: Their Place in the Genre of Portolan Charts and Atlases” *Imago Mundi* 25 (1971): 17–27. Topographic painting and town views in sea charts and Ottoman narrative histories have also been studied through the lens of cartography, see Kathryn A. Ebel, “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century” *Imago Mundi* 60, no. 1 (2008): 1–22; “Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire” *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6 (2005): 457–486, and her dissertation “City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and the Visual Culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1603” (PhD diss., The University of Texas, 2002); Günsel Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts of the Sixteenth Century And Their Relation to Mediterranean Cartography,” in *Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris, Galeries Nationales du Palais, Mars 7–10, 1990*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (La Documentation Française, 1992) and “Haritacılık ve Ressamlık: Tarihin Belgesi Haritalar” in *Sanat ve Çevre*, eds. Jale N. Erson, Pelin Yonacı (SANART, 2007); Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, eds., *Ottoman Painting* (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2010), especially 72–87; J.M. Rogers, “Itineraries and town views in Ottoman histories,” in *The History of Cartography*, Volume 2, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago University Press, 1992), 228–255; İffet Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001); Dimitris Loupis, “Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting: Technology and Aesthetics” in *M. Uğur Derman 65th Birthday Festschrift / 65 Yaş Armağanı*, ed. İrvın Cemil Schick (Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2000). For general Ottoman geographical understanding, see Pınar Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), her dissertation “Cognizance of the Ottoman World: Visual and Textual Representations in the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1514–1596): Volume One” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2006) and “The Ottoman Enlightenment: Geography and Politics in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” *The Medieval History Journal* 22, no. 2 (2019): 298–320; Gottfried Hagen, “The Practical Aspects of Ottoman Maps,” in *Routledge Handbook on Science In the Islamicate World: Practices from the 2nd/8th to the 13th/19th centuries*, ed. Sonja Brentjes (Routledge, 2022), 313–327.

² For the relationship of Ottoman cartography to European cartography, see Ian R. Manners, *European Cartographers in the Ottoman World, 1500–1750* (The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, 2007).

Ottoman printing press in 1727, all Ottoman-language material had to be copied by hand.³ Thus, extant original Ottoman maps, sea charts, and cartographic artifacts constitute a small but diverse collection of unique objects, informed by access to a global repository of geographic knowledge and by their intended audience of Ottoman elites.

The most impactful Ottoman geographic works were spearheaded by the sixteenth-century Ottoman sea admiral Piri Reis (d. 1553), culminating in his World Map of 1513, presented to Sultan Selim I in 1517, and the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, or *Book of Sea Navigation*, (first edition, 1521 and expanded edition, 1526) presented to Sultan Süleyman in 1526.⁴ Piri's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, an atlas of sea charts and seafaring texts about the Mediterranean, continued to be copied for over two centuries. Later copies included intricate, exquisitely painted views of many cities, including Istanbul and Cairo, reflecting the Empire's new topographical information, imperial styles, and painting techniques. The goal of this thesis is to uncover how two centuries of Ottoman and European visual culture, technology, urban history, and cartographic knowledge created a uniquely eighteenth-century copy in the Walters Art Museum's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (W.658), a late expanded edition of Piri's 1526 copy.

2. Thesis Aims and Methodology

The aim of this thesis is to conduct the first in-depth manuscript study of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* within its eighteenth-century political, urban, and aesthetic context. The Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* has been studied in pieces—without proper consideration to its patronage, time period, or other contents.⁵ I argue that the Walters' manuscript is not just a beautifully painted

³ Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, 2; Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions" 3–7; Palmira Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Cambridge UP, 2015), 5–6; Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 225–231.

⁴ Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford UP, 2010), 36–38. The *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is written as *کتاب بحریه* in Ottoman Turkish.

⁵ Individual sea charts from the Walters' manuscript have been included briefly in many other studies, see Renda, "Haritacılık ve Ressamlık," 195–199; Serpil Bağcı, et al, *Ottoman Painting*, 77; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Passages, Linkages, and Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image," in *On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, a History*, eds. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, K. Mehmet Kentel, and M. Baha Tanman (Suna and Inan Kıraç Foundation, 2023), 47; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire: The View from The Heavens, The View from The Street" in *Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 Years of A Capital*, ed. Cağatay Anadol (Ilke Basın Yayın, 2010) 324; Nicholas Warner, *The True Description of Cairo: A Sixteenth Century Venetian View, Vol. 1* (Arcadian Library, 2006), 57–85; Loupis, "Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting, 391; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Earliest Images of Cairo's Islamic Architecture," in the *Routledge Handbook on Cairo*:

copy of the 1526 work, but an innovative collaging of two centuries of Ottoman city view painting techniques and topographies packaged within the imperial aesthetics associated with the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) to create a living document of geography, painting styles, and calligraphy likely meant for close study in a library.

I apply an art historical methodology to the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript by analyzing the painting styles, techniques, and ornamentation within the manuscript.⁶ I do a close reading of the manuscript's contents, text and image, to reveal the impact of Ottoman print culture, Baroque-inspired forms, and sophisticated painting execution of optical illusory techniques of perspective, volume, and three-dimensionality on the manuscript. I consider the unique viewer experience that is developed through the interplay of influences between the eighteenth and sixteenth centuries, which allows the viewer to create their own meaning between past and present and explore the manuscript on their own terms, divorced from Piri's original text. For my study, I consult the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript, Piri's 1526 *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* text, European printed maps and cartouches, and sixteenth and eighteenth-century Ottoman topographic paintings of boats and war tents. I consider the Walters' manuscript's ornamentation and print-like aesthetics through the supplemental world maps added to the manuscript. I reveal that the Walters' manuscript imaginatively packaged Piri Reis' textual and schematic work in eighteenth-century painting and style. I argue that the intended audience for the manuscript was likely an eighteenth-century Ottoman student of art or geography in an imperial library setting, rather than a seafarer.

My study also approaches the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* through an urban-historical lens, where I pair art historical studies of the Walters' cartographic city views of Istanbul and Cairo with their real-life societal and physical urban fabric. I have chosen to focus on the city views of Istanbul and Cairo because they are both Ottoman cities outside of the Mediterranean basin that are not discussed in Piri's original text, yet exist as the most elaborately painted city views in the Walters' manuscript which completely decenter the stated seafaring purpose of the manuscript. I

Histories, Representations, Discourses, ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2022), 175; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 132–157.

⁶ The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

take my urban-historical methodology based on the theoretical writings of Michel de Certeau, who creates a helpful dichotomy between “space” and “place.”⁷ de Certeau defines “space” as an actualized version—the spatial practices of urban inhabitants—of a static and fixed “place,” writing that “in relation to place, space is like a word when it is spoken.”⁸ My study aims to “activate” the physical places in the urban topography of the cities of Istanbul and Cairo as represented in the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. I use travelogues by European and Ottoman observers and architectural evidence from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to investigate the relationship between urban representation—paintings of cities—and urban reality—the actual workings and politics of cities. I also draw upon a wide array of topographical paintings in Ottoman illustrated histories, Ottoman nautical paintings, other *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, and Ottoman religious painting from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries to contextualize the Walters’ manuscript within Ottoman painting history. My study reveals how urban spatial practices, like architectural patronage and imperial use of the cities, influenced the Walters’ Istanbul’s and Walters’ Cairo’s singular depictions, reflecting the differing role of Ottoman ceremonial routes and urbanization within both cities. The result is not two views of eighteenth-century cities, but two eighteenth-century painted views of cities with two centuries worth of urban development inventively and originally applied.

My approach illuminates the Walters’ manuscript’s reliance on two centuries worth of influences from both European and Ottoman sources, resulting in an aesthetically and technically eclectic manuscript made for eighteenth-century taste. The viewer of the manuscript formed a complex relationship with the object—forced to rotate or turn themselves to properly view the sea charts, imagine the space between non-linear coastlines and islands within blank stretches of sea, and create their own meaning between topography, visuality, and texts that span two centuries of geographic knowledge and representational techniques. The likely viewer may have been a resident of Istanbul in the imperial Nuruosmaniye library approaching the manuscript as a student of calligraphy, cartography, and painting. The wide-ranging contents may have served as a teaching tool with its multiple styles, topographies, and differing levels of allegiance to

⁷ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendali (University of California Press, 1984), 117.

⁸ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 117.

maritime information serving as an immersive introduction to two centuries of Ottoman topography and Ottoman representational techniques, encouraging close study of both its contents and its forms. As the first longform study of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript, my research opens the door to more careful consideration of the individual paintings within the Walters' manuscript, encourages cross-disciplinary urban historical study of Ottoman cartographic painting, and importantly expands the temporal range of sources used to discuss *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* city view sea charts.

3. *The Life and Work of Piri Reis*

3.1.1. *The First Ottoman Cartographer: Admiral Piri Reis*

The sixteenth-century—between conquest and painting—is where Ottoman geographical knowledge reached its peak of innovation and where the first extant Ottoman maps are from, beginning with the Sea Admiral Piri Reis, who played an essential role in expanding the Empire's naval and territorial conquest.⁹ Under Piri Reis' tutelage, Ottoman mapmaking became the most advanced in the world from 1513 to 1526. The majority of knowledge about Piri's life comes from his own words in the introduction of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. He was born Muhiddin Piri between 1465–70 and grew up in Gallipoli in the Dardanelles, a town that served as an Ottoman naval base known for producing seamen.¹⁰ In 1493, he and his uncle Kemal Reis were recruited to participate in Sultan Bayezid II's (r. 1482–1512) aggressive naval campaigns in the Mediterranean.¹¹ Piri learned navigation and the contours of the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Nile River from his experience sailing with his uncle for the Ottoman court. Piri's uncle Kemal Reis was Bayezid II's top commander and was known around the Mediterranean as the

⁹ The term "reis" is an honorific, meaning admiral. While there are no surviving Ottoman-made maps during Sultan Mehmed II's time in the fifteenth-century, it is known that they did exist; the Sultan used siege plans to overtake Istanbul and experimented with drawing maps himself, see Karen Pinto, "The Maps are the Message: Mehmet II's Patronage of an 'Ottoman Cluster,'" *Imago Mundi* 63, no. 2 (2011), 158; Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 279; Benjamin Arbel, "Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions concerning 'The Mappamondo of Hajji Ahmed,'" *Imago Mundi* 54, no. 1 (2002), 22.

¹⁰ Gregory McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513* (University of Georgia Press, 2012), 27. Christine Isom-Verhaaren writes "Gallipoli attracted young men whose ambition was to pursue a career at sea. These possibilities included sailing with official Ottoman naval forces, engaging in maritime trade, or becoming a privateer," in "Was there Room in Rum for Corsairs?: Who Was an Ottoman in the Naval Forces of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries?" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 44 (2014), 241.

¹¹ Bayezid increased the navy to 400 vessels, see Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs?," 241.

Ottoman's fiercest naval asset.¹² For their service, Sultan Selim I awarded Piri and his uncle with "300 akçe (silver coins) and a sable robe of honor."¹³ Despite this recognition of Piri's service, corsairs like Piri and his uncle were never fully integrated or respected among the Ottoman elite, and remained at the periphery of power.¹⁴ Tension remained between the palace *devşirmes* (Christian levied boys converted into Muslim Ottoman elites) and the sea-faring privateers like Piri and his uncle, who were equally opposite in level of class and naval expertise.¹⁵ Up until his uncle's death in 1511, Piri served in the Ottoman navy, after which he returned to his hometown of Gallipoli and began the cartography work he would become known for.

3.2.1. *Piri Reis' World Map of 1513*

During his time as an adult in Gallipoli, Piri created the most advanced portolan world map of the time period, combining sources of multiple languages and his own experiences.¹⁶ The word "portolan" comes from the Italian *portolano*, literally meaning related to ports. Portolan charts were type of sea chart, typically of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, created for seafarers and developed in the cosmopolitan thirteenth-century Mediterranean.¹⁷ Place names on portolan charts tended to neglect inland features and instead prioritized issues of the most pressing importance to sailors, like ports and significant identifying geographic information.¹⁸

¹² Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 40. In his own work, Piri refers to himself and his uncle as "sea gâzis," or warriors for the Islamic faith; the term in this context referred to "warriors for the faith who acquired wealth and fame as well as religious merit" in naval battle and exemplifies how the battles of the Mediterranean were about both religion and imperial territory, Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs," 241.

¹³ Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs," 241.

¹⁴ Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs," 237.

¹⁵ Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs," 240. She writes that the "the recruitment of corsairs were deemed outsiders by the administrative elite," 237. For more information on *devşirmes*, see Gülay Yılmaz, "Becoming a *Devşirme*: The Training of Conscripted Children in the Ottoman Empire," in *Children in Slavery Through the Ages*, eds. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (Ohio University Press, 2009), 120–127.

¹⁶ Isom-Verhaaren, "Room in Rum for Corsairs," 243.

¹⁷ It is unclear (and contested by multiple nationalist histories) from which country the portolan chart spawned, however the Catalans and Italians had the most abundant number in total and are surmised by many scholars to have been the originators. Catalan and Italian portolan charts have been categorized as representing two different schools of portolan charts. While Catalan charts were colorful, illuminated, and featured town views, Italian charts were known for being more austere and strictly practical; the difference can be seen most poignantly in the treatment of compass roses. The term "portolan" comes from the 1890's, see Tony Campbell, "Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500" in *The History of Cartography*, Volume One, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (University of Chicago Press, 1987), 375, 384–393; Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 22; Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (Cornell UP, 1998), 104; Paul Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 63 (2005), 47.

¹⁸ McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*, 10.

Drawn on single pieces of parchment, portolans were characterized by scalloped coastlines and compass roses with rhumb lines indicating the thirty-two directions of the wind. Black rhumb lines indicated the eight principal winds, green rhumb lines indicated the “half winds” and red indicated the “quarter winds.”¹⁹ By the fifteenth century, the *fleur-de-lis* was first used as a “true north signifier” in charts by the Portuguese mapmaker Jorge Aguiar and became another common feature.²⁰ The size of a portolan was typically constrained by the size of the piece of vellum, an ideal and hearty material for use on the sea; the perspective of the map viewer of a portolan is a totalizing bird’s eye view with multiple viewing directions.²¹ Port names were written perpendicular to the coastline, generally in black ink; red ink was sparingly used to identify larger cities.²² Black crosses indicated rocks and shallow waters. In addition to practical navigational information, images of boats on the seas occasionally appear, as do inland features such as cities, mountains, fortresses.²³ Generally, inland features indicated the work was for a wealthy patron rather than a sailor, though there have been recent studies questioning the actual navigational utility of such maps.²⁴

Piri’s World Map of 1513 is a typical portolan chart with scalloped coastlines, identified ports and islands, and illustrated compass roses with corresponding rhumb lines indicating the directions of the winds. As a map drawn on animal skin (vellum), the overall shape of the map is not an exact page and conforms to the size of the animal skin’s rounded edges.²⁵ Held today in the Topkapı Palace Library, only a fragment of the original map survives, the Western portion showing the Atlantic Ocean and the Americas.²⁶ On the left side of the map, there are two texts in Ottoman Turkish, a unique addition to the portolan that allowed Piri to identify himself as the author of the map and to share the story of the map’s completion.²⁷

¹⁹ Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 22.

²⁰ Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 396.

²¹ Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 378.

²² Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 22.

²³ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 281.

²⁴ Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 26. This theory of navigational purpose, rigorously argued by Tony Campbell (see “Portolan Charts,” 439-440) has been recently challenged by Kevin Eric Sheehan, “The functions of portolan maps: An evaluation of the utility of manuscript nautical cartography from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries,” (PhD diss., University of Durham, 2014), see especially pages 267–313.

²⁵ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 281.

²⁶ It has been posited by Pınar Emiralioğlu, that the missing portion – the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean—is the result of Selim I’s personal use of the document, see Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, 2.

²⁷ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 25; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 233.

Given that Piri had been confined principally to the Mediterranean, by necessity Piri's work was based on the maps of other world explorers, ancient and contemporaneous. Piri mentions that he consulted at least twenty-four different geographical works, including "eight Ptolemaic maps, four separate Portuguese sea charts and an "Arabic Chart of India."²⁸ Jerry Brotton argues that the Ottoman court's extensive library of maps, in addition to Piri Reis's own experiences sailing, meant that "by 1517 Piri Reis had access to one of the most comprehensive collections of geographical information available to any scholar or pilot active in the early modern world."²⁹ Piri presented his world map to Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520) in Cairo in 1517, after commanding the Ottoman fleet that overtook Mamluk Egypt. Piri effectively took advantage of the Sultan's military success to advance his own interests through cartography: displaying his own servitude and expertise in the aim of glorifying the sultan.³⁰

3.3.1. Piri Reis' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (Book of Sea Navigation)

After his 1513 world map, Piri Reis arranged a rudimentary *isolario* of the Mediterranean, known as the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* or *Book of Sea Navigation*, in 1521. Portolan charts were often stand-alone discrete objects, but could be bound in books to become an *isolario*, or "Book of Islands." The *isolario* genre originated in Italy and gained prominence among the empires of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Mediterranean; it was distinguished from other geographic genres by combining seafaring texts and sea charts together.³¹

²⁸ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 25.

²⁹ Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 110.

³⁰ Brotton, *Trading Territories*, 108.

³¹ The first and most famous example of *isolarii* tradition is the Italian explorer Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1385–1430) and his 1420 work *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, or "Book of Islands of the Archipelago," dedicated to Cardinal Jordano Orsini in Rome. Buondelmonti's work was enormously popular and copied for centuries after, with many copies from the fifteenth century surviving, one of which will be discussed in Chapter Two in my discussion of the Walters' sea chart of Istanbul. For more information on *isolario*, see Ian R. Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 1 (1997): 72–102; Bronwen Wilson, "Assembling the Archipelago: *Isolarii* and the Horizons of early Modern Public Making," in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Performance, Geography, Privacy*, II, eds. Angela Vanhaelen and Joseph P. Ward (Routledge, 2013) 101–126; Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 230–238; George Tolia, "Isolarii, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century," in *The History of Cartography*, Volume 3, ed. David Woodward (University of Chicago Press, 2007). For more information about Ottoman versions of *isolarii*, see Dimitris Loupis, "Ottoman Adaptations of Early Italian *Isolarii*," *Journal of the International Map Collectors' Society* 80 (2000): 15–23.

The *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is an Ottoman adaptation of the *isolario* genre with sea-faring chapters accompanying nautical charts.³² The first edition of 1521 consisted of 130 chapters and 130 maps. The work brought together Piri's personal experience sailing the Mediterranean with accurate portolan charts of the islands and coastlines of the Mediterranean. The text and chart pairings begin and end near Piri's hometown Gallipoli in the Dardenelles, going counterclockwise around the Mediterranean basin. Piri's atlas makes a mostly-linear journey starting in the Aegean Sea, moving to the Ionian Sea, followed by the Adriatic Sea, followed by the Western and Central Mediterranean Sea, Nile River, Eastern Mediterranean, and ending back in the Aegean.³³ The text was written in a mix of Ottoman Turkish prose and verse and included a wide range of information, from Piri's personal anecdotes to historical information to where to find sweet waters. It has been argued that the original manuscript is possibly the Topkapı Palace Treasury's copy (MS H. 642) or the Ayasofya Library's copy (MS Ayasofya 2612), but without a colophon it is impossible to certainly know.³⁴

Not long after, Piri was encouraged to create a more elaborate second edition of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* by Sultan Süleyman's Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (c. 1495-1526). Ibrahim Pasha became Piri's patron after Piri captained Ibrahim Pasha's ship from Istanbul to Cairo to quell unrest by an insubordinate Ottoman governor of Egypt, Ahmed Pasha, in 1523. It appears that Piri tried to gain favor with the Grand Vizier, who was both a close personal friend of the sultan and a connoisseur of geographical works, for it was on this trip that Ibrahim Pasha encouraged Piri to create a more elaborate edition of his work.³⁵ Piri improved on his 1521 copy and created a new edition in 1526 with 210 chapters and 233 maps. The difference between the 1521 and 1526 version is primarily about the expansion of coastline detail, rather than new information—particularly regarding the Dalmatian and Egyptian coastlines, more sea charts were added.³⁶ The work was not entirely original, since Piri Reis had used among others, European templates for some maps, which is to be expected for such a monumental size of

³² Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 236.

³³ I say "mostly linear" because while the overall journey goes from one region of the Mediterranean to the other, the series of charts do not always follow each other in a perfect sequence, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

³⁴ Orbay argues for the Topkapı copy, see "Istanbul Viewed," 125; Soucek argues for the Ayasofya copy, see *Turkish Mapmaking*, 152.

³⁵ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 38.

³⁶ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 90.

work.³⁷ Piri cites Ibrahim Pasha as being the catalyst for his revision process in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* itself, praising him for his patronage and guidance. Piri also added a new poetic prologue and epilogue composed by the court poet and historian Seyyid Muradi, who would eventually gain renown for famous Ottoman histories of Süleyman's conquests.³⁸ After the work was revised, Piri presented it to Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566) in 1526.

3.4.1. Topographical Painting in the Sixteenth Century

Piri's works are the earliest extant sea charts to survive, but Ottoman topographical painting began in sixteenth-century Ottoman narrative histories.³⁹ During Süleyman's reign, exquisitely illustrated narrative histories were created by the imperial *nakkaşhane*, or painting atelier, beginning a tradition of paintings of cities and towns without figures.⁴⁰ The first known Ottoman city views appear in 1537 in the Ottoman historian Matrakçı Nasuh's *Beyân-ı Menâzil-i Sefer-i Irâkeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân* (Depictions of Halting Stations on Sultan Süleyman's Campaign in the Two Iraqs), a history of Süleyman's campaign against the Shiite Safavids in the "two Iraqs" of Persia and Mesopotamia.⁴¹ In 218 pages and 130 paintings, Matrakçı depicts city views of Istanbul, Baghdad, and Tabriz, with such topographical detail that discerning viewers can identify prominent architecture by sight and compositional placement.⁴² Matrakçı's works came from his own experience on the campaign, which combined his painterly sensibility with his geographic and architectural knowledge. At the same time, his use of a bird's eye view revealed familiarity with European city view conventions and techniques. Matrakçı's work reveals the vast material Ottoman imperial artists had access to and suggests a connection

³⁷ Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions," 50.

³⁸ Muradi is famous for two history works in particular, *Kitâb-ı Feth-i Şikloş ve Estergon ve İstolni Belgrad* (The Book of the Conquest of Siklós, Esztergom, and Székesfehérvár) (1542–1543) and *Gazavât-ı Hayreddin Paşa* (The Campaigns of Hayreddin Pasha) (1541), see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 124.

³⁹ Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, 6.

⁴⁰ Matrakçı's example was very influential for generations to come, such as the works of other famous sixteenth century Ottoman chroniclers, such as Arifi, Lokman, and Talikizâde, see Ebel, "City Views," 87.

⁴¹ Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions" 58. For more information on the history of Matrakçı, see Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions" 52–99; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 29–72; Bağcı, et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 78–87; Walter Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 49–63; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (Pennsylvania State UP, 2009), 207–225; Yonca Kösebay, "An Interpretive Analysis of Matrakçı Nasuh's Beyan-ı Menâzil: Translating Text into Image" (M.A. Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1998); J.M. Rogers, "Ottoman Town Views," 235–245.

⁴² Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions," 56. Walter Denny made a comprehensive study of a sixteenth-century *Mecmû-i Menâzil* map of Istanbul, including labeling and corroborating every topographical feature, see Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," 56–63.

between the work of Ottoman artists and cartographers.⁴³ Ottoman historical narrative painting was influenced by Matrakçı's use and style of city views for decades to come, where figureless, cartographic paintings appear as illustrations in the Ottoman historian Seyyid Lokman's *Hünernâme* (Book of Skills) of 1585 and *Şehinşehnâme* (Book of King of Kings) of 1581.⁴⁴ To draw a line between cartographer and painter was a difficult one. The techniques of Ottoman topographic painting permeated nautical painting as well: many of the sixteenth-century Ottoman nautical atlases and the seventeenth and eighteenth-century copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* bear the influence of fanciful, painted Ottoman cities of Matrakçı.⁴⁵ Thus, topographical painting, starting with Matrakçı's example, serves as a clear example of Ottoman city views on the spectrum of Ottoman mapmaking.

3.5.1. Sixteenth-Century Original Ottoman Map Production

Sixteenth-century Ottoman maps, sea charts, and histories were produced in the imperial Ottoman atelier, known as the *nakkaşhane* or in workshops in the city, and potentially even between the two. Where the work was completed was dependent on the nature of the work and the commissioner; historical narratives were exclusively completed in the royal atelier and maps tended to be made in cartographic guilds near the shipyards of Kasımpaşa. The line between painting and geographical expertise was blurry; artists and cartographers may have overlapped or worked side by side on the same commission.⁴⁶ In a miniature from Lokman's *Şehinşehnâme*, made for Sultan Murad III (r.1574-1595), geographers can be seen in the Ottoman astronomer Takiyüddin's (1521-1585) observatory, with several astronomers measuring, drawing, and making calculations with a variety of mathematical tools, compasses, and a globe.⁴⁷ While the observatory was eventually closed, this manuscript miniature suggests that geographers did make their way to the palace and were known by the Ottoman painting atelier.⁴⁸

⁴³ Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292.

⁴⁴ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, no. 1 (2014), 17–24; Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions," 3, 98.

⁴⁵ Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 236; Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292; Loupis, "Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting," 388–392.

⁴⁶ Renda suggests the "possibility of cartographers contributing to the illustrations in the historical texts or artists contributing to sea charts," Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292.

⁴⁷ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 195.

⁴⁸ Kadızâde Ahmed Şemseddin Efendi (d. 1580) was the architect of the observatory's demise as part of a vendetta against his archrival Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed's legacy (d. 1579), Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 162; Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, 94.

The seventeenth century Ottoman traveler and writer Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682) references mapmakers in his *Seyahatnâme* (1638), or *Book of Travels*, a ten-volume account of the author's travels around the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹ According to Evliya,

“their class comprises eight workshops and 15 artisans, who know every occult and strange science. They know many languages, mainly Latin and similar ones and read books like *Atlas Minor*, *Geographia*, and *Mappamundi*, works of elder wise men dealing with cosmography... They draw and measure whatever is on the surface of the earth.... For every seamen, those are the soul of the science of cartography... Finally, [during the guild parade] these cartographers march past with pomp on carriages, carrying their products: charts, world images drawn by them and representation of many castles and cities that decorate their workshops.”⁵⁰

Evliya's account of the mapmakers reveals a cosmopolitan specialized guild with extensive literacy in the science, art, and languages of cartographic knowledge, whose work was known by the palace elites. The reverence for excellence in mapmaking by the palace elites is demonstrated through seventeenth century Ottoman cartographer Kâtib Çelebi's (1609–1657) *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr* (Gift to the Nobles on Military Campaigns) (1656), where Kâtib describes “those mastering mapmaking were given *ulufes* (bonuses).”⁵¹ While Evliya and Kâtib were writing in the seventeenth century, scholar Günsel Renda argues that such guilds most likely existed in the sixteenth century as well, and were probably responsible for some manuscript copying of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.⁵²

3.6.1. The Influence of Piri Reis

Piri's later life is less documented. It is known that Piri continued to work on cartography in obscurity, with his last extant work known as a World Map of 1528, of which only a small fragment survives.⁵³ Piri's favor with the court likely struggled when his patron, and champion for geographic works, Ibrahim Pasha was executed in 1536. At the twilight of his life, in his nineties, Piri became *Mısır Kaptanı* (Captain of Egypt), tasked with leading the naval effort from the Port of Suez to capture the port of Hormuz from the Portuguese in 1547. Following a resounding defeat at Hormuz and the illegal abandonment of his troops in 1552, Piri was tried

⁴⁹ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 292.

⁵⁰ Loupis, “Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting,” 385. Translation from Ottoman Turkish to English by Dimitris Loupis.

⁵¹ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 292.

⁵² Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 292.

⁵³ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 36; Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 243.

and executed for treason in Cairo, the same place he had presented his world map to Selim in 1517.⁵⁴

While Piri ended his naval career accused of betrayal of duty, Piri's cartographic work became so influential that it was expanded on and copied for centuries after. Particularly after the mid-sixteenth century, the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* became a perennially copied book—a “virtual bestseller by the standard of contemporary manuscripts” according to Giancarlo Casale—until the last known extant copy, the Walters' manuscript (W.658).⁵⁵ Traditionally, the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* has been defined by its two editions, the “shorter” 1521 edition and the “longer” 1526 edition. While the original Piri Reis *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript is unknown, 42 copies in the world exist today, of which 24 are determined to be of the 1521 “shorter” version.⁵⁶ Most later copies from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, like the Walters's manuscript feature new decorative elements, supplemental charts, and topographical additions to Piri's original text. Some copies do not include text at all, but are comprised of Piri Reis inspired maps.⁵⁷ While the original manuscript has two original versions designed by Piri, both versions of the manuscript continued to evolve in style, topography, detail, text and image, making it more difficult to study *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts stylistically as a group. After all, as İffet Orbay notes, such differences made copies from the late sixteenth century and later relatively distinct from each other.⁵⁸ In order to account for the differences in execution, ornamentation, and illumination, some scholars have considered the later, more heavily illustrated and altered manuscripts to be a class among themselves. Svat Soucek has defined elaborate seventeenth and eighteenth century copies as “coffee-table copies” made for the elites rather than for seafarers, while Dimitris Loupis has defined them as “luxury third editions” of the manuscript.⁵⁹

Perhaps most provocatively, Tarek Kahlaoui argues that the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* should not be considered its own genre, but rather should be studied individually—according to time period,

⁵⁴ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 98.

⁵⁵ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 186.

⁵⁶ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Undersecretaryship of Navigation, 2002).

⁵⁷ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 110.

⁵⁸ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 121.

⁵⁹ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 236; Dimitris Loupis, “Piri Reis' Book on Navigation (Kitab-i Bahriyye) as a Geography Handbook” in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartographies*, eds. George Tolia and Dimitris Loupis (Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2004), 391.

patron, and contents—without extrapolation about a larger Piri Reis tradition.⁶⁰ Kahlaoui correctly notes that since the original Piri-Reis-autographed manuscripts are unknown, the only Piri Reis “original” work are his world maps; the analytical work of studying Piri Reis’ “original” maps and sea charts is more accurately described as representing the work of sixteenth century Ottoman mapmakers.⁶¹ As such, Kahlaoui writes that “*Kitâb-ı Bahriye* becomes, posthumously, more than one book made by several kinds of mapmakers with different cartographic styles and for more than one client.”⁶² While it is clear that the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies can be roughly sorted into either 1521 or 1526 schematic types, I agree that any individual copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* must be understood within its social, painting, cartographic, and temporal context. For the purposes of my thesis, I take a middle path; guided by the basis of the 1526 manuscript’s contents and text, I approach the Walters’ manuscript as its own eighteenth-century artifact.

4. Literature Review

My interdisciplinary study, like most studies of cartography, first and foremost is indebted to the scholar J.B. Harley, whose seminal two volume *History of Cartography* offered a new, social science-based perspective of maps that the field of cartography studies still uses today. Treating maps like “cultural texts,” Harley encouraged study of cartography beyond questions of accuracy.⁶³ He writes,

“The steps in making a map—a selection, omission, simplification, classification, the creation of hierarchies and ‘symbolization’—are all inherently rhetorical. In their intentions as much as in their applications they signify subjective human purposes rather than reciprocating the workings of some ‘fundamental law of cartographic generalization.’”⁶⁴

My thesis, which spans cartography, painting history, and urban history, builds on the idea that all of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* sea charts and ornamentation are rhetorical. Using Harley’s framework to look past questions of cartographic accuracy, my thesis looks at the manuscript as a series of deliberate stylistic, topographic, and cartographic choices made by Ottoman artists in

⁶⁰ Tarek Kahlaoui, “The Depiction of the Mediterranean in Islamic Cartography (11th–16th Centuries)” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008), and *Creating the Mediterranean: Maps and the Islamic Imagination* (Brill, 2018), 242.

⁶¹ Tarek Kahlaoui, “The Mediterranean in Islamic Cartography,” 297; Kahlaoui, *Creating the Mediterranean*, 246.

⁶² Kahlaoui, *Creating the Mediterranean*, 249.

⁶³ J.B. Harley, “Deconstructing the Map” in *Classics in Cartography*, ed. Martin Dodge (Wiley, 2011), 276; 281; J.B. Harley, “Maps and the Development of the History of Cartography” in *The History of Cartography, Volume One*, eds. J.B. Harley and David Woodward (University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁶⁴ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 286.

the context of the eighteenth century, rather than the result of a natural and inevitable objective reality.

My study of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is in direct conversation with foundational work on town views in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* and eighteenth-century Ottoman painting by Günsel Renda. Renda first argued that Ottoman cartography and topographical painting must be considered in tandem, suggesting artistic overlap between the painters of Ottoman miniatures and the cartography painters of town views in nautical painting.⁶⁵ Renda has been at the forefront of analyzing city views of Istanbul, Alanya, Cairo, and Venice in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts, including the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, persuasively demonstrating the connection between European prints, panoramic views, and Ottoman topographical painting in the production of elaborate *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies.⁶⁶ While Renda made an invaluable addition to the study of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, her analysis has focused on surveys that discuss multiple manuscripts, or city views within manuscripts of different time periods, patrons, and painters. I build on Renda's example by conducting a close formal analysis of one manuscript, revealing the range of city view painting styles and their influences within one object, the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. I expand on Renda's breadth of sources by including a larger temporal range and variety of genres of Ottoman painting, European prints, and panoramas in my analysis of the Istanbul and Cairo city views within the Walters' manuscript. I also consider the actual built environment—the urban fabric—alongside the representation of the cities, to bring an urban historical analysis to Ottoman depictions of cities. Renda's characterization of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting—including three-dimensionality and European illusory techniques—is persuasive. I develop Renda's argument of the “experimenting tendencies” of eighteenth-century painting to consider the visual culture of the Walters' manuscript, which collages a variety of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting techniques and print aesthetics.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Günsel Renda, “Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends,” in *A History of Turkish Painting*, ed. Oleg Grabar (University of Washington Press, 1989), 47; Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 281.

⁶⁶ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 282.

⁶⁷ Günsel Renda, “An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman *Hamse* in the Walters Art Gallery,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 39 (1981), 30.

The thesis also engages with the foundational work of Svat Soucek, the preeminent historian of Ottoman nautical and cartographic history, who has provided a manuscript study of the seventeenth century copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, the “Khalili Atlas,” from the Khalili Collection in London. Soucek presents a rather timeless view of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* tradition firmly rooted in the sixteenth century, without consideration to differing historical context, styles of Ottoman painting, or urban fabrics of the city views he discusses. For example, in the same breath that he mentions the Khalili Atlas does not feature any text and only a selection of Piri’s “original” sea charts, he argues that the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* tradition only has “some modifications” between different copies.⁶⁸ My work most directly engages with Soucek’s earliest discussions of the sea charts of Istanbul and Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, including potential source images, relationship to the text, and topographical details. While Soucek does not consider these maps within their proper temporal context, and quite erroneously calls the very common city view of Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* an “unexpected” addition, he does provide some of the first real engagement with city views in a single manuscript study.⁶⁹ I expand on Soucek’s singular study with a contextualized study of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, informed by its eighteenth-century visual, political, and urban context. Unlike Soucek, I divorce my study from larger discussion of the Piri Reis tradition or the practicalities of Ottoman seafaring, and instead use the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*—its library setting, imperial patron, and cosmopolitan milieu—as a singular artifact rather than a representation of Piri’s work or intentions.

The thesis also engages with the rich history of Istanbul’s pictorial history in Ottoman historical painting and *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies. İffet Orbay’s dissertation, “Istanbul Viewed: The Representation of the City in Ottoman Maps of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries” is the first and most detailed engagement with sixteenth-century Ottoman depictions of Istanbul. Most importantly for my study, Orbay’s survey includes a comprehensive formal analysis of every extant Istanbul sea chart in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts. Orbay argues that, despite the differences in patrons, dates of completion, and contents of different *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, all Istanbul sea charts have a common lineage that makes them worth studying together.⁷⁰ However,

⁶⁸ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 236.

⁶⁹ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 92.

⁷⁰ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 122.

while Orbay does differentiate between the sea charts, noting how the text and topographical features of each map inform later additions, her frame of reference relies primarily on Ottoman sources from the sixteenth century—glossing over the rich history of European prints, panoramic-inspired city views of Istanbul, and eighteenth-century Ottoman painting which I argue informed the Walters' Istanbul.⁷¹ Orbay's breadth is laudatory and foundational for my work. I aim to add to her discussion of Istanbul in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* with a manuscript-specific analysis that holistically considers the role of the viewer, the patron, and the time period in analyzing the choices of the artist. Furthermore, while Orbay does address topographic additions to the later *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts, my dual urban-historical analysis connects the city's topography to its actual meaning for the Ottoman court and the Ottoman subject. Far from "natural," I show how the urban fabric of Istanbul reflects new ceremonial engagement alongside the Bosphorus shores and eighteenth-century extramural urbanization patterns. Additionally, my manuscript-specific study allows me to distinguish the singularity of the Walters' Istanbul's depiction through my study of the Walters' city view of Cairo, where differing aesthetics, source images, and prominent architecture impart a differing viewer experience. Rather than focusing on the city's urbanization like in the case of Istanbul, I argue that the Walters' city view of Cairo highlights the city's storied Muslim past, serving as an educational atlas to pre-Ottoman conquest sites of the Fatimids, Abbasids, Mamluks, and Ayyubid Empires. My comparison between the two Ottoman cities reveals the breadth of painting styles, topographies, and viewer experiences found in the manuscript. I also importantly connect the city views of Istanbul and Cairo with both European and Ottoman eighteenth-century visual culture, such as print aesthetics, eighteenth-century painting techniques, panoramic views, and Baroque forms, which appear throughout the wider manuscript and shape the reader experience.

I also drawn upon the urban historical work of Istanbul by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, who has written extensively about the interplay between urban depictions of the city, architecture, and changing urban spatial practices. Kafescioğlu is the first to deeply engage with the role of Istanbul city views, Ottoman and European, painting and print, fifteenth century and eighteenth century, together. More importantly, Kafescioğlu has considered the pictorial history of Istanbul with its actuality—its corresponding contemporaneous architecture, urban culture, and politics—

⁷¹ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 313.

particularly through ceremonial/rebellion spaces such as the Atmeydanı (Hippodrome).⁷² I will build on Kafescioğlu's methodology by bringing together urban culture and urban depictions through both my discussion of the Walters' Istanbul—text, pictorial history, and urban history—and the Walters' Cairo by considering the art historical alongside the architectural and social historical. I aim to fully contextualize the city views of Istanbul and Cairo with a manuscript-specific analysis, aiming to discuss the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* as a singular eighteenth-century object rather than as a series of unrelated discrete units. Furthermore, I do not limit myself to Ottoman topographic paintings of Istanbul, but also consider the eighteenth-century Ottoman painting context that informed the Walters' Istanbul and Walters' Cairo's depictions. Perhaps most significantly, Kafescioğlu has brought forth new ways of defining Ottoman painting's multiple visualities and their relationship with the viewer, describing dichotomies such as near/far, local/totalizing, and heavenly/earthly.⁷³ I use Kafescioğlu's theories of viewing—themselves involved with the urban historical spatial theories of the likes of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre—to understand the many kinds of viewpoints, perspectives, and viewer experiences with the Walters' Istanbul, Walters' Cairo, and the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.⁷⁴

The thesis's engagement with the Walters' Cairo is the first to ever bring the city view into conversation with the Walters' Istanbul, with the urban fabric of its time, and within the context of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, but has been briefly discussed by scholars. Soucek, in his discussion of the aforementioned Khalili Atlas, discusses the atlas's map of Cairo, including its contents and potential source images.⁷⁵ He does not, however, consider how the city view relates to its eighteenth-century time period, other sea charts in the manuscript, the role of Cairo

⁷² Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Urban Mapping in the Ottoman Empire" in *The History of Cartography, Volume 4*, eds. M.H. Edney and M.S. Pedley (University of Chicago Press, 2019); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square, Streets, and Denizens of Early Modern Istanbul: Practices of Urban Space and Shifts in Visuality" *Muqarnas* 37 (2020): 139–77. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27141536>; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Between Worlds, Between Visualities: Melchior Lorck's Prospect of Constantinople" in *Melchior Lorck: Facts, Fiction, Interpretation*, eds. Michael Bøgh Rasmussen and Hanne Kolind Poulsen (SMK Verlag, 2023); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Byzantium in Early Modern Istanbul," in *The Cambridge Companion to Constantinople* (Cambridge University Press, 2022); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "A New Look at the City's Center: The Atmeydanı and its Environs in Cornelius Loos' Istanbul Drawings" in *Cornelius Loos in the Ottoman World: Drawings for the King of Sweden 1710–1711*, ed. Karin Ådahl (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2019); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, 145–169 and 207–225.

⁷³ Kafescioğlu, "Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image," 39–57.

⁷⁴ Kafescioğlu, "Picturing the Square, Streets, and Denizens of Early Modern Istanbul," 140; Kafescioğlu, "Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire," 314–316.

⁷⁵ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 149–155.

in the Ottoman Empire or Cairo's urban fabric, as I will do. Nicholas Warner brings the most complete analysis of early modern depictions of Cairo—Ottoman and European—through his study of the Venetian printer Matteo Pagano's 1549 map of Cairo.⁷⁶ While Warner discusses the major topography and its text in multiple versions of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, Warner's main focus is on Pagano's depiction of Cairo and therefore does not consider the eighteenth-century Ottoman painting context, Ottoman urban fabric, or any of the manuscripts to which the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* depictions belong. The preeminent historian of Cairo's Mamluk and Ottoman urban history, Doris Behrens-Abouseif briefly mentions the Walters' Cairo but erroneously engages with the image as a 1526 copy based on Piri Reis' style.⁷⁷ While Behrens-Abouseif's architectural historical work is an invaluable addition to the work on Cairo's urban history that I rely on to understand the urban fabric of eighteenth-century Cairo, I want to add the rigor of an art historical study contextualized in eighteenth-century Ottoman painting to the study of the Walters' Cairo.

The thesis also engages with conservator analysis of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* by Paul Hepworth, commissioned with the explicit goal of assigning the work a completion date by the Walters Art Museum.⁷⁸ Hepworth importantly confirms that the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is an eighteenth-century work, based on the inclusion of eighteenth-century European cartographical works which provide a *terminus post quem* for the manuscript as a whole.⁷⁹ However, as I will show in my discussion of the manuscript's provenance in Chapter One, Hepworth is strangely unfamiliar with Orbay's work on the manuscript, which uncovered critical topographic details in the Walters' Istanbul that date the work to at least 1722. Even more concerning, Hepworth does not appear to recognize either the seals of Mahmud I on the manuscript, reported by the Walters Art Museum and confirmed by Orbay, or the inclusion of pasted-over pieces of paper. Naturally as a conservator, Hepworth's analysis provides helpful insight into the production and assembly of the Walters' manuscript, identifying the pigments, kinds of paper, and foliation,

⁷⁶ Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 60–85.

⁷⁷ For information on Cairo's urban history see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (American University of Cairo, 1985); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (American University of Cairo Press, 1989); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf, And Architecture in Cairo, 16th And 17th Centuries* (Brill, 1994).

⁷⁸ Paul Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' '*Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,'" 73–80.

⁷⁹ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' '*Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,'" 76.

however, his work does not address painting styles, topography, or the history of Ottoman manuscript culture.⁸⁰ I build on his conservator analysis by considering the role of painting styles, topographic additions, and the eighteenth-century aesthetic context in my study.

In order to bring my study into proper focus in the eighteenth century, my work directly engages with studies of cosmopolitan styles, architecture, and urban practices of eighteenth-century Istanbul, where the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* was likely commissioned, created, and consumed. Ünver Rüstem's architectural study on Ottoman Baroque architecture reveals a mid-eighteenth century cosmopolitan aesthetic also evident in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript's additional decorative elements, like cartouches, European maps, and the aesthetics of print culture which blend European and Ottoman features.⁸¹ Rüstem has more recently considered an adaptation of his "Ottoman Baroque" theory through a printed *Cihannüma* manuscript by Ibrahim Müteferrika, considering how the technology of print in the Ottoman blended with European Baroque decoration to become an antecedent that he calls "Ottomanized Baroque."⁸² I engage with his study of Ottoman printed cartouches in my discussion of the Walters' world maps. I also engage with Shirine Hamadeh's seminal work *The City's Pleasures*, which connected eighteenth-century Ottoman architectural patronage and the growing visibility of the middle class with international trends of consumption and leisure, what Hamadeh defines as *decloisonnement*, or an "opening up."⁸³ Hamadeh's work connects architectural styles and Ottoman poetry with the spatial practices of the inhabitants of Istanbul. In my study of Istanbul, I build on her findings by considering how eighteenth-century urban practices manifested in the Walters' Istanbul's representation. Furthermore, I engage with Tülay Artan, whose work on the transformation of the Bosphorus shores into pleasure palaces for sultans and their families

⁸⁰ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 76.

⁸¹ Ünver Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013); Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton UP, 2019); Ünver Rüstem, "Mapping Cosmopolitanism: An Eighteenth-Century Printed Ottoman Atlas and the Turn to Baroque," *Ars Orientalis* 51 (2021): 188–248.

⁸² Rüstem, "Mapping Cosmopolitanism," 196.

⁸³ Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Washington Press, 2007); Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123–48; Shirine Hamadeh, "Public Space and Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century" in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, eds. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

featured cross-cultural influence, the growing visibility and pomp of the court, and the transformation of the Bosphorus shores into urbanized quarters, which I argue can also be seen in the urbanized shores of the Walters' Istanbul.⁸⁴ The point of this thesis is not to re-litigate Rüstem's theory of a specific style of "global modernity," or Hamadeh's *decloisonnement*, or Artan's eighteenth-century Bosphorus, but to contextualize the Walters' manuscript within the aesthetic and topographic environment of eighteenth-century Istanbul, whose cosmopolitan environment, new urban practices, and imperial styles are reflected in the eighteenth-century painting techniques and topography of the Walters' Istanbul and Walters' Cairo.⁸⁵

5. Chapter by Chapter Thesis Summary

In my first chapter, I will present a formal art historical analysis of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* including a full inventory of its chapters and maps. I will begin with the provenance of the manuscript, arguing that the work was most likely completed during Mahmud I's reign for the Nuruosmaniye Library (1749-1755). I will continue with a discussion of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* text, both style and content, revealing the stylistic influence of eighteenth-century print culture, late sixteenth-century textual additions, and a dynamic viewer experience that combines both the past (Piri's historical facts and personal anecdotes) and the eighteenth-century present. I will then describe the content and style of sea charts within the manuscript, highlighting the role of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting techniques (especially in the portrayal of ceremonial tents and boats) and the breadth of styles throughout the manuscript through colors, perspectives, and level of detail. I go on to divide the sea charts into three categories that I analyze as entire groups of coastlines, islands, and cities. I argue that coastlines and island sea charts are primarily informed in style by their regional location, while the city views are rarest and distinguished from their neighboring folios. I contend that the interplay of past and present, sixteenth and eighteenth century influences, and painting and print within both the text and image creates a unique and multifaceted eighteenth-century viewer experience. The wide breadth of topographic contents and painting styles encouraged the potential viewer to engage with the work on a geographic and artistic level in a library setting, rather than for seafaring purposes on a boat. I

⁸⁴ Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" (Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989).

⁸⁵ Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 32; *Ottoman Baroque*, 63.

will go on to discuss the eighteenth-century influence on the cartographic additions and extra decorative elements in the four world maps that appear in the manuscript, which I argue reveal the influence of print culture, Baroque forms, and European cartography to present four unique views of the world.

In my second chapter, I will investigate the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*'s city view of Istanbul (fol.370b). I will begin with a discussion of the role of Istanbul in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, textually and historically. I will proceed with a history of the print, painted, and panoramic representations of Istanbul within the Ottoman Empire and Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, revealing the influence of perspectives, techniques, and print culture on the Walters' Istanbul city view. I reveal that the Walters' Istanbul map is a unique artifact, based schematically on a seventeenth century copy, which combines illusory techniques, architectural vignettes, multiple perspectives, and multiple viewing experiences characteristic of the eighteenth-century. I also consider the topography of the Walters' Istanbul, particularly how the depicted architecture reinforces both imperial and common engagement with the city. I first consider the role of eighteenth-century architecture, and follow with a discussion of gardens, urban ceremonial practices, and the prominent role of the city's urbanization on the Bosphorus shores. I ultimately argue that the Walters' Istanbul depiction is deeply entangled with the city's recent political history and two centuries of Istanbul depictions from multiple mediums and sources, both an extravagant example within the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* and consistent with the styles and motifs seen throughout the wider manuscript.

In my third chapter, I will discuss the Walters' city view of Cairo (305a), within a sequence of Nile River maps and texts within the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. I will begin by discussing the role of Cairo in the Ottoman Empire, Piri's relationship to the city, and its reason for inclusion in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. I consider how text and image interact with the sea charts of Cairo and the Nile sequence—in Piri's sea faring chapters and annotations—in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, revealing how the Walters' Nile sea charts' various orientations and level of detail create a dynamic viewer experience and distinguish the individuality of the city of Cairo city view. I explore possible precedents and influences on the Walters' Cairo painting, including a seventeenth-century copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. I reveal that the Walters' Cairo is a unique painting, indebted to the

Kitâb-ı Bahriye tradition, but which also incorporates the techniques of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting. I go on to consider the depicted urban fabric of the Walters' Cairo, to reveal that the work's architecture highlights the city of the pre-Ottoman conquest, that is, the architectural monuments of the Fatimids, Abbasids, Ayyubids, and the Mamluks, rather than depicting the actual eighteenth-century city. The city view of Cairo can be seen as a teaching tool, guiding the viewer to associate the city and Ottoman imperial ceremony with its storied Muslim past. I ultimately argue that the breadth of styles, topography, and sources between the two city views, and within the Walters' manuscript as a whole, undeniably packages the originally sixteenth-century text within the imperial designs and painting techniques of the eighteenth-century, prioritizing novelty and eclecticism over stylistic unity. I conclude with potential reasons for the originality of the manuscript within the history of Mahmud I's patronage of libraries and library visitors use of books in the eighteenth-century.

CHAPTER ONE

THE WALTERS' *KİTÂB-I BAHİRİYE*

“Great God, ease the task of any poor soul who makes use of this book and show him the way.”⁸⁶

Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (1526)

1. Introduction

The Walters' manuscript is an anonymous and undated recension of Piri Rei's 1526 *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* with supplemental sea charts of the Sea of Marmara, Black Sea, Sea of Azov, and the Caspian Sea.⁸⁷ The manuscript consists of 379 folios with 228 sea charts, four cartographic city views, an illuminated frontispiece (fol.4b) and four world maps. The manuscript begins with a table of contents (*fihrist*), followed by a prologue, a section on sea-faring instructions and ends with an epilogue. I provide a full inventory of the manuscript's illustrations and text (Appendixes A through H), based on the illustration cataloguing of the Walters Art Museum and the Republic of Turkey's Prime Ministry's Undersecretaryship of Navigation's 1526 Piri Reis *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* English translations with the corresponding folio in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.⁸⁸ Locations are given in contemporary cartographic terms when possible, for ease of understanding the maps and sea charts.

The aim of this chapter to give an art historical accounting of the text and images within the manuscript, which I argue offers a vast range of eighteenth-century aesthetic and

⁸⁶ Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye: Book of Navigation* (Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Undersecretaryship of Navigation, 2002), 24. *Amel itse İlahî bunu her kul/Kolay eyle için göster âna yol*, 24.

⁸⁷ The manuscript has ten blank folio pages (fols. 24a, 31a, 31b, 40a, 370b, 370a, 373b, 374b, 375a, 375b) with most clustered near the end of the manuscript next to charts of the supplemental maps.

⁸⁸ The work includes a transcription of the Ottoman Turkish. For every translation in English, the associated transliteration can be found on the same page see Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (2002). Titles of the sea charts can be found at Walters Art Museum, “Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation,” The Digital Walters, accessed 31 October 2023, <https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W658/description.html>.

representational techniques to illustrate a largely original sixteenth-century text. The reader and viewer of the Walters' manuscript is forced to engage with both the past—Piri's original text, Piri's writing of history, and Piri's original sea charts—and the eighteenth-century present—the illusory painting techniques, architectural, topographic and cartographic additions, and Baroque-style ornamentation. The potential viewer, likely a visitor to the Nuruosmaniye Library, would have engaged with the manuscript for study of both geographic content and artistic forms; its wide-ranging contents could have served as an atlas to two centuries of Ottoman topography and Ottoman painting. As such, I argue that the manuscript is a mid-sixteenth-century text packaged in eclectic eighteenth-century Ottoman aesthetics and painting techniques, which will inform my deeper studies of the cartographic city views of Istanbul and Cairo.

2. *Provenance of the W.658 Manuscript*

Modern scholars have determined that the Walters manuscript is an eighteenth-century work but the exact date is debated because the work does not have a colophon.⁸⁹ Thomas Goodrich originally proposed dating the work to the late seventeenth century, due to similarities he observed between the Deniz Müzesi MS 988 and Istanbul University 6605 manuscripts.⁹⁰ Hepworth disagrees with this characterization, revealing the topographic influence of French cartographer Guillaume d'Isle's world map (corresponding with fol. 40b) published in 1724, and a 1700 survey of the Caspian sea (corresponding with fol. 374a), printed in 1712, that makes the larger manuscript necessarily completed in the eighteenth century.⁹¹ In her discussion of the sea chart of Istanbul (fol.370a), Orbay notes the presence of the Sa'dabad complex (1722) suggesting a *terminus post quem* that at the very earliest dates to Sultan Ahmed III's reign (r. 1703–1730).⁹²

From a study of source images, topographic features, and a semi-erased waqf statement including an erased *ferman* (official sultanic seal) on folio 4a (Fig. 1.1–1.2), it is clear that the

⁸⁹ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 168; Thomas Goodrich, "Supplemental Maps in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 13 (1993–94): 120; Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 73–79.

⁹⁰ Goodrich, "Supplemental Maps in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis," 120.

⁹¹ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 76.

⁹² Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 263.

Walters' manuscript was most likely completed in the eighteenth-century during Sultan Mahmud I's (1730–1754) reign. The Walters Museum claims that the obscured seal is that of Mahmud I.⁹³ While both I, and Orbay, find the seal and waqf deed unintelligible, its very erasure is characteristic of manuscripts originally endowed by Mahmud I for the library built at his Nuruosmaniye ("Light of Osman") Mosque (1749–1755). Mahmud died before the mosque was finished, leading his successor, Osman III to repurpose the endowment in his image and name, as the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and library. Books which were previously endowed with Mahmud's seal for the library were typically pasted over with another paper bearing the seal of his successor, a feature that Orbay notes is present on folio 4a.⁹⁴ Orbay also confirms Mahmud's likely patronage through the card catalogue of Nuruosmaniye Library featuring a copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* no longer part of the collection.⁹⁵ No stranger to the manuscript, Mahmud I is known to have donated the MS Ayasofya 2612 copy, one of the earliest, if not original, 1521 *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts, to his newly created Ayasofya Library in 1740.⁹⁶

While we know roughly the *terminus post quem* of the work's contents, likely between 1749–1755 during the construction of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, we do not know the *terminus ante quem*, when the work began. The manuscript is composed of three different kinds of ivory laid, Venetian paper, revealing that the manuscript was not completed at one time.⁹⁷ According to a conservation analysis by Hepworth, of the 41 bifolia that make up the manuscript, only six are from the latter two types of paper, suggesting that there were later insertions in the manuscript.⁹⁸ Further supporting this view is Hepworth's claim, which I agree with, that the last eight folios are numbered in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript.⁹⁹ All additional

⁹³ The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

⁹⁴ Ismail E. Ernsal, *A History of Ottoman Libraries* (Academic Studies Press, 2022), 78; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 168. The Walters Museum has no notes in their files about any glue or paste residue and glaringly, is not mentioned by Hepworth in his conservator analysis. No other information is available about how Mahmud I's seal was determined. It does appear on the webpage's cataloguing notes, see The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation." The work cannot be examined because it is currently on view. The following page, a *besmele* incipit frontispiece (fol. 4b) (Fig. 1.3 and 1.4), is pasted over as well; the upper portion of the illumination has illegible writing and seals visible.

⁹⁵ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 168. As a major patron of libraries (four in Istanbul alone), Mahmud I was a prolific bibliophile who endowed thousands of books to stock the shelves of his newly built libraries at the Fatih Mosque, Ayasofya, Galata Palace, and Nuruosmaniye Libraries, Ernsal, *A History of Ottoman Libraries*, 66.

⁹⁶ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 125.

⁹⁷ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 73.

⁹⁸ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 76.

⁹⁹ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' 'Kitâb-ı Bahriye,'" 74.

paper appears after folio 360, suggesting that the world maps and additional sea charts were later additions; Hepworth notes that the same paint was used throughout the manuscript, suggesting that the work was added to over a small period of time.¹⁰⁰

Mahmud I's possible association with the Walters' manuscript must be considered within the context of his greater patronage of libraries and his desire to make books publicly accessible. Mahmud I built four libraries in Istanbul alone creating what Yavuz Sezer calls the "age of libraries."¹⁰¹ The patronage of libraries required vast patronage of books; the Ayasofya library, patronized by Mahmud, could hold "thousands of books."¹⁰² As Ismail E. Ernsal argues, Mahmud "received books as gifts, he enlarged the palace library by confiscating the book collections of officials who died or fell out of favor, and thirdly and perhaps most conventionally, he purchased books on the open market from booksellers through palace officials."¹⁰³ Mahmud I's many methods of procurement make it impossible to claim with certainty the origins of the manuscript's production or the artists behind the work. The manuscript's luxurious illumination, similar representational techniques to contemporaneous Ottoman imperial painting, and reliance on wide-ranging aesthetic and stylistic city view precedents seems to suggest that the work was produced by artists in the Ottoman royal painting atelier with access to the Topkapı Palace Library's extensive collection of maps, prints, and historical manuscripts.¹⁰⁴ However, the work may have been bought from the mapmaking guilds in Kasımpaşa. Indeed, it is possible, that the work was created either side by side with mapmakers and artists, or between the two, with mapmaking guilds beginning the manuscript

¹⁰⁰ Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*," 76.

¹⁰¹ Under his patronage, four libraries were erected in Istanbul, including at the Galata Palace and the Nuruosmaniye Mosque. He also patronized libraries in the Ottoman provinces, including in Cairo and Belgrade. Ernsal, *A History of Ottoman Libraries*, 71. Yavuz Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries" (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016), 233.

¹⁰² Suraiya Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul: Struggles, Feasts and Calamities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Koç UP, 2023), 105.

¹⁰³ Ernsal, *Ottoman Libraries*, 72.

¹⁰⁴ The lines demarcating artist and cartographer was fuzzy; Renda suggests overlap between cartographers and painters was likely widespread. There is no direct evidence other than the exquisiteness of the images to support this theory, see Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292. Orbay also agrees with Renda, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 173. The luxurious illustration program, painting techniques, and ornamentation strongly suggests the artists' had widespread access to European maps and prints, Ottoman historical painting, and Ottoman sea charts available in the Topkapı Imperial Library, see Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 236; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 166; Loupis, "Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting," 377–391.

and artists adding particular cartographic city view sea charts.¹⁰⁵ No artist or workshop can be definitively attributed to this manuscript, but it was likely to have been made in Istanbul regardless of the artists behind it.

The only insight into the work's post-imperial library life is through handwritten names on the manuscript's first pages. The names "Ahmed Efendi" and "Ali Efendi" are written in small blank ink towards the margins of the left side of the first page of the manuscript, likely either bookdealers or later owners of the work (fol. 1a) (Fig. 1.5).¹⁰⁶ It is unclear who these individuals were, but in the same handwriting, an erroneous title is given to the work as "Portulan-ı kebir-i Seyyid 'Ali Kapudân" or the Large Portolan Atlas of Admiral Seyyid Ali (fol. 3a) (Fig. 1.6).¹⁰⁷ Seyyid Ali likely refers to Piri's successor, the sea captain Seyyid Ali Reis, known for his geographical writings *Mir'âtül-Memâlik*, "Mirror of Countries," (1560) and *Kitâbü'l-Muhîr*, "Book of the Ocean" (1562).¹⁰⁸ Orbay posits that Seyyid Ali Reis may have even been the hands that added the supplemental maps onto the original 1526 manuscript in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹ His name on this manuscript suggests confusion about the provenance of the manuscript; Goodrich suggests that "perhaps the book dealer believed that anything with lots of maps was a copy of this book."¹¹⁰ The Walters' manuscript is not the only manuscript with Seyyid Ali's name on it; indeed, a Bologna University Library copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* even has a preface by a certain "Seyyid Nuh."¹¹¹ The pristine state of the manuscript's pages, illustrations, and text supports the view that the manuscript was never used at sea and likely kept in libraries.¹¹² The work continued to be changed after its completion during the reign of

¹⁰⁵ Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292.

¹⁰⁶ The Walters Museum transliterates this handwriting as "Aḥmad Afandī," "Alī Afandī," and "Sayyid 'Alī Qapūdān," but I chose to use the Modern Turkish for readability, as it is also the version Orbay uses, "Istanbul Viewed," 167–168; The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

¹⁰⁷ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 168; The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

¹⁰⁸ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 85.

¹⁰⁹ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 167.

¹¹⁰ Goodrich, "Supplemental Maps in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis," 121.

¹¹¹ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed" 249.

¹¹² The Walters' manuscript was almost likely produced in the imperial painting atelier, or *nakkāshane*, because it was made for an imperial patron, but is possible it could have been completed in one of the city's cartographic guilds, or perhaps between the two of them. The lines demarcating artist and cartographer was fuzzy; Renda suggests overlap between cartographers and painters was likely widespread. There is no direct evidence other than the exquisiteness of the images to support this theory, see Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 292. Orbay also agrees with Renda, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 173. The luxurious illustration program, painting techniques, and ornamentation strongly suggests the artists' had widespread access to European maps and prints, Ottoman historical painting, and Ottoman sea charts available in the Topkapı Imperial Library, see Soucek,

Mahmud I, as the current binding of the manuscript is not original and oversized for the dimensions of the folios.¹¹³ The manuscript was eventually acquired by Henry Walter for his collection, which is now known as the Walters Art Museum, in Baltimore, Maryland. The Museum does not have any information about when, where, or from whom the work was bought.¹¹⁴ The only information regarding its provenance is that it was found in the collection after Walters' death in 1931.

3. *The Text of the Walters' Kitâb-ı Bahriye: Style*

The text style of the Walters' manuscript has visual clues, like color, style, and organization that guide the reader's understanding of the text and enhance legibility. The folios are 24cm by 34 cm, with the written surface confined to 13.5cm by 23.5cm.¹¹⁵ Red ink is used for headings of chapters and labels of charts, while black ink is used for main passages of prose, verse, and "catchwords."¹¹⁶ The use of red and black text appears to conform to portolan standards, where black ink was used for general information and red ink was used for important information.¹¹⁷ Each text-based page is framed in a thin black and gold text box. On pages with text, there are 19 ruled lines, but not all text pages completely fill the page with text. In instances where the text does not fill the page, the borders of the textbox are formatted into a triangle or partial triangle shape, so there is no blank space within the textbox itself, similar in appearance to a colophon. This informs the reader visually that a certain section or chapter has ended. A vocalized *naskh* script is used throughout the manuscript, one of the most popular scripts used in

Turkish Mapmaking, 236; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 166; Loupis, "Ottoman Nautical Charting and Miniature Painting," 377–391.

¹¹³ Hepworth argues, based on the aesthetics, that the binding is from Safavid Persia and roughly contemporary with the manuscript, Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*," 76–77. The binding is colored leather, with a triangular front flap, embossed with a geometric floral medallion and painted with gold on both the inside and outside. It is more likely that the work was an Ottoman binding inspired by Safavid styles, which was typical of eighteenth-century Ottoman bindings, Duncan Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (World of Islam Trust, 1983), 137.

¹¹⁴ This information was conveyed in an email with the curatorial and provenance team at the Walters Art Museum, Dr. Lisa Anderson-Zhu and Dr. Lynley Herbert.

¹¹⁵ The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

¹¹⁶ The "catchwords" refer to words written in lower left hand corner of every verso folio, outside of the textbox, that correspond with the first word in the preceding recto folio. This technique was used by copiers of a text to ensure the proper line-up of folios when binding; such catchwords also can inform the reader if the manuscript has been properly bound.

¹¹⁷ Campbell, "Portolan Charts," 378.

seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ottoman manuscripts.¹¹⁸ There are substantial visual differences between prose and verse as well; prose-based text is arranged in one wide column, while verse-based text is divided into two smaller columns, with a blank column in between.

The Walters' manuscript has a table of contents, or *fihrist*, an encyclopedic chart over three pages (fols. 1b–3b) (Figs. 1.7–1.11), which is an addition to the original manuscript reminiscent of eighteenth-century print-book culture.¹¹⁹ The table of contents consists of a table of six by eight boxes; sea chart titles and their corresponding folio number are written in each box. Thirteen boxes are left blank (fol. 3b), potentially suggesting more maps or sea charts were meant to be included in the manuscript.¹²⁰ The table is arranged by order of appearance in the manuscript. The *fihrist* also created a new interactive experience with the reader. It was not necessary to read or page through the whole manuscript to find information, one can simply use the table of contents as a guide, encouraging the reader to create their own relationship between texts and images.¹²¹

4. *The Text of the Walters' Kitâb-ı Bahriye: Content*

The content of text in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is true to Piri's original text but contains textual additions characteristic of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies made after the mid-sixteenth century. There are four chapters added to Piri's original sea-faring instructions: Chapters of Bay of Bandırma (fol. 367a), Island of Marmara (fol. 368a), Island of Mir Ali (fol. 369b), and the

¹¹⁸ The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation." It was also the script used for eighteenth-century Ottoman printed books, see Yasemin Genç, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript" in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Indiana University Press, 2010), 161–162.

¹¹⁹ The idea of cataloguing or creating encyclopedic entries was not entirely unprecedented in the Islamic world. The Baghdad scholar Ibn al-Nadim had written *al-Fihrist* (The Catalogue) in 987, which had used an encyclopedic form to cataloguing books by their author, subject, geographic location, and chronology, see Devin Stewart, "The Structure of the Fihrist: Ibn al-Nadim as Historian of Islamic Legal and Theological Schools" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 369–87. The cataloguers of the Walters' manuscript also refer to it as a *fihrist*, see The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

¹²⁰ This is possible, as there are ten blank folios in the manuscript.

¹²¹ Scholar Bronwen Wilson describes this as a feature of *isolarii* allowing the reader to create their own meaning and way of engaging with the manuscript, Wilson, "Assembling the Archipelago," 104.

Prince Islands (fol. 370a).¹²² The text can be roughly divided into three sections: Prologue, Seafaring Instructions, and Epilogue (Appendix A and B).

4.1.1. Prologue: Parts One Through Three

The prologue, which can be divided into three subsections, details Piri's relationship to the imperial court and his reasons for writing the book. The first section of the prologue begins with the *besmele* (fol.4b) and prayers for Sultan Süleyman in prose (fol. 5a).¹²³ Piri importantly names all of the Sultans that he worked under, emphasizing his devotion to the current Sultan and his familiarity with the Ottoman court after decades of service. While the explicit purpose of the manuscript is to compile known seafaring knowledge of the manuscript, Piri's self-promotion is evident throughout the work.¹²⁴ The second subsection of the Prologue details Piri's reasons for writing the book (fol. 5a to fol.6a) beginning with the heading, "The Reason Why This Book was Written" in prose text.¹²⁵ Piri explains how he collected the information for this book writing, "I visited the prosperous and ruined places, the harbors, the waters, the reefs in the sea and the shallow areas along the shores of the Mediterranean region and the islands nearby with Kemal Reis and other fighters of Islam (*gâzîs*)."¹²⁶ Piri proudly associates his imparted knowledge with his service in the navy, his proximity to his famous uncle Kemal Reis, and his dedication to pursuing religious conquest.

The third section of the prologue prepares the reader for the seafaring texts of the manuscript with a global introduction to the seas and seafaring, imploring the reader to make multilayered meanings between text and image. The last subsection of the Prologue (Appendix B) reveals that Piri assumes the reader is unfamiliar with seafaring and consequently prepares the reader with an explanation of sea charts and navigational practices (fol. 6a to fol. 39a). Piri begins by informing the reader how to understand sailing through his description of a compass:

¹²² The additional chapters are additions to the original Piri Reis text, but a classic feature of the mid-sixteenth-century copies of the work. Therefore, despite their being "additional," they can still be characterized as sixteenth century. For an accounting of the additional textual elements to later copies, see Orbay, "İstanbul Viewed," 174–175.

¹²³ The prayer for the Sultan is in prose and begins with the classic invocation *besmele* prayer, "In the name of God, most Gracious, the Most Merciful." Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 19. *Bismillâhirrahmânirrahîm*.

¹²⁴ Emirlioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge*, 26.

¹²⁵ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 20. *Der Beyân-i sebeb-i Te'lîf Kitâb*.

¹²⁶ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 20. *İşbu üslûb üzerinedür ki Akdeniz kenarlarının ve / cezîrelerinin ma'mûrların ve harâblarının ve limanların / ve suların ve deryâda olan taşların ve sığların sâbıkâ/ Merhûm Kemal Reis ile ve sâyir gâzîler*.

“If you ask me what a compass is
and in what job it is used
it is a round box covered with glass
it has a piece of paper under the glass
that paper has divided into thirty-two parts with lines.”¹²⁷

Piri goes on to inform the reader how to understand the portolan chart conventions, writing:

“The lines of the cities and castles are in red,
While the uninhabited places are in black.”¹²⁸

And continues,

“When we come to the sandy shallows,
They are written as red spots.”¹²⁹

Piri’s explanations of the compass and the portolan chart primes the reader to understand the geographic and topographic information he provides in the sea charts. His detailed instructions for a rather basic function reveals he does not necessarily expect his audience to be sailors or to be familiar with the tools of navigation. Importantly, Piri’s written explanations for the visual signs in sea charts encourages the reader to make meaning out of the manuscript by oscillating between his written text and the sea chart. That is, the written text and the sea charts are to be understood in tandem with, rather than independent of, one another.

In the last section of the prologue, Piri also provides global ethnographic, historical, and mythological descriptions of global seas and cultures, which are accompanied by world maps, to be discussed later in this chapter. The breadth of information that Piri imparts encourages the reader to approach the manuscript’s maps and sea charts through an anthropological lens. Piri’s extensive knowledge beyond the basin of the Mediterranean is on display in “This Chapter Explains Why the Portuguese Settled the Indian Sea,” where he uses a narrative technique to describe the history of the region. Piri writes,

“Now listen to me, I will narrate you the story,
And tell the reason why they settled around India,
And what made them attracted to this region.
Let me make it clear to you the reasons.
The king of Portuguese had died
Ad he left two sons behind
One of these sons took the throne,
And the other escaped to Maghreb, he hid there.”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 32. *Ger pusulayı sorarisen n’ola/ bu gemiciler dilinde ne ola/ bir müdevver hooka ağzı sıraçlı / kağıdı var otus iki köşleli.*

¹²⁸ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 35. *Şehir-i kal’a hatları kızıl olur/ Bıl issiz yer kara ile yazılır.*

¹²⁹ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 35. *Sâfi kumlu sığlara budur nişân/ kim dökülmüşdür kızıl nokta işân.*

¹³⁰ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 38. *Bâis Nedir Ânun Beyândadur/ İşit imdi vasf-ı hâl edem sana / Nice ikdâm etdiler Hind’den yana / Ne sebebdi Portıkal varmasına / Dikkat edüb arayup bulmasına / İşbudur bâis âna ey ehl-i*

By describing the Indian Sea with historical vignettes explaining the circumstances of the Portuguese interest in the region, Piri's historical tale encourages the reader to associate world geography with information beyond seafaring. The section also displays the historical depth of knowledge Piri claimed to have about global cultures that populate the seas he discusses. In "This Chapter Explains the Chinese Sea," Piri offers ethnographic detail about the Chinese people's greeting customs, writing:

"Their greeting ceremonies are also interesting.
They don't utter a word to each other....
No matter they are young, old, children or men,
They just clap their hands together
Then they touch their knees."¹³¹

Piri's ethnographic anecdote is entirely unrelated to seafaring, but it primes the viewer to approach the sea charts and world maps with ethnography in mind. The making of meaning between text and image for the viewer of the manuscript was therefore not limited to descriptions of Piri's visual clues, but also his interest in the customs and histories of peoples.

Furthermore, Piri's prologue also provides economic and inland topographical information, encouraging the viewer to also view the sea charts in light of commercial endeavors and natural resources. In "This Chapter Talks about the Cities along the Mogadishu Shores," Piri discuss the exports of Mogadishu,

"They go around the Land of Habeş
and collect all the gold they have
ivory and ebony comes from there
and also the unprocessed amber comes from there
There are many elephants with a single tusk.
Don't have doubts and believe me in that
For it is Habeş where the biggest of elephant tusks come from."¹³²

Piri's discussion of the goldmines and ivory are by necessity strictly land-based exports, but reveal that Piri wants the reader to understand the geopolitical and economic importance of the regions he describes. His addition of commercial information encourages the reader to view the sea charts through the lens of natural resources, not just seafaring information.

dil / Şerh edeyim kim oları dahî bil / Portikal 'un sâhibi çün fevt olur / Yerine ânun iki oğlu kalur / Tahta geçer birisi ânun hemân / Biri kaçır Mağrîbe."

¹³¹ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 54. *Bir de görsen nasıl verirler selâm / o sırada hiç söylemezler kelâm / Gene, çocuk, yaşlı böyle yaparlar / ellerini birleştelerince birbirine / Dizlerini değirirler ötekine.*

¹³² Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 65. *Dolaşur işbu Habeş etrâfını / Hem Alurlar ol yerün zer bâfını / Fildişi hem abinus andan gelür / dahî anber-hâm ki anda çoğ olur / Niçe fil var dışleri birdür hemân / Şek getürme bu söze gel sen inan / Ulu dişler kim Habeş'den ol gerlir.*

4.2.1. Sea Chart-Accompanying Seafaring Texts

Following the prologue, is the “seafaring” text, which is the most substantial part of Piri’s work. Spanning prayers, cartographic explanations, anthropological and historical intrigue and practical sea-faring instructions, Piri’s expands on the breadth of the prologue by adding accompanying sea charts to illustrate his texts. In prose, this part of the text consists of chapters with accompanying sea charts (fol. 39a to 370a) that detail the physical terrain of the sea chart, but also give information about peoples, names, and shallow waters. The folios begin to be numbered by double-folio, navigable by the opening *fihrist*. Each chapter is connected to one or more sea charts. The level of detail and length of the text is dependent on the chapter, some are multiple pages long and others do not even fill a full page.

The sea chart chapters give much practical advice to the seafarer, such as measurements, guides for anchoring, and drinking water. In the chapter “This Chapter the Environs of Avlona are described” Piri writes “There is another church in ruins on the East... In front of this church drinking water can also be found.”¹³³ Piri offers practical recommendations based on first-hand knowledge for the person on the seas—considering the needs of the ship and of the people on board (drinking water). He also gives very specific measurements for his descriptions, writing for example, that the island Çuha is “located fifteen miles southwest of Benefşe cape and measures sixty miles in circumference.”¹³⁴ Piri’s writing primes the reader to investigate the sea charts with the knowledge of how they are to be engaged with from a seafarer’s perspective.

Piri’s text also presents his knowledge of anthropology, etymology, and mythology, which encourage the reader to make connections between history and the depicted towns, topography, and coastlines on display through the sea charts, beyond questions of seafaring. Of the Island of Corfu, Piri explains the “incomparable quality of fine olive oil here. The olive oil here is loaded aboard ships and exported everywhere.”¹³⁵ Of the island of İläki, Piri writes that

¹³³ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 269. *Gün doğusu tarafında / bir hârab kilise dahî var.... / Hem zikr olan kilise önünde içmeğe su bulunur.*

¹³⁴ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 228. *Mezkûr Çuka Adası Benefşe burnunun on beş mil lodos tarafında bir adadur. Ol adanun dâyiresi altmış mildür.*

¹³⁵ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 264. *Mezûr adda bî-bedel hûb zeyt yağı / olur. Ol yağ ile gemiler yüklenür. Her yerlere gider.*

“the island is called Tilo in Greek and Pis-Kopye in the language of the Franks.”¹³⁶ He notes “On the northeast side of Nakşa island there is an uninhabited island called Tenose. Turks call this island Hacılar island because once the pirates from Genoa killed the Turkish pilgrims here.”¹³⁷ Of the castle called Pazro, he writes, “once upon a time there was an infidel prince ruling all the lands of the Franks. This prince placed the good from all around on scales and weighed them recording them officially. That’s why the city is called “scale city.”¹³⁸ Piri even goes as far to discusses mythology in his chapter on the Islands called Sığircıklar, “There is a rumor about Sığircıklar island coming from ancient times. They brought the son of architect Ignato who constructed the Ayasofya church and he died on this island.”¹³⁹ The breadth of Piri’s imparted information reveals the work’s ambitions beyond seafaring, and primes the viewer to view sea charts with local customs, products, and mythology in mind. As is typical of sixteenth-century texts, an Epilogue titled “How This Book was Brought to Completion” with prayers formally ends the manuscript (fol. 376a to fol. 378a).

The probable audience for the Walters’ manuscript was unlikely a seafarer. As a possible addition to the Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library, the Walters’ manuscript was most probably read and studied by a resident of Istanbul within the confines of the library building.¹⁴⁰ As Sezer notes, the practice of visiting libraries for studying and manuscript copying gained popularity in eighteenth-century Istanbul, alongside Mahmud I’s zealous patronage of public libraries both within and outside of the capital city and endowing illustrated books.¹⁴¹ Of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library’s founding *waqfiyya*, or founding document, Sezer observes that the purpose of the library was for the general public, “in the service of those who profit from and copy works on the sciences,” suggesting a diverse intended audience of artists, calligraphers, and students, who

¹³⁶ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 200. *Mezkûr adaya Rûm dilince Tilo ve Efrenç dilince Piskobiye derler.*

¹³⁷ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 206. *Ve ba’dehû sîkr olan Nakşa adasının /poryaz tarafında Tenuse derler bir issiz / ada vardır. Ol adaya Türk tâiyefesi Haciler derler / bir tarihte mezkûr adada kefare harâmîleri hacilari kırmışlar.*

¹³⁸ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 340. *Zaman-ı mâzîde bir kâfir beyi varmış / bütün Efrenç memlektine ol bey hükm edermiş / ânun etrafından malın mezkûr şehirde terazüye koyub / dartub, andan sonar ol malı sabt eyler imiş. Mezkûr şehre ol sebebeden Terazü şehri demişdür.*

¹³⁹ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 212. *Tevârih-i kadîmde işbu Sığircık adalarının hakkında / şöyle hikâyet olunur ki, Ayasofya’nun binasının ören / mi’âr olan İgnatu’nun oğlun mezkûr adaya götürüb / birkamışlar. Mezkûr adada fevt olmuş.*

¹⁴⁰ Sezer, “The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries,” 233.

¹⁴¹ Sezer, “The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries,” 34; 238.

would approach manuscripts through the lens of artistic practice and scientific study in visits to the library.¹⁴² The potential reader of the Walters' manuscript may not have approached the manuscript as simply a repository of immutable content read cover to cover, but as a dynamic physical object meant for close examination and several routes of study, among them painting, calligraphy, and geography. The intended reader may have spent more time copying passages, than reading them. Indeed, with the help of the *fihrist*, the intended reader may have bypassed the text entirely in favor of the sea charts, city views, and world maps.

The variety of textual styles (prose and verse) and modes of writing (geographical, anthropological, historical, economic) implores the reader of the Walters' manuscript to make their own meaning between text and image. As Wilson describes, the text in *isolarii* like the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, "activates" the reader, writing,

"The volumes appeal to readers to reflect on both the mutable nature of buildings, regimes and people and the coextensive experience of the past and the present. Historical events and people are central to the texts, but chronology is not. Instead, the *isolario* is a heterochronous assemblage—a configuration that originates or is formed at different moments—with past events and present conditions, myths and legends overlapping each other rather than falling into a linear sequence of causes and effects."¹⁴³

Indeed, in the making of their own meaning, the reader of Piri's text—likely sitting in Istanbul—is also invited to understand themselves in relationship to places he describes. de Certeau defines navigational texts in two ways: the "map," which he defines as "the knowledge of an order of places," and the "tour," which he defines as combining "spatializing actions" which "organize movements," both of which are evident in Piri's instructions to the reader.¹⁴⁴ The sea charts represent what de Certeau names "memorandums prescribing actions," priming the reader to create meaning between both text and image, and themselves and the sea chart.¹⁴⁵ Unlike maps in the manuscript, which were occasionally updated or changed to reflect new information in the eighteenth-century, Piri's text was not similarly updated after the mid-sixteenth-century. Piri's text also interplays between past and present, both in his active descriptions of history, and more importantly for understanding the reader of the Walters' manuscript, in the outdated information that continued to be copied in later manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Sezer, "The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries," 212.

¹⁴³ Wilson, "Assembling the Archipelago," 104.

¹⁴⁴ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 119.

¹⁴⁵ de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 120.

¹⁴⁶ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 131.

Soucek notes one example where “Tunisia was still described as an Arab sultanate rather than as the Ottoman province it became in 1574.”¹⁴⁷ Thus, the reader is empowered to develop their own itinerary through the work, establishing their own meaning between text and image, past and present, and “place” and “space.”

5. *The Sea Charts of the Walters’ Kitâb-ı Bahriye: Style*

With 228 sea charts and four cartographic city views, the Walters’ manuscript’s aesthetic and territorial scope is eclectic, featuring both faithful renditions of sixteenth-century urban landscapes, new eighteenth-century topography, eighteenth-century painting techniques, and print-like ornamentation.¹⁴⁸ The charts primarily serve as illustrations to Piri’s original text; each chart typically has an accompanying textual section. The text and chart pairings begin with Sultaniye and Kilitbahar and end with the Prince’s Islands. The sea charts are drawn in the typical portolan fashion, with scalloped gold illuminated coastlines, black, green and red rhumb lines indicating the directions of the winds, and black crosses for rocks. At least one, but sometimes two, illuminated compass roses adorn each chart. As is typical, red ink is used to write the names of continents and islands on the map itself and black ink is used to identify ports, architectural features, and the names of cities and towns.¹⁴⁹ The charts are generally larger than the lined area for text and appear in four forms: on the page with text, next to a page with text, next to a page without text, and next to another chart.

Based on forensic evidence of the manuscript, a certain order of operations can be deduced. Before coloring, the sea charts were outlined in black. Afterwards, green, red and black rhumb lines were drawn and gold and color added. Some of the rhumb lines were erased for the sake of coastline features.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 93.

¹⁴⁸ Larger images of the manuscript can be downloaded at The Walters Art Museum, “Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation.”

¹⁴⁹ The ports are indicated with black handwriting in Ottoman Turkish, perpendicular to the coastline, both inland and on the water itself. The label’s location depends on the sea chart’s level of inland detail and whether such a label would impede the depiction of inland detail. In the most elaborate town and city view charts, inland topographical and geographic details are also labeled.

¹⁵⁰ Hepworth, “Production and Date of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,” 74.

5.1.1. Stylistic “Clusters” and Topographical Features

The individual styles of sea charts tend to “cluster” around geographic regions, so that one sea chart is not so much a discrete item, but part of a larger map of a bay, river or sea.¹⁵¹ Groupings are determined stylistically similar based on color scheme, architectural style, and depictions of geographical features. Differences between sea charts are also found in the presence and style of ships, flags, and compass roses. Stylistic clusters appear in the Anatolian coastline (fol. 325a to fol. 343b), Supplemental Maps (fol. 371a to fol. 374a), Eastern Mediterranean coastline (fol. 315b to fol. 324a), among the Nile River (fol. 303b to fol. 310b), the Italian coastline (fol. 187a to fol. 200a), among others. City views often can break up this stylistic sequence with their attention to detail and completion by master artists. The maps of Venice (fols. 185b, 186a) (Figs. 1.12–1.13), Cairo (fol. 307b) (Fig. 1.14), and Istanbul (370b) (Fig. 1.15) all differ from their neighboring maps quite significantly in color, ornamentation, level of detail, and scale. Hepworth connects the style of maps also to the folio gathering.¹⁵²

The Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* has 10 additional sea charts (fol. 366b to fol. 374a) featuring the Sea of Marmara, Istanbul, Caspian Sea, Black Sea, and Sea of Azov, which are standard for *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* editions copied after the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵³ Ultimately, the Walters’ inclusion of the supplementary maps is expected for an eighteenth-century copy manuscript. By adding the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea, the compiler of the manuscript brought the Mediterranean basin to the reaches of the Ottoman capital, necessitating a sea chart of Istanbul. Furthermore, by including the Black Sea and Sea of Azov, the Ottomans included waterways that bordered their empire; the Ottomans had spent the past two centuries fighting with the Russian Empire in Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov. By the eighteenth-century, when this manuscript was made, such battles were recent in memory: by 1713, the

¹⁵¹ Hepworth uses the term “clustering of styles,” which I expand to include geographic groupings, Hepworth, “Production and Date of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,” 76.

¹⁵² Hepworth writes, “Maps of a particular style often correlate with all or conjoint parts of a gathering. The maps on folios 157–166 for example, exhibit an identifying style and also form a single quoin,” Hepworth, “Production and Date of the Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,” 76. Hepworth also suggests that this is up to eight individual artists were involved in the making of this manuscript.

¹⁵³ Orbay’s dissertation discusses depictions of Istanbul in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, coming up with 20 examples in which the Map of Istanbul appears, with at least four stemming from Piri’s longer version of 1526. These are W.658 in the Walters Art Museum, Köprülü Kütüphanesi 171, Topkapı R. 1633, and Bibliothèque nationale de France Suppl. Turc 956, Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 119; The Walters Art Museum, “Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation.”

Russians had lost the Sea of Azov to Sultan Ahmed III in the Treaty of Adrianople; by 1739, the Russians were forced to give up control of Crimea to Sultan Mahmud I in the Treaty of Belgrade.¹⁵⁴ The style and content of the sea charts largely conform to portolan chart conventions within the manuscript, but often feature new and updated topographic information. For example, in the Walters' manuscript, Hepworth notes the role of the Caspian Sea chart (fol. 374a) (Fig. 1.16) with Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724)'s *Nuero Atlas* of 1712.¹⁵⁵ In the Walters' manuscript, blank pages are interspersed between the last ten maps, suggesting perhaps that more charts were meant to be drawn.

The Walters' manuscript has an eclectic array of styles between clustered groupings, and even within them, as seen in topography, color, and ornamentation. Rolling hills punctuate the coastlines, in colors like green, red, blue, and yellow (see fol. 121a) (Fig. 1.17), with only yellow (see 307b) (Fig. 1.18), with only brown (see 342b, 343b) (Figs. 1.19–1.20), and with only green (see fol. 339b, fol. 340b) (Figs. 1.21–1.22). The color of the sea is almost always blank, except for the case of the double-page map of Venice. Rivers are indicated by loose, snake like lines that are sometimes left uncolored like in the sea chart of Istanbul (fol. 370b), sometimes filled in with gold (see fol. 319a) (Fig. 1.23), sometimes filled in with silver (see fol. 324a) (Fig. 1.24), but most often outlined in various shades of blue (see fol. 187a and fol. 220b) (Figs. 1.25–1.26). In some illuminated compass roses, true north is indicated with a black, or black and gold, *fleur-de-lis*, or lily flower.¹⁵⁶ The use of the *fleur-de-lis* is only found in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts; its presence in Ottoman nautical charts is a testament to Mediterranean portolan charts influence on the Ottomans, which began to use a *fleur-de-lis* for “true north” in the fifteenth-century.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1923* (John Murray, 2005), 335; 362.

¹⁵⁵ Goodrich, “Supplemental Maps in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis,” 124; Hepworth, “Production and Date of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,” 76.

¹⁵⁶ Occasionally alongside the *fleur-de-lis*, East is indicated with a black cross, which was another standardization within European sea charts, to indicate the direction of the Holy Land, Jerusalem, from Europe. Examples can be seen in the following sea charts fols. 197a, 198a, 199a, 200a, 201a, 203a, 204a, 206b, 208b, 212b, 212b, 229a, 236b, 238b, 244a, 255a, 259b, 261a, 263a, 289a, 290a, 313b, 315a, 320b, 329a, 330a, 334b, 353a. The *fleur-de-lis* appears for the first time in 14th century portolan maps, see Campbell, “Portolan Charts,” 396. Also see J. Faričić, I. Kljajić, L. Mirošević *et al.*, “Symbolism of Compass Roses on Early Modern Nautical Charts of the Adriatic Sea,” *Journal of Cartography Geographic Information*. 73, (2023): 19–37, especially 27–31. For more information about the religious symbolism, see Mary Channen Caldwell “Flower of the lily’: Late-medieval religious and heraldic symbolism in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 146” *Early Music History* 33 (2014): 1–60.

¹⁵⁷ This can be seen in other late seventeenth-century copies of the work, such as Bologna University Library MS 3609 copy, Köprülü Library MS 171 copy, Topkapı Palace and Museum Library MS R. 1633, and Bibliothèque nationale de France MS sup turc 956.

Architecture appears throughout the manuscript as well, as found in examples of fortresses (see 182b) (Fig. 1.27), churches (see 201a) (Fig. 1.28), mosques (see fol 319a), war tents (see fol. 293a) (Fig. 1.29), and ancient monuments (see fol. 302a) (Fig. 1.30).

5.2.1. Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Painting Style

Ottoman painting during the eighteenth-century was characterized by novel adaptations of European panoramic imagery, shading, color, depth, and volume, which were utilized by Ottoman artists to depict Ottoman subjects. Renda refers to shading, perspective, three-dimensionality, and realism as the defining features of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting.¹⁵⁸ The scholar Esin Atıl agrees, noting that the magnum opus of Ahmed III's reign, the 1720 *Surnâme-i Vehbi* by the Ottoman court artist Abdülcélil Levni implemented innovative use of brushstrokes, gradations of color, linear perspective, and architectural and panoramic backgrounds to approximate European optical techniques.¹⁵⁹ The Walters' sea charts emulate the new techniques and styles of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting. Clean lines, thick paint, dynamism, and a bird's eye perspective accompany the sea charts alongside the introduction of illusory spatial techniques like shading, linear perspective, and spatially appropriately placed units within a singular composition. A sense of depth and perspective is achieved through three-dimensionality, such as the hills that appear bigger in the back than the front (fol. 337b) (Fig. 1.31), linear perspective views of fortresses with shading to approximate three-dimensionality (fol. 200a) (Fig. 1.32), and thin black pen, intricately drawn cross-hatching reminiscent of the aesthetic and techniques of print culture (fol. 130b) (Figs. 1.33). The coloring is also indicative—rather than using opaque singular colors, the artists use a variety of tones, shades, and gradients to achieve volume and perspective. Dynamic scenes are shown as well; volcanos are shown erupting with a broad range of bright gold and red colored flames (see fol. 220b) and the town view of Alanya shows bursting cannons (Fig. 1.34).

The depictions of ships reveal the painters' increasing eighteenth-century integration of three-dimensionality, perspective, and print-like techniques. Images of galleons proliferate

¹⁵⁸ Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends," 50.

¹⁵⁹ Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surnâme* (Koçbank, 1999), 28; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 289–295; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çagman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, trans. by Esin Atıl (Publications of the RCD Cultural Institute, 1974).

throughout the manuscript, though there does not seem to be any apparent order to where, why, or the style of the ships drawn. Ships can appear in black and white cross-hatching (see fol.49a) (Fig. 1.35), in full color (see fol.75b) (Fig. 1.36), in fleets (see fol.82b), (Fig. 1.37) and featuring multiple different styles of boats (see fol. 83b) (Fig. 1.38). Sails are drawn with cross-hatching and shading, showing volume and approximating motion (see fol. 51a and 52b) (Figs. 1.39–1.40), occasionally a shaded smoke cloud appears next to a ship to suggest movement and the firing of cannons (see fol. 208b, fol. 112b, fol. 198a) (Figs. 1.41–1.43), and colored, curved sails and flags reveal movement in the wind. Based on their differing level of completion, and singular hands in particular groupings of sea charts, the ships appear to be one of the final additions to the manuscript.

The Walters' adherence to eighteenth-century Ottoman painting techniques of realism, three-dimensionality, and perspective in depictions of ships are notable in comparison with ship depictions in Ottoman sixteenth century painting. The Ottoman court historian Seyyid Lokman's *Süleymannâme* (History of Sultan Süleyman) from 1579 and the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh* (Cream of Histories) from 1590 (Figs.1.44–1.45) display boats as brightly and opaquely colored, two-dimensional, and static, with very little shading or gradients of color. The Walters' Istanbul looks significantly more similar to a popular and widely painted contemporaneous work, also in the Walters Art Museum, the *Hamse* (Quintet) by Nevizade Atayi (1721). The work, which will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Two, depicts boats with curvilinear lines and gradient shading to approximate three-dimensionality, a singular accurately drawn perspective, and intricate details that attempts realism (Figs. 1.46–1.48). The Walters' *Hamse*, like eighteenth-century Ottoman painting, was influenced by illusory techniques, realistic details, shading, and singular perspective from European prints and drawings, such as Danish artist Melchior Lorck's boats in the Golden Horn (1570) and Stefano Della Bella's print (1656) (Figs. 1.49–1.50).¹⁶⁰

Similar to the Walters' eighteenth-century paintings of ships, the Walters' portrayal of war tents in the depiction of Benghazi, Libya (fol. 293a) also corresponds with eighteenth-century Ottoman print-based aesthetics and three-dimensional painting. There are four depicted tents—illuminated miniatures—drawn with thin black pen, symmetrical hatching, gradations of

¹⁶⁰ Melchior Lorck's works and their effect on Ottoman painting will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two.

color to approximate volume, and vanishing points. Sixteenth-century paintings in works by Seyyid Lokman (Figs. 1.51–1.52) show military tents as brightly and opaquely colored, two-dimensional, blunt domes. In contrast, the eighteenth century Walters' *Hamse* (Fig. 1.53), similar to the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, shows half-opened, three-dimensional military tents shaded in gray scale, opened to a vanishing point in the middle. In the Ottoman court historian Vehbi's *Surnâme-i Vehbi* (1720), describing the fifteen-day circumcision ceremony for Sultan Ahmed III's three sons, tents similar to the Walters' *Hamse* and Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* are drawn by the court artist Abdülcélil Levni, where both gradients and blocks of color create an illusion of space and three-dimensionality. Levni's *Surnâme*, the Walters' *Hamse*, and the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* all bear the style, positioning, and illusory techniques found in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European prints, such as Lorck's depiction of an Ottoman war tent 1575 (Fig. 1.54).¹⁶¹ Lorck's military tent features hatching, an open center leading to a vanishing point, and verisimilitude. The Walters' manuscript therefore shows the influence of both European prints and their corresponding illusory techniques while simultaneously echoing themes in contemporaneous Ottoman painting.

5.3.1. Level of Completion

Certain sea charts can even appear to be hastily finished or incomplete with discrepancies in color, port and sea chart labels, illumination, and outlining. The city of Tyre (fol. 315a) (Fig. 1.55) appears to have some architecture erased, the Mahdiya Fortress (fol. 283b) (Fig. 1.56) still has a light black outline indicating where things in the composition should be placed, and the city of Istanbul (fol. 370b) is left entirely in black and white. Furthermore, a view of the Mediterranean Basin (fols. 63b and 64a) (Fig. 1.57–1.58) has a gold illuminated unfilled-in table in the lower left-hand corner topped with an Islamic crescent. Due to the presence of a black and white drawn mosque near Cairo on 63b, the work was likely meant to record Islam's holiest places.¹⁶² The city of Alexandria (fol. 302a) has black and white domes in a sequence with gold illuminated domes, suggesting that the Alexandrian domes were meant to be illuminated as well.

¹⁶¹ An attention to geometric and proportional accuracy is also on display throughout the manuscript as well. In the depiction of the city of Alexandria (fol. 302a) the domes are seen to have been measured as perfect-half domes with pre-planned mathematical precision. The Fortress of Trieste near Venice (fol. 182b) gives near-perfect singular perspective from a bird's eye view.

¹⁶² The world map (fol. 40b) also has minarets that correspond with Islam's holy places.

A part of the Egyptian coastline (fol. 309b) (Fig. 1.59) has no title, labels, and has faint outlines of palm trees that are neither painted nor drawn. There is also a blank, gold outlined square in the corner next to the text and image of the Fortress Ancona (fol. 192a), perhaps meant to display another compass rose or a close-up view of part of the image but left unfinished. There is no way to determine if the manuscript is “unfinished,” in the sense that the term is not provable or particularly enlightening. The historical record does not give us enough information about the artist or patron’s thoughts on the work to declare its state of completion and plenty of early modern manuscripts have idiosyncrasies within a “final” copy. However, the visual record does reveal discrepancies in the execution of differing sea charts, topography, and coloring within the manuscript related to the artist(s)’ implementation rather than style.

6. *Sea Charts: Coastlines, Islands, and Cities*

For the purposes of my thesis, I have divided the sea charts into three distinct categories: charts of coastlines, charts of islands, and charts of cities. I define charts of coastlines as maps that prominently center the coastline of the mainland, have few or no islands featured, and which only formally nod to inhabited towns and fortresses. Charts of coastlines as I describe them make up the majority of the manuscript with 145 maps. Charts of islands are the second most prominent in the manuscript, with 85 maps. I define island charts as prominently or singularly featuring the full outlines of one or more islands. The charts of cities are the rarest and most puzzling, with only four charts that feature Venice, Cairo, and Istanbul. As I interpret them, the city charts have the topographical rigor to constitute cartographic city views, decentering the seafaring purpose of the manuscript.¹⁶³ The three different kinds of sea charts, as I describe them, prepares the reader to interact with cartographic material that ranged in its portrayal of topographical detail, alternating between “close ups” of town views on coastlines, topographically dense islands, and elaborate cities with more “zoomed out” views of seemingly empty islands, long stretches of uninhabited coastlines, and small fortress towns. Its eclectic arrangement of styles between the three types of charts exemplifies eighteenth-century Ottoman painting’s innovative use of optical illusory techniques and wide-range of aesthetics.

¹⁶³ Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 282; Ebel, “City Views, Imperial Visions” 47–52 and Ebel, “Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire,” 459–467; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 150–155; Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 156–157.

6.1.1. *Charts of Coastlines*

The coastline sea charts vary in level of detail, color, and style, typically based on its regional grouping: bays, seas, straits tend to have the same color scheme, flora and fauna, flags, and architectural style. The reader can often understand all of a coastline from a distance—and the coastlines do portray vast distances themselves as well—but occasionally require that the reader either reorient the page or themselves to properly read the port labels and see the architecture. The perspectives, from a bird's eye view, give the reader a holistic, totalizing view from just a glance, emphasized by the many similar regional styles within the cluster of a certain waterway. The breadth of coastline imagery is clear through a comparison of the coastlines of Anatolia (fol. 343b), Bay of Saronikos (fol. 130b), Tripoli, Lebanon (fol. 319a) (Fig. 1.59) and the Calabria (fol. 212b) (Fig. 1.60). The Anatolian coastline is craggy, with layered mountains in brown and red, hidden hilltop towns, and rivers flowing into the Mediterranean. The coastline of the Bay of Saronikos is much more flat, with a landscape covered in hills, trees, and the color green. The fortress at the center is made with thin black pen, golden illuminated roofs, and attention to record every window, door, and corner of architecture. The coastline of Tripoli Lebanon is shaped by several rivers (in gold illumination) pouring into the Mediterranean, the proliferation of small green trees, small, red roofed generic residential structures, and exquisitely and largely drawn mosques of varying styles. The Calabrian coastline is outlined in yellow, as opposed to the red that appears in the other coastlines discussed, and features a landscape of colorful ovular hills in pink, purple, blue, yellow, green and red. Fortresses are seen on the hills, with triangular roof churches and nondescript architecture, and towers with gold illumination.

Charts of coastlines often include town views, which are distinct from how I define city views. Town views, as I define them, are represented by architecture like fortresses, castles, churches, and walled cities, represented by more generic symbols rather than intricate, identifiable architectural and topographic detail. The town view appears as a “coastline with a town represented,” rather than a “representation of a town with a coastline.” I agree with Orbay description that towns were “visual aids to seaman as landmarks” which were part of a “cumulative symbolic vista” rather than the particularities of urban fabric.¹⁶⁴ The Fortress of Alanya (fol. 329a) is a clear example of an elaborate town view, where the city walls show

¹⁶⁴ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 155.

expert use of perspective and shading, the density of the walled town is made clear through numerous small residential architecture, and three-dimensional, dynamism is depicted through an action scene of bursting cannons. Still, the city does not command the entire composition, lacks labels of the city's important architecture, and only provides a few examples of identifiable architecture. The city of Alexandria (fol. 302a) is a similarly complex town view, portrayed from a single bird's eye viewpoint with a perspective plan. Its depiction is rich with intra-mural nondescript and identifiable architecture portrayed, such as Pompey's Pillar (298-302 AD), with accurately executed shading and linear perspective. I consider it a town view because it is schematized, smaller than what I define as city views, and appears on an otherwise relatively blank coastline. The town views along the coastlines can be ornate, but ultimately do not detract from the seafaring purpose of the manuscript, making them primarily sea charts rather than cartographic city views.

6.2.1. *Charts of Islands*

Of all the charts, the Walters' sea charts of islands are most similar aesthetically with scalloped coastlines, eclectic arrangements of coastal and inland topography, and multiple viewpoints. Larger and more important islands tend to be featured on their own, while smaller islands and clusters of islands appear together in one composition. I identify island sea charts as those which feature the entire perimeters of an island (even if some mainland coastline is visible). In a comparison of the sea charts of the Islands of Crete (fol. 352a) (Fig. 1.61), Rhodes (fol. 103a) (Fig. 1.62), and Malta (fol. 222b) (Fig. 1.63), the schema of each is very similar, with scalloped coastlines, portolan chart conventions, spotted towns, hills, and gardens. In island sea charts, the topographical information is often superimposed rather than realistic—appearing as singular hills or towns within a largely blank landscape, as opposed to appropriately placed to create a singular urban fabric. Colors, architectural styles, and painting technique differ between the charts, but are aligned with the regional styles and colors of their particular waterways. Smaller islands also appear—these are typically completely colored in, with little or no architectural or topographical features, and may or may not be labeled.

The island sea charts are important because they develop a new artistic scale for portolan charts in the manuscript and demand a new form of viewing from the reader. The large islands

are shown in a “close up,” taking up the majority of the compositions and placed in the middle of their pages. This in-depth view of the islands, in contrast to the more “zoomed out” coastlines, requires the reader to oscillate between different ranges of viewing. Indeed, even without a provided scale on the sea chart to properly measure distance, the island sea charts are drawn at a larger scale than the coastlines. Multiple perspectives—sometimes as many as four—and a full perimeter of coastlines also require the reader of every island sea chart to reorient the image to properly read the port labels and view the topography. With the islands often drawn separately from coastlines, the reader views the island as completely separate from its surrounding islands, coastlines, and waterways and must imagine its relationship to other coastlines, seas, and islands. Opposed to the coastlines, which guide the viewer on a mostly linear and traceable journey, the island sea charts feel unmoored from the greater manuscript. Wilson describes the distinct and separate depictions of island charts as “liberating the reader from the itinerary that the codex format lays out” allowing the reader to create their own meaning and way of engaging with the manuscript.¹⁶⁵ Wilson rightfully reveals that island sea charts conditioned the reader to a decontextualized form of viewing.

6.3.1. *Charts of Cities: Cartographic City Views*

There are three distinct city views within the manuscript: Venice (fols. 185b–186a), Cairo (fol. 305a) (1.43) and Istanbul (fol. 370a) (1.44), which reveal the artist’s mastery of eighteenth-century painting techniques, great knowledge of the cities they depict, and largely architecturally accurate views of the urban fabric. The extravagant appearance of this selection of cities is not unusual, but a typical feature of the more illustrious versions of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript.¹⁶⁶ Rather than signposting important monuments with a generic castle or fortress like in town views, these city views are cartographic atlases to the urban fabric of their cities. Orbay explains that such views “accomplish alone a topographical description” because of their level of detail.¹⁶⁷ Curiously, the cities of most importance in the Walters’ manuscript are all cities from the Eastern Mediterranean. This is not particularly surprising; the Eastern

¹⁶⁵ Wilson, “Assembling the Archipelago,” 104.

¹⁶⁶ I am not the only one to have noticed the level of topographic detail in certain city views of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* maps. For more information on this tradition, see J.M. Rogers, “Ottoman Town Views,” 231–235; Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 282–284; Ebel, “Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire,” 459–467; Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 151–162.

¹⁶⁷ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 156.

Mediterranean generally is the compositional focus of the manuscript and is where Piri spent the majority of his career. Furthermore, each of the cities had strategic and military importance to the Ottomans: the Venetians were one of the Ottomans' chief rivals, Cairo was the Ottoman's most lucrative port, and Istanbul, of course, was the capital of the Empire.¹⁶⁸ Contrary to Cairo and Istanbul, Venice is relatively uniform with the larger history of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts and, while an important Ottoman adversary, not a city that Piri knew well, which is why it is outside the scope of this thesis. Orbay has suggested that, due to the lack of text on Venice compared with Istanbul and Cairo, the city view of Venice could potentially show the "limits of [Piri's] geographical knowledge."¹⁶⁹

7. *World Maps and Wind Rose in the Walters' Kitâb-ı Bahriye*

7.1.1. *World Maps: Four Different Views of the World*

The Walters' manuscript's inclusion of three world maps and an illuminated wind rose with a globe forces the reader to oscillate between Ottoman and European influences of past and present. In the Walters' manuscript, four world maps are included: the Ovular World Map with the Pacific Ocean as the Center (Map 1) (Fol. 23b) (Fig. 1.65), Western Hemisphere Globe view (Map 2) with a wind rose (fol. 24b) (Fig. 1.66–1.70), Double Hemisphere World Map (Map 3) (Fol. 40b) (Figs. 1.71–1.73) and the Ovular World Map with the Atlantic Ocean at the Center (Map 4) (Fig. 1.74) (41b).¹⁷⁰ Maps 1 and 4 are most similar as ovular world maps with gold outlined continents, lines of latitude and longitude, red handwritten labels of equatorial degrees, continents, and seas; Maps 2 and 3 are most similar as print-like, black and white maps with Baroque-like forms and ornamentation. Map 1 offers an accounting of the world's seas and

¹⁶⁸ For more information on the fifteenth and sixteenth century naval rivalry between Venice and the Ottomans, see Palmira Brummett, "Foreign Policy, Naval Strategy, and the Defence of the Ottoman Empire in the Early Sixteenth Century" *The International History Review* 11, no. 4 (1989): 613–27. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40106085>.

¹⁶⁹ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 159.

¹⁷⁰ Maps 1 and 2 appear are in the prologue section of the text, in the "In The Chapter Above We Explained why a Map is Called a Map and the Seven Seas, Mentioning the Characteristics of These Seas. Now Starting with the Chinese Sea Let's Talk about the Seven Seas" ostensibly illustrating the larger world geography Piri describes. Map 1 is integrated into the text, squeezed between two blocks of text; Map 2 is on the following page, figured as a globe within a radiating "wind rose," or compass for winds. Maps 3 and 4 face each other, becoming their own double folio world map illustration, between the first two chapters of the main seafaring text "This Chapter Explains the Castles called Sultaniye and Kilitbahir" (fol. 39a) and "This Chapter Describes the Island of Bozca Ada" (fol. 41b), but are entirely unrelated to the subject of the chapters. The Walters Art Museum, "Walters Ms. W. 658, Book on Navigation."

continents in readable bright red ink amidst a numbered equatorial line, Map 2 positions the central globe within radiating circles of military and Baroque imagery, Map 3 offers a European-based view of the world with topographic and religious sites featured, and Map 4 is an imperfectly inverted and enlarged view of the information offered in Map 1. The viewer of Maps 1 and 4 could easily understand the image from far away and read the labels which identify the seas and continents, while the viewer of Maps 2 and 3 would need to spend time with the image up close with prior geographical knowledge to understand the continents, seas, rivers, lakes and mountains depicted. The vertical orientations of the horizontal Maps 3 and 4 would also require the viewer to either move themselves or the manuscript to properly orient the image. Contradictions abound between the world map's topography as well, allowing the viewer to develop their own unique impression of the world's geography. While the two ovular world maps (1 and 4) are similar in painting style, handwriting, and composition, the outlines of continents actually differ between the two. Inconsistency and internal contradictions between maps was a feature of early modern geographical manuscripts of both Ottoman and European origin, and thus, would not be surprising to the viewer.¹⁷¹

7.2.1. *The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Print-Like Aesthetics and Baroque Forms*

Most important to my study of the Walters' manuscript, Maps 2 and 3 reveal an openness to European forms, print-based aesthetics, and Baroque-inspired forms reminiscent of Ottoman print culture and imperial styles during the reign of Mahmud I. The Ottomans were familiar with the technology of print and were avid collectors of European printed materials, as evidenced by the Topkapı Palace Treasury.¹⁷² From its inception in the fifteenth-century, print culture had flourished in Ottoman minority communities of Jews, Armenians, and Greeks.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the first state-sanctioned printing press for Arabic and Ottoman Turkish language materials was

¹⁷¹ The subject of topographical accuracy is not the subject of this thesis, but for more detail see Emily Zoss, "An Ottoman View of the World: The Kitab Cihannüma and Its Cartographic Contexts," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Indiana UP, 2010), 206–207.

¹⁷² Gençer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript," 155; Ünver Rüstem, "Mapping Cosmopolitanism," 188–248.

¹⁷³ Much scholarship of print in the Ottoman Empire has argued that the Ottomans late adoption of the printing press was due to a printing ban on religious grounds, a theory, which has recently been seriously reconsidered, and even argued by scholars like Kathryn A. Schwartz, to be a false one, Kathryn A. Schwartz, "Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?" *Book History* 20 (2017): 1–29; Gençer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript," 155–156.

founded by the Transylvanian-born Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1747), in 1727, with explicit permission from Ahmed III. Müteferrika blended the aesthetics of the manuscript form (colophons, “catchwords” and *naskh* calligraphic script) with the new technologies of printed works, like tables of contents, page numbers, cartouches, and European ornamentation.¹⁷⁴ Yasemin Gençer uses the term “printed manuscript” to describe Müteferrika’s works, which she defines as “a term that suggests the production method of the printed book while connoting the appearance of the “manually” produced manuscript tradition through the preservation and appropriation of a variety of elements typical of the Islamic manuscript tradition.”¹⁷⁵ In tandem with the rise of the “printed manuscript,” is what Rüstem defines as “Ottoman Baroque,” Mahmud’s imperial style, described as a revolution where “round and multilinear arches replaced pointed ones, *muqarnas* dissolved into curvilinear scrolls and fleshy vegetal designs supplanted geometric arabesques” starting in the 1740’s.¹⁷⁶ Forms popular in contemporaneous Europe, stemming from a shared Classical history, appeared on buildings, printed books, and pottery through the form of c-scrolls, s-scrolls and acanthus leaf motifs.¹⁷⁷ Acanthus leaf patterns were well known to the Ottomans, appearing as swirling vegetal patterns on the headdress of the European drawing of Mehmed II known as *El Gran Turco* (Fig. 1.75); acanthus-leaf capitals are seen in Sultan Mahmud’s Hagia Sophia soup kitchen as early as 1741. In 1732, Müteferrika printed five-hundred copies of Kâtib Çelebi’s *Cihannüma*, which embellished Çelebi’s textual work with seventeen European-inspired decorative cartouches in Baroque style with vegetal imagery, s-scrolls, c-scrolls that look quite similar to European predecessors and were drawn in

¹⁷⁴ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 207–210; Gençer, “Ibrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript,” on *naskh* script, 161–162; on colophons, 168; on catchwords, 168, on technology of the printed press, 180.

¹⁷⁵ Gençer, “Ibrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript,” 156.

¹⁷⁶ Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 70.

¹⁷⁷ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 190. Rüstem argues that the “Ottoman Baroque” style was a sophisticated and self-conscious adaptation of Baroque forms for Ottoman purposes, made by a cross-cultural group of artists with a wide array of influences, rather than a reductive, one-way story of “westernization,” Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 90, 274. Rüstem importantly argues that any such history of the style must “separate Western-derived forms from the notion of Westernization.” The Ottomans after all, have been were the inheritors to the city of Constantinople, the former capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and the Byzantines, a heritage that was pivotal to Ottoman self-fashioning, Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 274. For more reading about the relationship of the Ottomans to the Romans and Byzantines, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*; Gülrü Necipolgu, “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture” in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Brill, 1997), 32–34; Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 274–275.

part by an Armenian artist.¹⁷⁸ Müteferrika's copy was popular, selling 251 copies of his 500 print run by 1744, making Ottoman imperial artists likely aware of its contents and styles.¹⁷⁹

The interplay between print and manuscript painting is clear in Map 2's wind rose. The entire composition is drawn with thin black lines, contoured hatching, and minute detail that resembles a print—it is only after sustained looking that one can see the individual strokes that make it a drawing. Winding Equatorial, latitude, and longitudinal lines are indicative of the influence of printed European cartography.¹⁸⁰ The radiating triangles, thirty-two in all, feature the instruments of war such as cannons, tents, plumes of smoke. The cannons and tents look remarkably similar to prints, with hatching, shading, linear perspective, and an illusion of three-dimensionality, which precipitates the painted tents and cannons throughout the larger manuscript.¹⁸¹ The “true north” signifier is styled as multi-layered minaret—a column on a pedestal on a column on a pedestal with a conical multitier top—with acanthus leaf capitals. The acanthus leaf column, with its hatching, thin black lines, and exquisite attention to detail, looks print-like, reminiscent of the emergence of Ottoman state-sanctioned print culture. The column, as it appears in the Walters' wind rose may have been inspired by the frontispiece of a contemporaneous Armenian printed manuscript (Fig. 1.76). Printed in Istanbul in 1719, Zenob Glak's *Girk' patmut'eants' erkrin Tarōnoy* or *The History of Taron* uses a printed format to depict a fantastical multitier column with major similarities with the Walters' column, including the bulb and tear-shaped toppers, the acanthus leaf capitals, the symmetrical hatching on the sides to create the sense of volume and the inclusion of two rectangular, engraved pedestals (one vertical and one horizontal, respectively).¹⁸² Amid the wind rose's radiating triangles is a winding arabesque-like vegetal pattern.¹⁸³ The thin black lines, symmetrical hatching, and

¹⁷⁸ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 189–204; Zoss, “An Ottoman View of the World,” 202–212.

¹⁷⁹ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 206.

¹⁸⁰ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 193, 206.

¹⁸¹ Indeed, their inclusion in this wind rose can be seen as an introduction to a reoccurring theme throughout the manuscript's contents, itself an indication of the work's patron's *gâzi*-warrior status; the Nuruosmaniye Mosque was erected only after Mahmud I had recently gained his warrior title through defeating the Habsburgs in 1739.

¹⁸² The Armenian community in Istanbul was famous for their cosmopolitanism with frequent travel to Europe, access to European printed sources, and an aesthetic sensibility toward synthesizing Ottoman, Armenian, and Western styles. Indeed, Istanbulite Armenians had begun to use the printing press in 1567 and were familiar with the techniques of three-dimensionality, shading and perspective. Müteferrika's *Cihannüma* was illustrated, in part, by an Armenian Istanbulite, see Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 219–227.

¹⁸³ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 190.

shading do make the work appear print-like and the acanthus leaf pattern nods to the classical antiquity themes revived by eighteenth-century Baroque style in Europe, while also reminiscent of Ottoman floral arabesque patterns found in textiles, ceramics, and painting.¹⁸⁴

Cartographically and stylistically, Map 3 is an eighteenth-century map made in the image of European printed maps and likely a later insertion into the Walters' manuscript. Map 3 is a vertically-oriented black and white double hemisphere world map with the Atlantic Ocean at the center; the outlines of continents—which include the Great Lakes of North America—are clearly based on French cartographer Guillaume de L'Isle's world map, published in Paris in 1700 (Fig. 1.77). The map was determined by Hepworth to be on a third type of paper, indicating it was a later addition.¹⁸⁵ Unlike the previous Walters' world maps, Map 3 contains stylistic details that indicate the physical topography throughout the continents: shaded triangles indicate major mountain ranges, symmetrical hatching alongside the coasts indicates the seas, and winding black lines indicate major rivers. Similar to a later sea chart of the Mediterranean basin in the manuscript (fols. 63b–64a), double balconied conical minarets identify important Muslim cities and pilgrimage sites located in Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne. Ships also appear: one ship is drawn in thin pen and painstaking detail amid waves in the ocean in the Pacific Ocean, three ships with intricately drawn, multi-colored clouds of smoke appear in the Atlantic Ocean. Similar to Map 2, equatorial, longitudinal, and latitudinal lines are drawn—the black and white coloring, thin lines, and precision approximating a print and the cartographical conventions reminiscent of European maps—without close looking, the map could easily be mischaracterized as a print.

The most significant aspect of Map 3 is its Baroque-inspired cartouche (Fig. 1.72). The cartouche is black and white, hatched, ovular in shape and framed with a leafy garland. S-scrolls and c-scrolls are visible through the cartouche's architectural-like folded scrolls, reminiscent of foundational motifs of eighteenth-century Ottoman Baroque style.¹⁸⁶ The “Globe of the Earth

¹⁸⁴ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 196. For more information about the role of Ottoman floral ornamentation, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, “Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures,” in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülrü Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton University Press, 2016) 132–155.

¹⁸⁵ Hepworth, “Production and Date of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*,” 76.

¹⁸⁶ Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 196–198.

and Sea” inside the cartouche is written as negative space amid a black background, similar to the raised relief effect of a wood print.¹⁸⁷ Cartouches were a fundamental part of European printed mapmaking and atlases, ostensibly included to identify the title and artist, but often featuring elaborate designs with architecture, people, and vegetation depicted. Cartouches are plentiful in European printed atlases in the Topkapı Palace Library, such as Wilhelm Blaeu’s *Atlas Maior* (1662) and Gerhard Mercator’s *Atlas Minor* (1607). Similarities can be seen between the Walters’ cartouche and those of Hondius-Mercator, where a shaded medallion is made of scroll-like architecture, like that of Mercator-Hondius’s map of the Venezuela from 1630 (Fig. 1.78). Furthermore, individual studies of cartouches, such as the prints of Stefano della Bella (Fig. 1.79) show significant similarities with its leafy garland, draping, and black and white shading. The style and usage of the Walters’ cartouche, emphasized by its print-like aesthetic, is evidence of the Walters’ manuscript’s participation in a cosmopolitan environment of European and Ottoman prints, cartography and Baroque styles amidst the cartographical contents of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁸

8. Conclusion

The Walters’ *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript is “packaged” in eighteenth-century style and additional ornamentation, but the copy is based on the mid-sixteenth-century text. It may have been commissioned by Mahmud I for his Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library and completed sometime between 1749 and 1755. It was possibly completed in the royal painting atelier or purchased from a mapmaking guild in Istanbul. The Walters’ manuscript is clearly influenced by two centuries worth of Ottoman painting, Ottoman sea charts, European prints, European maps, and Baroque forms, while also largely conforming textually to later expanded sixteenth-century copies. The manuscript forces the viewer to navigate between different registers—close and far between sea charts of islands, coastlines, and cities, past and present between the work’s text, the urban fabrics of cities and towns and the painting technique used—encouraging a multivalent and interactive viewing experience. Because of the *fihrist*, the reader is able to “choose their own

¹⁸⁷ Literally *Küre-i arz ve mâ*, meaning world map or mappamundi (Globe of Land and Water), written كورة الأرض و الماء in Ottoman Turkish.

¹⁸⁸ For information on Ottoman printed cartouches and their relationship to the Baroque in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, see Rüstem, “Mapping Cosmopolitanism,” 194–216.

adventure” outside of the itinerary laid out originally by Piri. The reader must move the object or themselves to properly orient the text, the image, and the text annotated on top of images. Clearly much more than a seafaring guide, the work is an aesthetic, ethnographic, and literary picture of the Ottoman world between two centuries—though not always accurate to the time period being described. The intended prospective reader may have been a visitor to the Nuruosmaniye Library. Its extensive illumination and attention to inland detail suggests that the work may have been meant for a land-based viewer, rather than a seafarer. Most curiously, the work has additional world maps with ornamentation that is clearly Baroque and print-inspired. While the work can be roughly assigned a *terminus post quem*, its mid-eighteenth-century sensibility abounds throughout the work's multifaceted engagement with urban fabrics, painting, and print culture.



CHAPTER TWO THE WALTERS' ISTANBUL: A VIEW FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

“It is not the sun or the moon, but still the center of the world
The skies have looked upon this world with two eyes

How wonderful this nice city ornamented with jewels
How populated it is as the assembly of friends

To its north, seas converge delightfully
Its seven hills are beautiful and handsome

All belong to it, both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean
The sea of trees and the sea of men”¹⁸⁹

Defterdârzâde Cemâli Ahmed, *Şehrengiz of Istanbul* (1564)

1. Introduction

The Walters' Istanbul map (Fol. 370a) (Fig. 2.1–2.12) adapts the conventions and painting techniques of two centuries of Ottoman and European Istanbul city view precedents to reflect the real-life eighteenth-century city's extramural urbanization of the Bosphorus shores. In this chapter, I will begin with an introduction to Istanbul's pictorial history, considering how Ottoman and European sources from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries are made manifest in the Walters' Istanbul. I will build on my art historical analysis by discussing the Walters' Istanbul from a topographic and urban historical perspective, showing that the city not only features eighteenth-century architecture, but presents a city fabric “activated” by the eighteenth-century spatial practices of inhabitants, both elites and citydwellers. As the latest extant copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript, I argue that the Walters' Istanbul's innovative collage of painting techniques, aesthetics, and representational modes creates a calculated depiction of a rich, urbanized capital city with a ceremonial focus on the Bosphorus shores and land-based viewership.

¹⁸⁹ B. Deniz Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul* (Ashgate, 2014), 131–132, see footnote 70 (p. 180 of same) for transliteration.

2. *Istanbul in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye: Text and History*

The addition of the Istanbul sea chart to the Walters manuscript is unsurprising for an eighteenth-century copy of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. Istanbul is not an indigenous part of either the 1521 and 1526 *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts, but became a common addition to copies of the manuscript in the mid-sixteenth century, appearing in twenty copies.¹⁹⁰ Early *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* Istanbul map additions from the 1550's were quite distinct from each other and were very likely not Piri's contribution.¹⁹¹ Istanbul's absence in early *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies reflects its absence in Piri's original text, which confined sea charts and seafaring texts to his itinerary along the coastlines of the Mediterranean Sea and Nile River. The reason for Istanbul's addition can only be speculated, but was often accompanied by other sea chart additions of the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. In some cases, like in the case of the Istanbul sea chart in the Khalili Collections' Khalili Portolan Atlas, additional up-close sea charts were also made of Istanbul's suburban districts, like Galata.¹⁹² The Istanbul sea charts within extant *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies vary significantly, differing in number of pages, orientation, color, and architecture pictured.¹⁹³ Orbay argues that the Istanbul maps of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts, including the Walters' Istanbul, can be categorized as a group that takes on a stable iconographic character beginning in 1570.¹⁹⁴

Within an imperial book of Mediterranean port cities and coastlines, where the Ottomans were in implicit comparison with their neighboring rival empires, the presence of a sea chart of

¹⁹⁰ Orbay discusses twenty instances of the Istanbul map in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscripts that appear in both the long and shorter editions of the manuscript, in addition to Istanbul maps which she deems part of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* tradition, that appear in albums, see her list, Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 118–119. For the list on which Orbay's is based, see Thomas Goodrich, "Supplemental Maps in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye of Piri Reis," 124. Orbay is the main authority on the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, "Istanbul Viewed," 117–299. Other scholars have briefly mentioned Istanbul in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, most prominently in Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 169 and Kafescioğlu, "Urban Mapping in the Ottoman Empire," 1589; Renda, "Haritacilik ve Ressamlık: Tarihî Belgesi Haritalar," 195–197; Cevat Ülkekel, *Pîrî Reis ve Türk Kartograflarının çizgileriyle: XVI., XVII., ve XVIII. yüzyıllarda İstanbul* (Boyut, 2013), 122–131; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 132–140.

¹⁹¹ Orbay surmises that the addition and iconography is not Piri's handiwork too, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 120.

¹⁹² For more information on the Khalili Atlas, see Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 132–140. Interestingly, the Walters' *fihrist* mentions a sea chart of Istanbul, Galata, and Üsküdar (fol. 3b), while the sea chart itself is labeled "*Bilâd-ı Tayyibe Konstantiniyye*," a term used to reference the greater metro area of the city, meaning "Blessed City of Constantinople." Given that the folio following the sea chart of Istanbul is blank, it is possible additional sea charts of Galata and Üsküdar were originally planned here. It is unlikely that an additional text was planned for these blank pages, given that the Walters manuscript's text faithfully copies other later sixteenth-century copies.

¹⁹³ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 303.

¹⁹⁴ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 303.

Istanbul was an important imperial counterweight to other cities on sumptuous display in the manuscript like Venice.¹⁹⁵ While the text of the manuscript *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* remained relatively stable over two centuries, sea charts were updated in topographical detail, geographic information, and style of illumination. I concur with Orbay's argument that the addition of Istanbul underscores the seafaring basis of the manuscript and its imperial significance, both practical and ideological.¹⁹⁶ Istanbul was the vantage point of the imperial household, a city intimately connected with seafaring through four different waterways (the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Golden Horn), and the starting point for imperial campaigns by sea and land. In the minds of the Ottomans, Istanbul had historical centrality to the empire and to world geography; the Topkapı Palace gate inscribed Mehmed II as the sovereign of "the two lands and the two seas."¹⁹⁷ The claim to universal rulership continued in the sixteenth-century, as shown most evidently in the chapter's opening epigraph, where the poet claims that the city is the "center of the world" and that "All belong to it, both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean."¹⁹⁸ By including a sea chart of the Black Sea among Mediterranean sea charts, the Ottoman cartographers achieved two goals: the geographically logical imperative to add an Istanbul sea chart, as the city that connects the "two seas," and the cartographic manifestation of Mehmed II's proclamation to world kingship. Furthermore, Istanbul as an addition was logical; the city's multiple waterways were self-evidently relevant for a book on seafaring likely acquired and created in the capital city, where Istanbul-based artists could authoritatively draw with real-life experience and a variety of European prints and Ottoman paintings available in the Palace Treasury.

The additional sea chart of Istanbul in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies is often accompanied by a later-added textual chapter about the *Kızıl Adalar*, or Princes' Islands, in the Sea of Marmara off

¹⁹⁵ This will be explored in greater detail in the following chapter, but the role of elaborate city views of Venice and Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* can be seen in Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 236; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 73–76; Kafescioğlu, "Urban Mapping in the Ottoman Empire," 1588; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 140–158.

¹⁹⁶ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 303.

¹⁹⁷ Cemal Kafadar, "The City Opens Your Eyes Because It Wants to Be Seen: The Conspicuity and Lure of Early Modern Istanbul," In *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, eds. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Brill, 2021), 29.

¹⁹⁸ Çalış-Kural, *Sehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism*, 131–132.

the southern coast of Istanbul's Asian side.¹⁹⁹ The additional chapter is the only connection linking the sea chart of Istanbul to the greater manuscript's text. Like Orbay, I agree that the chapter, similar to the addition of the Istanbul sea chart, was unlikely made by Piri.²⁰⁰ The Walters' manuscript includes this additional chapter (fol. 370a), which shares a folio with the Istanbul sea chart. As Orbay notes, however, the need for an illustration of the Princes' Islands to accompany the Princes' Islands chapter actually served as a "pretext" to include Istanbul in the manuscript. This is supported by the fact that main focus in most of the other *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* Istanbul illustrations is Istanbul itself, with some copies not even including the Princes' Islands at all.²⁰¹ The text therefore leaves the reader on the precipice of the imperial city—at the Princes' Islands—but does not delve into the details of the city or the city's waterways itself, allowing the viewer—perhaps a resident or visitor of Istanbul in the Nuruosmaniye Library—to understand the context of the image through visual clues.

Later copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* like the Walters' manuscript, which include sumptuous illustrations of the city of Istanbul without any accompanying textual section detailing seafaring instructions, reveal a possible new intent to Piri's stated seafaring, practical purpose in later produced imperial versions. Piri's original focus on the Mediterranean based on his personal experiences seems to be remodeled in the Walters' manuscript to reflect cosmopolitan and global ambitions through the inclusion of cartographic city views like Istanbul, multiple world maps, and print-like drawings of cannons and war tents. The possible reader of the Walters' manuscript may have been driven by geographic or artistic scholarly interest in the work and could have been able to spend extended periods of time studying the illustrations in the space of the Nuruosmaniye library, free from the distractions of a boat or the open sea, with the benefit of time and publicly available study space. The density of cartographic city views like Istanbul suggest that great care for topographic accuracy was considered in its making and that time with the illustration was required for understanding the image. The possible viewer's use of the manuscript based on the study of its geographic and illustration contents, may have inspired

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of these additional chapters, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 174–176. For a translation and transliteration of the chapter on the Princes' Islands, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 319–320.

²⁰⁰ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 174–175.

²⁰¹ It would have been customary to have depicted the islands in a "large scale" with a "wind rose centered on or near the Burgazlı Island," but the illustrations of the Prince Islands "clearly favours Istanbul," see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 175.

the artists of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies like the Walters' manuscript to increase the number and level of detail of sea charts and cartographic city views. Perhaps patronized by the Sultan for use by an Ottoman resident in an imperial building, the Walters' manuscript may also be a reflection of imperial ambition and claim to power—presenting the capital city and the recently active war theaters of the Mediterranean, Black Sea, Bosphorus, Sea of Azov, and Caspian Sea, packaged in eighteenth-century imperial design, for an Ottoman audience.

3. *The Walters' Istanbul in Istanbul's Pictorial History*

The Walters' Istanbul is a unique copy because of its eighteenth-century painting execution, panoramic perspectives, and print-like aesthetic, which sophisticatedly adapts the seventeenth-century Bibliothèque nationale de France MS supp. turc 956 (BnF) copy (Fig. 2.13) schema for an eighteenth-century Istanbul-based readership, adapted from two centuries of Istanbul city view precedents. Like all *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, the BnF copy includes the features of portolan charts: rhumb lines, identified ports, compass roses, and a bird's eye perspective influenced by sixteenth-century Ottoman nautical and topographic painting.²⁰² The Walters' Istanbul includes all the architecture and gardens from BnF copy, but adds eighteenth-century architectural additions such as the Sa'dabad Complex (1722), Yeni Valide Mosque (1710), and Çorlulu Ahmed Pasha Mosque (1708).²⁰³ The most striking distinction between the two sea charts is the use of color.²⁰⁴ In the Walters' Istanbul, the lower half of the composition is exclusively drawn densely in very delicate black ink, and only the upper half of the composition, depicting the Princes' islands and the compass rose, is illuminated.²⁰⁵

²⁰² The BnF's Istanbul is the first version of Istanbul to be included in a 1526 "longer" edition copy of the manuscript; Orbay compellingly suggests that it served as the schematic example from which copies of the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century were based on. Orbay defines the one-page, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* found in Topkapı Sarayı MS 1633 (MS1663), Köprülü Kütüphanesi MS 171 (MS171), Bologna University Library MS 3609 (MS3609) and Bibliothèque nationale de France MS supp. turc 956 (MS956) as a grouping, but in an analysis of the images, it is clear that Walters' image is most closely related to the MS 956, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 120–122; for images, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 469–507. Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 232; 231.

²⁰³ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 259.

²⁰⁴ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 256.

²⁰⁵ It is unclear why this is the case but both Orbay and Kafescioğlu mention its lack of color, with Kafescioğlu suggesting that it could be a harkening to European prints of cities. Hepworth notes, the order of operations of the artists in charge of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* appears to begin with the colored ink of *rhumb* lines, followed by the black ink of *rhumb* lines, coastlines and architectural elements. It was only after the detailed outlining of the work in black ink that gold and color were added to the composition in the form of illuminations of architecture,

3.1.1. Historic Ottoman Topographic Painting: Influence on Istanbul Sea Charts in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*

Sixteenth-century Ottoman historical paintings of Istanbul reverberated in Ottoman nautical painting's depictions of architecture, use of perspective, attention to Ottoman monuments, and compositional focus on the Golden Horn, which created the technical and aesthetic basis for the Istanbul copy in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. The Ottoman painter and historian Matrakçı Nasuh's 1537 manuscript, described in the introduction, *Mecmû-i Menâzil*, created the first extant Ottoman depiction of the Ottoman capital city, which bridged a European bird's eye views with superimposed Timurid painting techniques and multiple perspectives (Fig. 2.14). Matrakçı's Istanbul is a two-page, colorfully painted depiction of the capital city from a bird's eye perspective and served as one of the first examples of Ottoman figureless topographical painting, illustrating stops on the Süleyman's campaign itinerary.²⁰⁶ In contrast to the circulating fifteenth-century European views, Matrakçı emphasizes Ottoman imperial foundations and mosques, which are so fastidiously painted they can be identified, if not perfectly located, without written labels.²⁰⁷ Even color is used in the service of architectural accuracy, with gray and blue painted roofs indicating lead covering and red painted roofs indicating brick tiling, a schema that continued to be used in Ottoman topographical painting and Ottoman nautical painting.²⁰⁸ Kafescioğlu argues that Matrakçı depicts a newly urbanized city under distinctly Ottoman rule, which has "completely absorbed its Byzantine past" in favor of the city's newfound "royal character and Islamic identity."²⁰⁹ The *intra muros* city is given the

geographical features and outlines of coastlines, suggesting that perhaps the map was meant to be colored next, Hepworth, "Production and Date of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*," 74.

²⁰⁶ Matrakçı's introduction of topographical painting influenced the figureless, bird's eye city views seen in Ottoman nautical painting, revealing the close collaboration of artists and cartographers. According to Ebel, the creation and accuracy of Matrakçı's views would have been informed by siege plans, architectural plans in the Office of Royal Architects (*hassa mimarlar ocağı*), and *isolarii*, like the Buondelmonti example, available in the Palace Library, in addition to Matrakçı's own personal experiences on the campaign trail. Renda agrees with such an assessment, suggesting that Matrakçı's urban views reveal that cartographers and artists collaborated—and employed both the techniques of Ottoman painting and topographical city views—an important relationship that can be also seen in the Walters' Istanbul. For more information about Matrakçı and his map of Istanbul, see Ebel, "Representation of Town Views," 3–11 and "City Views, Imperial Visions" 60–64; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 207–226; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 29–68; Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," 56–63; Kösebay, "An Interpretive Analysis of Matrakçı Nasuh's Beyan-ı Menâzil," 11–123; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 78–87.

²⁰⁷ Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," 51; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 212; Kösebay, "An Interpretive Analysis of Matrakçı Nasuh's Beyan-ı Menâzil," 18; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 51–52.

²⁰⁸ Kösebay, "An Interpretive Analysis of Matrakçı Nasuh's Beyan-ı Menâzil," 30.

²⁰⁹ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* 212.

primary importance, filling up almost a full page with intricately painted miniatures of Istanbul's architecture, which uniquely positions the Sarayburnu, where the Topkapı Palace resides, as the highlight of the composition and Üsküdar is barely included in the upper left-hand corner.²¹⁰ The main body of water is the Golden Horn, thickly painted in the middle of the composition; in comparison, the Bosphorus appears thinner and less consequential in the upper portion of the manuscript. The Golden Horn does not just divide the composition, but serves as a tool for the work's multiple perspectives. While the proper view of the *intra muros* city orients the viewer looking Eastwards, the viewer of Galata must turn the manuscript ninety degrees to properly view the suburb. The influence of Matrakçı's work on the Walters' Istanbul map can be seen in the map's multiple orientations, its prominent display of Ottoman architecture in Galata, the *intra muros* city, and Üsküdar, and the attention to accurately drawn and placed architecture within the city.

Late sixteenth-century Ottoman historical paintings reveal how the Ottoman view of Istanbul in both historic painting and in the Walters' Istanbul evolved alongside the growing urbanization of the city, introducing nondescript architecture, an increasingly urbanized extramural city, and multiple perspectives defined by waterways, alongside the continued compositional emphasis on the Golden Horn. A cartographic-style depiction of Istanbul appears in the 1584 Ottoman painting of Istanbul in the *Hünernâme* (Book of Skills) by the Ottoman historian Seyyid Lokman and court painter Nakkaş Osman (Fig. 2.15), a much denser, multiperspectival view of the capital city. As part of the first of a four-volume history of the Ottoman dynasty, the *Hünernâme*'s late sixteenth-century Istanbul illustrates a text detailing the conquest of Istanbul in 1453.²¹¹ While the *Hünernâme*'s Istanbul, like Matrakçı's Istanbul, highlights the *intra muros* city and the Golden Horn, it also adds the city's real-life urbanization to the depiction—including print-like nondescript, stacked buildings—which reverberated in the later copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.²¹² Unlike in Matrakçı, where only important buildings are depicted as architectural miniatures with garden-like space in between buildings, the *Hünernâme*'s Istanbul is heavily populated with a plethora of overlapping nondescript residential

²¹⁰ See both Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 48, and Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 209.

²¹¹ Kafescioğlu distinguishes this and attributes it in part to the multiplicity within the image in terms of perspectives, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," 21.

²¹² Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," 27-30.

buildings and very little greenery. Renda refers to the *Hünernâme*'s style as a strictly "representational approach" without fanciful additions, in contrast to Matrakçı's painterly miniatures.²¹³ The main body of water within the composition is the Golden Horn, filled with boats; the Bosphorus, like in Matrakçı, appears thinner and shorter in comparison. The *Hünernâme*'s Istanbul employs multiple perspectives in each district, argued by Orbay, to orient the view of the architecture from the sea.²¹⁴ Kafescioğlu has helpfully called the interplay of perspectives of the city—and their effect on the viewer—as including a "totalizing" or "far" gaze and a "local" or "near" gaze, which the viewer oscillates between, encouraged to look closely at particular architecture while also being given a totalizing view of the city.²¹⁵ A work like the *Hünernâme*, in Kafescioğlu's view, required multiple forms of looking—close looking, to understand the details of the composition, and far away looking, to create an impression of the city overall—changing the role of how the reader would interact with and understand an image. Likewise, the Walters' Istanbul map pictures the jewels of the city's architecture within the urban density of nondescript houses and buildings, is oriented towards the waterways with identified ports, and requires reorientation between "zooming in" and "zooming out," to fully comprehend the image.

The schematic basis of the Walters' Istanbul, and the BnF's Istanbul, can be traced to the depiction of Istanbul in Seyyid Lokman's *Şehinşahnâme* (1581), which reoriented the city's depiction towards the Bosphorus and extramural city with a bird's eye view (Fig. 2.16). The *Şehinşahnâme* combines the greenery of Matrakçı's garden-like Istanbul with the urban density and perspectives of the *Hünernâme*; the work imports these Ottoman historical painting schemas within a sea-chart like template informed by the panoramic views and the city's waterways. In presenting a sea-like viewpoint, the *Şehinşahnâme* bears resemblance to the Florentine traveler Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, or "The Book of Islands of the Archipelago" (Fig. 2.17) of 1422, the first sea-based early modern depiction of the city, complete

²¹³ Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 151–153.

²¹⁴ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 90–114.

²¹⁵ Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," 34; Kafescioğlu, "Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image," 53–57; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 141. To illustrate her point, Kafescioğlu takes Lokman's depiction of the Hippodrome, which served as a space for both imperial ceremonies and public protests, to argue that such a depiction prioritized the street level view—the city walker of Istanbul—to reveal changing social mores about public urban space.

with identified ports and a singular bird's eye perspective from the Sea of Marmara.²¹⁶ The *Şehinşehnâme* portrays the city from a bird's eye perspective, looking at the city from the North; it is a similar configuration to the Buondelmonti view, but the perspective looks South towards the Sea of Marmara, rather than North from the Sea of Marmara. The *Şehinşahnâme* is the first Ottoman historical painting depiction to include the Prince Islands, emphasizing the city's relationship to the Sea of Marmara and reminiscent of Istanbul city views in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. The Bosphorus replaces the Golden Horn as the central waterway of the city in size and compositional space. In so doing, the *Şehinşahnâme* becomes a compositional template which most influenced depictions of the Walters' Istanbul in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, such as the bird's eye view looking south, the enlarged extramural districts, and the first depiction of the city where the Bosphorus is portrayed as the main artery.

3.2.1. *The Walters' Istanbul: Panoramas, Architectural Vignettes, and Eighteenth-Century Painting*

The interplay of perspectives—between bird's eye and land views—is clearly seen in the Walters' Istanbul's three distinct imaginary viewpoints that are panorama-inspired, positioning the viewer above and within the city. The Walters' Istanbul may have been inspired by the multiple, sea-based perspectives found in the Walters' Maritime Atlas, known as the *Deniz Atlası*, a mid-sixteenth-century album of portolan charts with a panoramic view of Istanbul (Fig. 2.18), which combines the fanciful painting of Matrakçı with the density and the multiple perspectives of *Hünernâme*'s Istanbul.²¹⁷ Despite being included in a sea chart of the Black Sea, which is connected to Istanbul by the Bosphorus, the *Deniz Atlası*' view of Istanbul, like Matrakçı and the *Hünernâme*, prominently features the Golden Horn as the center of the city's depiction. It is thicker and longer than the Bosphorus—even though highlighting the Golden Horn requires refiguring the composition to connect to the Black Sea—and the Sea of Marmara is not depicted at all. The view of Istanbul has three perspectives, which correspond to panoramic ground views of each of the three districts.²¹⁸ The viewer looks straight at a singular

²¹⁶ Ebel, "Visual Sources for Urban History of the Ottoman Empire," 470. For a comprehensive understanding of the variations of Buondelmonti maps that circulate overtime, see Ian Manners, "Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*," 73 and Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 145.

²¹⁷ Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 287–288.

²¹⁸ Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 288–289.

panoramic perspective of Galata, when turned ninety-degrees, the viewer sees a singular perspective of Üsküdar, and when turned 180 degrees, the viewer sees a singular perspective of the *intra muros* city. For the first time, Galata and the *intra muros* city perfectly mirror each other. Each view is what the scholar Lucia Nuti calls the “perspectival plan,” or an architectural city plan drawn in elevation from real life—looking upwards, as if from the sea, towards overlapping architecture that gets taller towards the back and foreshortened in the front, conveying an imperfect attempt at linear perspective.²¹⁹ Depth is created through shading, which gives volume to Galata Tower and the minarets that make up the skyline. Like a typical nautical chart, and in the fashion of Matrakçı, tiled roofed nondescript architecture is painted with red, imperial and religious lead-covered architecture is painted with blue; the lush outskirts of the city are similarly displayed and painted with green. Similar to the *Hünernâme*, the overall composition’s detail and architectural density reflect the greater urbanization of sixteenth-century Istanbul, including new architectural monuments, the expansion of Galata in the Kasımpaşa shipyards and the settlements of the upper Golden Horn.

The Walters Istanbul map, like the Walters’ *Deniz Atlası*, clearly shows the influence of sixteenth-century European panoramic views of Istanbul, which created a new way of visualizing the urban fabric of Istanbul by highlighting city’s skyline and locating the perspective of the artist within the city. The Flemish artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550) sojourned to Istanbul in 1533 and published posthumously in 1553, a larger tapestry known as *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Customs and Fashions of the Turks) (Figs. 2.19–2.20), depicting a ceremonial procession for Sultan Süleyman through the *intra muros* city from the perspective of a visitor in the city.²²⁰ Unlike in previous depictions of the city, the street-view is most heavily on display—the inscriptions on the Egyptian obelisk of Istanbul’s Atmeydanı are legible, the inhabitants of the city (royal and common) populate the space around and in the architecture, and highly unusually for depictions of Istanbul, no waterways are present at all. Similarly, Danish artist Melchior Lorck (1527–1583) traveled to Istanbul in 1556, and with the permission of Sultan Süleyman, drew the first panorama of the historical peninsula from several viewpoints in

²¹⁹ Lucia Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language,” *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994), 117.

²²⁰ Kafescioğlu, “Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire,” 324–235; Charlotte Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe* (Routledge, 2014), 101.

Galata, made up of 21 drawings known as the *Prospect of Constantinople* (Fig. 2.21–2.22).²²¹ The work was monumental in size and in scope—11.27 meters long, the work is a detailed view of the *intra muros* city's skyline—Ottoman and Byzantine—from seemingly a singular viewpoint on the hills of Galata.²²² The architecture is depicted in orderly, print-like forms; a sense of depth is created by overlapping buildings, cross-hatching, foreshortening the foreground and prism-like shapes, but the perspective suggests a real, land-based viewer's perspective. While the Golden Horn is depicted, the focus is on the skyline of the city's architecture.²²³

The Walters' Istanbul map adapts the panoramic water-based views of Istanbul for its multiple bird's eye view perspectives. The viewer looks at the *intra muros* city, as if from a viewpoint in Galata; the viewer looks at Galata, as if from a viewpoint in the *intra muros* city, and the viewer looks at the southern end of Üsküdar as if from a viewpoint near the Sarayburnu. In this regard, the viewpoints of the Walters' Istanbul are remarkably similar to those the *Deniz Atlası*, which used the shores of Istanbul's waterways as physical viewpoints for depicting the city, and also has a bird's eye view. While the *intra muros* city is still prominently placed and clearly features the most architecture, it no longer commands the composition as it did in Matrakçı or the *Hünernâme*, democratizing the districts of the city and displacing the supremacy of the *intra muros* city seen in earlier Ottoman and European views. Kafescioğlu defines this land-based view as “earthly,” which she argues brought the perspective of a city dweller, or street-level viewer, to depictions of the city, in comparison to the imaginary and “heavenly” bird's eye view.²²⁴ The Walters' innovation—combining perspectives that correspond with land-

²²¹ The Ottoman painting atelier was likely aware of this new form of representation; while there is no evidence to suggest that Süleyman patronized the image, he did give his permission for the work to be drawn. It is possible that Ottoman artists may have seen the work by accompanying Lorck on his outings or during a presentation to the sultan, see Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, and Rene Van Meeuwen, “Constructing Melchior Lorck's Panorama of Constantinople,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, no. 1 (2010): 62–87. For more information on Lorck's life, see Erik Fischer, *Melchior Lorck* Vol. 1–4 (Vankunsten Publishers, 2009); on the role of panoramic imagery in depictions of Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, “Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image,” 37–63 and Kafescioğlu, “Melchior Lorck's Constantinople Prospect,” 96–115.

²²² For a reconstruction of Lorck's viewpoints for drawing the panorama, see Westbrook et al., “Lorck's Panorama,” 78–84. The skyline of Istanbul was important to its self-representation, particularly under the imperial architect Mimar Sinan's direction, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan* (Reaktion, 2005), 108–124.

²²³ Lorck intended to publish his panorama, but was never successful; his many woodcut prints, which included perspectival plans of architecture in the city, were eventually posthumously published in 1619 as *The Turkish Publication* (Fig. 2.23). Fischer, *Melchior Lorck*, 64–65.

²²⁴ Kafescioğlu, “Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image,” 39–45.

based panoramic vistas and a bird's eye view—also allows the viewer to see inland features that are not captured by a panoramic view. For example, the Yedikule Fortress and the Atmeydanı are not visible for a human viewer from a Galata viewpoint, and similarly the towns of the upper Bosphorus shores are not visible from the *intra muros* city. The Walters' Istanbul map therefore creatively engages with the limits of two representational city view traditions—both “above” and “inside” the city—to allude to a city view divided by the waterways and informed by the viewpoints of a the land-based viewer.

European prints and drawings of famous architecture in Istanbul influenced the print-based aesthetic found in the Walters' Istanbul and the composition's inclusion of architectural vignettes within the urban fabric. In 1686, Francesco Scarella made a series of ink drawings of Ottoman architecture for King Leopold I (1640–1705) in a book titled *Disegni della Citta di Constantino*, or Drawings of the City of Constantinople (Figs. 2.24–2.26). The work contains twelve drawings of the Ottoman palaces, mosques, military infrastructure, and greater cityscape. The Yedikule Military Fortress, patronized by Mehmed II in 1458, is particularly magnificently drawn, with shading and hatching to create a sense of volume. The view, from a bird's eye perspective, shows the seven towers in a star-like formation, with linear perspective; the front towers are foreshortened and the back towers are made larger.²²⁵ Similarly, a view of the Topkapı Palace, and the Sarayburnu point, is not entirely accurate, but the palace's three courtyards are drawn in meticulous detail; the bird's eye view shows the Palace from the shorelines of Galata, revealing, with linear perspective, the palace's elevation amid a forest of cypress trees. Unlike the European and Ottoman paintings before, the Scarella drawings do not show a totalized city, but instead create a stratified collection of the city's component parts.

The Walters' Istanbul uses the conventions of architectural vignettes—in style, detail, and techniques—but embeds them within the larger urban fabric. The Walters' Istanbul has two buildings depicted in great detail which mirror each other in detail, style, and size, which can be considered what the opening epigraph calls a “nice city ornamented with jewels”: the Yedikule Fortress and the Galata Tower. The two vignettes are the most intricately drawn architectural

²²⁵ Both Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*; Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 26, reference this drawing to show the architectural plan of Yedikule.

paintings in the entire Walters' Istanbul; their attention to detail is mimicked in their otherworldly size, which uniquely and unrealistically tower above the rest of the city's architecture, creating a vanishing point and approximating linear perspective. They are the only two drawings of architecture within the larger composition where hatching, approximating the techniques of print-making and European drawing, and shading are present, in contrast to the flat, two-dimensional lines that define the rest of the composition's architecture depicted in the Walters' Istanbul. The horizontal hatching gives an illusion of depth and fullness, participating in other Ottoman eighteenth-century painting trends of three-dimensionality. The depictions of Yedikule and Galata Tower can be considered vignettes themselves, with the detail mimicking that of architectural studies like Scarella's. However, unlike Scarella, the Walters' Istanbul imbeds these miniatures within a homogenous and dense urban fabric—combining the technique of the architectural vignette within the larger the perspective plan of the city.

The Walters' Istanbul also bears the influence of the increased role of three-dimensionality, shading and linear perspective found in contemporaneous eighteenth-century imperial Ottoman painting, which both reveals the strong relationship between the representational techniques of contemporaneous cartography and Ottoman painting and may suggest that imperial painters worked on the Walters' manuscript. Nevizade Atayi's (1583–1635) *Hamse-yi Atayi* (Quintet), an illustrated manuscript based on five *mesnevis*, or poems, all copied in the first half of the eighteenth century, was one of the most popular manuscripts of the time period.²²⁶ One copy from 1721 appears in the Walters Art Museum (Figs. 2.27–2.29), including a painting depicting the upper Bosphorus, a panoramic view of the Bosphorus from the shore, and a panoramic view of a mosque in Istanbul. In fact, Renda argues that the Walters' *Hamse* is a “an early precursor to Ottoman 18th and 19th century panoramas” featuring many of the European styles and techniques from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which she defines as the pinnacle of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting.²²⁷ Like Matrakçı and Ottoman nautical paintings, shades of gray are used to indicate lead-covered imperial and religious infrastructure, and red is used for nondescript tiled-roofed buildings. Similar to Coecke van Aelst, the

²²⁶ Günsel Renda, “An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery,” 15–30; Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 29–297. There are five extant copies.

²²⁷ Renda, “An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery,” 21.

foreground with figures is shortened with a horizon line that gives a sense of depth to the composition. Three-dimensionality is achieved through shading such as the boats reflected on the water, layering of various colors, and drawing geometric prism-like cubic architecture, as seen in the domes of mosques, residential architecture, and city walls to adopt linear perspective. Similar forms can be seen in the Walters' Istanbul map, where standardized cubic houses are drawn to suggest three-dimensionality, variations of color (gray and black) are used for shading, and foreground and background are accurately delineated through the use of linear perspective. The similarities between the three-dimensional styles, perspectives, and shading, reveals that the Walters' Istanbul map used the techniques of Ottoman contemporaneous court painting, reinforcing Renda's view about the closeness of cartography and Ottoman painting. The closeness in representational techniques and source imagery between works like the *Hamse-yi Atayi* and the Walters' Istanbul suggests the possibility of court artists working on the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript, who would have had the technical skill to produce such optical illusory effects and access to the same repository of source imagery.

Contemporaneous topographical Mecca paintings of the eighteenth century also employ bird's eye illusory optical techniques that can be seen within the Walters' Istanbul, potentially suggesting the work of court artists in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. One of the other most popular eighteenth-century illustrated manuscripts was a prayer book known as the *Dala'il Al-Khayrat* (Evidentiary Guide of Pious Deeds) by the Arab scholar al-Jazuli (d. 1465), which may have inspired the bird's eye rendering of the Atmeydanı in the Walters' Istanbul.²²⁸ The work included written descriptions of Mecca, Medina, and the Ka'ba, but by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries also included paintings of the two holy cities, of which hundreds of extant copies exist and whose singular drawing of Mecca inspired reproductions in other mediums (Figs. 2.30–2.32).²²⁹ A Mecca Painting from 1700 shows the Ka'ba from a singular bird's eye view, including an elevated graphical plan of the city's topography that approximates linear perspective and a vanishing line. This general perspective is also seen in an Ottoman tile with a Mecca painting from the 1720's, which shows the city from a bird's eye view,

²²⁸ Bağcı et al, *Ottoman Painting*, 299-301; Deniz Beyazit, "Defining Ottoman Realism in the Uppsala Mecca Painting," (Leiden: Brill, 2020).

²²⁹ Beyazit, "Defining Ottoman Realism in the Uppsala Mecca Painting," 209; Bağcı et al, *Ottoman Painting*, 300.

experiments with shading and three-dimensionality (as seen in the shading of grays and blues) and perspective, with a receding line that vanishes towards the back. The most advanced example of European optical techniques in Ottoman paintings of the Holy Land comes from the Uppsala University Library, bought by the Swedish orientalist Michael Eneman (1676–1714) in 1712, and likely completed in either the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.²³⁰ This corpus of contemporaneous topographical works reveals further the extent to which Ottoman familiarity with three-dimensionality, linear perspective, bird's eye views, and architectural accuracy was part of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting techniques and the library of the Topkapı Palace Library, further suggesting the artists of the Walters' manuscript may have been court artists. Furthermore, the Walters' representational similarities with other eighteenth-century paintings corroborates its eighteenth-century dating and aesthetic.

The Walters' Istanbul combines the aesthetics of print and the optical illusory techniques of eighteenth-century painting in its portrayal of the Atmeydanı, which appears in linear perspective with the public square's three pillars (Egyptian Obelisk, Walled Obelisk, and Serpent Column) on a graphical plane (Fig. 2.12). The pillars are each placed higher on the composition than the one in front of it, approximating depth and a receding horizon line. The pillars' illusions of three-dimensionality are accomplished through prism-like pedestals that show three sides (front, right, and top) and two sides of the pillars (front and right), also from a bird's eye view at an oblique angle. Unlike the rest of the *intra muros* city, where architecture is fully embedded within a larger homogenous urban fabric, the Atmeydanı is noticeably drawn apart from its surroundings with the buffer of an open square. This is emphasized through the surrounding Ottoman architecture; while the Ottomans left the primary square empty, the square was flanked with the Byzantine-church-turned-imperial-mosque Ayasofya, the imperial Topkapı Palace, and sixteenth-century Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha's palace, the perch from which the court would watch the spectacles. The singular depiction—the famous Byzantine columns amidst an empty square—conforms to other stand-alone European drawings of the Atmeydanı, such as the eighteenth-century Swedish traveler Cornelius Loos, who visited the city from 1710–1711 (Fig.

²³⁰ Beyazit, "Defining Ottoman Realism in the Uppsala Mecca Painting," 211.

2.33) and an unidentified artist in the Trinity College's Freshfield Album, circa 1574 (Fig. 2.34).²³¹

The Walters' Istanbul also looks remarkably similar to a print—enough to be confused as a print at first glance—drawing on the centuries of European print techniques and imagery of the capital city. Indeed, the work can be compared in print-like style to the most famous and widely circulated woodcut print created by the Venetian engraver Giovanni Andrea Vavassore in 1535 (Fig. 2.35–2.36), which introduced an accurate portrayal of the city's urban development under Ottoman rule while emphasizing its relationship to multiple waterways.²³² The Vavassore print was widely circulated after being placed in several books, including Sebastian Münster's 1550 edition of *Cosmographia*.²³³ Most significantly, an updated version of the Vavassore print was added as a copperplate engraving to Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg's famous 1572 atlas of city views, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, a 1617 copy of which was in the Topkapı Library, suggesting the Ottoman painting atelier's familiarity with the work.²³⁴ The Walters' Istanbul's black and white color scheme separate it from all other contemporaneous and historical Ottoman images of Istanbul, including copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*. It's ruler-straight and thin lines, clearly pre-planned composition, use of uniform shapes—rectangular prisms with saddle roofs approximating nondescript architecture, smooth domed cylindrical mosques, pencil-thin conical-topped minarets, cloud shaped trees and triangular cypresses—mimic mechanical reproduction rather than individual drawings. In fact, the forms are so uniform that minarets, trees, and nondescript buildings could be replaced by another and blend in. The uniform forms mimic the backgrounds of sixteenth-century prints such as Lorck and Coecke van Aelst, where overlapping

²³¹ Kafescioğlu, "A New Look," 134.

²³² Kafescioğlu suggests, based on the work's accuracy and inclusion of Ottoman additions to the urban fabric, that the work was done earlier than the current sixteenth century dating, perhaps the 1480's, and commissioned by Mehmed II. Kafescioğlu comes to this conclusion because the accuracy of the image suggests that the artist responsible had visited Istanbul and would have needed special permission to have taken so many sketches given the threats of spying in the fifteenth century, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 160. Manners regards this patronage as impossible, see Manners, "Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," 91. However, Manners agrees that there are similarities between the Düsseldorf copy of Boundelmonti's Istanbul, which he understands to be in the late fifteenth century, and the Vavassore image, see Manners, "Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," 87.

²³³ Manners, "Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," 92. Also it was included in smaller publications of city views like by Guillaume Gueroult, Antoine du Pinet, Giulio Ballino and Paolo Furlani.

²³⁴ Manners, "Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's Liber Insularum Archipelagi," 97; Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," 27.

nondescript buildings create a blanket urban fabric upon which imperial and historical architecture emerges.

The Walters' Istanbul's multiple ways of viewing—from up close and from far away, from a bird's eye view and from a panoramic perspective—require close looking and time spent with the image. The Walters' use of multifocal viewing would have been particularly suited to the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* viewer, who would be familiar with multiple perspectives and the interplay between near and far, as the sea charts throughout the Walters' manuscript routinely offer “close ups” of different islands and coastlines, while also including larger depictions of seas as a whole. At first glance, the Walters' Istanbul communicates an impressive and overall dense urban fabric, and with sustained close-looking, the city's many architectural jewels—that in earlier renditions were the focal point of Ottoman compositions—can be spotted.²³⁵ Beyond orientation, the multiple perspectives also bring a clarified focus to the monuments that the Walters Istanbul would like the viewer to focus on. Like Kafescioğlu argues about the *Hünernâme*'s multiple perspectives, the Walters' Istanbul's viewpoints similarly invite the viewer to “zoom in” and “zoom out”—offering a large totalizing image of a sprawling, urbanized city, while simultaneously offering discrete and close-up views upon closer inspection.²³⁶ One needs time to identify most of the architecture in the Walters' Istanbul, which unlike Matrakçı, who placed miniatures of architecture in an open garden-like environment, are entirely imbedded within a dense, homogenous urban fabric. For example, it requires more than a cursory glance to identify the Ayasofya, Sultan Ahmed Mosque, or Süleymaniye Mosque in the Walters' Istanbul, despite being central to the ceremonial architecture of the city and the city's sea-based skyline. Furthermore, the multiple perspectives—in addition to the close and far views that can be seen from a singular viewpoint—create a vision of Istanbul that physically cannot be taken in from one view or perspective—that must be explored independently by the viewer, based on their own interests. This not only democratizes the city's townships—giving each of them a distinct viewpoint, implying singular attention for each district—but also requires movement from the viewer and an interactive viewing experience. Either the viewer or the manuscript would have to

²³⁵ Kafescioğlu, “Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580,” 30. Kafescioğlu, “Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul's Panoramic Image,” 39–45; Kafescioğlu, “Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire,” 324–327.

²³⁶ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 141.

move in—in a full circle—for the entire city to be properly viewed. The potential viewer in the Nuruosmaniye Library likely would have had the time and space to spend zooming in and out of such details, and the Walters' Istanbul's complexity may have been desired by the artists for this purpose of extended study.

While the orientation of the architecture necessitates a certain kind of viewing, the annotated text of the Walters' Istanbul sea chart does not match the three perspectives; presenting two competing ways of viewing the manuscript between text and image. The Walters' map features textual inscriptions characteristic of other sea charts, like port names which are written perpendicularly to the shore, in addition to inland features, like the inland gate names of walled Constantinople and certain features of inland Anatolia. In total, there are sixty-five textual labels on the map, in handwritten black ink. The text of the Istanbul map, and its varying orientations, illustrates a certain order of viewing the city, approximating a sea tour. The text along a particular coastline, such as the European side of the Bosphorus or the *intra muros* shore of the Golden Horn, is written uniformly in one direction, regardless of the direction of the architecture. Given that the calligrapher and the painters were likely different people, this discrepancy is expected; however, it does present a differing textual and visual way to approach the sea chart. The orientation of the text in relation to the coastline for proper reading suggests the seafaring journey of the viewer as beginning in the Sea of Marmara from the left, turning right (or North) into the Bosphorus. In order for the reader to continue comprehending the place names right-side up, the manuscript must be reoriented—otherwise the place names appear upside down. Moving North up the coastline of Üsküdar. at the northernmost point, the viewer moves to the European coastline of the Bosphorus and sails to the Golden Horn. The Golden Horn is entered from the right (West direction) and moved about counterclockwise until the viewer leaves on the *intra muros* city coastline, South and West towards the Sea of Marmara and farther down the European coastline. The viewer is therefore necessitated to look at the map from several directions, requiring either the moving of the book or the moving of the viewer between text and image.

4. *The Walters' Istanbul: An Eighteenth-Century Urban Context*

The Walters' Istanbul is a singular composition, showing a deeply urbanized fabric inhabited by the city's imperial court and the city's common denizens, reflecting the eighteenth-century city's extramural urbanization. Not only a "ceremonial atlas" to the city's most important religious and ceremonial architecture like found in earlier Ottoman depictions of the city like Matrakçı, the Walters' Istanbul reflects the city's "sea of trees and sea of men" from the opening epigraph; that is, the places where citydwellers, nature, and the imperial court interacted—depicting a city defined by activated "spaces."

The tension between common Istanbul city dwellers and the imperial court characterized Ottoman imperial history in the early eighteenth century. In 1703, the Istanbul public, made of *ulema* (religious clerics), janissaries, and merchants, rebelled against the court's temporary-turned-permanent relocation to Edirne (and the lost business of commoners that resulted from the court's absence), known as the Edirne Incident, revealing the importance of the capital city's citydwellers.²³⁷ The fight was for Istanbul to be, as Cemal Kafadar calls it, "the city," or as the opening epigraph puts it, "the center of the world."²³⁸ The Edirne Incident led to the court's return to Istanbul, the overthrow of Sultan Mustafa II (1664–1703) in 1703, and the rise of the so-called "Tulip Age," coined by the historian Ahmet Refik (1881–1937), to refer to the spendor and excess of the twelve years (1718–1730) of Sultan Ahmed III's (r. 1703–1730) reign, where palaces and gardens in Istanbul were erected and renovated.²³⁹ Istanbul of the eighteenth-century

²³⁷ For more information on the Edirne Incident, see Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984). For more on the urban patronage and rituals of the early eighteenth-century, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*; Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus,"; Çalış-Kural, *Sehrenciz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism*; Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age" and *Ottoman Baroque*.

²³⁸ Kafadar, "The City Opens Your Eyes," 40.

²³⁹ Characterized by excess, leisure, and an imperial style that incorporated French Rococo and Savafid Persian designs. For more information on the Tulip Age, see Rüstem, "New Age," 40–53; Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550–1730)," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922: An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert (State University of New York Press, 2000), 83–84. For Ottoman architectural style during this period, see Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*. For more information on Mahmud I's reign, see Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 364–371. Mahmud I girded the sword at Eyüp like prior sultans, but was led by the revolutionary Patrona Halil, a clear indicator of the sultan's precarious position. For Mahmud I's girding of the sword, see Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 355; for general sultanic procession with girding of the sword, see Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," 67. He immediately began his reign by tearing down the

had a larger population, a more urbanized extramural city, and a newfound visibility of the common classes, with the proliferation of new public spaces and activities through the patronizing of fountains and gardens.²⁴⁰ In 1730, urban backlash to Ahmed III's reign led to the Patrona Halil Rebellion and the coronation of Sultan Mahmud I. No longer secluded, the Sultan and his retinue became increasingly visible to the public, with new pleasure palaces erected alongside the Bosphorus and Golden Horn shores amid dense urbanization.²⁴¹

4.1.1. Eighteenth-Century Architecture in the Walters' Istanbul

There are three architectural additions that can place the Walters' Istanbul within the eighteenth century. The Walters' Istanbul has been considered an eighteenth-century work because of what Orbay has rightly identified as Sa'dabad Complex (1722) in Kağıthane, serving as a *terminus post quem*, but it is not the only indication of the city's eighteenth-century creation date.²⁴² Built for Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1736) by his Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim Paşa (1660–1730), Sa'dabad was a development consisting of an imperial palace, mosque, waterworks, bridges, residences, and a garden pavilion, considered the pinnacle of the Ahmed III's reign of decadence.²⁴³ From the Walters' Istanbul map, multiple bridges, a minaret and domed mosque, tree-lined pavilion, and several buildings appearing to be residences surrounded by landscaping can be seen.²⁴⁴ There are further architectural additions that suggest early eighteenth-century dating during Ahmed III's reign. Within the Walters' Istanbul, one mosque towers over all the others in Üsküdar, pictured with the imperial signifier of two minarets, a lofty

palaces of Ahmed III's pleasure grounds, known as the Sa'dabad Complex (1722), a symbolic gesture desired by the rebels, Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," 52; Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 88.

²⁴⁰ Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night, How black the story of coffee, how bitter the tale of love: the changing measure of leisure and pleasure in early modern Istanbul" in *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* eds. Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı (Duke University Press, 2005), 243–269; Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle," 123–141.

²⁴¹ Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus."

²⁴² The Walters' is the only version of an Istanbul sea chart in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* to depict the complex, Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 259.

²⁴³ See Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*; Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 35–52; Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 53–88. For a discussion of the Sa'dabad in the changing role of public life; Sa'dabad in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, see Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 259–261.

²⁴⁴ Curiously, only a few of the original imperial buildings can be seen—and not the hundreds of adjoining estates erected nearby by palace elites shortly thereafter. The lack of such extraneous estates does not necessarily indicate that the work was made during Ahmed III's reign. Following the overthrow of Ahmed III, Mahmud I had "120 or so elite residences located near the palace" destroyed as a condition of the Patrona Halil rebellion, a larger reckoning over the luxury of the excesses of Sultan Ahmed III's reign, Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age," 88.

dome, two smaller vaulted domes, within a walled platform courtyard (Fig. 2.37).²⁴⁵ Its similarity in detail and architectural plan to the mosque complex of Gülnüş Sultan (1642–1715), mother of Ahmed III, makes the drawing identifiable as the Yeni Valide Mosque (Fig. 2.38). Like the Walters' Istanbul, the Yeni Valide Mosque is located near the Üsküdar pier and fellow Üsküdar mosque, the Şemsi Pasa Complex (1581).²⁴⁶ It has two minarets, a walled inner courtyard covered by domes, features an elevated portico, and serves as a fundamental unit of the eighteenth-century Üsküdar skyline. As scholar Muzaffer Özgüleş notes, the mosque—like in the Walters' Istanbul depiction—prioritizes height and verticality over width, contributing to the mosque's grandeur and visibility amongst its urban surroundings.²⁴⁷ Both the representation and the actual building were characterized by multiple domes with ovular windows and walls with grilled windows.

The addition of the Yeni Valide Mosque is significant because it replaces a typical representation found in most other copies of Istanbul in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*: the tent-like, kiosk-styled Mihrimah Sultan Complex (1543–48), made for Süleyman I's daughter Mihrimah Sultan (d. 1578) by the chief architect Mimar Sinan (d.1588), in front of the *hânlar* (Caravansaray) landing station (Fig. 2.39).²⁴⁸ The other *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies included the Mihrimah Sultan Complex because it had a caravansary as part of the complex and sits directly on the pier, imminently viewable from the Bosphorus.²⁴⁹ Due to the tradition of depicting the Mihrimah Mosque in this location, Orbay erroneously identified the work as the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, making her argument based on the architecture's placement in the composition, its double minarets, and the history of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, while at the same time conceding that its

²⁴⁵ Muzaffer Özgüleş, *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World* (I. B. Tauris, 2017), 168.

²⁴⁶ Özgüleş, *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World*, 157–182.

²⁴⁷ Özgüleş, *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World*, 169.

²⁴⁸ Other scholars have erroneously identified the work in the Walters' version as the Mihrimah Sultan mosque, see Murat Kalafat, "Üsküdar: Prestige Area of the Ottoman Court Women" *Art-Sanat* 14 (2020): 185–209, <https://doi.org/10.26650/artsanat.2020.14.0008>. Necipoğlu has also argued that other copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* include the Mihrimah Sultan Complex, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 298. For more information on the Mihrimah Sultan Complex, including photos and an axonometric projection of the Mihrimah Sultan Complex, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 301–305. For more information on how imperial women's patronage and the shoreline of Üsküdar, see Pinar Kayaalp, "The Role of Imperial Mosque Complexes (1543–1583) in the Urbanization of Üsküdar," in *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 645–666.

²⁴⁹ See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 298; Özgüleş, *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World*, 162.

depiction bears no resemblance to the actual Mihrimah Sultan Complex.²⁵⁰ It is in fact imminently possible that the work is that of Yeni Valide Complex. The inclusion of the mosque further suggests the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* artists may have come from the imperial painting atelier, with access to the architectural plans from the Corps of Imperial Architects.²⁵¹ The Yeni Valide Mosque had also been part of recent ceremonial memory: ceremonies for placing the first stone in 1708, opening the building in 1711, and Gülnüş Sultan's funeral in 1715 had kept the mosque within public memory. Indeed, it is not the only other eighteenth-century mosque included in the work; Çorlulu Ahmed Pasha Mosque (1708) can be seen in the shipyards of Kağıthane.²⁵²

4.2.1. *The Urbanization of the Bosphorus Shores*

The most notable feature of the Walters' Istanbul is not any individual work of architecture depicted, but the urbanization of the Bosphorus shorelines which reflects the city's ceremonial reorientation towards the extramural city's waterfront palaces and gardens. As Artan notes in her seminal work on eighteenth century Bosphorus commissions, wealthy Ottomans reoriented their focus from "withdrawal to the country and searched instead for the sublime and picturesque" with seaside palaces (*yalıs*), creating what has been described as a "golden period in the history of the Bosphorus."²⁵³ The ceremonial center of power moved away from the Golden Horn and secluded imperial grounds, and moved to the Bosphorus, where opulent architectural displays made the historically hidden royal Ottoman court imminently visible.²⁵⁴

The crowded shoreline gardens in the Walters' Istanbul serves as a compass to the imperial court's dispersal of influence throughout the greater municipality and eighteenth-century use of the capital city. In the Walters' Istanbul, seven identifiable imperial gardens are on display: Fenerbahçe and Üsküdar Gardens on the Asian side, Topkapı Palace Garden in the *intra muros* city, and Dolmabahçe, Beşiktaş, Sa'dabad and Tersane Gardens in Galata and Kağıthane. Garden commissions had been recent in urban memory: Ahmed III's Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha renovated Beşiktaş Palace in 1720, the Dolmabahçe, Tersane, and

²⁵⁰ Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 261–262.

²⁵¹ Ebel suggests that this could be the case for Matrakçı's renderings of buildings, Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions" 104.

²⁵² Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 256.

²⁵³ Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 53; 335.

²⁵⁴ Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 7–10.

Beşiktaş Gardens from 1718–1720 and erected the Sa’dabad in 1722.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, under Mahmud I, the imperial gardens of Fenerbahçe, Tersane, Çırağan, and Üsküdar were renovated from 1735 to 1742.²⁵⁶ The representation of the gardens themselves within the Walters’ Istanbul is modest—consisting of thickets of cypress trees—and undetailed, small house-like pavillions, often sandwiched alongside nondescript overlapping houses. The role of curated greenery—walled urban pleasure gardens—within the Walters’ Istanbul’s composition serves as a compass to the imperial court’s dispersal of influence throughout the greater municipality and eighteenth-century use of the capital city, where imperial gardens became the sites of diplomatic visits, feasts, and court ceremonies by the eighteenth century.²⁵⁷ Each identifiable garden is matched with a corresponding port name indicating the artist’s familiarity with the imperial court’s landing stages and ceremonial processions.

The prominent placement of waterfront gardens in the Walters’ Istanbul reflects their increasingly visible place within imperial itineraries and their corresponding workforce for upkeep. No longer confined to “seasonal moves,” during the eighteenth century, the court visited suburban gardens and garden palaces on sometimes daily visits, in processions “as glorious as the procession to Eyüp to gird the holy sword.”²⁵⁸ Citydwellers from both the land and sea would have been able to see the court’s processions, which increasingly spread throughout the extramural city, away from the previous ceremonial road, the *divanyolu*. Gardens required cultivation, an occupation taken on by an growing number of migrants from Anatolia and Rumelia, who increasingly were entering the city in search of economic opportunities.²⁵⁹ The new imperial gardens were managed by the Chief Gardener (*bostancıbaşı*), whose many responsibilities spanned gardening practicalities and policing, such as selling royal produce and enforcing sumptuary laws, a role that expanded greatly in the seventeenth century.²⁶⁰ Gardens were therefore more than just green spaces, or pleasure palaces for the court, but part of a larger

²⁵⁵ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 113.

²⁵⁶ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 27.

²⁵⁷ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 50; Necipoğlu, “Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul,” 46; Zeynep N. Yelçe, “Palace and City Ceremonials” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, eds. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Brill, 2021), 163.

²⁵⁸ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 50; Artan, “Eighteenth Century Bosphorus,” 48, 67.

²⁵⁹ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Migration into Eighteenth Century ‘Greater Istanbul’ As Reflected in the Kadı Register of Eyüp,” *Turcica* 30 (1998), 173–174; Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 392; Aleksandar Shopov, “Flower Breeding in Early Modern Istanbul: A Science of Seeds,” *ISIS* 113 no. 3 (2022), 595.

²⁶⁰ Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, 127.

ceremonial network of processions throughout the city, and whose upkeep required the labor of both migrant workers and high level bureaucrats.

The eighteenth century Bosphorus and its garden culture led to new importance to the Bosphorus and brought new urban needs—like water, roads, and mosques—in the newly urbanized shoreline neighborhoods. In the Walters' Istanbul, the main waterway is clearly the Bosphorus—it is what divides one of the composition's panoramic viewpoints, the largest and thickest waterway in the composition, and placed centrally. In fact, the artist reoriented the historic peninsula's Sea of Marmara coastline northwards, making it appear like an extension of Galata's Bosphorus coastline. This is particularly stark in contrast with earlier Ottoman paintings of Istanbul like found in Matrakçı, the *Hünernâme*, and the *Deniz Atlası* which prioritized the Golden Horn in splendor, size, and orientation of perspectives. Therefore, the main waterway, which appears prominently in the center of the composition is the Bosphorus, erroneously elongated by the walled city's sea of Marmara shoreline oriented vertically towards the Bosphorus. From Kireç Gate on the Galata Shore (*Kireçkapı*) to Ortaköy, dense gardens, mosques, and nondescript architecture hug the shorelines, with no part of the Bosphorus shores unsettled or uninhabited (Fig. 2.40).²⁶¹ The density resembles the many "imperial summer palaces, kiosks, and pavilions" during Mahmud I's reign which were almost exclusively built on the Bosphorus shores.²⁶² While there are fewer port labels on the Bosphorus shores than the Golden Horn shores, the shorelines architecturally are similarly as dense. As the imperial elite moved up the Bosphorus, bringing natural resources like water and public spaces like parks, and mosques with them, the upper Bosphorus neighborhoods urbanized, leading to the increase in nondescript architecture around the imperial palaces and gardens depicted in the Walters' Istanbul.²⁶³ As Hamadeh notes, in the eighteenth-century the Bosphorus transformed into a *divanyolu*, or ceremonial artery of the city.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ The last two ports mentioned, Beşiktaş and Ortaköy, were the upper limits of the imperial city center on the Bosphorus until the eighteenth century, making it normal for the coastline to end here within the depiction, Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 334.

²⁶² For reference, by the end of the eighteenth century, there were as many as forty-two yalis between Tophane and Beşiktaş, see Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 336, 346.

²⁶³ Faroghi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 377.

²⁶⁴ Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 48; Artan, "Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 53. For more on the *divanyolu* and urban practices in the city of Istanbul, and how they changed between fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, see Maurice Cerasi, "The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building." *Muqarnas* 22 (2005), 201.

4.4.1. Roads and “The Congestion of Common People”

The Walters’ Istanbul, while a sea chart, presents multiple uniquely land-based views that emphasize experiences of the city dweller in Istanbul. Unlike other *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, the Walters’ Istanbul includes an ichnographic depiction of roads leading out of the urban core, into both Rumelia and Anatolia, reflecting the outsized role of land travel in the eighteenth-century city.²⁶⁵ In the Walters’ Istanbul, five roads can be seen on the extramural historical peninsula, connecting local villages to the capital city, to each other and the capital city to Rumelia and the former capital of Edirne. On the Asian side, two roads connect central Üsküdar to greater Anatolia, and another former Ottoman capital, Bursa. The roads are depicted among farms, villages, and woodland, bringing to mind Kafadar’s concept of the “milk road”—the agricultural and environmental connections—between Edirne, Istanbul, and Bursa.²⁶⁶ The metropolis of Istanbul, therefore, appears not just between a converging of seas, but also a converging of lands and webs of Ottoman cities—indeed fulfilling Mehmed II’s inscription as the leader of the “two lands.” The placement of these roads would not be necessary to the sea-viewer or sea-traveler; their inclusion reveals the artist’s knowledge of the city as an urban experience by land. The roads and bridges attest to foot traffic in addition to sea traffic—to a capital city full of the movement of people and goods—even if caravans, boats, people, and animals are absent from the image itself. As Orbay has rightfully suggested, the Istanbul map within *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* genre serves as a “nautical lookout” towards the greater Empire—but in the Walters’ case, it is very literally also a land campaign lookout.²⁶⁷ Such land-based campaign imagery corresponds with the Compass Rose discussed in Chapter One, with its depictions of cannons and military tents, suggesting land-based warfare rather than sea-based.

Roads were spaces of urban interaction—“activated” by the lexicon of the state, the imagination of the people, and the practical use of the city by urban inhabitants. Roads had an extra charged resonance in the eighteenth century, when the imperial court had recently returned to the capital, which would have been familiar to the eighteenth century viewer and creator of the

²⁶⁵ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 257.

²⁶⁶ Kafadar, “The City Opens Your Eyes,” 27.

²⁶⁷ Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 161.

manuscript. Indeed, it was the exact roads pictured in the Walters' Istanbul which the imperial court had used for their contentious move to Edirne and with which they, chastened by public protest, used to return to Istanbul in 1703. In particular, the roadways towards Edirne were connected to the *intra muros* city through the Edirnekapı Gate, itself connected to the ceremonial artery of the old city, the *divanyolu*, the road used by the sultan to parade through the streets of the city.²⁶⁸ In addition to serving as official routes of trade, pilgrimages, and military campaigns for the imperial court, roads were also the pathways for unofficial migrants to enter the city. In the face of increasing anxiety about migration to the capital, the Ottoman state in the eighteenth century created land-based obstacles like road closures and manned checkpoints to curb migrants from ever reaching the capital in the first place.²⁶⁹ By the eighteenth-century Mahmud I used grain provisions as an excuse for keeping out migrants, proclaiming “the comfort and ease of obtaining means of subsistence for the actual residents of Istanbul depends on the protection and prevention of the city from the congestion of common people.”²⁷⁰ Not only did Ottoman policies affect migrants, but the many city dwellers who also used these roads for travel and commerce.²⁷¹ These roads bear no necessary or useful information for the prospective sea-based viewer of a nautical manuscript, but they do reveal the eighteenth-century artist's deep knowledge of the workings of the city, both practical and ideological. The presence of roads in the Walters' Istanbul suggests that the potential viewer of the manuscript may have looked at the manuscript for topographic and cartographic insights beyond seafaring, presenting a capital city which is more than its coastlines and ports.

4.5.1. *City of the Living and the Dead: Cemeteries*

The inclusion of cemeteries in the Walters' Istanbul offers further evidence of the manuscript's intentions for a land-based viewership by offering identifiable public spaces frequented by commoners. In including the cemeteries, the artists of the Walters' Istanbul reveal the city as inhabited—by both the dead, buried in cemeteries and the living, who participate in

²⁶⁸ Cerasi, “The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu,” 201.

²⁶⁹ Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 371–397; Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire: Employment and mobility in the Early Modern Era* (I.B. Taurus, 2014), 151–171; Hamadeh, “Invisible City: Istanbul's Migrants and the Politics of Space,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 50, no. 2 (2017): 173–93; Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century between Crisis and Order* (Brill, 2014), 34–38.

²⁷⁰ Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul*, 34.

²⁷¹ Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 394.

urban rituals related to death. Unlike previous Ottoman depictions of the city, the Walters' Istanbul is the first to include the Karacaahmet cemetery in Üsküdar, evident through the proliferation of two-pronged block-shapes among cypress trees, approximating the sepulchers of Ottoman Muslim cemeteries, like can be seen in Lorck's *Turkish Cemetery* (Fig. 2.41).²⁷² Two additional cemeteries appear in Galata as well—pictured as walled unidentified cypress gardens appear to the west of Galata Tower, above the Golden Horn shipyards. Described as “fields of the dead,” and argued by the English traveler Lady Mary Montagu (1689–1762) to be “much larger than the whole city” of Galata, based on placement, the cemeteries can be identified as the Grand Champs des Mort and Petit Champs des Mort.²⁷³ The inclusion of the Karacaahmet Cemetery and Petit and Grand des Champs de Mort are curious additions to the view of Istanbul and indicate the artist's familiarity with the inhabited city. As Mehmet Kentel notes of Galata, “a traveler coming from Bosphorus could still recognize the district by the cypresses of its cemeteries.”²⁷⁴ The artist correctly places the cemeteries on the map, which like roads, offer no practical seafaring purpose. Unlike roads, the depicted cemeteries did not serve a ceremonial purpose for the imperial court; sultans and royal family members were typically buried within imperial religious complexes.²⁷⁵ Their inclusion, therefore, is primarily of interest to a land-based viewer, with no attributable seafaring purpose, and a further example of the vast urbanization throughout the city, where cemeteries and nondescript architecture of commoners fill the composition.

²⁷² It is also clear this is the Karacaahmet cemetery because the artist labels the area *miskinler*, or referring to the Leper Colony in the cemetery, Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 241. For more information on death rituals in the Ottoman Empire, including a map to cemeteries and tombstones in the city of Istanbul, see Edhem Eldem, *Death in Istanbul: Death and its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture* (Ottoman Bank Archives, 2005).

²⁷³ *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Devla Murphy (New Amsterdam Books, 1988), 143; Nükhet Varlık describes the position of the two cemeteries as spanning the areas of Taksim-Fındıklı and Tepebaşı and Kasımpaşa, respectively, see Nükhet Varlık, “Death in Istanbul: Plagues, Fires and Other Catastrophes” in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, eds. Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (Brill, 2021) 435; Mehmet Kentel, “Assembling ‘Cosmopolitan’ Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul,” (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2018), 100–103.

²⁷⁴ Kentel, “Assembling Cosmopolitan Pera,” 103.

²⁷⁵ For imperial ceremonies around death in Ottoman Istanbul, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, “Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul,” in *İslam Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996): 23–36.

4.6.1. Singular Urbanization and Totalizing Muslim City

While the Walters' Istanbul presents an inhabited city of the dead, the composition emphasizes the city's urbanization with a totalizing Muslim depiction. By the eighteenth century, the population of Istanbul was one of, if not the largest, cities in the early modern world, with a close to half a million inhabitants.²⁷⁶ While the population ebbed and flowed, based on natural disasters, plague and migration, the city, which had been a relatively unpopulated town in 1453, had become a bustling, urbanized metropolis by the mid-sixteenth century and the Walters' Istanbul reflects that.²⁷⁷ Üsküdar, which had been barely included in the *Hünernâme* and Matrakçı, in the Walters' rendition is a fully urbanized suburb with crowded Bosphorus shores, multiple imperial endowed architectural works, and equal in compositional space with the European side of the city. Similarly, the Walters' Istanbul's European side reveals larger urbanization in the North, around Beşiktaş and Ortaköy which transformed from rural villages into bustling suburbs, and in the West, near the naval yards, where overlapping buildings and mosques create a crowded depiction of Kasımpaşa. Throughout the Walters' Istanbul, houses, gardens, palaces, hug every shoreline of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn.

The development of the Walters' Istanbul's Western Golden Horn shores, in particular the Galata shipyards in the Kaşımpaşa district, coincides with the township's urbanization and newfound importance in eighteenth-century provisions to feed the growing city. Sultan Ahmed III had renovated the shipyards into provisioning granaries, which moved the main granaries from the entrance of the Golden Horn to the inner harbor of Kasımpaşa.²⁷⁸ Istanbul historically was a difficult place to keep fed and grain provisions were no idle matter; disruptions over provisions and prices had a history of leading to uprisings and deaths.²⁷⁹ The Walters' Istanbul presents the shipyards in uncommon individuality, drawing each ship shed in painstaking detail and lining the axis of the Kasımpaşa stream's entrance into the Golden Horn with middle of the Galata Tower. Namik Erkal describes the architecture of these shipyards, called individually as

²⁷⁶ There is debate about the population numbers, with estimates varying roughly between roughly 300,000 to 700,000 people, see Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) 153; Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 372–376.

²⁷⁷ Faroqhi, *Surviving Istanbul*, 372.

²⁷⁸ Namik Erkal, "Reserved Abundance: State Granaries of Early Modern Istanbul." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 79, no. 1 (2020), 25.

²⁷⁹ Kafadar, *The City Opens Your Eyes*, 40–43; Erkal, "Reserved Abundance," 17; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 357–364.

“göz or çeşm,” as “narrow enclosures with masonry walls on the longer sides, covered by gable roofs and occasionally vaults,” a description which can be seen in all Ottoman painting depictions of the shipyards.²⁸⁰ The Florentine traveler Pietro Della Valle described them in 1614 as,

“made with arches in the usual way, for sheltering and building galleys and other vessels, and is as impressive as befits the greatness of such a harbor and such an emperor.”²⁸¹

They are located across from the Unkapanı Gate (*Unkapanı Kapusu*) in the *intra muros* city, with large ship sheds and small boats docked in a horse-shoe shaped harbor from Meyyit Landing (*Meyyit İskeleyi*) to the foot of the Tersane Garden (*Tersane Bahçesi*).²⁸² It therefore comes as no surprise that the Walters’ Istanbul depicts greater urbanization of Kasımpaşa, alongside an increasingly detailed view of the shipyards, which were no longer simply reserved for shows of naval power, but an essential part of the city’s sustenance for the city’s inhabitants.

While the city itself was multicultural, with significant Christian and Jewish populations, the inland features of the Walters’ Istanbul present a totalizing Muslim view of the city, with a proliferation of identifiable and nondescript mosques depicted among a sea of residential architecture. The lack of churches and synagogues is a noteworthy absence; by 1700, there were six operating churches in the walled city of Galata.²⁸³ Evliya Çelebi, writing in the mid-seventeenth century, suggests that there were as many as seventy churches and two synagogues; additionally he notes that no Muslim pilgrimage sites were in the township.²⁸⁴ Unlike Matrakçı or the *Hünernâme*, the neighborhood West of Galata Tower, the Kasımpaşa shipyards, is much more urbanized—taking up close to half of the Golden Horn coast—perhaps unsurprisingly, a neighborhood dominated by Muslim residents.²⁸⁵ The cartographers working on the Walters’ manuscript, likely in the Kasımpaşa neighborhood themselves, had ample firsthand experience to

²⁸⁰ Erkal, “Reserved Abundance,” 25; Namık Erkal, “Grain Scale of Ottoman Istanbul: Architecture of the Unkapanı Landing Square” *Journal of Urban History* 44(3): 351–381, especially his discussion of graineries in Matrakçı and Buondelmonti, 356–358.

²⁸¹ *The Pilgrim: The Travels of Pietro della Valle, Translated, Abridged and Introduced by George Bull* (London: Hutchinson, 1989), 6.

²⁸² Erkal, “Reserved Abundance,” 24.

²⁸³ Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 155.

²⁸⁴ Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels by Evliya Çelebi, Translation and Commentary* (Eland Publishing, 2010), 19–21.

²⁸⁵ Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 156. Renda even suggests that court artists would have been familiar and perhaps overlapped with cartographers here, Bağcı et al, *Ottoman Painting*, 87.

draw from in their dense depiction of the suburb. While they were likely familiar with their fellow Jewish and Christian city dwellers in the urban fabric, the overwhelming Muslim nature of the composition was an intentional decision, reflecting the Muslim focus found in previously discussed Ottoman city views of Istanbul. Just as Kafescioğlu argues that Matrakçı's and the *Hünernâme*'s Istanbul depictions "silence" their Byzantine and Christian architecture in favor of Ottoman and Muslim architecture, the Walters' Istanbul also hides its non-Muslim present.²⁸⁶

5. Conclusion

Similar to the evolving nature of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript tradition, the Walters' Istanbul map was also part of an evolving image of Istanbul. The Walters' Istanbul is born from sixteenth-century Ottoman conventions of sea charts, land maps, and European city views. Its multiple perspectives, skyline, and focus on Ottoman additions reveal the influence of eighteenth-century Ottoman court painting's three-dimensionality and perspective. Its black and white, systematic, and uniform composition also recalls print culture and printed views of Istanbul. The Walters' Istanbul builds upon the sixteenth-century pictorial basis with a map that highlights the complexities of eighteenth-century elite Ottoman engagement with the city. The painting displays the jewels of Ottoman imperial architecture within the context of a deeply urbanized, eighteenth-century urban fabric, where imperial commissions have to compete with the architecture of daily life of Istanbul dwellers—their cemeteries, farms, and houses. The urbanized Bosphorus shores in particular reveal a totalizing Muslim urban fabric and reflect the expanded role of the Bosphorus in the ceremonial practices of the imperial court. At the same time, the Walters' Istanbul represents multiple land-based routes and practices with no practicality for a seafarer, suggesting that the work's intentions of depicting the capital spanned both land and sea. Given that the likely viewer may have approached the manuscript in an imperial library for geographic or artistic purposes, the Walters' Istanbul's eclectic use of Ottoman and European representational techniques of the city to depict the eighteenth-century urban fabric suggests that the intended viewer was expected to approach the map with extended

²⁸⁶ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, 169. The most prominent example of "silencing," is the placement of the Hagia Sophia, the famous Byzantine church converted into a mosque by Mehmed II in 1453. In the Walters' Istanbul, the Ayasofya is so buried within the urbanization of the *intra muros* city that it takes sustained looking with a fine-toothed comb to even identify. Beyond the Hagia Sophia, the only identifiable remnants of the Byzantine city that remain in the Walters' Istanbul are the Atmeydanı and Galata Tower.

study time for its depicted artistic representational modes and inland architecture, rather than as a seafaring guide.



CHAPTER THREE THE WALTERS' CAIRO: AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING OF A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY CITY

“City of Istanbul, where the beauties of the world reside,
it is the second Cairo according to the wise.”²⁸⁷

Sirozlu Sa'di Çelebi

1. Introduction

The Walters' Cairo map (fol. 305a) (Fig. 3.1) is an elaborately painted, single-perspective bird's eye view of the city of Cairo, which appears as the third sea chart within a sequence of eight Nile River sea charts (fol. 303b–310b) (Figs. 3.2–3.17) (Appendix I) and reflects both eighteenth-century Ottoman ceremonial sites based on the city's storied Muslim history as the former city of the Abbasids (750–1258), Fatimids (969–1171), the Ayyubids (1171–1250), and the Mamluks (1250–1517). The Walters' Cairo has never been seriously considered by scholars in relationship to the Walters' eighteenth-century dating, the topographical or stylistic features of the manuscript's other maps, or its text.²⁸⁸ In this chapter, I will reveal how the Walters' Cairo is informed by its interplay between Piri's “spatialized” original observations and writing, Cairo's special place in the Ottoman Empire, Ottoman nautical painting and eighteenth-century Ottoman painting conventions. The reader is offered a unique viewing experience, between a series of Nile River images ranging in detail, nonlinear in sequence, and differing in orientation, that further display the Walters' Cairo's singularity in the manuscript and break away from a clear

²⁸⁷ Ottoman poet Sirozlu Sa'di Çelebi, in Helen Pfiefer, *Empire of Salons: Conquest and Community in Early Modern Ottoman Lands* (Princeton University Press, 2022), 24. Pfiefer uses this quote to explore Cairo's intellectual history within the Ottoman context, finding that Cairo was the premier destination for Islamic learning, a place where Ottoman students and clergy were constantly visiting and tutors for princes were taught, Pfiefer, *Empire of Salons*, 44.

²⁸⁸ Renda, Kafescioğlu, and Orbay repeatedly mention Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* as an example of detailed nautical painting, see Orbay, “Istanbul Viewed,” 156–159; Kafescioğlu, “Urban Mapping in the Ottoman Empire,” 1588; Renda, “Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts,” 281. Warner and Soucek provide the most thorough examinations of Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, but only give passing reference to the Walters' copy, Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 60–85; Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 132–155.

itinerary. The urban fabric depicted in the Walters' Cairo, based on a schematic basis from sixteenth-century copies of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, does not include additional Ottoman architectural elements from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Still, the urbanization of the city and the city's singular urban fabric is reflective of the Ottoman imperial court's spatial practices in the city. My study of the Walters' Cairo reveals how both Piri's original text and notes, eighteenth-century Ottoman painting practices, and Ottoman imperial engagement with the urban fabric created a unique spatialized city view of Cairo based on the sixteenth century past and eighteenth century present, adapting the manuscript's eighteenth century aesthetic painting techniques for a city view based on the city's most prominent examples of architecture from the reigns of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Empires, when Cairo was the capital city.

2. *The View of Cairo from Istanbul: Cairo in the Ottoman Empire*

Given the city of Cairo's outsize importance to imperial court and the capital city, it comes as no surprise that an Ottoman poet, like in the opening inscription, would describe Istanbul as the "second Cairo." Ottoman Cairo held a special status in the Ottoman Empire religiously, governmentally, and economically.²⁸⁹ After the conquering of the city and the Mamluks, the Ottomans became the *Hâdimü'l-Haremeyn* or Custodians of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, newly responsible for the safety, well-being, and provisions of Muslim

²⁸⁹ The city of Ottoman Cairo was the sum of many different cities founded by different Empires; the Tulunid Empire's al-Qata'i, the Amr Ibn Al'As' al-Fustat in 641–42 (known in Ottoman as *Mısır-ı Atik* or Old Egypt), and the Fatimid Empire's walled city of Qahira, or Cairo, in 969. Under the Ottomans, Cairo remained the seat of Egypt's power, and the Empire's definition of the city consisted of al-Fustat to the south, the walled city of central Cairo, and the Nile River port of Bulaq, referred to all together as simply "Mısır." Associated with figures like Abraham, Moses, Joseph, Jesus, Jacob, Joshua, and Noah and the biblical site of the Nile River, the city was also home to religious scholars (and shrines) such as those of Imam al-Shafi'i and Imam al-Layth. Mustafa Ali, a sixteenth-century Ottoman official, wrote in his *Description of Cairo of 1599* that "three hundred forty excellent men of the Companions of the Prophet have set their foot in Cairo," see James Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 20–22; Andreas Tietze, *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599: Text, transliteration, translation, notes* (Verlag Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), 31–32; Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 139–141 and 176; Robert Dankoff, Nuran Tezcan, and Michael D. Sheridan, *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile* (Ginkgo, 2018), 23. The premier place for Islamic learning, Cairo boasted Al-Azhar University, labeled by Egyptian scholar Al-Sha'rani as the "Citadel of Islam," and continued to be patronized by the Ottoman pashas. Cairo's dominance in Islamic learning was widely known, even by the Ottomans themselves before the conquest, who were known for sending tutors, scholars, and students to Cairo, Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 91; Pfiefer, *Empire of Salons*, 27; Baldwin *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 22.

pilgrims. Cairo's location was essential for Istanbul's ability to dominate international trade and provide grain for the Empire. James Baldwin writes,

"Egyptian grain fed Ottoman soldiers on campaign in Hungary and Persia, while Egyptian rice maintained the poor of Mecca and Medina, and Egyptian sugar sweetened the drinks of the prince and princesses of Topkapı Palace."²⁹⁰

Control over Egypt meant prime access to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, resulting in Ottoman control over the coffee and spice trade.²⁹¹ The Nile's fertile valley accounted for the Empire's main source of sugar, grains, and cotton.²⁹² Its agricultural output was so outsized that Evliya Çelebi noted, "Cairo is called "Mother of the world," because if the whole world is suffering dearth and famine, Egypt can feed it; but if God forbid, Cairo suffers famine for a single day, not all the world's crops could sustain it."²⁹³ Cairo's goods were sold at the *Mısır Çarşı*, or Egyptian Bazaar, in Istanbul, the toponym reflecting the city's outsize impact on Ottoman trade.²⁹⁴

3. *Piri Reis and Cairo in the Kitâb-ı Bahriye*

The Nile sea charts make a nonlinear detour from the Mediterranean Sea, but their inclusion, original to Piri's 1521 and 1526 manuscripts, is an understandable addition. Piri likely first encountered the Nile while on campaigns for Bayezid II with his Uncle Kemal Reis in 1498 and 1507.²⁹⁵ By 1517, Piri offered his World Map of 1513 to Sultan Selim as part of the triumphal victory celebrations in Cairo upon the Mamluk defeat.²⁹⁶ After the conquering, no Ottoman sultan visited Egypt until the mid-nineteenth century.²⁹⁷ Transformed by the Ottomans into a provincial capital governed by Istanbul, Piri again returned to Cairo on official business; in 1523, he captained the ship of Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, the future patron of the *Kitâb-ı*

²⁹⁰ Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 7.

²⁹¹ Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 27.

²⁹² Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 20; Alan Mikhael, *Under Osman's Tree: The Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Environmental History* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), 355.

²⁹³ Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 99.

²⁹⁴ Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 27.

²⁹⁵ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 149.

²⁹⁶ Ottoman victory over the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria transformed the composition of the Ottoman populace to favor Muslims, greatly expanded the borders of the Empire, particularly in the Mediterranean, and made the Ottomans the caretakers of the two holiest cities in Islam; Piri's gift to the Sultan was surely meant for political favor and a reminder of Piri's service, Jane Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule: 1516–1800* (2nd ed.) (Routledge, 2019), 37. Evliya Çelebi notes that greater graveyards of Cairo consist of "myriads of the children of prophets, if not prophets themselves, and great saints and leading imams and Companions of the Prophet and bygone kings and sultans." Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 120; James Baldwin, *Islamic Law and Empire in Ottoman Cairo*, 20; Andre Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period* (Ashgate, 2002), 21.

²⁹⁷ Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 37.

Bahriye, on his way to quell the rebellion of the Egyptian governor Ahmed Pasha (d. 1524).²⁹⁸ As a major trading post, outsized in commercial importance from the other Egyptian-coastline port cities of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damietta, Piri would have been remiss to dismiss Cairo from the manuscript because it was outside the basin of the Mediterranean.²⁹⁹

3.1.1. Cairo Text in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*

The city of Cairo is part of Piri's original physical text of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript, but its role is minimal and much more marginal than its grand illumination in the Walters' manuscript suggests. Piri introduces the Nile River sequence with a short passage explaining his reasoning for including a waterway outside of the Mediterranean. Piri writes in "This Chapter the Banks of the Nile River from the Mouth at Rosetta as far as Egypt are Described,"³⁰⁰

"The reason that lies behind writing about the towns, islands, and other landmarks of the Nile river is not our intention to treat them for practical navigation as we did about the [Mediterranean]. There is no place that needs to be scared of, because the river Nile is sheltered everywhere. It is necessary to record the places we have observed here along the Nile river as far as Egypt because we have already described the Mediterranean places we have seen. I took compass readings and wrote them down stage by stage on the way up the Nile river to Egypt and that resulted in the maps you see here. From the seacoast to Egypt these places go along for five hundred miles. The reason for the Nile river floods in the month of August is its headwaters lying beyond the equator and because of this when it is winter there it is summer here. So the Nile floods in the summer season."³⁰¹

The extent of Piri's writing about the Nile and Cairo is minimal, especially for a city he knew quite intimately; he, for example, writes much more extensively about Venice, including the city in 28 chapters.³⁰² It is therefore annotations and later city views of Cairo which allow the viewer to engage deeply with the city, rather than his text.

²⁹⁸ Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 36–40; Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 157.

²⁹⁹ Christine Isom-Verhaaren, "Ottoman Empire," in *The Sea in World History: Exploration, Travel and Trade*, ed. Stephen K. Stein (ABC-CLIO, 2017), 385.

³⁰⁰ The word "Egypt" in this context refers to Cairo.

³⁰¹ Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 534. *İşbu kitabda Nil Irmağı'un karyelerin ve/ cezâyirün ve bakî alâmetini yaduğumuzdan / murâd bu değildir. Kim Akdeniz gibi amel / itmeğe kâbil olsun, için ola. Nil Irmağı'nun her / yeri limandür. İhtiraz yeri değildir. Velî / Akdeniz'de her gördüğümüz yerleri beyân / eyedük. Bu mahalde lâzım oldu kim, Nil Irmağı'nda Mısır'a varınca temâşa / eylediğümüz yerler kayd olına / İmdi mezkûr Nil Irmağı'n Mısır'a giderken, / pusula ile, makam be-makam yazardum. İşbu eşkâl hâsıl oldu. Mezkûr yerler deniz kenarından tâ Mısır'dan beş yüz mildür/ Ammâ bu zikr olan Nil Irmağı'n Ağustos ayında / taşduğunda bâis budur kim, mezkûr Nil'ün başı budur kim, mezkûr Nil'ün başı Hatt-ı İstiva'dan ötedür. Eyle olsa, ol yerde kış/ olıcak bu yerde yaz olur. Yaz gününde Nil taşduğunda sebeb budur derler.* In this passage, Piri refers to the city of Cairo through the use of the term "mısır," or Egypt, which was considered one and the same with Cairo.

³⁰² Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002), 283–333 for translations of these passages. In a second Nile River chapter, Piri alludes to Cairo in the following textual passage chapter about the northern estuaries of Burulus and Rosetta, where he remarks about the necessity of "small craft" ships to reach inland.

Piri's original annotations on the city of Cairo, faithfully copied in the Walters' Cairo, reveals his familiarity with the city's storied Muslim past, encouraging the reader to view the map as an atlas to the city's landmarks from the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Empires. He identifies all the important parts of the city, including the Old Cairo (*Mısır-ı Atik*), the city of Cairo (*Şehir-i Mısır-ı Kahire*) and the river-port Bulaq. He identifies the surrounding ports with generic residential and religious architecture and written labels. However, he also uses the composition as the basis for explaining more about the history of the city. He writes, near Old Cairo, which was the center of al-Fustat, that there are "rubbish heaps piled up in olden times" referring to saucy tales in European travelogues that associated dirtiness with the Qarafa cemetery grave dwellers.³⁰³ Piri presents a history of the pyramids, writing: "These wonders are the mountains of Ahriman, which are also the Pharaoh's mountains. They are [man-made] structures."³⁰⁴ He identifies the Ayyubid Imam al-Shafi'i mausoleum as that of "Saint Imam al-Shafi'i" and identifies the Ayyubid Citadel, which was also the Ottoman governor's residence, as the historical "Yusuf Pavilion." He also identifies many *zaviyes*, or sufi lodges, though does not provide specific personages they were associated with.³⁰⁵ He notes the workings of Mamluk aqueduct, writing, "*bu kemerden mısır'a su gider*" or "from this channel water comes into Egypt" referencing the circular well which provides the aqueduct water for the Citadel.

At the same time that Piri specifically singles out architectural contributions of previous Muslim empires in Cairo, Piri's annotations regarding the waterways and local ships encourage a seafarer's perspective. Piri identifies the two water ways that split at the bottom of the composition, noting how the left will lead to the Damietta and the right will lead to the Rosetta estuaries. Piri also provides a description (written and painted) of the boats of the Nile known as the *akabe* ('*akabe*), *çerim*, *shahtor* (*şahtor*), and *kiyase* (*qiyâs*).³⁰⁶ Of the *shahtor* boat, he

³⁰³ *Bunlar kadimden dokulmus supruntu daglaridar*. Translation Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 153.

³⁰⁴ "*Bu alametler Ehremen daglaridir, ve Fir'avn daglari da derler. Cumle binalardir.*" Translation from Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 155.

³⁰⁵ *Zaviye*, which is a Turkish version of the Arabic *zawiya*, were very well known in Egypt, and their generic representation in Piri's Cairo belies their greater ubiquity in the city. Hathaway, *The Arab Lands under Ottoman Rule*, 118; Chahinda Karim, *Ottoman Cairo: Religious Architecture from Sultan Selim to Napoleon* (American University of Cairo Press, 2021), 12, 28–29, 41–42.

³⁰⁶ For more information about Ottoman boats, see Idris Bostan, *Kürekli ve Yelkenli Osmanlı Gemileri* (Bilge, 2005), and in particular Nile River Boats, see page 253; Soucek, *Ottoman Naval History*, 230–238. Also see Okay Sütçüoğlu, *Piri Reis'in gemileri: Rönesans sanatına meydan okuma* (Ötüken, 2019). For Ottoman ship-making in Egypt, see Alan Mikhael's "*Under Osman's Tree*," 160, 354.

mentions that it is a type of Berber ship from Nubia.³⁰⁷ The inclusion of boats is a common feature of portolan charts and Piri's work, including the Walters' manuscript. However, Piri's display of the boats as individual, labeled specimens is unique to this map within the manuscript, revealing his familiarity with the region and the city, and underscoring his expertise as a sailor. The annotations are written in several different directions—horizontally and vertically—which was typical of portolan chart writing, but does require reorienting the manuscript for proper reading.

4. *The Walters' Cairo and the Nile River Sequence*

The history of Ottoman depictions of Cairo largely begins and end with the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*.³⁰⁸ The city of Cairo is an original part of the manuscript in the Nile sequence section of the manuscript and is the first known Ottoman depiction of the city. The Ayasofya 2612 manuscript at the Süleymaniye Library, the presumed Piri original copy, offers a rudimentary layout of the city and monuments of sixteenth-century Cairo that continue to be reproduced over time, culminating in the extravagant rendition in the Walters' Cairo.³⁰⁹ While the city always appears in a Nile River sequence, the amount of Nile river images is manuscript, rather than version (1521 or 1526), specific. The number of Nile river images is always higher in the longer edition, but the amount and the placement of the city of Cairo varies, without any discernible reason.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ "A Berber ship which comes from Upper Egypt. They call it Shakhtur." *Berber gemisi. Sa'id elinden gelir. Adina Shatur derler*. Translation and transcription by Soucek, see *Turkish Mapmaking*, 156.

³⁰⁸ Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 150. There is one other Ottoman map of the Nile attributed to Evliya Çelebi, that, while likely completed by another's hands, appears to accompany exactly his journeys through Egypt, with 475 accompanying place names. This map (Vat. Turc 73) is held in the Vatican Collections, see Ettore Rossi, "A Turkish Map of the Nile River, circa 1685." *Imago Mundi* 6 (1949): 73–75. In a recent study by Robert Dankoff, Nuran Tezcan and Michael Sheridan, which includes a translation and transcription of the Vat Turc 73 map, they found no overlap in content, style, or labels with the Piri Reis' map of Cairo or any extant European map, see Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 16–18. The book also has a facsimile of the map.

³⁰⁹ Ayasofya edition has been considered if not the original Piri Reis manuscript, then to be very close to the original, see Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 152; Kahlaoui, "The Mediterranean in Islamic Cartography," 294. It is agreed that the later editions of the manuscript are the most elaborate, see Soucek, *Turkish Mapmaking*, 154; Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 60.

³¹⁰ The variations between manuscripts, as discussed in the introduction, is a reason why scholar Tarek Kahlaoui has argued that each *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript should be discussed completely separately, see Kahlaoui, "The Mediterranean in Islamic Cartography," 242. While I don't agree that the entire corpus of manuscripts cannot be discussed together in some fashion, acknowledgement of the differences between manuscripts (content and style) is necessary for providing better insights.

While the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* Cairo is the first extant Ottoman map we have of the city, it does not mean it was necessarily the only one that the Ottoman Empire had or the first one.³¹¹ It is possible that the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*'s Cairo is simply an entirely original composition by Piri that was embellished over time with more color, larger scale, and greater attention to detail. Orbay has suggested that the Walters' *Deniz Atlası*'s view of Cairo (Fig. 3.18) has the same viewpoint, nautical conventions, and attention to greenery as depictions of Cairo in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, suggesting that the work may have been informed by a similar source as Piri's or perhaps Piri's himself.³¹² There are also known lost and destroyed European maps of Cairo that may have been a precedent to Piri's Cairo. In one case, Gentile Bellini, the Italian portrait artist who had been invited to the court by Mehmed II, was known to have sent a preliminary drawing of Cairo based on a "rare coloured print of Cairo" for the governing Gonzaga family of Mantua in 1493, but neither Bellini's sketch nor the original print survive.³¹³

4.1.1. *The Walters' Cairo and the BnF's Cairo: Eighteenth-Century Painting Techniques, Sixteenth-Century City*

Similar to the Walters' Istanbul, the Walters' Cairo builds upon the Paris BnF Cairo copy's schematic basis with the introduction of single bird's eye view perspective, eighteenth-century painting techniques, and optical illusory techniques (Fig. 3.19). The BnF's Cairo is schematically similar to the Walters' Cairo, with the overall annotations, rough compositional placement, and major Cairene monuments similarly depicted based on the architecture depicted in sixteenth century copies of Piri's work. The main difference between the two city views is not the architecture which is pictured, but the method of composition and perspective(s). The BnF's Cairo's composition is a discrete view of multiple topographic and architectural elements within a blank plane, rather than a compositionally-connected unified city view as seen in the Walters' Cairo. Indeed, the viewer is encouraged to view the architectural features as discrete units, with vast distances in between topographical clusters of architecture. While in the Walters' Cairo, the

³¹¹ Given the court's penchant for mapping sieges, it is possible that maps of Cairo and Egypt existed in the Ottoman collections and Piri had access to them. Furthermore, our general lack of Ottoman architectural plans gives us limited insight into what may have been prepared by the Royal Corps of Architects, and therefore what may have been available to Piri or to the court's painting atelier, see Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions," 104.

³¹² Orbay, "Istanbul Viewed," 158.

³¹³ Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 37. The sketch was made for a series of wall paintings of cities, ancient and modern in importance, which destroyed in the eighteenth century.

main city takes up the majority of the composition, the BnF's Cairo appears to only depict the city of Cairo, a few ports, and the Nile River boats. In fact, the BnF's city center is a much smaller part of the composition overall, taking up less than a quarter of the composition. The varying perspectives of the BnF copy depicts architecture horizontal to the shoreline, ostensibly similar to how a sailor would encounter it, but not entirely beholden to sea-based perspectives either. This results in several perspectives for the BnF's Cairo: one can look horizontally from the left or the right, but can never get one single totalizing view. For example, in the BnF's Cairo, the well (attached to the aqueduct) is entirely horizontal and facing the Nile, while its accompanying aqueduct is drawn vertically; a horizontally-oriented mosque is visible in the center of the city of Cairo amid a sea of vertically oriented architecture. The BnF's view of Cairo is much more schematic and generalized—the Citadel would not even be recognizable outside of the urban context of the BnF's larger Cairo. On the other hand, the Walters' Cairo depicts architecture like the Citadel in painstaking detail with the rigor of a painted miniature or architectural study, with every door and window of the Citadel and city walls pictured.

The Walters' Cairo is distinguished by its singular perspective, in contrast to the BnF copy's multiperspectival painting, which is very similar to the *Hünernâme* and Matrakçı, and indeed, the Walters' Istanbul. The Walters' Cairo has only one bird's eye perspective, allowing the viewer to digest the entire image at once and does not have to reorient the manuscript to properly view the architecture. The Walters' city of Cairo is within a larger topographical composition of hills and trees, which has the effect of presenting a unified composition and serves to accurately position compositional units in relation to one another. Each compositional unit—tree, shrub, building, ship—appears aligned with its corresponding horizontally placed units. The placement, and horizon lines, of the mosque and mausoleum of al-Shafi'i corresponds with the placement of the Pyramids. The urban fabric of Bulaq is mirrored in placement with the inner city of Cairo and Nile River port of Imbaba directly horizontally across from it.

In the Walters' Cairo, the entire city and suburbs are physically connected with roads and canals, while also stylistically connected, with blank space covered in greenery, graves, and densely built architecture, which gives both compositional and aesthetic unity. The addition of greenery, shrubbery, date palms, and rolling hills, creates a full composition with very little

blank space. While the palm trees and shrubs are unified in their appearance, their placement and size creates the illusion of linear perspective, with their bases creating a vanishing horizon line. Drawn alongside the banks of the Nile and the city of Cairo's suburbs, the greenery attempts a geometrically accurate relation to one another, with foreshortened trees in the foregrounds and shaded bases aligned with architecture and other trees. Similarly, the overlapping green hills, with foreshortened foregrounds, creates an accurate sense of linear perspective. The pre-planned composition creates a sophisticated uniform view of the city's architecture and topography. The lines, labels, and paint are remarkably sharp and uniform. Individual compositional units, like trees, nondescript architecture, and shrines are so similar— with print-like replication—that each could easily be moved to a different part of the composition and blend in.

The most striking difference between the BnF's Cairo and the Walters' Cairo is the level of architectural detail, the influence of European illusory techniques, and coloring. The depiction of the BnF's Cairo does not depart greatly from the conventions of typical Ottoman nautical painting, featuring the color scheme of blue domes for mosques and red roofs for nondescript architecture, similar to Matrakçı and the *Deniz Atlası*. The hills are made with single lines and a variety of fantastical colors. The BnF painting is much more approximate and less precise; for example, the colors made painted with a light wash which bleeds together—individual brushstrokes, or gradations of color are not seen at all. In contrast, the colors throughout the Walters' Cairo's depiction create a sophisticated compositional unity while also referencing the color conventions of nautical painting. Like the rest of the Nile River sequence, the city's religious and imperial architecture is colored with gold, while the nondescript architecture—flat-roofed and tiled—is colored with red. The orange of the city's tiled roofs is echoed in the Qarafa Cemetery's sepulchers, the orange dates and trunks of palm trees, and the wooden frames of the Nile River boats. Similarly, gold can be found throughout every corner of the composition, used to illuminate domed mosques and shrines, minarets, capitals of the aqueduct's columns, watch towers, pyramids and details of the Nile River boats. The uniform use of color both creates a visual cohesion in the urban fabric and the wider metropolitan area, while also helpfully indicating with gold where the reader should focus their attention.

The Walters' Cairo also uses brushstrokes and gradations of color in the service of eighteenth-century optical illusory painting techniques. Various brushstrokes and tones of green creates a sense of texture, three-dimensionality, volume, and linear perspective. From the multihued green palm trees and shrubbery that crowd the banks of the river, the green wash along the perimeter of the waterways, the green ceremonial routes throughout the walled city and the multitonned green rolling hills, hues of green are visible in every part of the composition creating another color-based unity in the composition. Like found in the work of Levni and the Walters' *Hamse*, the Walters' Cairo shows visible brush strokes of various hues—gradients of green—to create a sense of three-dimensionality, depth, and sophistication. The branches of the palm trees, for example, are drawn with dark green brushstrokes on a light green wash background. The rolling hills experiment with three-dimensionality through the gradation of the color green, darker at the top and lighter at the bottom, alongside visible dark green brushstrokes that create an illusion of overlapping hills. The interior of the walled city of Cairo is depicted with short medium green brushstrokes on a very light green wash background.

The Walters' Cairo's use of shading and perspective achieves the illusion of three-dimensionality and realism and contributes to its eighteenth-century dating. The mosques, towers, minarets, and city walls of Cairo are shaded with black and gray which successfully gives the architecture a cohesive sense of volume and depth. The city's architectural style is noticeably different from Istanbul, depicting mosque minarets as thick, three-tiered and topped with a bulb, reminiscent of the traditional late Mamluk style.³¹⁴ The expert gradation of color and curved lines of the Nile River boats' flags suggest a realistic fullness; the blue wash below each boat and its oars achieves the illusion of volume and depth. Furthermore, the sails of the ships—drawn in gradients of gray alongside curvilinear lines—creates a sense of depth and movement. The main aqueduct's pillars are shown from an oblique angle with orange shading which allows the viewer to see both the front and left sides, creating the illusion of three-dimensionality. The nondescript, cubic, red painted nondescript architectural units overlap one another, foreshortened in the front, to create linear perspective. The positioning of architectural units in the Walters'

³¹⁴ Late Mamluk minarets were defined by three stories, two tiers, an octagonal base, with a "stone bulb" on top. Along with stone-carved domes, such minarets were a classic architectural specialty of Cairo. See Behrens-Abouseif, *Minarets of Cairo*, 9; 36–39.

Cairo also reveals accurate use of linear perspective. The two-tiered Citadel is given proper depth by having the closer towers shorter than the farther towers. The city's dense, overlapping residential architecture creates a sense of linear perspective, where the viewer is naturally guided to look up amid the layers of density. Perspective can also be seen in the gradation in scale of the aqueduct's pillars, which become smaller as they get closer to the Citadel, the Island of Rhoda, where greenery and buildings in the northern part of the island are smaller than the south, and in Giza, the northernmost pyramid is made smaller than the southernmost.

4.2.1. *The Walters' Cairo amidst the Nile River Sequence*

In the Walters' Nile sequence, a series of schematized topographic and colors repeat. Gold, for example, adorns the tops of mausoleums, mosques, minarets, and imperial walls. Unlike Matrakçı's use of color to differentiate building material, as discussed in Chapter Two, gold does not appear to coincide with a certain material, as it is used to color both the wooden Imam al-Shafi'i dome, the stone-built Pyramids, and the stone-carved domes. Instead, the color gold is used to highlight imperial and religious structures. Similarly, the color orange is used throughout the sequence to paint the flat roofs of generic residential structures; orange paint likely refers to the mud brick roofs characteristic of Egyptian architecture, but its widespread use for nondescript architecture makes it impossible to determine whether the color actually aligns with a material.³¹⁵ Green wash is used to demarcate the Nile River's boundaries, perhaps referring to the Nile's reputation as a fertile valley with annual floods that left low-lying lands "green with vegetation."³¹⁶ As Evliya Çelebi notes,

"when the blessed Nile comes as desired, the entire country becomes a sea. Then all the towns and villages...are left like islands in the midst of a sea-like Nile and the date palms rise out of the water."³¹⁷

The floods meant that the actual borders of the Nile were always changing.³¹⁸ The green wash therefore accomplishes two goals; it alludes to the valley's fertility while also blurring the borders of the river itself.

³¹⁵ Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Le Caire, 1993), 6.

³¹⁶ Red is used for the brick-roofs in the Matrakçı's Istanbul, see Denny, "A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul," 50; for Egyptian mud-brick architecture, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 8.

³¹⁷ Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 114.

³¹⁸ Mikhael, *Under Osman's Tree*, 36. This is confirmed by Mikhail's study on the environmental history of Ottoman Egypt, where the legal record attests to the troubles Ottoman bureaucracy faced with water and land in flux, see Mikhael, *Under Osman's Tree*, 37.

All of the Nile sea-charts have a singular, bird's eye perspective, but they differ in orientation: three of the eight are horizontally oriented. This causes the viewer to have to continually rotate the manuscript, or physically move around the manuscript, to properly view it. While the Istanbul map, for example, with its many changing perspectives, required re-orienting the manuscript to fully understand one sea chart, the Nile sea charts can be seen individually from one perspective, but in sequence require the reader's continual re-orientation. The use of multiple perspectives is only understood through the viewer experience of the sequence rather than any singular chart within it.

The perspective of the Walters' Cairo underscores Istanbul's supremacy. The viewer looks at Cairo from True North, facing South, as if the viewer was traveling to Cairo from the direction of Istanbul. Given that Sultan Selim I was the last Ottoman sultan to visit Cairo and that the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* manuscript was given to Sultan Süleyman in Istanbul, the sea chart offers the ability of the receiving Sultan a properly (from Istanbul) oriented view of a province he never traveled to. There are religious reasons to include a south-facing perspective as well, which places the main city of Cairo on the left of the composition, and orients the many mausoleums and mosques, like that of Imam Al-Shafi'i, eastwards, subtly emphasizing the Muslim history of the city and encourages the viewer to align the mosques with the direction of Mecca.³¹⁹ This also is a not-so-subtle reminder of the city's relationship to provisioning the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, which would gather food, water, and caravans in Cairo before setting off to the holy cities.

In comparison with the larger Nile River series, which are rather schematized, generic, and somewhat sloppily executed, the Walters' Cairo's attention to detail, eighteenth-century technique, and level of care is made even more obvious. Large manuscript illumination in the Ottoman Empire was a team effort, and it appears likely that the map of Cairo was completed by a separate individual from the rest of the sequence. It further stands out because of its color palette; the Nile River is painted blue for all of the maps except the city of Cairo, which is a

³¹⁹ Renda notes that Piri emphasizes the Muslim character of Alexandria, Renda, "Representations of Towns in Ottoman Sea Charts," 284; Ebel makes a similar argument about Matrakci's eastward facing perspective from Istanbul, see Ebel, "City Views, Imperial Visions," 62.

shimmering silver. While the palm trees of Cairo are “fan” like, the palm trees of the other Nile images are leafier, with larger and more textured dates. In the Nile River sequence, the shrubbery is only approximated with a scribble of green, rather than an actual outline of a tree. The color, orientation, and shading of hills also varies between Nile images, including colors that do not appear in the Cairo city view such as bright blue, yellow, and red. Architecture in the other Nile images is much more generic and schematized, the accuracy of shading, three-dimensionality, and perspective is much more loosely followed. For example, in the Walters’ Nile River sequence, colors bleed outside of the lines of their intended object (gold is especially painted in a clunky fashion), some houses and shrines exist only as outlines, yet to be colored in, and sometimes shading is incorrectly applied. The result is that Cairo stands out as a jewel at the height of Ottoman eighteenth-century painting abilities, likely completed by a master artist.

The series of Nile River sea charts are in a nonlinear sequence, offering a multi-directional perspective akin to a river flowing in two directions. In the Walters’ Istanbul, Cairo is sandwiched between two sea charts (fols. 304b and 306b) of the Nile River’s estuary south, which is to the north of the city of Cairo. By having the viewer “travel” back and forth between North (Nile River Estuary) and South (city of Cairo), the sequence communicates Cairo’s proximity to the Mediterranean Sea and privileges the city over the Nile River villages that come before it. It is only after this sequence of three (fols. 304b, 305a, and 306b) that the viewer sees further south down the Nile River (fol. 307a). However, shortly thereafter, on folio 307b, the sea chart again is “out of sequence,” with the sea chart beginning at the Cairene river port of Bulaq, north of Cairo’s city center—North of Cairo—which in a linear journey, would have been placed between the Nile River Estuary and the city of Cairo. The interplay between North and South not only creates a unique viewing experience, liberating the viewer from a sequential progression, but reveals the Walters’ artists understanding of Cairo’s importance. Clearly the goal was to highlight the city view, rather than create a geographically-accurate singular coastline.

5. *The Walters’ Cairo: A Sixteenth-Century Ceremonial Atlas*

The story of Cairo under two centuries of Ottoman rule is primarily one of urbanization rather than grandiose imperial projects, which is reflected in the Walters’ Cairo’s topographic

focus on the pre-conquest city. Unlike Istanbul, Cairo's urban fabric and pictorial history under Ottoman rule has not been fully investigated by scholars, where it has been long suggested that Ottoman Cairo was a time of "decline" due to the lack of monumental architecture commissioned under the Ottomans.³²⁰ The Ottomans had in Cairo an already formidable population and dense urban fabric. Scholar Ülkü Bates notes that "Cairo in the early sixteenth century boasted many more imperial monument than did Istanbul" and scholar Doris Behrens-Abouseif asserts that "Cairo's wealth of monuments had no parallel in other capitals of the Muslim world."³²¹ More likely, however, is that Ottoman engagement in Cairene architecture reflects its status as a provincial capital governed by a *beylerbeyi*, or governor. Such governors were, among other things, responsible for collecting tax revenue and reporting to Istanbul; their architectural contributions reflect their smaller purses.³²²

The Walters' Cairo expands on the nondescript architecture of Ottoman Cairo, but focuses architectural accuracy, labels, and prominence on architecture from the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk dynasties. While no imperial mosques were built in Cairo during the Ottoman period,

³²⁰ The idea of the "Ottoman Decline" paradigm also was apparent in the history of Egypt and Cairo under Ottoman rule. Not only was this not true (the time saw a lot of prosperity as well, see Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*, 96, but comparing a provincial capital with the capital of an Empire is not a productive comparison, see Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*, 93 and Behrens-Abouseif *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 221. The first monograph exclusively dedicated to Ottoman Cairo's architecture was only recently published in 2021, see Karim, *Ottoman Cairo*. Istanbul, which had been relatively unpopulated prior to 1453, was urbanized through major Ottoman imperial building projects. For more information on the urbanizing characteristics of early Ottoman building in Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul* and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*. In contrast, pre-Ottoman Cairo was already quite urbanized, with a bustling city rich in people, commerce, and monuments. Comparing Cairo's architectural history to its previous Mamluk forebears' capital city, or Cairo has a provincial capital with Istanbul as the capital city, is therefore an unfair and misleading endeavor that has bedeviled scholars. For the purpose of this thesis, the role of Cairo's Ottoman architectural additions is meant to illuminate the dating and urban fabric of the Walters' Cairo.

³²¹ Ülkü Ü. Bates, "Two Ottoman Documents on Architects in Egypt," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985), 122; Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 219.

³²² Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 99. Andre Raymond suggests that the city in the sixteenth century could have had as many as 200,000 residents, see Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 30. The governors were typically only in Egypt for a couple years; the post, while prestigious, was deliberately kept short to prevent the accumulation of power in the provinces, Hathaway, 109. These governors were typically *devşirmes*, or Christian converts from Anatolia and the Balkans, without any ties to their Arab subjects or governing territory, see Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 52. With such short tenures and loose ties, the Ottoman governors of Egypt did not endow the city with the same extravagant architecture as their imperial predecessors, the Mamluks. It was no longer the imperial treasury of the Mamluks, but high-level Ottoman bureaucratic salaries funding architectural endeavors. It bears mentioning also that the Ottoman governors were held personally responsible for procuring a set amount of tax revenue, even if that meant paying from their own salary if the year's harvest was lacking, see Behrens-Abouseif *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, 8; Bates, "Two Ottoman Documents on Architects in Egypt," 121; Karim, *Ottoman Cairo*, 12.

shrines, madrasas, sufi lodges, and sabils, in addition to maintenance projects, were financed.³²³

Behrens-Abouseif argues:

“when the Ottomans inherited this metropolis, there was no need to expand the city that had already assumed colossal proportions...the merit of the Ottomans would lie in preserving its legacy, whereas their emphasis was focused on Istanbul, which had the time of the conquest of Egypt, was still in need of development and glamour.”³²⁴

Behrens-Abouseif correctly distinguishes the differences in function between the two cities under the Ottomans, but equally true, as Andre Raymond notes, is that the Ottomans constructed almost the same amount of buildings in their time in power as the Mamluks during their 267 years in power, including 175 mosques.³²⁵ Still, the identifiable architecture includes none of the post-Ottoman addition; instead, identifiable monuments like the Abbasid Nilometer, Ayyubid Citadel and Imam al-Shafi'i mosque, Fatimid thoroughfare known as the *qasaba*, Mamluk aqueduct and al-Hassan Mosque are prominently displayed in the composition. Furthermore, the Ottomans, using their diverse set of architects from Istanbul and Egypt, did appear to introduce some Ottoman architectural features to the city, such as Istanbul's characteristically smooth, lead domes and pencil-thin, cone-topped minarets.³²⁶ While not depicting Ottoman additions to the urban fabric, the Walters' Cairo map's gold illuminated, smooth-domed shrines and mosques can be seen as an Ottoman claim to religious and political monuments of the previous Muslim Empires. Major growth in the urban population happened during the Ottoman period, with some estimates suggesting as many as a quarter of a million inhabitants by the end of Ottoman rule.³²⁷ Thus, the artist(s)' choice to depict Cairo's Muslim architecture can be seen as a deliberate choice to prioritize the city's Muslim character and imperial past over eighteenth-century topographic accuracy. The result is a city view which suggests the Ottomans desired to both present and claim the city's millennia-spanning history and religious associations.

³²³ While the Ottomans may have not created new monumental architectural works in Cairo, the Ottomans did oversee vast urban growth and the introduction of Ottoman stylistic features to the urban fabric. The Nile riverside port of Bulaq, the main port into Cairo, urbanized substantially under the Ottomans and was the site of the largest pasha-founded mosque, Sinan Pasha Mosque (1571), Karim, *Ottoman Cairo*, 8; Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 164, 55.

³²⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 221.

³²⁵ Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 247. See also Karim, *Ottoman Cairo*, 8.

³²⁶ Karim, *Ottoman Cairo*, 11; Bates, “Two Ottoman Documents on Architects in Egypt,” 125; Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 223.

³²⁷ Nezar Alsayyed, *Cairo: Histories of a City* (Harvard University Press, 2011), 165. Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 92.

6.1.1. Imperial Ottoman Use of Cairo

The Walters' Cairo maps out a singular, connected urban fabric based on the ceremonial routes, spatial practices, of the Ottoman imperial court's use of Fatimid, Mamluk, Ayyubid, and Abbasid architecture in the city for religious ceremonies, receptions of visiting dignitaries from Istanbul, funerals, celebrations of the end of the plague, and the annual Nile River floods based on Piri's original observation and the continued use of pre-1517 monuments in Ottoman ceremonial practices.³²⁸ The Walters' Cairo represents how the Ottomans repurposed the monuments of previous Muslim Empires in the service of imperial ceremony in the city. In traditional Ottoman ceremony based on Selim's first triumphal entry into the city in 1517, the governor of Egypt would begin his entry to the city by arriving in the northern riverside port of Bulaq, depicted prominently on the Nile in the Walters' Istanbul.³²⁹ Following the Ottoman governor's arrival, the court would make a procession throughout the city by entering the Bab al-Bahr (Nile River Gate, closest to the Nile River).³³⁰ The road for such a procession in the Walters' Istanbul is indicated through the green wash road and the Khalij al-Masri canal, which flows into the city. Like the imperial visitor to Cairo, the viewer of the Walters' Cairo is invited to trace the routes of ceremonial practice with their eyes. The viewer looks at the urban fabric as if coming from Istanbul, with Bulaq the first major urban port.³³¹ The eyes are encouraged to turn horizontally left alongside the canal, green wash roads, and the acqudeuct, which successfully uses linear perspective to create the illusion of a vanishing point towards the center of the city. The imperial thoroughfare (North-South) throughout the walled city, known as the *qasaba*, connects the city of Cairo creates a ceremonial route for the viewer to follow from a land perspective in the city.³³² In the Walters' Cairo, the green wash road ends in the middle of Cairo,

³²⁸ The floods, which happened every summer in August, were celebrated with three days of feasting and festivities in the Qarafa cemeteries. The Nilometer, the 9th century column located on the island of Rhoda which measures the level of flooding, would be read out after reaching a certain mark to kick off the celebrations. Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 104.

³²⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 55–59; 221.

³³⁰ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 55.

³³¹ For more information on Bulaq's urbanization and prominence under the Ottomans, see Hanna, *An Urban History of Bulaq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods*. Evliya Çelebi noted "Bulaq is a large, terraced city on the shore of the blessed Nile, located an hour's journey to the west of Cairo in a low-lying area filled with gardens...As it is located on the shore of the Nile, it has a prosperous port. The area between Cairo and Bulaq is a highly developed and fertile lowland full of vineyards and gardens and pastures," see Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 106.

³³² Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 59; Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 22.

leaving the viewer at the seat of Ottoman rule, the Citadel, a two-tiered fortress built by Ayyubid Sultan Salah al-Din.³³³

The Walters' Cairo visually connects the ceremonial importance of extramural Cairo through painted architectural detail that corresponds with Ottoman traveler accounts. Extramural ceremonies are also alluded to through the Walters' Cairo's depiction. Located prominently above walled Cairo is the Imam al-Shafi'i Mosque, located in the Qarafa cemeteries at the foot of the Muqattam Hills, where governors would travel for prayers, celebrate religious ceremonies, and throw feasts.³³⁴ While there are no roads depicted to the Imam al-Shafi'i mosque, the dense urbanization of Cairo's northern border, alongside the vanishing point of the central towers of the Citadel, encourages the viewer to make a connection between the city and the mausoleum. The Qarafa graveyards, home to many shrines of prominent saints, are made apparent through the iconography of two lines with an orange canopy surrounding the main city of Cairo, quite similar to the two-pronged graves of the Walters' Istanbul's Karacaahmet cemetery.³³⁵ The prominent depiction of the Qarafa cemetery reflects its outsized importance in Ottoman ceremony, including in the Nile River August flood celebrations, described by both Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) and Evliya Çelebi.³³⁶ The impetus for the flood celebrations would be determined by the Nilometer, an ancient the height of the river and determined the feast days to celebrate the floods, is identified as *umm al-qiyâs* and the column at the southern end of the Island of Rhoda in the Walters' Cairo.³³⁷

³³³ The Citadel, alongside the Nilometer and Acqueduct, constituted "major touristic attractions...among the earliest and most frequent subjects to be documented and illustrated in travelogues," Behrens-Abouseif, "The Earliest Images of Cairo's Islamic Architecture," 176. Ottoman governors used the citadel for their residences and offices, Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 58.

³³⁴ Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule*, 58; Ohtoshi Tetsuya, "Cairene Cemeteries as Public Loci in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamluk Studies Review* Vol. X no. 1 (2006): 83–116, especially 93.

³³⁵ For more information about tombs in the Walters' Cairo see Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 82; for more information on the Qarafa cemeteries, see Nelly Hanna, "Culture in Ottoman Egypt," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume II*, eds. M.W. Daly (Cambridge UP, 1998), 92; Tetsuya, "Cairene Cemeteries as Public Loci in Mamluk Egypt," 103–108.

³³⁶ Both Evliya Çelebi and Mustafa Ali mention the Nile River Ceremony in their works on Egypt see Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 114, and Tietze, *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599*, 30.

³³⁷ Mikhail, *Under Osman's Tree*, 46; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Earliest Images of Cairo's Islamic Architecture," 176.

Cairo's important role as a religious waystation for Muslim pilgrims—and the Walters' addition of the Birkat al-Hajj, infuses the Walters' Cairo with the urban practices of pilgrimage and land travel, associating the Ottoman Empire with the city's Muslim legacy and responsibility. Cairo's land routes and luscious ponds which served as provisioning stations for pilgrims, which the Ottomans were in charge of provisioning after their 1517 victory over the Mamluks. The Ottomans provisioned grain, caravansarais and cash; in Cairo alone, they were typically responsible for around "30,000– 40,000 people" annually.³³⁸ In the Walters' Cairo, the inclusion of a road from the Northern Gate of Cairo and the "Birkat al-Hajj," or Hajj Pond in the lower center of the composition is a reference to the land routes from Mecca.³³⁹ The lake's proximity to Cairo is emphasized in the Ottoman statesman Mustafa Ali's *1599 Description of Cairo* where he writes that "when the pilgrims arrive at the way station of Birka, it becomes certain that they would enter Cairo on the next day."³⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi notes the area of Birkat al-Hajj as a "pleasure grounds" where "all the hajj pilgrims stay here for three days and three nights."³⁴¹ Many Istanbulites took this passage, including Evliya Çelebi, traveling to Cairo by sea and completing the rest of the hajj by land caravan.³⁴² The inclusion of the Birkat al-Hajj therefore references the city's role as a waystation of pilgrims, that is, common people, within the urban fabric of Cairo's extramural area.

The Walters' Cairo's layout is at once instructional—an atlas to Cairo's historic and religious architecture—and an Ottoman claim to the city's storied history, perhaps painted by imperial Ottoman painters for an imperial Ottoman manuscript. The level of detail to inland architecture, particularly the routes and relationship between monuments, suggests that the Walters' Cairo served as a cartographic guide to the city's most important historic and continuously used architecture from past Muslim empires. One can imagine a potential reader,

³³⁸ Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 21.

³³⁹ Warner also identifies this area as Birkat al-Hajj, Warner, *Description of Cairo*, 81. There are two other ponds that this could refer to: al-Azbakiyya and al-Fil, but I agree with Warner that the likelihood of Birkat al-Hajj trumps the other two ponds, which were important to the city under Ottoman rule, but physically to the south. Birkat al-Fil was a place where later Ottoman elites and governors erected residences, but there is no indication of such residences in this depiction of the lake, see Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 253. Raymond notes that nearly seventy-five percent of Ottoman elites resided in the city's southern suburbs, see Raymond, *Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period*, 158.

³⁴⁰ Tietze, *Mustafa Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599*, 33.

³⁴¹ Dankoff et al., *Ottoman Explorations of the Nile*, 111.

³⁴² Isom-Verhaaren, "Ottoman Empire," 385; Casale, *Ottoman Age of Exploration*, 82.

perhaps in the Nuruosmaniye Library, likely a resident of Istanbul and unfamiliar with Cairo's layout, approaching the map for topographic and historic inland information, rather than seafaring instructions. The potential viewer, guided by Piri's annotations, would have been encouraged to look at the Fatimid, Abbasid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk contributions to the urban fabric whose size, detail, and illumination commands the attention of the viewer. With a paucity of depicted ports and a filled in Nile River, the main purpose of the illustration appears to be its architecture and topography of past Muslim empires, used in service of Ottoman ceremony in the city, rather than practical seafaring instructions. At the same time, the city view, particularly in conjunction with Piri's annotations and the compositional accuracy typical of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting, gives an instructional guide to the city's urban terrain.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that the Walters' depiction of Cairo is a significant one, related to its place of prestige in the Empire, due to religion, politics, and commerce. The work, which is based on Piri's original observations and experience with the city, is transformed in the Walters' Cairo into a single bird's eye view painting, with an urban fabric defined by the conventions of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting. Within the Nile sequence of images, the Walters' Cairo stands out in particular for its attention to detail, clean and successful execution of color, linear perspective, and size. At the same time, as part of the larger, nonlinear, Nile sequence, the city of Cairo stands out for its proximity to the coastline of the Mediterranean and single viewpoint perspective. The depiction of architecture, and in particular the Walters' sophisticated depiction of architecture's relationship to one another, reveals a ceremonial guide to the city's urban fabric for the viewer to trace with their eyes. The work is therefore neither entirely true to its sixteenth-century predecessor, or entirely true to the eighteenth-century city's growth in Ottoman imperial endowments. Instead, the reader is encouraged to look at a storied Muslim past, conquered and re-used in Ottoman court ceremony in the city. The attention to inland topographic detail and annotations suggests that the work was likely meant for a land-based viewer, not a seafarer.

CONCLUSION

Through a singular manuscript study, I reveal that the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* is a unique eighteenth-century object, informed but not limited schematically and thematically by Piri's original 1526 itinerary and text. The manuscript, through style, topography, and cartographic additions was creatively adapted for the eighteenth-century viewer with optical illusory techniques, eighteenth-century print culture, and Baroque-like ornamentation. The manuscript, possibly commissioned by Mahmud I for the Nuruosmaniye Library and completed during its construction, means that the potential viewer may not have been a seaman or approaching the maps for seafaring advice. Rather, the potential reader may have approached the manuscript in the Nuruosmaniye Library for artistic or geographic scholarly endeavors, with the city maps serving perhaps as cartographic and geographic teaching tools rather than practical seafaring guides. As I have shown through the *fihrist*, the eighteenth-century reader of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* was given an interactive "choose your own adventure" viewer experience, encouraging the reader to approach the sea charts outside of Piri's original journey and text. The stylistic eclecticism throughout the manuscript further displays the breadth of two centuries of *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copying; it presents many different representational modes, use of color and optical illusory techniques, and varying levels of cartographic accuracy. The goal of the artists appears to have been breadth and novelty, rather than uniformity. Such novelty was characteristic of eighteenth-century Ottoman painting, which was defined by its "experimental tendencies."³⁴³

Mahmud I's possible patronage of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* exists within a pattern of refashioning and patronizing architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries associated with the reigns of *gâzi* sultans Mehmed II and Süleyman I. As the Caliph of Sunni Islam, Mahmud I harkened back to the time of Süleyman I by renovating Muslim shrines in Jerusalem in 1742 and again in 1753–54. He channeled the famed conqueror of Istanbul, Mehmed II, through his addition of a library (1739–40), *imâret* (soup kitchen), and ablution fountain (1740–41) to the city's most prominent piece of *spolia*, the Ayasofya, the Byzantine church converted into a mosque by Mehmed II. In addition, Mahmud I added a library at Mehmed II's imperial Fatih

³⁴³ Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman *Hamse* in the Walters Art Gallery," 21.

mosque in 1742–43. The meaningful connections between Mahmud’s program of building and its antecedents were highlighted by the Sultan himself; the front gate of the new Ayasofya library he patronized “single[es] Mahmud out as the greatest patron of all charitable works since Mehmed the conqueror.”³⁴⁴ As a popular work, originally dedicated to Süleyman I and authored by a successful sea *gâzi*, Mahmud I’s potential patronage of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* could possibly be considered another example of his desire to associate himself with the Empire’s most famous sultans and military successes—where a relic of the past was added to with his own signature eighteenth-century style.

The Walters’ manuscript’s diversity of contents, between text and image, accuracy and time period, may have meant that the potential viewer, perhaps in the Nuruosmaniye Library, could approach the manuscript, and each illustration, with differing intents in mind. Clearly the cartographic city view additions, like Istanbul, reveal a deep familiarity with the capital city by land and sea and reflect the city’s urbanization of the Bosphorus shores. The Walters’ Istanbul appears to use the representational techniques, schemas, and multiple perspectives as found in the sea charts of the *Deniz Atlası*, the Istanbul maps of the *Hünernâme*, the *Şehinşehnâme*, Matrakçı, and the BnF *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, the eighteenth-century paintings of the *Hamse-yi Atayi* and Mecca paintings, and in European panoramic views like Coecke van Aelst and Lorck. Simultaneously, the city view of Cairo emphasized the city’s storied Islamic past under the Fatimid, Abbasid, and Mamluk Empires, while also alluding to imperial court ceremony in the city. The overall layout of the Walters’ Cairo is based upon the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, but its execution, as can be seen in comparison with the BnF’s *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, aligns with eighteenth-century Ottoman painting techniques. As a citydweller of Istanbul, the potential viewer desire for knowledge of Cairo may have been limited to understanding the historic architecture and famous Muslim history of the city, while the potential viewer desire for knowledge of Istanbul may have been more expansive to supplement the reader’s prior knowledge and emphasize the city’s Ottoman and Muslim character alongside the shores. Regardless, it appears clear that the two city views had different intentions—seen through their attention to accuracy, topography, and

³⁴⁴ As Rüstem further argues, the “the official chronicler Subhi (d.1761) celebrated Mahmud’s period as nothing less than an Ottoman Renaissance, likening the sultan to his famed sixteenth century ancestor Süleyman,” Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque*, 90.

detail—while both being instructional, for topographic rather than seafaring reasons. One can imagine a student in the Nurusomaniye Library studying the cartographic city views for knowledge of urban cartography, architecture, and painting, rather than ports, seafaring instructions, or practical advice.

Neither an entirely new object, nor completely beholden to Piri's original text or later copies like the BnF's *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, the Walters' manuscript is a distinctly eighteenth-century aesthetic object which must be understood within the many contexts it simultaneously inhabits. The biggest challenge of a manuscript like the Walters' is its extensive breadth, which requires an understanding of Ottoman painting, eighteenth-century patronage and architectural styles, urban history, cartographic history, actual urban reality, and eighteenth-century reading practices to make sense of what is pictured, how it is pictured, and conjecture why it is pictured the way it is. The Walters' cartographic city views of Istanbul and Cairo are both imagined paintings, part of a lineage of city views in European prints, Ottoman painting, and *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* copies, but they are also real places, used by the imperial court, inhabited and urbanized by common peoples, shaped by Ottoman rule and eighteenth-century social and political history. The Walters' manuscript must be seen within its aesthetic context with the introduction of print in the Ottoman Empire and Mahmud I's "Ottoman Baroque" style of architecture. The Walters' manuscript also must be considered within the proliferation of public libraries in the city of Istanbul, where individuals would have the opportunity to spend time studying the art, geography, and calligraphy of manuscripts in spaces patronized by the sultan. Piri's original sixteenth-century manuscript, with its seafaring navigational instructions and imperial audience, appears to be transformed in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* into a topographic atlas of cartographic city views and world maps which push the boundaries of seafaring intent. The Walters' manuscript is not simply an eighteenth-century copy of Piri's original work, but a perhaps a reinvention of the work's original purpose and audience, with its eighteenth-century aesthetics, topography, and probable public readership.

My research reveals the necessity of my dual art historical and urban historical methodology in my study of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* to both explain the rhetorical choices behind both topographic and representational practices of individual maps and of the larger

manuscript as a whole. Far from being a series of discrete maps, the Walters' manuscript was a bound, physical object meant to be engaged with as a whole. As such, I urge scholars to study Piri Reis' manuscripts—singularly, and in their entirety—within not just the context of their particular manuscript, time period, and patron, but also their real-life urban fabrics and their viewing experience(s) for the contemporaneous viewer.



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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

The chapters of the prologue by order of appearance in the Walters *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the translations from Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002): 22–79:

1. *fol. 11a*: This Chapter Explains Storms in the Language of Seamen
2. *fol. 11a*: This Chapter Explains the Name of the Winds
3. *fol. 14b*: This Chapter Explains the Signs of the Map
4. *fol. 14b*: This Section is About the Names of the Continental Seas and the So Called Map Shows One Fourth of These Seas
5. *fol. 15b*: This Chapter Explains Why the Portuguese settled the Indian Sea
6. *fol. 18a*: This Chapter Explains How They Are Applying Cosmography on the Ocean
7. *fol. 20a*: This Chapter Explains the Voyages of the Portuguese Seamen to the Indian Ocean and Their Affairs There
8. *fol. 23b*: In The Chapter Above We Explained why a Map is Called a Map and the Seven Seas, Mentioning the Characteristics of These Seas. Now Starting with the Chinese Sea Let's Talk about the Seven Seas
9. *fol. 25a*: This Chapter Explains the Chinese Sea
10. *fol. 26b*: This Chapter Explains the Indian Sea
11. *fol. 27b*: This Chapter Explains the Science of Measuring in the Indian Sea
12. *fol. 28b*: This Section Explain the Sea Known as the Persian Sea
13. *fol. 30b*: This Chapter Explains the Sea called the Sea of Dermuz
14. *fol. 30b*: This Chapter Talks about the Cities Along the Mogadishu Shores
15. *fol. 32b*: This Chapter Explains the Seas of Zene (Sea of Dermüz) The Land Part of Which Has Already Been Told About
16. *fol. 33a*: This Chapter Explains the Komor Islands
17. *fol. 36a*: This Chapter Explain the Sea known as Sea of Maghrib
18. *fol. 36b*: This Chapter Explains the Strange Circumstances of Sea of Maghrib and Its goods
19. *fol. 37b*: This Chapter Describes the Discovery of the Antilles

APPENDIX B

Chapter Titles by Order of Appearance in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* as follows, based on the translations from Piri Reis, *Book of Navigation* (2002): 82–621:

1. *fol. 39a*: This Chapter Explains the Castles called Sultaniye and Kilitbahir
2. *fol. 41b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Bozca Ada
3. *fol. 43b*: This Chapter Explains İmbroz Island
4. *fol. 45a*: This Chapter Explains Semadirek Island
5. *fol. 46a*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Limnos
6. *fol. 47b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Thasos
7. *fol. 49b*: This Chapter Describes the Monasteries called Ayion Oros
8. *fol. 51b*: This Chapter Describes the City of Salonica, the Coasts and the Harbors Near it
9. *fol. 53a*: This Chapter Describes Eğriboz Island
10. *fol. 56b*: This Chapter Describes Midilli Island
11. *fol. 64b*: This Chapter Describes Foça Castles and Karaburnun Shores of Izmir
12. *fol. 69a*: This Chapter Describes Koyun Islands and Kara Oba and Aldiri Bay
13. *fol. 70b*: This Chapter Describes Sakız Island
14. *fol. 73b*: This Chapter describes the Island called Ipsara
15. *fol. 74b*: This Chapter describes the Harbor called Sablica and the Shores of Alaca on the Anatolian Coast
16. *fol. 76a*: This Chapter Describes the Sığacık Harbor and the Other Harbors Near it
17. *fol. 77b*: This Chapter Describes Susam Island
18. *fol. 80a*: This Chapter Describes Keçi and Bulamaç Islands near Susam
19. *fol. 81a*: This Chapter Describes Himaran Islands
20. *fol. 82a*: This Chapter Describes the Islands call Hursit and Forno
21. *fol. 83a*: This Chapter Describes Kerpe Island
22. *fol. 84a*: This Chapter Describes the Island known as Patmos Papas
23. *fol. 85a*: This Chapter Describes Illirius Island
24. *fol. 86b*: This Chapter Describes the Kelemez Island
25. *fol. 88b*: This Chapter Describes Keçi Island Near İstanköy
26. *fol. 89b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Acı Su

27. *fol. 91a*: This Chapter Explains the Sirevilos Shores
28. *fol. 92b*: This Chapter Explains the Shores of Gördil, Gümüşlük and Karabağ
29. *fol. 94a*: This Chapter Describes İstanköy Island and Bodrum Harbor
30. *fol. 95b*: This Chapter Describes Gereme Bay
31. *fol. 98a*: This Chapter Describes Tekir Burnu
32. *fol. 99b*: This Chapter Describes Zönbeki Island
33. *fol. 101b*: This Chapter Describes the Islands of Rhodes
34. *fol. 103b*: This Chapter Explains the Island of Harke
35. *fol. 104b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of İläki
36. *fol. 106a*: This Chapter Describes the Island called İncirli
37. *fol. 107a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Named Koç Papas
38. *fol. 108a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Yamorki
39. *fol. 109a*: This Chapter Describes the Islands of Karvandi and Karo
40. *fol. 110a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Nakşa
41. *fol. 111a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Bara
42. *fol. 113a*: This Chapter Describes the Island called Sira
43. *fol. 114a*: This Chapter Describes the Islands Called Sığircıklar
44. *fol. 115b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Mukene
45. *fol. 116b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of İstindin
46. *fol. 117b*: This Chapter Explains the Island Called Andrea
47. *fol. 119a*: This Chapter Describes the Rumeli Shores from Eğriboz Downward
48. *fol. 121b*: This Chapter describes the Castle of Piyade in Mora and the vicinity of Çamlıca
49. *fol. 123a*: This Chapter Describes Anabolı in Mora
50. *fol. 124a*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Çuba
51. *fol. 125a*: This Chapter Describes the Places Between the Capes of Benefşe and Manya
52. *fol. 128a*: This Chapter Describes Moton and the Shores of Koron
53. *fol. 131a*: This Chapter Describes Moton Castle
54. *fol. 132a*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of İnebahti (Lepanto)
55. *fol. 133b*: This Chapter Describes the Bay of Anatoluka and the Islands Called Koçlar
56. *fol. 134b*: This Chapter Describes The Castle called Avarine and the Island of Zakılse

57. *fol. 137b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Kifelonya
58. *fol. 139b*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of Ayamavri and Prevesa
59. *fol. 141b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Pakşo
60. *fol. 143a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Corfu
61. *fol. 146a*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of Avlona
62. *fol. 147b*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of Traç
63. *fol. 149a*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of Kotor
64. *fol. 150b*: This Chapter Describes the Environs of Dubrovnik
65. *fol. 152a*: This Chapter Describes The Island of Melide
66. *fol. 153b*: This Chapter Describes the Island called Korsile in the Gulf of Venice
67. *fol. 155a*: This Chapter Describes the island Called Lise in the Gulf of Venice
68. *fol. 156a*: This Chapter Describes the Island called Lezine in the Gulf of Venice
69. *fol. 157a*: This Chapter Describes the Coast of the Gulf of Venice from the Qursulah (Korcula) as far as Sibenik
70. *fol. 158b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of the Island of Cara in the Gulf of Venice Lying Opposite the Castle and the Island
71. *fol. 160b*: This Chapter Describes ~~Pontal~~ the Island of Çam Pontal in the Gulf of Venice³⁴⁵
72. *fol. 161b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Sam Paru Damanu in the Gulf of Venice
73. *fol. 162b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Arbe in the Gulf of Venice
74. *fol. 163b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Porto Piremude in the Gulf of Venice
75. *fol. 164b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Pagu in the Gulf of Venice
76. *fol. 165b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Vage in the Gulf of Venice
77. *fol. 166b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Karsu in the Gulf of Venice
78. *fol. 168b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Uniye in the Gulf of Venice
79. *fol. 169b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Medelun in the Gulf of Venice
80. *fol. 170b*: This Chapter Describes the Harbors of Ulamusalu and Ulamu in the Gulf of Venice
81. *fol. 171b*: This Chapter Describes The Castle Called Tara Pola in the Gulf of Venice
82. *fol. 173a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Rovine in the Gulf of Venice

³⁴⁵ This has an error in the manuscript. The original has “pontal” written twice with one crossed out.

83. *fol. 174a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Orsara in the Gulf of Venice
84. *fol. 175a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Piranse in the Gulf of Venice
85. *fol. 176a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Site-Nova in the Gulf of Venice
86. *fol. 177a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Umagu in the Gulf of Venice
87. *fol. 178a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Paranu in the Gulf of Venice
88. *fol. 179a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called İzile in the Gulf of Venice
89. *fol. 180a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Destirye in the Gulf of Venice
90. *fol. 181a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Moya in the Gulf of Venice
91. *fol. 182a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Resti in the Gulf of Venice
92. *fol. 183a*: This Chapter Describes The Locations and Appearance of the Castles as far as the End of the Gulf of Venice
93. *fol. 184a*: This Chapter Describes the City of Venice
94. *fol. 186b*: This Chapter Describes the Coast of Ferrara after Venice
95. *fol. 187b*: This Chapter [Describes] the Castle of Ravenna, One of the Papal Castles Located Between the Castle of Ancona and the Country of Ferrara
96. *fol. 188b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Rimeno, one of the Papal Castles on the Ancona Side of Venice and the Remaining Castles in the Vicinity
97. *fol. 189b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Pazro, one of the Papal Castles on the Ancona Side of Venice
98. *fol. 190b*: This Chapter Describes the Ancona Side of Venice where there are a Number of Castles Besides Those of the Pope and They Belong to a Person called Urbino
99. *fol. 191b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Ancona, one of the Papal Castles
100. *fol. 192b*: This Chapter Describes the Coast of Santa Maria di Loreto on the Naples Side of Ancona
101. *fol. 193b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Padazino from the Papal Castles on the Naples Side of Ancona
102. *fol. 194b*: This Chapter Describes the Spanish Castles of the Castle of Altorvanto and the Castle of Pişkara
103. *fol. 195b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Monto Sabya Sibiliye and the Castle of Artona Near Naples

104. *fol. 196b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Alkasto, one of the Castle of Spain, near Naples
105. *fol. 197b*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Santa Maria Tiremite Near Naples
106. *fol. 198b*: This Chapter Describes the Castles of Bestiye and Bestice near Naples
107. *fol. 199b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle called Manfredonia on the Naples Coast
108. *fol. 200b*: This Chapter Describes the Castles of Barletta and Tirani on the Naples Coast
109. *fol. 201b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Pazaya and Malfetta
110. *fol. 202b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Cuvinaso and Bari on the Naples Coast
111. *fol. 203b*: This Chapter Describes the Castles of Mola, Santa-Vite, and Monopoli on the Naples Coast
112. *fol. 204b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Brindisi on the Naples Coast
113. *fol. 205b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Otranto on the Naples Coast
114. *fol. 207a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Gallipoli on the Naples Coast
115. *fol. 209a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Known as Taranto on the Naples Coast
116. *fol. 209b*: This Chapter Describes the Coast of Kalavri beyond Taranto
117. *fol. 210b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle known a Kotoronda on the Kalavri Coast
118. *fol. 212a*: This Chapter {Describes} the Castles of Kastalu and Budyé on the Kalavri Coast Beyond Kavú Biyanko and their Environs
119. *fol. 213a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Kavú İspertovano on the Kalavri Coast
120. *fol. 214a*: This Chapter Describes the Island of Sicily, one of the Catalan Islands
121. *fol. 221b*: This Chapter Describes the island called Malta, one of the Catalan Islands
122. *fol. 223a*: This Chapter Describes the island called Sardinia, one of Catalan Islands
123. *fol. 227a*: This Chapter Describes the island called Corsica, one of the Catalan Islands
124. *fol. 229b*: This Chapter Describes the island called Minorca, one of the Catalan Islands
125. *fol. 231a*: This Chapter Describes the island called Minorca, one of the Catalan Islands³⁴⁶
126. *fol. 233b**³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ These two (fol. 229b, 231a) should actually be Minorca and Majorka, however in the Walters *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* the titles for both are Minorca (though the sections describe the different islands), appears to be a misspelling by the calligrapher.

³⁴⁷ Begins the chapter “This Chapter Describes the island called Ibiza, one of the Catalan Islands” but the title is not written. There is blank space for the title to be written, however.

127. *fol. 235a*: This Chapter We Completed the Descriptions of the Catalan Islands. Now, let us continue with Coasts of Naples to Follow³⁴⁸
128. *fol. 237a*: This Chapter Describes the Naples Coast Below Anabolu in Naples as far as Polo Kastiru
129. *fol. 239a*: This Chapter Describes the Vage Castle and the Coast of Rome
130. *fol. 241a*: This Chapter {describes} The Castle of Piombino of the city of Pisa and the Coast of Monte Cantarya
131. *fol. 244b*: This Chapter Describes the Coasts of Genoa
132. *fol. 246b*: This Chapter The Famous City of Nice in the country of France³⁴⁹
133. *fol. 248b*: This Chapter Describes the Islands of İzile Dara in France as well as the Coasts opposite them
134. *fol. 251a*: This Chapter Describes the City of Marseille in France as Well as Other Places in its Vicinity
135. *fol. 253b*: This Chapter Describes the Akvamort Coasts in France
136. *fol. 255b*: This Chapter Describes the Coasts of Barcelona from the city of Valencia in Catalonia
137. *fol. 258a*: This Chapter Describes the Coasts from Kartagia to Valencia
138. *fol. 260a*: This Chapter Describes the Granada in Andalusia and the Coasts near the Castle of Malika and Almeria
139. *fol. 261b*: This Chapter {describes} the Rumelian side of the Strait known as Gibraltar
140. *fol. 263b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Sebte on {Moroccan side of the} Strait of Gibraltar
141. *fol. 265a*: This Chapter Describes the Castles on the Moroccan Side of the Strait of Gibraltar
142. *fol. 266b*: This Chapter Describes the Castles of Melile and Huneyn on the Moroccan Side
143. *fol. 268a*: This Chapter Describes the Harbor of Mars El-Kebir on the Coast of Morocco
144. *fol. 269a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Mustaganim and Tenes on the Coast of Morocco

³⁴⁸ This is the wording advised by Piri Reis, *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (2002), 414.

³⁴⁹ The original Piri Reis version titled this chapter “This chapter describes the famous city of Nice in France and the remaining castles in its vicinity respectively.”

145. *fol. 270a*: This Chapter {describes} the Castle called Birsik and the Castle of Sirsal in the Maghrib
146. *fol. 271a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Cezayir and Tilis in the Maghrib
147. *fol. 272a*: This Chapter Describes the City Called Becaye and Cicil Castle in the Maghrib
148. *fol. 275a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Biladi Unnab in the Maghrib
149. *fol. 277a*: This Chapter Describes the Castle Called Benzeret in the Maghrib
150. *fol. 278a*: This Chapter Describes the City of Tunis
151. *fol. 280a*: This Chapter {describes} the castle of Kalbiye and Castle of Hamamet in the Maghrib
152. *fol. 282a*: This Chapter Describes the Castles of Mehdiye and İsfakiz in the Maghrib
153. *fol. 284a*: This Chapter Describes the Island called Cirbe in the Maghrib
154. *fol. 287a*: This Chapter Describes Tripoli of the Maghrib
155. *fol. 289b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Musallata in the Maghrib
156. *fol. 290b*: This Chapter Describes Musrata and Mutubarka in the Maghrib
157. *fol. 293b*: This Chapter Describes the East of Mutubarka Bay
158. *fol. 295a*: This Chapter Describes Reis Sittin and the Shores of Patira Barki
159. *fol. 296a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of the Tomruk Harbor
160. *fol. 297a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Sallum, on the Maghrib side of Alexandria
161. *fol. 298a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of the Matruh Harbor on the Maghrib side of Alexandria
162. *fol. 299a*: This Chapter {describes} the Island of Direk on the Magrib Side of Alexandria
163. *fol. 300b*: This Chapter Describes the City Called Alexandria
164. *fol. 302b*: This Chapter Describes the Harbor Called Ebuğur
165. *fol. 304a*: This Chapter {describes} the Banks of the Nile River from the Mouth at Reşid
166. *fol. 305b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Reşid and Burullus are described
167. *fol. 308a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Damietta
168. *fol. 309a*: This Chapter Describes the Tine Coast
169. *fol. 311a*: This Chapter Describes Gaza (Gazze) and the Coast of Remle

170. *fol. 312b*: This Chapter {describes} Reis Kermen and the Akya Coast on the Şam Coast³⁵⁰
171. *fol. 314b*: This Chapter Describes the Sur Area on the Şam Coast
172. *fol. 315a*: This Chapter Describes the Place called Sa'da on the Şam Coast
173. *fol. 316b*: This Chapter Describes the Place called Beirut on the Şam Coast
174. *fol. 318a*: This Chapter Describes Tripoli of the Şam
175. *fol. 319b*: This Chapter {describes} the Island Called Cezire-i Hatun and Antarsus on the Şam Coast
176. *fol. 321a*: This Chapter {describes} the City of Lazkiye as far as Reis Hinzir
177. *fol. 322b*: This Chapter Describes the Vicinity of Iskenderun and the Coast of Ayas
178. *fol. 323b*: This Chapter Describes Tarsus and the Görgös Coast
179. *fol. 324b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Silifke on the Karaman Coast
180. *fol. 325b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Beş Parmak
181. *fol. 326b*: This Chapter Describes Eski and Yeni Anamur on the Karaman Coast
182. *fol. 327b*: This Chapter {describes} the Places known as Kalatiran and Ahmedce on the Karaman Coast
183. *fol. 328b*: This Chapter Describes the Castle of Alaiyye
184. *fol. 329b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Manavkat
185. *fol. 330b*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of Andaliyye
186. *fol. 331b*: This Chapter Describes the Island called Kıbrız
187. *fol. 335a*: This Chapter Describes the Coast of Silden Burnu
188. *fol. 337a*: This Chapter Describes the Harbor Called Kekova
189. *fol. 338a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Meis
190. *fol. 339a*: This Chapter Describes the Shores of İlki Kara in Liva-i Menteşe
191. *fol. 340a*: This Chapter Describes Göksu in Liva-i Menteşe and the Shores of Yedi Burnun
192. *fol. 341a*: This Chapter {describes} the Shores of İblis and the Harbor of Magri in Menteşe
193. *fol. 342a*: This Chapter {describes} Karadoğan Baba and Karaağac Harbor in Liva-i Menteşe

³⁵⁰ Şam refers to the Ottoman Turkish and Arabic term for the geographical area of the Levant. In this context, it is referring to places within today's Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria.

194. *fol. 343a*: This Chapter Describes the Harbor Called Marmaris
195. *fol. 344a*: This Chapter Describes Istanbul Island*³⁵¹
196. *fol. 345a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Kerpe
197. *fol. 346b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Girit
198. *fol. 352b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Anafiye
199. *fol. 353b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Santoron (Santorini)
200. *fol. 354b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Ayna
201. *fol. 355b*: This Chapter {describes} Poli Kendiresi and Kandira
202. *fol. 356b*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Degirmenlik
203. *fol. 358a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Yavuzca
204. *fol. 359a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Koyunluca
205. *fol. 360a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Terme
206. *fol. 361a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called Murtad
207. *fol. 362a*: This Chapter Describes the Island Called İskiri
208. *fol. 363a*: This Chapter {describes] the Island Called
İskados and İskabolos
209. *fol. 364a*: This Chapter Describes the Islands Called Çamlıca and Boz Ada
210. *fol. 365a*: This Chapter Describes Keçi Island in İlimli (Limnos)
211. *fol. 366a*: This Chapter Describes the Magariz Sea
212. *fol. 367a*: This Chapter Describes the Bandırma³⁵²
213. *fol. 368a*: This Chapter Describes Marmara Island
214. *fol. 369a*: This Chapter Describes Mir Ali Island (İmralı)
215. *fol. 370a*: This Chapter Describes the Kızıl Islands (Prince Islands)

³⁵¹ This is an addition to the Walters manuscript, which does not appear in other 1526 edition text, but it has a map correlating with it.

³⁵² Starting now, the next titles are additions to the original 1526 text. This text is about the “Bandırma map” of the Rumelian side (fol. 366b).

APPENDIX C

Sea Charts by Order of Appearance in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* Manuscript, based on the cataloguing of the Walters Art Museum:

1. *fol. 39b*: Imbros and Bozca Islands in the Upper Aegean Sea
2. *fol. 43a*: Bozca Island with Anatolian coast
3. *fol. 44b*: Semendrek and Imbros in the Aegean Sea
4. *fol. 45b*: European Coastline with Semendrek and Imbros Islands, further south
5. *fol. 47a*: Lemnos Island, southwest of Imroz in the Aegean Sea
6. *fol. 49a*: Area west of the island of Thasos and Ayion Oros peninsula
7. *fol. 51a*: Bay of Salonica
8. *fol. 52b*: Bay of Salonica and the western coastline
9. *fol. 56a*: Skyros and Euboea Islands
10. *fol. 62a*: Midilli Island in northeastern Aegean Sea
11. *fol. 62b*: Sea of Marmara and Eastern Aegean Islands from Semendrek as far as Chios
12. *fol. 63a*: Western Aegean Coastline as far south as Euboea Island
13. *fol. 63b*: Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegaen, and the Black Sea
14. *fol. 64a*: Western Europe and North Africa
15. *fol. 68b*: Anatolian Coastline around the Bay of Izmir with two Izmir Fortresses
16. *fol. 74a*: Island of Psara west of Chios
17. *fol. 75b*: Anatolian coastline facing the Island of Samos
18. *fol. 77a*: Anatolian Coastline facing the Island of Samos
19. *fol. 79b*: Island of Samos
20. *fol. 80b*: Two small islands off the coast of the Antaloia, south of Samos, and east of city Balat on the Anatolian side.
21. *fol. 81b*: Several Islands of the eastern Aegean sea including Leros and Patmos
22. *fol. 82b*: Area between the islands of Ikaria and Samos in the eastern Aegean Sea
23. *fol. 83b*: Island of Ikaria in the eastern Aegean Sea, west of Samos
24. *fol. 84b*: Island of Patmos southeast of Ikaria in the eastern Aegean Sea
25. *fol. 86a*: Island of Leros in the eastern Aegean Sea

26. *fol. 88a*: Island of Kaliminos, south of Leros, in the eastern Aegean Sea
27. *fol. 89a*: Island of Cos, facing the Anatolian mainland
28. *fol. 90b*: Anatolian coastline and the small island of Kara, east of the town of Balat
29. *fol. 92a*: Anatolian coastlines along the Bay of Kerme
30. *fol. 93b*: Anatolian coastline facing the Island of Kos
31. *fol. 95a*: Island of Cos, off the Anatolian coast in the eastern Aegean Sea
32. *fol. 97b*: Bay of Kerme, east of the Island Kos
33. *fol. 99a*: Island of Syme, northwest of the island of Rhodes
34. *fol. 100b*: Northeastern tip of the Island of Rhodes, facing the Anatolian coast with the Island of Syme
35. *fol. 101a*: Islands of the Aegean Sea, including Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Crete
36. *fol. 103a*: Island of Rhodes
37. *fol. 104a*: Island of Chalkis, off the island of Rhodes
38. *fol. 105b*: Island of Telos, north of the Island of Chalkis, in the eastern Aegean Sea
39. *fol. 106b*: Island of Nisyros, south of the island of Cos, in the Eastern Aegean Sea
40. *fol. 107b*: Two small islands between Amorgos and Cos in the eastern Aegean Sea
41. *fol. 108b*: Island of Amorgos in the southeastern Aegean Sea
42. *fol. 109b*: Small islands in the region of Naxos and Amorgos in the southeastern Aegean Sea
43. *fol. 110b*: Island of Naxos in the southeastern Aegean Sea
44. *fol. 112b*: Island of Paros in the Aegean Sea
45. *fol. 113b*: Island of Syros in the Aegean Sea
46. *fol. 115a*: Islands of Delos and Rineia, west of Mykonos, in the Aegean Sea
47. *fol. 116a*: Island of Mykonos in the Aegean Sea
48. *fol. 117a*: Island of Tinos in the Aegean Sea
49. *fol. 118b*: Island of Andros in the northern Aegean Sea
50. *fol. 121a*: Bay of Saronikos with the City of Athens
51. *fol. 122b*: Bay of Argolikos
52. *fol. 123b*: Bay of Argolikos and the Peloponnese peninsula
53. *fol. 124b*: Stretch of water between the Peloponnese peninsula and the Island of Crete, with the island of Kythira

54. *fol. 127b*: Peloponnese peninsula with the island of Kythira and the Bay of Lakonikos
55. *fol. 129a*: Bay of Messiniakos
56. *fol. 129b*: Cyclades Islands between the Peloponnese peninsula and Crete
57. *fol. 130a*: Islands of Zakynthos, Kefalonia, and Lefkada in the Ionian Sea
58. *fol. 130b*: Methana fortress in the Bay of Saronikos
59. *fol. 133a*: Bay of Saronikos
60. *fol. 134a*: Eastern part of the Peloponnese peninsula
61. *fol. 136b*: Western part of the Peloponnese peninsula opposite the island of Zakynthos
62. *fol. 137a*: Bay of Corinth
63. *fol. 139a*: Islands of Kefalonia, Ithaca, and Aya Mavra off the western coast of Greece
64. *fol. 141a*: Western coast of Greece, from the Island of Levkas going north as far as the island of Paxi
65. *fol. 142b*: Area between the islands of Corfu and Paxi
66. *fol. 145b*: Islands of Corfu and Paxi
67. *fol. 147a*: Adriatic coastline around Karaburnun and Vlora
68. *fol. 148b*: Adriatic coastline with Drac north of Karaburun as far as Budva
69. *fol. 150a*: Adriatic coastline from Budva to Dubrovnik
70. *fol. 151b*: Adriatic coastline north from Dubrovnik
71. *fol. 153a*: Island of Mljet off Dubrovnik
72. *fol. 154b*: Dalmatian islands of Korcula and Lastovo off the coast between Dubrovnik and Split
73. *fol. 155b*: Two unnamed islands between Dubrovnik and Split
74. *fol. 157a*: Group of Islands north of Korcula, probably Hvar and Brac
75. *fol. 158a*: Coastline and islands between Sibenik and Zadar
76. *fol. 160a*: Coastline and islands off Zadar
77. *fol. 161a*: Small islands northwest of the island Pag
78. *fol. 162a*: Two as yet unidentified islands in the vicinity of the island of Pag
79. *fol. 163a*: Island of Rab
80. *fol. 164a*: Island of Premuda, west of Pag
81. *fol. 165a*: Islands of Pag and Rab
82. *fol. 166a*: Island of Krk

83. *fol. 168a*: Islands of Cres, Losinj, and Unije
84. *fol. 169a*: Island of Unije, south of the island of Losinj
85. *fol. 170a*: Coastline north of the Medulin fortress
86. *fol. 171a*: Coastline from Medulin as far as Pula
87. *fol. 172b*: Coastline from Pula to Rovinj
88. *fol. 173b*: Coastline from Rovinj north
89. *fol. 174b*: Coastline from Rovinj as far as the fortress of Porec
90. *fol. 175b*: Coastline from Porec as far as Novi Grad
91. *fol. 176b*: Coastline from Novi Grad as far as Umag
92. *fol. 177b*: Coastline from Umag as far as Piran
93. *fol. 178b*: Coastline from Piran as far as Izola
94. *fol. 179b*: Coastline from Izola as far as Koper
95. *fol. 180b*: Coastline between the cities of Koper and Muggia
96. *fol. 181b*: Coastline from Muggia to Trieste
97. *fol. 182b*: Fortress of Trieste
98. *fol. 183b*: Coastline from Marano to Caorle, the province of Venice
99. *fol. 185b*: Eastern part of Venice
100. *fol. 186a*: Western part of Venice
101. *fol. 187a*: The city of Ferrara with the six river flowing into the Gulf of Venice
102. *fol. 188a*: Italian coastline with the cities of Ravenna and Cesena
103. *fol. 189a*: Italian coastline from Rimini, south towards Pesaro
104. *fol. 190a*: Italian coastline from Pesaro south
105. *fol. 191a*: Town of Urbino and surrounding area
106. *fol. 192a*: Fortress of Ancona and surrounding area
107. *fol. 193a*: Fortresses and towns south of Ancona, including Loreto
108. *fol. 194a*: Italian coastline, south of Ancona
109. *fol. 195a*: Italian coastline south of Ancona as far as the town of Pescara
110. *fol. 196a*: Town of Lanciano and surrounding fortresses
111. *fol. 197a*: Towns of Vasto and Termoli on the Italian coast
112. *fol. 198a*: Italian coastline between Termoli and Peschici
113. *fol. 199a*: Italian coastline around Peschici, north of Mafredonia

114. *fol. 200a*: Italian coastline from Mafredonia as far as Barletta
115. *fol. 201a*: Italian coastline from Barletta to Trani
116. *fol. 202a*: Italian coastline from Trani as far as Molfetta
117. *fol. 203a*: Town of Bari and surrounding area
118. *fol. 204a*: Italian coastline around Monopoli, south of Bari
119. *fol. 205a*: Port of Brindisi
120. *fol. 206b*: Italian coastline from Lecce to Gallipoli (toward the Gulf of Taranto)
121. *fol. 207b*: Towns of Gallipoli and Nardo on the Italian coast
122. *fol. 208a*: Coastlines and Islands of the Adriatic Sea
123. *fol. 208b*: City of Taranto in the Province of Puglia
124. *fol. 210a*: Eastern coastline of Calabria around Rossano
125. *fol. 211b*: Eastern coastline of Calabria with the towns of Crotone and Catanzaro
126. *fol. 212b*: Calabrian coastline from Catanzaro to Siquillace
127. *fol. 213b*: Southern part of the Calabrian peninsula and the straits of Messina
128. *fol. 220b*: Northern coastline of Sicily from Milazzo to Palermo
129. *fol. 221a*: Island of Sicily
130. *fol. 222b*: Island of Malta
131. *fol. 226a*: Two Small Islands off the coast of Sardinia
132. *fol. 226b*: Island of Sardinia
133. *fol. 229a*: Island of Corsica
134. *fol. 230b*: Island of Minorca
135. *fol. 233a*: Islands of Majorca and Minorca
136. *fol. 234b*: Two islands off Majorca: Ibiza and Formentera
137. *fol. 236b*: Straits of Messina and the western Italian coastline
138. *fol. 238b*: Western Italian coastline as far as Naples and the island of Ischia
139. *fol. 240b*: Western Italian coastline as far as the city of Rome
140. *fol. 244a*: Western Italian coastline as far as the city of Pisa
141. *fol. 246a*: Western Italian coastline from Pisa to the French border, including the towns
of Genoa and Savona
142. *fol. 248a*: French coastline from the Italian border as far as Nice
143. *fol. 250b*: French coastline from Nice as far as Toulon

144. *fol. 253a*: French coastline around Marseille
145. *fol. 255a*: Coastline around Narbonne
146. *fol. 257b*: Coastline of Catalonia with the ports of Barcelona and Tarragona
147. *fol. 259b*: Coastline of Andalusia from Valencia to Cartagena
148. *fol. 261a*: Coastline of Andalusia with the city of Grenada
149. *fol. 263a*: Strait of Gibraltar with the cities of Gibraltar and Ceuta
150. *fol. 264b*: Southern Spain and Morocco with the cities of Gibraltar, Ceuta, and Tetouan
151. *fol. 266a*: Moroccan coastline from the city of Tetouan west
152. *fol. 267b*: Moroccan and Algerian coastline from Melilla, northwest of Tlemcen
153. *fol. 268*: Algerian coastline around Oran and Mostaganem
154. *fol. 269b*: Algerian coastline around Mostaganem
155. *fol. 270b*: Algerian coastline around Algiers
156. *fol. 271b*: Algerian coastline from Algiers to Bejaia
157. *fol. 274b*: Algerian coastline from the port of Bejaia, as far as Annaba with the city of Constantine
158. *fol. 276b*: Algerian and Tunisian coastline from Annaba to Tabarka
159. *fol. 277b*: Coastline of Tunisia with the ports of Bizerte and Tunis
160. *fol. 279b*: Tunisian coastline with the ports of Bizerte and Tunis as far as Kelibia *Fol. 281b*: Tunisian coastline with the cities of Kelibia, Hammamet, Sousse, and Monastir
161. *fol. 283b*: Tunisian coastline with the fortress of Mahdiah and the island of Jarbah
162. *fol. 286b*: Coastline of Tripoli
163. *fol. 289a*: Fortress of Tripoli and surrounding area
164. *fol. 290a*: Libyan coastline from Tripoli east toward Egypt
165. *fol. 293a*: Libyan coastline as far as Benghazi
166. *fol. 294b*: Libyan coastline toward the Egyptian border
167. *fol. 295b*: Libyan coastline toward the Egyptian border
168. *fol. 296b*: Libyan coastline as far as Salum
169. *fol. 297b*: Egyptian coastline from Salum east
170. *fol. 298b*: Egyptian coastline from Matruh east toward Alexandria
171. *fol. 300a*: Coastline of Alexandria showing a portion of the town itself
172. *fol. 302a*: City of Alexandria

173. *fol. 303b*: Egyptian coastline from Alexandria as far as the city of Rosetta
174. *fol. 304b*: The Nile River from its estuary south
175. *fol. 305a*: City of Cairo
176. *fol. 306b*: Nile River estuary with the cities of Rosetta and Burullus on either side
177. *fol. 307a*: Nile River with various oases on either side
178. *fol. 307b*: Towns and oases along the Nile River, beginning with Bulaq, south of Cairo
179. *fol. 308b*: City of Damietta on the Egyptian coast
180. *fol. 309b*: Unmarked part of Egyptian coastline
181. *fol. 310a*: Oases and villages along the Nile River as far as Sidi Musa
182. *fol. 310b*: Nile River with various oases on either side as far as Sisdi Ma'ruf
183. *fol. 312a*: Syrian coastline and the cities of Gaza and Ramallah
184. *fol. 313b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline (here marked as the Gulf of Aqabah) with the cities of Jaffa and Caesarea
185. *fol. 315a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline with the city of Tyre
186. *fol. 316a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline as far as the city of Beirut
187. *fol. 317b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline and the city of Tripoli
188. *fol. 319a*: City of Tripoli
189. *fol. 320b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline from the island of Khatun as far as Latakia
190. *fol. 322a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline with the cities of Latakia and Antakya
191. *fol. 323a*: Anatolian coastline from the city of Alexandretta as far as the shores of Adana
192. *fol. 324a*: Anatolian coastline and cities of Adana and Tarsus
193. *fol. 325a*: Anatolian coastline with the city of Silifke
194. *fol. 326a*: Anatolian coastline from Silifke to Anamur
195. *fol. 327a*: Anatolian coastline around Anamur
196. *fol. 328a*: Anatolian coastline as far as Alanya
197. *fol. 329a*: Fortress of Alanya
198. *fol. 330a*: Anatolian coastline from Alanya to Andalye
199. *fol. 331a*: Anatolian coastline from Alanya to Andalye
200. *fol. 334b*: Island of Cyprus
201. *fol. 336b*: Anatolian coastline east of Finike
202. *fol. 337b*: Islands off the coast of Finike

203. *fol. 338b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
204. *fol. 339b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
205. *fol. 340b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
206. *fol. 341b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
207. *fol. 342b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
208. *fol. 343b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
209. *fol. 344b*: Istanbul Island
210. *fol. 346a*: Islands of Karpathos and Kasos
211. *fol. 351b*: Fragment of the island of Crete
212. *fol. 352a*: Island of Crete
213. *fol. 353a*: Island of Anafi, east of Thera
214. *fol. 354a*: Islands of Santorini and Thera in the Aegean Sea north of Crete
215. *fol. 355a*: Islands of Folegandros and Ios
216. *fol. 356a*: Islands of Folegandros and Melos
217. *fol. 357b*: Island of Melos
218. *fol. 359b*: Island of Seroφος
219. *fol. 360b*: Island of Kythnos
220. *fol. 361b*: Island of Keos
221. *fol. 362b*: Island of Skyros
222. *fol. 364b*: Aloneses and other islands
223. *fol. 366b*: Part of the coastline of the Sea of Marmara with the town of Kavak
224. *fol. 368b*: Island of Marmara in the Sea of Marmara
225. *fol. 369b*: Island of Mir Ali
226. *fol. 370b*: Map of Istanbul
227. *fol. 371a*: Coastline of the Black Sea from Istanbul to Geresun
228. *fol. 371b*: Coastline of the Black Sea
229. *fol. 372a*: Crimea, Sea of Azov, and mouth of the Dneiper River
230. *fol. 372b*: Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus Strait, and the Black Sea
231. *fol. 373a*: Coastline of the Black Sea
232. *fol. 374a*: Caspian Sea

APPENDIX D

Coastlines of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the titles given by the Walters Art

Museum:

1. *fol. 43a*: Bozca Island with Anatolian coast
2. *fol. 44b*: Semendrek and Imroz in the Aegean Sea
3. *fol. 45b*: European Coastline with Semendrek and Imroz Islands, further south
4. *fol. 49a*: Area west of the island of Thasos and Ayion Oros peninsula
5. *fol. 51a*: Bay of Salonica
6. *fol. 52b*: Bay of Salonica and the western coastline
7. *fol. 62b*: Sea of Marmara and Eastern Aegean Islands from SEMendrek as far as Chios
8. *fol. 62a*: Midilli Island in northeastern Aegean Sea
9. *fol. 62b*: Sea of Marmara and Eastern Aegean Islands from Semendrek as far as Chios
10. *fol. 63a*: Western Aegean Coastline as far south as Euboea Island
11. *fol. 63b*: Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, and the Black Sea
12. *fol. 64a*: Western Europe and North Africa
13. *fol. 68b*: Anatolian Coastline around the Bay of Izmir with two Izmir Fortresses
14. *fol. 75b*: Anatolian coastline facing the Island of Samos
15. *fol. 77a*: Anatolian Coastline facing the Island of Samos
16. *fol. 80b*: Two small islands off the coast of the Antaloia, south of Samos, and east of city Balat on the Anatolian side.
17. *fol. 90b*: Anatolian coastline and the small island of Kara, east of the town of Balat
18. *fol. 92a*: Anatolian coastlines along the Bay of Kerme
19. *fol. 93b*: Anatolian coastline facing the Island of Kos
20. *fol. 100b*: Northeastern tip of the Island of Rhodes, facing the Anatolian coast with the Island of Syme
21. *fol. 121a*: Bay of Saronikos with the City of Athens
22. *fol. 122b*: Bay of Argolikos
23. *fol. 123b*: Bay of Argolikos and the Peloponnese peninsula
24. *fol. 124b*: Stretch of water between the Peloponnese peninsula and the Island of Crete, with the island of Kythira

25. *fol. 130b*: Methana fortress in the Bay of Aronikos
26. *fol. 133a*: Bay of Saronikos
27. *fol. 134a*: Eastern part of the Peloponnese peninsula
28. *fol. 136b*: Western part of the Peloponnese peninsula opposite the island of Zakynthos
29. *fol. 137a*: Bay of Corinth
30. *fol. 141a*: Western coast of Greece, from the Island of Levkas going north as far as the island of Paxi
31. *fol. 147a*: Adriatic coastline around Karaburnun and Vlora
32. *fol. 148b*: Adriatic coastline with Drac north of Karaburun as far as Budva
33. *fol. 150a*: Adriatic coastline from Budva to Dubrovnik
34. *fol. 151b*: Adriatic coastline north from Dubrovnik
35. *fol. 170a*: Coastline north of the Medulin fortress
36. *fol. 171a*: Coastline from Medulin as far as Pula
37. *fol. 172b*: Coastline from Pula to Rovinj
38. *fol. 173b*: Coastline from Rovinj north
39. *fol. 174b*: Coastline from Rovinj as far as the fortress of Porec
40. *fol. 175b*: Coastline from Porec as far as Novi Grad
41. *fol. 176b*: Coastline from Novi Grad as far as Umag
42. *fol. 177b*: Coastline from Umag as far as Piran
43. *fol. 178b*: Coastline from Piran as far as Izola
44. *fol. 179b*: Coastline from Izola as far as Koper
45. *fol. 180b*: Coastline between the cities of Koper and Muggia
46. *fol. 181b*: Coastline from Muggia to Trieste
47. *fol. 182b*: Fortress of Trieste
48. *fol. 183b*: Coastline from Marano to Caorle, the province of Venice
49. *fol. 187a*: The city of Ferrara with the six river flowing into the Gulf of Venice
50. *fol. 188a*: Italian coastline with the cities of Ravenna and Cesena
51. *fol. 189a*: Italian coastline from Rimini, south towards Pesaro
52. *fol. 190a*: Italian coastline from Pesaro south
53. *fol. 191a*: Town of Urbino and surrounding area
54. *fol. 192a*: Fortress of Ancona and surrounding area

55. *fol. 193a*: Fortresses and towns south of Ancona, including Loreto
56. *fol. 194a*: Italian coastline, south of Ancona
57. *fol. 195a*: Italian coastline south of Ancona as far as the town of Pescara
58. *fol. 196a*: Town of Lanciano and surrounding fortresses
59. *fol. 197a*: Towns of Vasto and Termoli on the Italian coast
60. *fol. 198a*: Italian coastline between Termoli and Peschici
61. *fol. 199a*: Italian coastline around Peschici, north of Mafredonia
62. *fol. 200a*: Italian coastline from Mafredonia as far as Barletta
63. *fol. 201a*: Italian coastline from Barletta to Trani
64. *fol. 202a*: Italian coastline from Trani as far as Molfetta
65. *fol. 203a*: Town of Bari and surrounding area
66. *fol. 204a*: Italian coastline around Monopoli, south of Bari
67. *fol. 205a*: Port of Brindisi
68. *fol. 206b*: Italian coastline from Lecce to Gallipoli (toward the Gulf of Taranto)
69. *fol. 207b*: Towns of Gallipoli and Nardo on the Italian coast
70. *fol. 208a*: Coastlines and Islands of the Adriatic Sea
71. *fol. 208b*: City of Taranto in the Province of Puglia
72. *fol. 210a*: Eastern coastline of Calabria around Rossano
73. *fol. 211b*: Eastern coastline of Calabria with the towns of Crotona and Catanzaro
74. *fol. 212b*: Calabrian coastline from Catanzaro to Siquillace
75. *fol. 213b*: Southern part of the Calabrian peninsula and the straits of Messina
76. *fol. 220b*: Northern coastline of Sicily from Milazzo to Palermo
77. *fol. 236b*: Straits of Messina and the western Italian coastline
78. *fol. 238b*: Western Italian coastline as far as Naples and the island of Ischia
79. *fol. 240b*: Western Italian coastline as far as the city of Rome
80. *fol. 244a*: Western Italian coastline as far as the city of Pisa
81. *fol. 246a*: Western Italian coastline from Pisa to the French border, including the towns of Genoa and Savona
82. *fol. 248a*: French coastline from the Italian border as far as Nice
83. *fol. 250b*: French coastline from Nice as far as Toulon
84. *fol. 253a*: French coastline around Marseille

85. *fol. 255a*: Coastline around Narbonne
86. *fol. 257b*: Coastline of Catalonia with the ports of Barcelona and Tarragona
87. *fol. 259b*: Coastline of Andalusia from Valencia to Cartagena
88. *fol. 261a*: Coastline of Andalusia with the city of Grenada
89. *fol. 263a*: Strait of Gibraltar with the cities of Gibraltar and Ceuta
90. *fol. 264b*: Southern Spain and Morocco with the cities of Gibraltar, Ceuta, and Tetouan
91. *fol. 266a*: Moroccan coastline from the city of Tetouan west
92. *fol. 267b*: Moroccan and Algerian coastline from Melilla, northwest of Tlemcen
93. *fol. 268*: Algerian coastline around Oran and Mostaganem
94. *fol. 269b*: Algerian coastline around Mostaganem
95. *fol. 270b*: Algerian coastline around Algiers
96. *fol. 271b*: Algerian coastline from Algiers to Bejaia
97. *fol. 274b*: Algerian coastline from the port of Bejaia, as far as Annaba with the city of Constantine
98. *fol. 276b*: Algerian and Tunisian coastline from Annaba to Tabarka
99. *fol. 277b*: Coastline of Tunisia with the ports of Bizerte and Tunis
100. *fol. 279b*: Tunisian coastline with the ports of Bizerte and Tunis as far as Kelibia
101. *fol. 281b*: Tunisian coastline with the cities of Kelibia, Hammamet, Sousse, and Monastir
102. *fol. 283b*: Tunisian coastline with the fortress of Mahdiah and the island of Jarbah
103. *fol. 286b*: Coastline of Tripoli
104. *fol. 289a*: Fortress of Tripoli and surrounding area
105. *fol. 290a*: Libyan coastline from Tripoli east toward Egypt
106. *fol. 293a*: Libyan coastline as far as Benghazi
107. *fol. 294b*: Libyan coastline toward the Egyptian border
108. *fol. 295b*: Libyan coastline toward the Egyptian border
109. *fol. 296b*: Libyan coastline as far as Salum
110. *fol. 297b*: Egyptian coastline from Salum east
111. *fol. 298b*: Egyptian coastline from Matruh east toward Alexandria
112. *fol. 300a*: Coastline of Alexandria showing a portion of the town itself
113. *fol. 302a*: City of Alexandria
114. *fol. 303b*: Egyptian coastline from Alexandria as far as the city of Rosetta

115. *fol. 304b*: The Nile River from its estuary south
116. *fol. 306b*: Nile River estuary with the cities of Rosetta and Burullus on either side
117. *fol. 307a*: Nile River with various oases on either side
118. *fol. 307b*: Towns and oases along the Nile River, beginning with Bulaq, south of Cairo
119. *fol. 308b*: City of Damietta on the Egyptian coast
120. *fol. 309b*: Unmarked part of Egyptian coastline
121. *fol. 310a*: Oases and villages along the Nile River as far as Sidi Musa
122. *fol. 310b*: Nile River with various oases on either side as far as Sisdi Ma'ruf
123. *fol. 312a*: Syrian coastline and the cities of Gaza and Ramallah
124. *fol. 313b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline (here marked as the Gulf of Aqabah) with the cities of Jaffa and Caesarea
125. *fol. 315a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline with the city of Tyre
126. *fol. 316a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline as far as the city of Beirut
127. *fol. 317b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline and the city of Tripoli
128. *fol. 319a*: City of Tripoli
129. *fol. 320b*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline from the island of Khatun as far as Latakia
130. *fol. 322a*: Eastern Mediterranean coastline with the cities of Latakia and Antakya
131. *fol. 323a*: Anatolian coastline from the city of Alexandretta as far as the shores of Adana
132. *fol. 324a*: Anatolian coastline and cities of Adana and Tarsus
133. *fol. 325a*: Anatolian coastline with the city of Silifke
134. *fol. 326a*: Anatolian coastline from Silifke to Anamur
135. *fol. 327a*: Anatolian coastline around Anamur
136. *fol. 328a*: Anatolian coastline as far as Alanya
137. *fol. 329a*: Fortress of Alanya
138. *fol. 330a*: Anatolian coastline from Alanya to Andalye
139. *fol. 331a*: Anatolian coastline from Alanya to Andalye
140. *fol. 366b*: Part of the coastline of the Sea of Marmara with the town of Kavak
141. *fol. 371a*: Coastline of the Black Sea from Istanbul to Geresun
142. *fol. 371b*: Coastline of the Black Sea
143. *fol. 372a*: Crimea, Sea of Azov, and mouth of the Dneiper River
144. *fol. 372b*: Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus Strait, and the Black Sea

145. *fol. 373a*: Coastline of the Black Sea
146. *fol. 374a*: Caspian Sea



APPENDIX E

Islands of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the titles given by the Walters Art

Museum:

1. *fol. 39b*: Imbros and Bozca Islands in the Upper Aegean Sea
2. *fol. 47a*: Lemnos Island, southwest of Imroz in the Aegean Sea
3. *fol. 56a*: Skyros and Euboea Islands
4. *fol. 70a*: Island of Chios facing Kysos fortress on Anatolian side
5. *fol. 73a*: Detail of the Island of Chios with its fortress and other topographical features
6. *fol. 74a*: Island of Psara west of Chios
7. *fol. 79b*: Island of Samos
8. *fol. 81b*: Several Islands of the eastern Aegean sea including Leros and Patmos
9. *fol. 82b*: Area between the islands of Ikaria and Samos in the eastern Aegean Sea
10. *fol. 83b*: Island of Ikaria in the eastern Aegean Sea, west of Samos
11. *fol. 84b*: Island of Patmos southeast of Ikaria in the eastern Aegean Sea
12. *fol. 86a*: Island of Leros in the eastern Aegean Sea
13. *fol. 88a*: Island of Kaliminos, south of Leros, in the eastern Aegean Sea
14. *fol. 89a*: Island of Kos, facing the Anatolian mainland
15. *fol. 95a*: Island of Kos, off the Anatolian coast in the eastern Aegean Sea
16. *fol. 97b*: Bay of Kerme, east of the Island Kos
17. *fol. 99a*: Island of Syme, northwest of the island of Rhodes
18. *fol. 101a*: Islands of the Aegean Sea, including Chios, Kos, Rhodes and Crete
19. *fol. 103a*: Island of Rhodes
20. *fol. 104a*: Island of Chalkis, off the island of Rhodes
21. *fol. 105b*: Island of Telos, north of the Island of Chalkis, in the eastern Aegean Sea
22. *fol. 106b*: Island of Nisyros, south of the island of Kos, in the Eastern Aegean Sea
23. *fol. 107b*: Two small islands between Amorgos and Kos in the eastern Aegean Sea
24. *fol. 108b*: Island of Amorgos in the southeastern Aegean Sea
25. *fol. 109b*: Small islands in the region of Naxos and Amorgos in the southeastern Aegean Sea
26. *fol. 110b*: Island of Naxos in the southeastern Aegean Sea

27. *fol. 112b*: Island of Paros in the Aegean Sea
28. *fol. 113b*: Island of Syros in the Aegean Sea
29. *fol. 115a*: Islands of Delos and Rineia, west of Mykonos, in the Aegean Sea
30. *fol. 116a*: Island of Mykonos in the Aegean Sea
31. *fol. 117a*: Island of Tinos in the Aegean Sea
32. *fol. 118b*: Island of Andros in the northern Aegean Sea
33. *fol. 127b*: Peloponnese peninsula with the island of Kythira and the Bay of Lakonikos
34. *fol. 129a*: Bay of Messiniakos
35. *fol. 129b*: Cyclades Islands between the Peloponnese peninsula and Crete
36. *fol. 130a*: Islands of Zakynthos, Kefalonia, and Lefkada in the Ionian Sea
37. *fol. 139a*: Islands of Kefalonia, Ithaca, and Aya Mavra off the western coast of Greece
38. *fol. 142b*: Area between the islands of Corfu and Paxi
39. *fol. 145b*: Islands of Corfu and Paxi
40. *fol. 153a*: Island of Mljet off Dubrovnik
41. *fol. 154b*: Dalmatian islands of Korcula and Lastovo off the coast between Dubrovnik and Split
42. *fol. 155b*: Two unnamed islands between Dubrovnik and Split
43. *fol. 157a*: Group of Islands north of Korcula, probably Hvar and Brac
44. *fol. 158a*: Coastline and islands between Sibenik and Zadar
45. *fol. 160a*: Coastline and islands off Zadar
46. *fol. 161a*: Small islands northwest of the island Pag
47. *fol. 162a*: Two as yet unidentified islands in the vicinity of the island of Pag
48. *fol. 163a*: Island of Rab
49. *fol. 164a*: Island of Premuda, west of Pag
50. *fol. 165a*: Islands of Pag and Rab
51. *fol. 166a*: Island of Krk
52. *fol. 168a*: Islands of Cres, Losinj, and Unije
53. *fol. 169a*: Island of Unije, south of the island of Losinj
54. *fol. 221a*: Island of Sicily
55. *fol. 222b*: Island of Malta
56. *fol. 226a*: Two Small Islands off the coast of Sardinia

57. *fol. 226b*: Island of Sardinia
58. *fol. 229a*: Island of Corsica
59. *fol. 230b*: Island of Minorca
60. *fol. 233a*: Islands of Majorca and Minorca
61. *fol. 234b*: Two islands off Majorca: Ibiza and Formentera
62. *fol. 334b*: Island of Cyprus
63. *fol. 337b*: Islands off the coast of Finike
64. *fol. 338b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
65. *fol. 339b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
66. *fol. 340b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
67. *fol. 341b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
68. *fol. 342b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
69. *fol. 343b*: Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast
70. *fol. 344b*: Istanbul Island
71. *fol. 346a*: Islands of Karpathos and Kasos
72. *fol. 351b*: Fragment of the island of Crete
73. *fol. 352a*: Island of Crete
74. *fol. 353a*: Island of Anafi, east of Thera
75. *fol. 354a*: Islands of Santorini and Thera in the Aegean Sea north of Crete
76. *fol. 355a*: Islands of Folegandros and Ios
77. *fol. 356a*: Islands of Folegandros and Melos
78. *fol. 357b*: Island of Melos
79. *fol. 359b*: Island of Serofos
80. *fol. 360b*: Island of Kythnos
81. *fol. 361b*: Island of Keos
82. *fol. 362b*: Island of Skyros
83. *fol. 364b*: Alonneses and other islands
84. *fol. 368b*: Island of Marmara in the Sea of Marmara
85. *fol. 369b*: Island of Mir Ali

APPENDIX F

Cities of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the titles given by the Walters Art Museum:

1. *fol. 185b*: Eastern part of Venice
2. *fol. 186a*: Western part of Venice
3. *fol. 305a*: City of Cairo
4. *fol. 370b*: City of Istanbul



APPENDIX G

Supplemental Maps of the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the titles given by the Walters Art Museum:

1. *fol. 366b*: Part of the coastline of the Sea of Marmara with the town of Kavak
2. *fol. 368b*: Island of Marmara in the Sea of Marmara
3. *fol. 369b*: Island of Mir Ali
4. *fol. 370b*: Map of Istanbul
5. *fol. 371a*: Coastline of the Black Sea from Istanbul to Geresun
6. *fol. 371b*: Coastline of the Black Sea
7. *fol. 372a*: Crimea, Sea of Azov, and mouth of the Dneiper River
8. *fol. 372b*: Sea of Marmara, Bosphorus Strait, and the Black Sea
9. *fol. 373a*: Coastline of the Black Sea
10. *fol. 374a*: Caspian Sea

APPENDIX H

Supplemental Illustrations and World Maps in the Walters' *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, based on the titles given by the Walters Art Museum:

1. *fol. 4b*: Incipit page with illuminated headpiece
2. *fol. 23b*: Oval map of the world with the Pacific Ocean in the center
3. *fol. 24b*: Western hemisphere within a wind rose with the Atlantic Ocean in the center
4. *fol. 40b*: World map in a double hemisphere
5. *fol. 41a*: Oval world map with the Atlantic Ocean in the center



APPENDIX I

Nile River Sequence, based on the titles of the Walters Art Museum:

1. *fol. 303b*: Egyptian coastline from Alexandria as far as the city of Rosetta
2. *fol. 304b*: Nile River from its estuary south
3. *fol. 305a*: City of Cairo
4. *fol. 306b*: Nile River estuary with Rosetta and Bullurus)
5. *fol. 307a*: Nile River with various oases facing South
6. *fol. 307b*: Nile River beginning with Bulaq, near Cairo
7. *fol. 308b*: Nile estuary with the city of Damietta on the Egyptian coastline
8. *fol. 309b*: Unmarked part of the Egyptian Coastline, appearing to depict from Damietta Eastwards
9. *fol. 310a*: Oases and Villages along the Nile River as far as Sidi Musa
10. *fol. 310b*: Nile River with various oases on either side as far as Sidi Maruf

FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE:



Figure 1.1. Opening seal of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 4a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000014_sap.jpg.

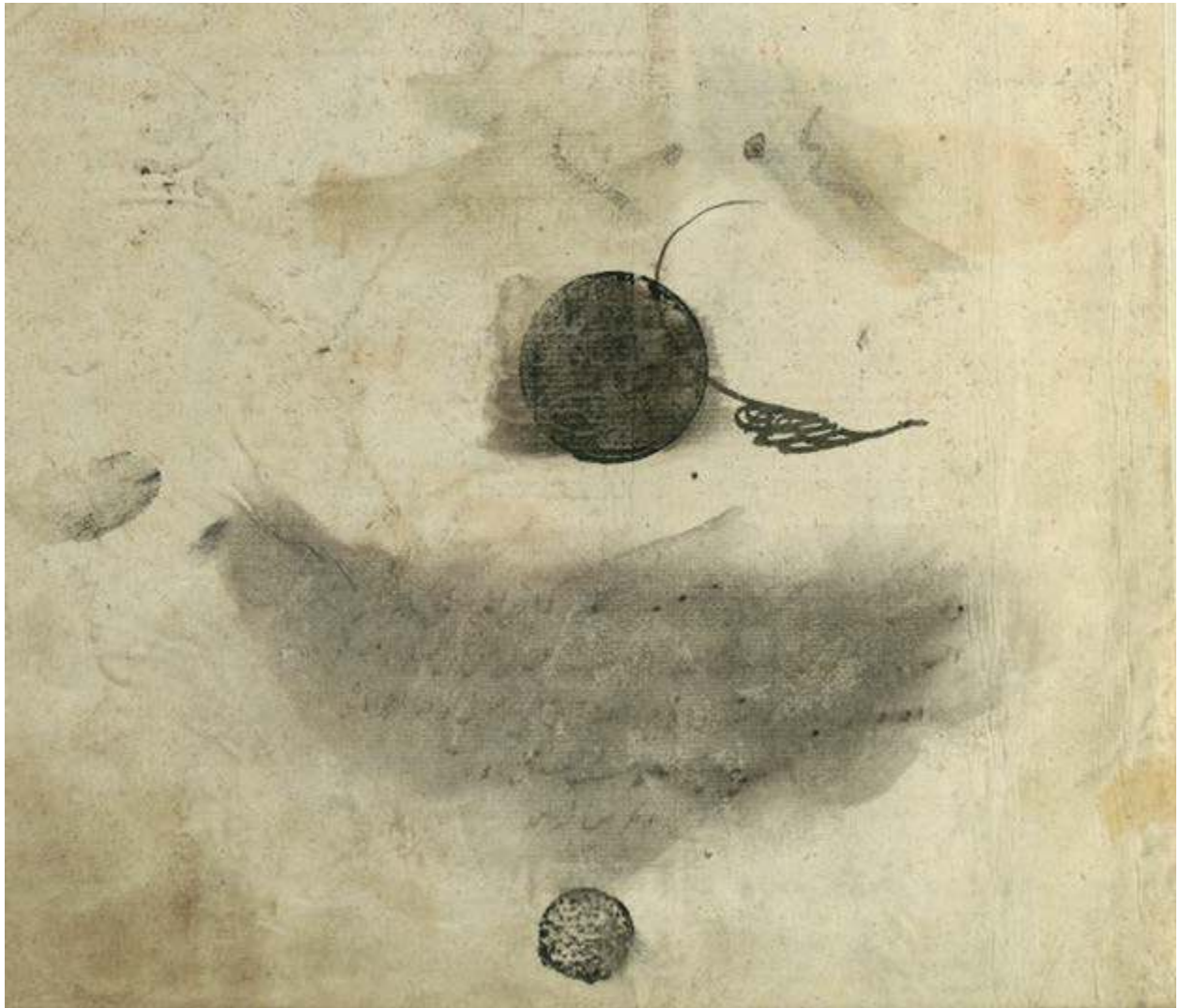


Figure 1.2. Detail of opening seal of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 4a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000014_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.3. *Besmele* frontispiece in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 4b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000016_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.4. *Besmele* frontispiece in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 4b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000016_sap.jpg.

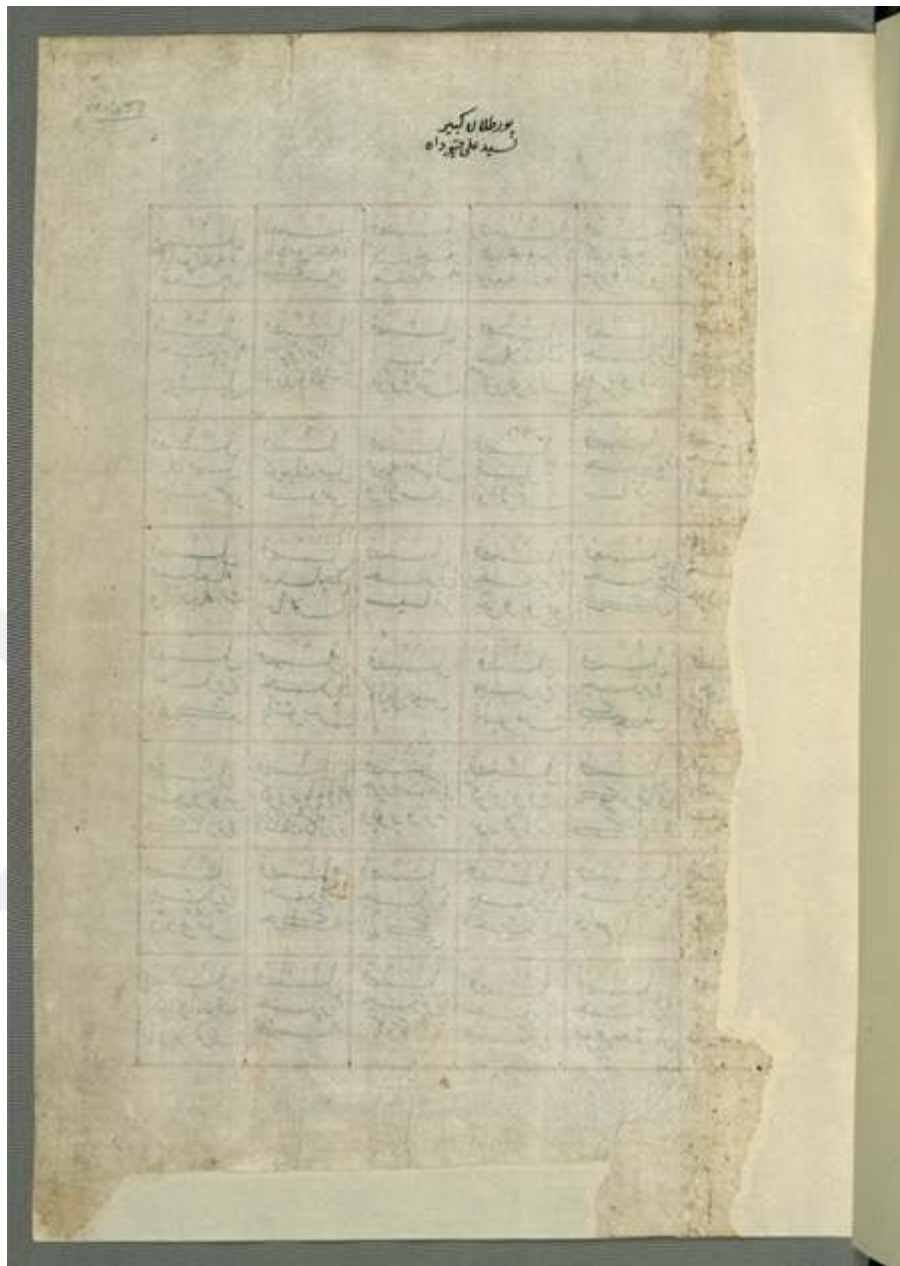


Figure 1.6. Title page of the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 1a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658000008_sap.jpg.

فصل ۲۳ بابا مولده	فصل ۳۷ بابا مولده	فصل ۴۶ کلید بحر	فصل ۴۱ کلید بحر	فصل ۴۰ کلید بحر	فصل ۴۰ کلید بحر
فصل ۲۴ جزیره	فصل ۴۵ جزیره طاش	فصل ۴۶ جزیره طاش	فصل ۴۹ جزیره طاش	فصل ۵۰ جزیره طاش	فصل ۵۰ جزیره طاش
فصل ۵۹ جزیره	فصل ۶۰ جزیره	فصل ۶۵ جزیره	فصل ۶۶ جزیره	فصل ۶۹ جزیره	فصل ۷۰ جزیره
فصل ۷۴ جزیره	فصل ۷۳ جزیره	فصل ۷۶ جزیره	فصل ۷۷ جزیره	فصل ۷۸ جزیره	فصل ۷۹ جزیره
فصل ۸۰ جزیره	فصل ۸۱ جزیره	فصل ۸۲ جزیره	فصل ۸۴ جزیره	فصل ۸۵ جزیره	فصل ۸۷ جزیره
فصل ۸۸ جزیره	فصل ۹۰ جزیره	فصل ۹۱ جزیره	فصل ۹۴ جزیره	فصل ۹۵ جزیره	فصل ۹۷ جزیره
فصل ۹۹ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۰ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۱ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۳ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۴ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۵ جزیره
فصل ۱۰۶ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۷ جزیره	فصل ۱۰۹ جزیره	فصل ۱۱۰ جزیره	فصل ۱۱۱ جزیره	فصل ۱۱۲ جزیره

Figure 1.7. *Fihrist* or Table of Contents in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 1b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000009_sap.jpg.

Figure 1.8. *Fihrist* or Table of Contents in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 2a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000010_sap.jpg

فصل ۱۱۳ جزیره استندیل	فصل ۱۱۰ جزیره استندره	فصل ۱۱۱ جزیره مورده ترمه و جزیره جامعیه	فصل ۱۱۲ جزیره مورده ترمه و جزیره جامعیه	فصل ۱۱۹ جزیره مورده ترمه و جزیره جامعیه	فصل ۱۲۰ جزیره مورده ترمه و جزیره جامعیه
فصل ۱۲۴ بنفشه و مانیه	فصل ۱۳۶ قلعہ متون و قرون	فصل ۱۳۷ ابری میل و مورده	فصل ۱۳۸ متون و اوارین	فصل ۱۳۹ قلعہ اوارین و جزیره زاکه	فصل ۱۴۰ قلعہ اوارین و جزیره زاکه
فصل ۱۳۱ آنا تولقوز	فصل ۱۳۳ جزیره کفالونیه	فصل ۱۳۰ جزیره ایا و مورده و پروده	فصل ۱۳۷ جزیره جیشیلر	فصل ۱۴۰ جزیره کورفون	فصل ۱۴۱ جزیره کورفون
فصل ۱۴۳ قلعہ کینار	فصل ۱۴۶ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۴۷ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۴۸ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۴۹ جزیره کورصنه	فصل ۱۵۰ جزیره کورصنه
فصل ۱۵۱ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۵۲ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۵۴ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۵۵ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۵۶ جزیره کینار	فصل ۱۵۷ جزیره کینار
فصل ۱۵۸ جزیره بورقون	فصل ۱۵۹ جزیره یاغوا و طراقی	فصل ۱۶۰ جزیره واکه	فصل ۱۶۱ جزیره قاز سو	فصل ۱۶۲ جزیره اوونیه	فصل ۱۶۳ جزیره اوونیه
فصل ۱۶۵ جزیره الوساو و لیمانی	فصل ۱۶۷ جزیره قلعہ یار یوله و اصراف	فصل ۱۶۸ جزیره قلعہ زوینیه	فصل ۱۶۹ جزیره قلعہ اورساره	فصل ۱۷۰ جزیره قلعہ پرلشہ	فصل ۱۷۱ جزیره قلعہ سوسه نوو
فصل ۱۷۲ جزیره اوژماغوز	فصل ۱۷۳ جزیره برانو	فصل ۱۷۴ جزیره ایزله	فصل ۱۷۵ جزیره دیشریه	فصل ۱۷۶ جزیره قلعہ موبیه	فصل ۱۷۷ جزیره قلعہ رشتی

Figure 1.9. *Fihrist* or Table of Contents in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 2b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000011_sap.jpg.

فصل ۱۷۸ قلعه قاورلو ونديک کارلوی	فصل ۱۸۰ سهر ونديک	فصل ۱۸۱ فراشه کنارلوی	فصل ۱۸۲ قلعه انقونیه	فصل ۱۸۳ قلعه زیمینو	فصل ۱۸۴ قلعه پدرو
فصل ۱۸۵ قلعه اورین	فصل ۱۸۶ قلعه پاپا انقونیه بی	فصل ۱۸۷ صانته مرینه لورینقو کنارلوی	فصل ۱۸۸ قلعه پدزینو	فصل ۱۸۹ قلعه التورونقو	فصل ۱۹۰ قلعه سابلو سلیبه وارنیه
فصل ۱۹۱ قلعه القسطن	فصل ۱۹۲ جزیره صانته مرینه وتره میه	فصل ۱۹۳ قلعه بیسکه ویشتیه	فصل ۱۹۴ قلعه دوینیه	فصل ۱۹۵ قلعه بارلیه	فصل ۱۹۶ قلعه نزیله ومالقیه
فصل ۱۹۷ قلعه چوری ناسوویاری	فصل ۱۹۸ قلعه موله وصانته ونیه	فصل ۱۹۹ قلعه برندیس	فصل ۲۰۰ قلعه اوتورانته	فصل ۲۰۱ قلعه کلیوشی	فصل ۲۰۲ قلعه ونديک کورقزی
فصل ۲۰۳ قلعه فارینه	فصل ۲۰۴ قلعه فلاوری کنارلوی	فصل ۲۰۵ قلعه فوتورون	فصل ۲۰۶ قلعه فستالو ولودینه	فصل ۲۰۷ قلعه اسیرنو ونتورینی کنارلوی	فصل ۲۰۸ قلعه جیزیره بجلیه
فصل ۲۰۹ جزیره مالته	فصل ۲۱۰ جزیره سردینه واترله صانیارد	فصل ۲۱۱ جزیره سردینه	فصل ۲۱۲ جزیره شهر صازی	فصل ۲۱۳ جزیره قورسوغه	فصل ۲۱۴ جزیره منارقو
فصل ۲۱۵ جزیره مبارقو	فصل ۲۱۶ جزیره بولیسه	فصل ۲۱۷ جزیره بولو قسطن کنارلوی	فصل ۲۱۸ جزیره پولیه	فصل ۲۱۹ قلعه سوبیه واکه ورومه	فصل ۲۲۰ جزیره شهر بیه پولیه
فصل ۲۲۱ جزیره کنارلوی	فصل ۲۲۲ جزیره تلیسه شهری	فصل ۲۲۳ جزیره ایزله دان	فصل ۲۲۴ جزیره مرچلیه	فصل ۲۲۵ اقوع مورت کنارلوی	فصل ۲۲۶ جزیره سهر بارسلونه

Figure 1.10. *Fihrist* or Table of Contents in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 3a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000012_sap.jpg.

فصل ۳۶۱ قلعه هین	فصل ۳۶۲ قلعه توان	فصل ۳۶۳ قلعه سته	فصل ۳۶۴ قلعه جبل	فصل ۳۶۵ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۶۶ قلعه کنار
فصل ۳۶۷ قلعه بدر	فصل ۳۶۸ قلعه جبل	فصل ۳۶۹ قلعه جرا	فصل ۳۷۰ قلعه شمال	فصل ۳۷۱ قلعه مستغانم	فصل ۳۷۲ قلعه مهران
فصل ۳۷۳ قلعه مغرب	فصل ۳۷۴ قلعه جرا	فصل ۳۷۵ قلعه مهدیه	فصل ۳۷۶ قلعه مهدیه	فصل ۳۷۷ قلعه مهدیه	فصل ۳۷۸ قلعه مهدیه
فصل ۳۷۹ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۰ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۱ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۲ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۳ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۴ قلعه کنار
فصل ۳۸۵ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۶ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۷ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۸ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۸۹ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۰ قلعه کنار
فصل ۳۹۱ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۲ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۳ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۴ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۵ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۶ قلعه کنار
فصل ۳۹۷ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۸ قلعه کنار	فصل ۳۹۹ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۰ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۱ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۲ قلعه کنار
فصل ۴۰۳ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۴ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۵ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۶ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۷ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۰۸ قلعه کنار
فصل ۴۰۹ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۰ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۱ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۲ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۳ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۴ قلعه کنار
فصل ۴۱۵ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۶ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۷ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۸ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۱۹ قلعه کنار	فصل ۴۲۰ قلعه کنار

Figure 1.11. *Fihrist* or Table of Contents in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 3b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000015_sap.jpg.

فصل ۳۴۰ جزیره میس	فصل ۳۳۹ کلیه اووه لیمانی	فصل ۳۳۸ شکل بورنی	فصل ۳۳۷ جزیره قیزیل	فصل ۳۳۶ اطالیه کتارلی	فصل ۳۳۵ مناوقت کتارلی
فصل ۳۳۴ جزیره کدیه	فصل ۳۳۳ مدرمین لیمانی	فصل ۳۳۲ قره ملوغان یا با	فصل ۳۳۱ السر کتارلی	فصل ۳۳۰ کولک صومو	فصل ۳۲۹ کتارلی یدی بورون
فصل ۳۲۸ جزیره دیکونلک	فصل ۳۲۷ جزیره کندر	فصل ۳۲۶ جزیره اکنه	فصل ۳۲۵ جزیره صاقورین	فصل ۳۲۴ جزیره انا فیه	فصل ۳۲۳ جزیره کیت
فصل ۳۲۲ جزیره الشکادور	فصل ۳۲۱ جزیره اسکیری	فصل ۳۲۰ جزیره مدرند	فصل ۳۱۹ جزیره ترمیه	فصل ۳۱۸ جزیره قیولجیه	فصل ۳۱۷ جزیره باوزجه
فصل ۳۱۶ جزیره میدعلی	فصل ۳۱۵ جزیره مدرمه	فصل ۳۱۴ جزیره باندومه	فصل ۳۱۳ مغارین کتارلی	فصل ۳۱۲ ایلی جانیده	فصل ۳۱۱ جزیره جاملیه
فصل ۳۱۰ فصل ۳۰۹	فصل ۳۰۸ فصل ۳۰۷	فصل ۳۰۶ فصل ۳۰۵	فصل ۳۰۴ فصل ۳۰۳	فصل ۳۰۲ فصل ۳۰۱	فصل ۳۰۰ فصل ۲۹۹
فصل ۲۹۸ فصل ۲۹۷	فصل ۲۹۶ فصل ۲۹۵	فصل ۲۹۴ فصل ۲۹۳	فصل ۲۹۲ فصل ۲۹۱	فصل ۲۹۰ فصل ۲۸۹	فصل ۲۸۸ فصل ۲۸۷
فصل ۲۸۶ فصل ۲۸۵	فصل ۲۸۴ فصل ۲۸۳	فصل ۲۸۲ فصل ۲۸۱	فصل ۲۸۰ فصل ۲۷۹	فصل ۲۷۸ فصل ۲۷۷	فصل ۲۷۶ فصل ۲۷۵
فصل ۲۷۴ فصل ۲۷۳	فصل ۲۷۲ فصل ۲۷۱	فصل ۲۷۰ فصل ۲۶۹	فصل ۲۶۸ فصل ۲۶۷	فصل ۲۶۶ فصل ۲۶۵	فصل ۲۶۴ فصل ۲۶۳
فصل ۲۶۲ فصل ۲۶۱	فصل ۲۶۰ فصل ۲۵۹	فصل ۲۵۸ فصل ۲۵۷	فصل ۲۵۶ فصل ۲۵۵	فصل ۲۵۴ فصل ۲۵۳	فصل ۲۵۲ فصل ۲۵۱
فصل ۲۵۰ فصل ۲۴۹	فصل ۲۴۸ فصل ۲۴۷	فصل ۲۴۶ فصل ۲۴۵	فصل ۲۴۴ فصل ۲۴۳	فصل ۲۴۲ فصل ۲۴۱	فصل ۲۴۰ فصل ۲۳۹
فصل ۲۳۸ فصل ۲۳۷	فصل ۲۳۶ فصل ۲۳۵	فصل ۲۳۴ فصل ۲۳۳	فصل ۲۳۲ فصل ۲۳۱	فصل ۲۳۰ فصل ۲۲۹	فصل ۲۲۸ فصل ۲۲۷
فصل ۲۲۶ فصل ۲۲۵	فصل ۲۲۴ فصل ۲۲۳	فصل ۲۲۲ فصل ۲۲۱	فصل ۲۲۰ فصل ۲۱۹	فصل ۲۱۸ فصل ۲۱۷	فصل ۲۱۶ فصل ۲۱۵
فصل ۲۱۴ فصل ۲۱۳	فصل ۲۱۲ فصل ۲۱۱	فصل ۲۱۰ فصل ۲۰۹	فصل ۲۰۸ فصل ۲۰۷	فصل ۲۰۶ فصل ۲۰۵	فصل ۲۰۴ فصل ۲۰۳
فصل ۲۰۲ فصل ۲۰۱	فصل ۲۰۰ فصل ۱۹۹	فصل ۱۹۸ فصل ۱۹۷	فصل ۱۹۶ فصل ۱۹۵	فصل ۱۹۴ فصل ۱۹۳	فصل ۱۹۲ فصل ۱۹۱
فصل ۱۹۰ فصل ۱۸۹	فصل ۱۸۸ فصل ۱۸۷	فصل ۱۸۶ فصل ۱۸۵	فصل ۱۸۴ فصل ۱۸۳	فصل ۱۸۲ فصل ۱۸۱	فصل ۱۸۰ فصل ۱۷۹
فصل ۱۷۸ فصل ۱۷۷	فصل ۱۷۶ فصل ۱۷۵	فصل ۱۷۴ فصل ۱۷۳	فصل ۱۷۲ فصل ۱۷۱	فصل ۱۷۰ فصل ۱۶۹	فصل ۱۶۸ فصل ۱۶۷
فصل ۱۶۶ فصل ۱۶۵	فصل ۱۶۴ فصل ۱۶۳	فصل ۱۶۲ فصل ۱۶۱	فصل ۱۶۰ فصل ۱۵۹	فصل ۱۵۸ فصل ۱۵۷	فصل ۱۵۶ فصل ۱۵۵
فصل ۱۵۴ فصل ۱۵۳	فصل ۱۵۲ فصل ۱۵۱	فصل ۱۵۰ فصل ۱۴۹	فصل ۱۴۸ فصل ۱۴۷	فصل ۱۴۶ فصل ۱۴۵	فصل ۱۴۴ فصل ۱۴۳
فصل ۱۴۲ فصل ۱۴۱	فصل ۱۴۰ فصل ۱۳۹	فصل ۱۳۸ فصل ۱۳۷	فصل ۱۳۶ فصل ۱۳۵	فصل ۱۳۴ فصل ۱۳۳	فصل ۱۳۲ فصل ۱۳۱
فصل ۱۳۰ فصل ۱۲۹	فصل ۱۲۸ فصل ۱۲۷	فصل ۱۲۶ فصل ۱۲۵	فصل ۱۲۴ فصل ۱۲۳	فصل ۱۲۲ فصل ۱۲۱	فصل ۱۲۰ فصل ۱۱۹
فصل ۱۱۸ فصل ۱۱۷	فصل ۱۱۶ فصل ۱۱۵	فصل ۱۱۴ فصل ۱۱۳	فصل ۱۱۲ فصل ۱۱۱	فصل ۱۱۰ فصل ۱۰۹	فصل ۱۰۸ فصل ۱۰۷
فصل ۱۰۶ فصل ۱۰۵	فصل ۱۰۴ فصل ۱۰۳	فصل ۱۰۲ فصل ۱۰۱	فصل ۱۰۰ فصل ۹۹	فصل ۹۸ فصل ۹۷	فصل ۹۶ فصل ۹۵
فصل ۹۴ فصل ۹۳	فصل ۹۲ فصل ۹۱	فصل ۹۰ فصل ۸۹	فصل ۸۸ فصل ۸۷	فصل ۸۶ فصل ۸۵	فصل ۸۴ فصل ۸۳
فصل ۸۲ فصل ۸۱	فصل ۸۰ فصل ۷۹	فصل ۷۸ فصل ۷۷	فصل ۷۶ فصل ۷۵	فصل ۷۴ فصل ۷۳	فصل ۷۲ فصل ۷۱
فصل ۷۰ فصل ۶۹	فصل ۶۸ فصل ۶۷	فصل ۶۶ فصل ۶۵	فصل ۶۴ فصل ۶۳	فصل ۶۲ فصل ۶۱	فصل ۶۰ فصل ۵۹
فصل ۵۸ فصل ۵۷	فصل ۵۶ فصل ۵۵	فصل ۵۴ فصل ۵۳	فصل ۵۲ فصل ۵۱	فصل ۵۰ فصل ۴۹	فصل ۴۸ فصل ۴۷
فصل ۴۶ فصل ۴۵	فصل ۴۴ فصل ۴۳	فصل ۴۲ فصل ۴۱	فصل ۴۰ فصل ۳۹	فصل ۳۸ فصل ۳۷	فصل ۳۶ فصل ۳۵
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فصل ۲۲ فصل ۲۱	فصل ۲۰ فصل ۱۹	فصل ۱۸ فصل ۱۷	فصل ۱۶ فصل ۱۵	فصل ۱۴ فصل ۱۳	فصل ۱۲ فصل ۱۱
فصل ۱۰ فصل ۹	فصل ۸ فصل ۷	فصل ۶ فصل ۵	فصل ۴ فصل ۳	فصل ۲ فصل ۱	فصل ۰ فصل ۰



Figure 1.12. "City of Venice" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 186a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000381_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.13. “City of Venice” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 185b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000380_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.14. "City of Cairo" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.15. "City of Istanbul" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

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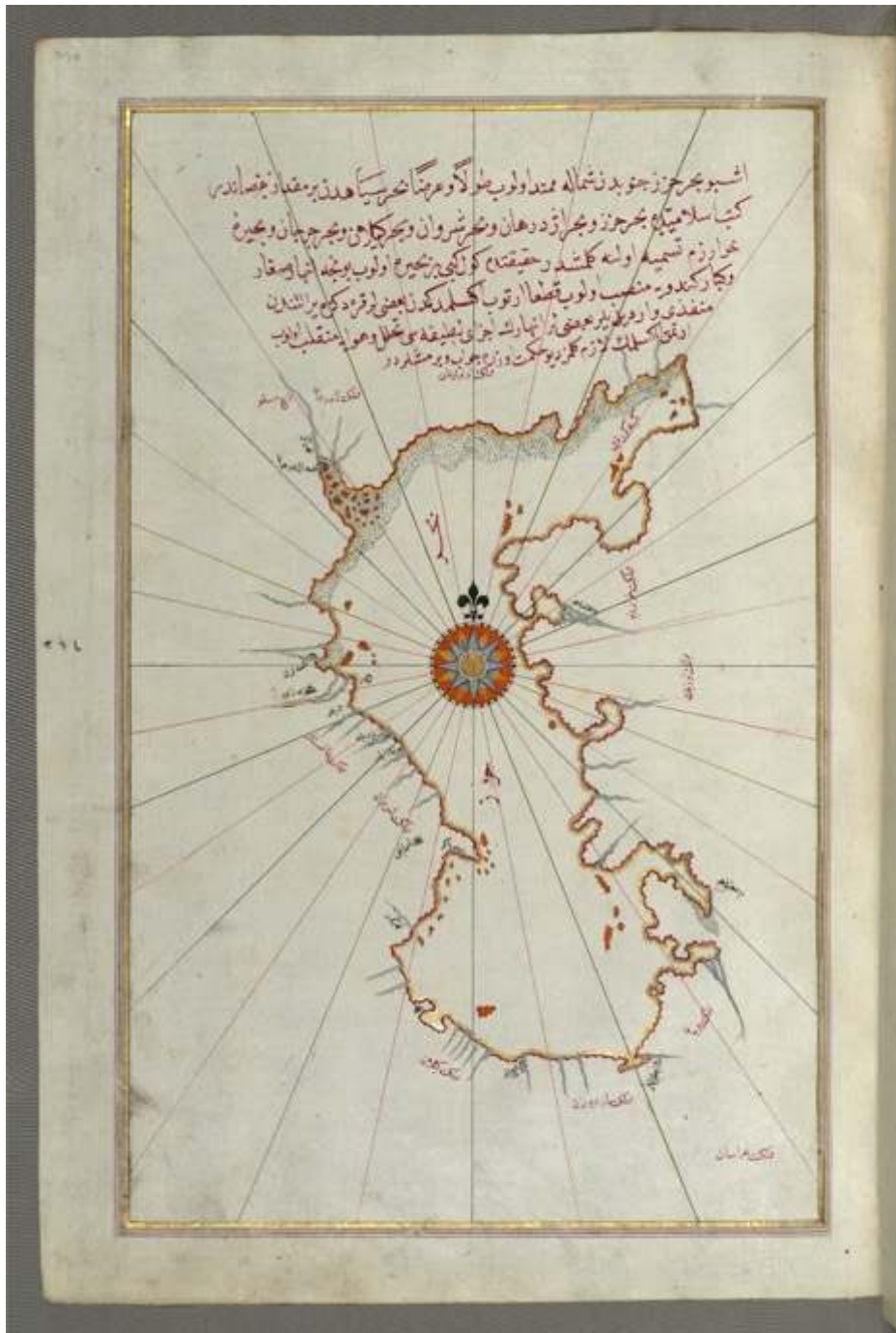


Figure 1.16. "Caspian Sea" in the *Kitāb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 324a.

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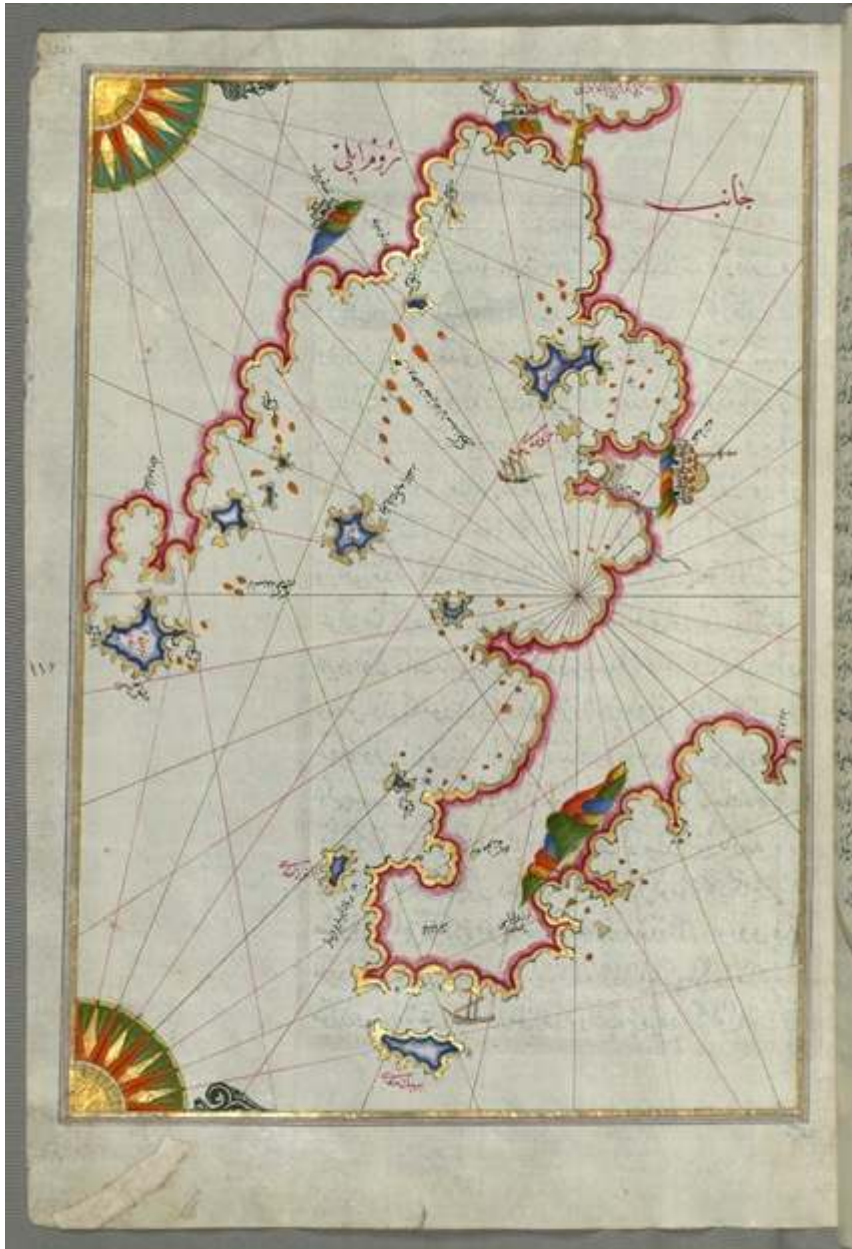


Figure 1.17. “Bay of Saronikos with the City of Athens” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 121a.
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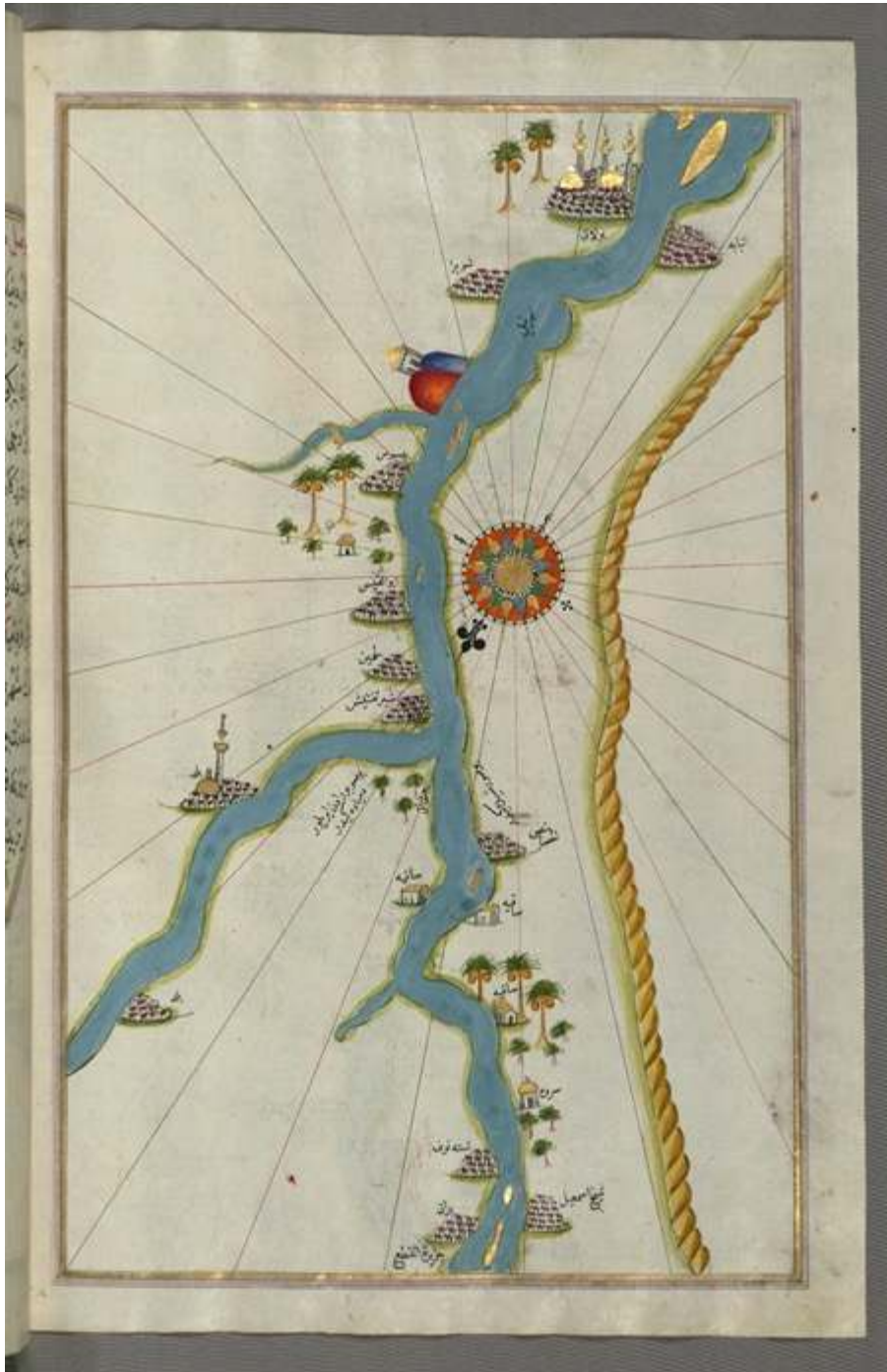


Figure 1.18. "Nile River with various oases on either side" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 307a.

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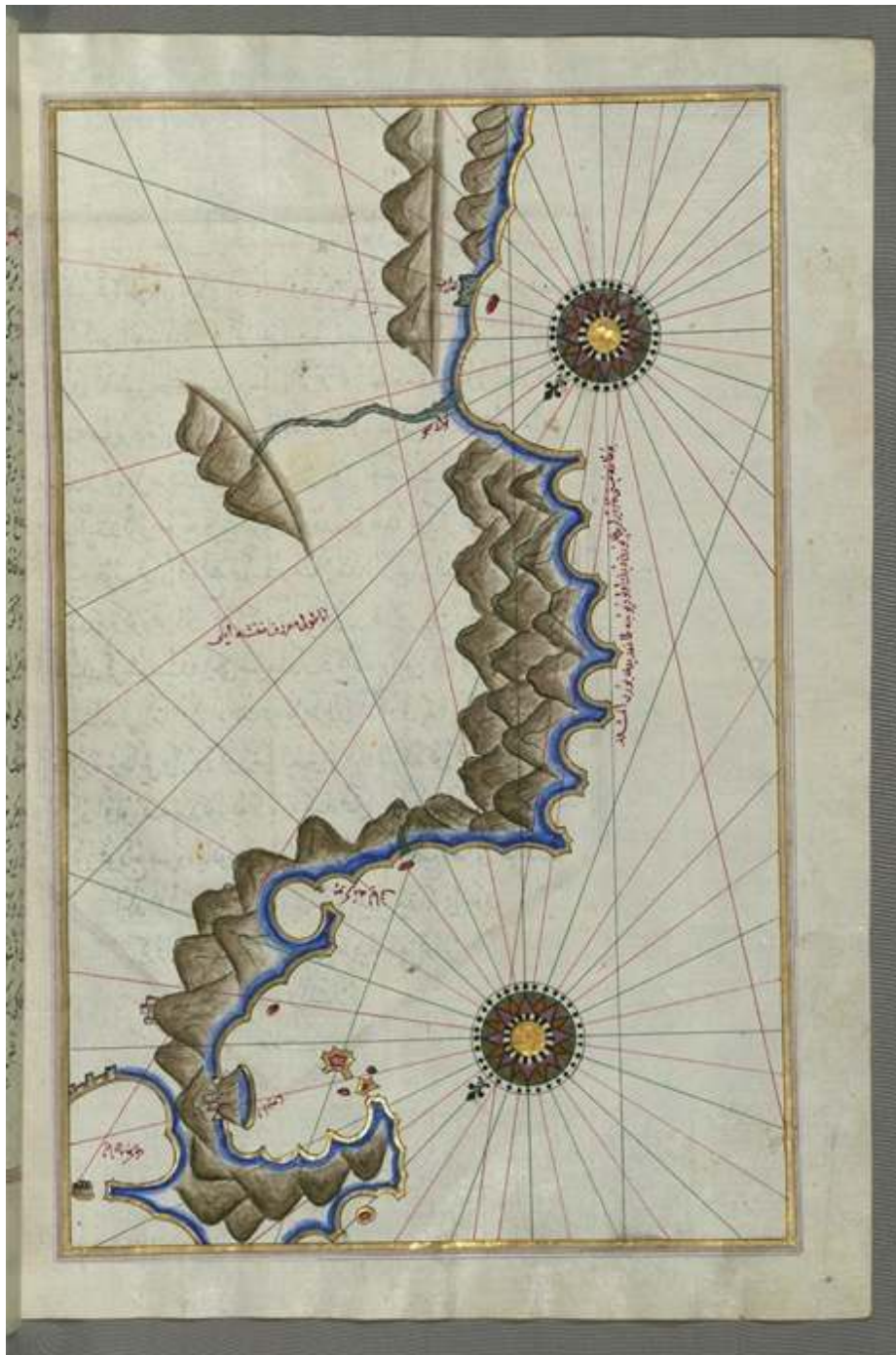


Figure 1.19. “Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 342b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000694_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.20. “Unidentified Islands off the southern Anatolian coast” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 343b.
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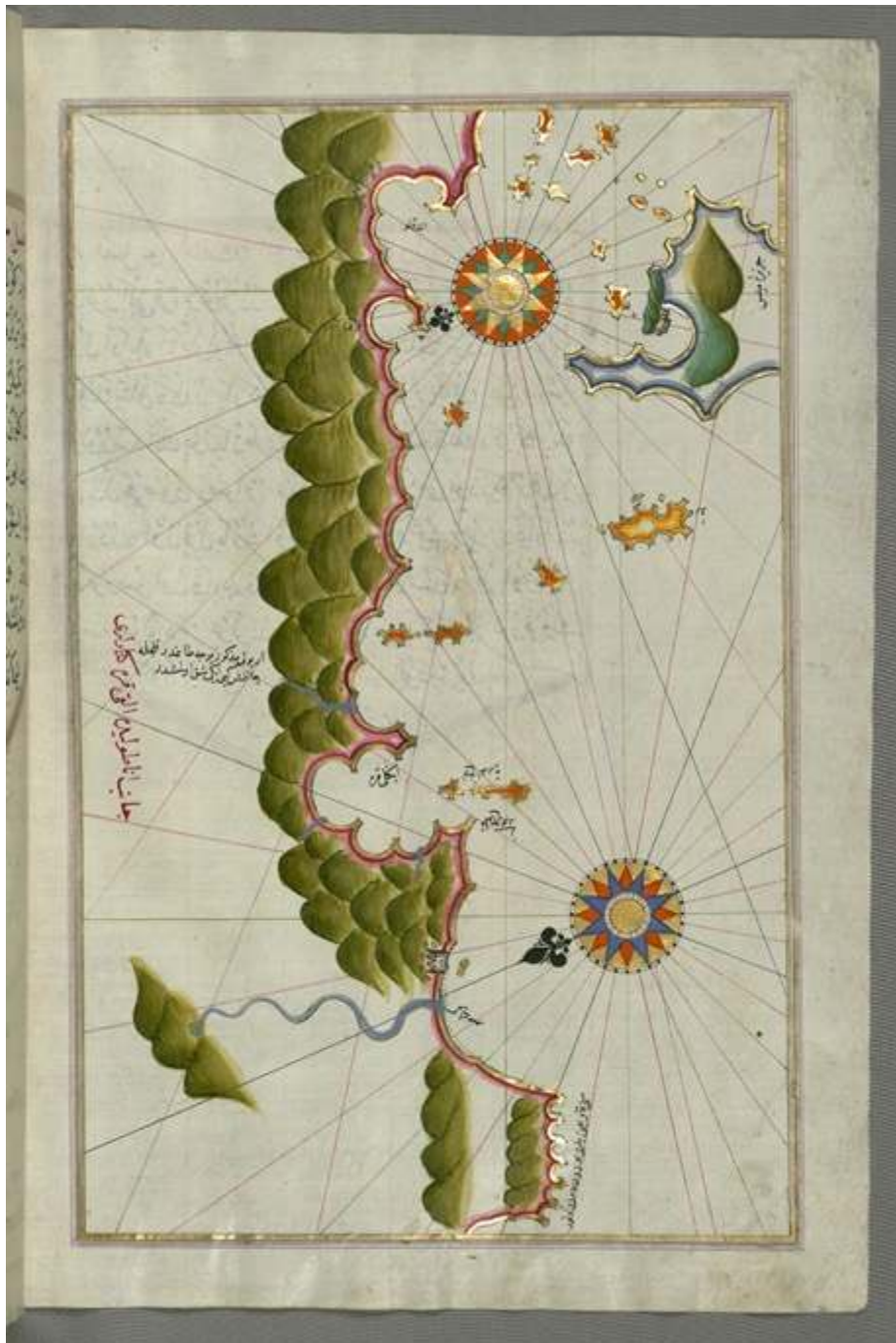


Figure 1.21. “Unidentified islands off the southern Anatolian coast” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 339b.
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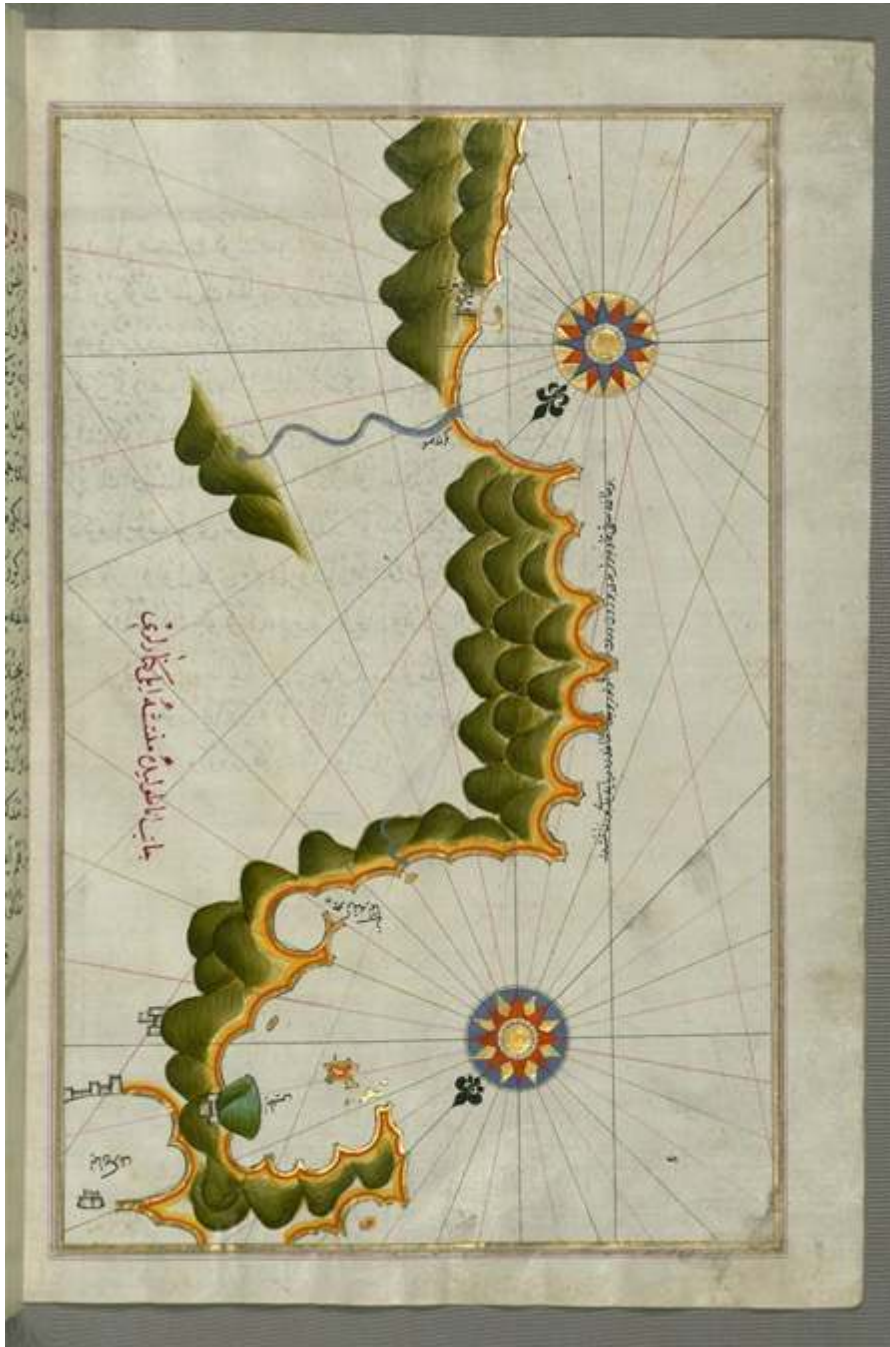


Figure 1.22. “Unidentified island off the southern Anatolian coast” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 340b.

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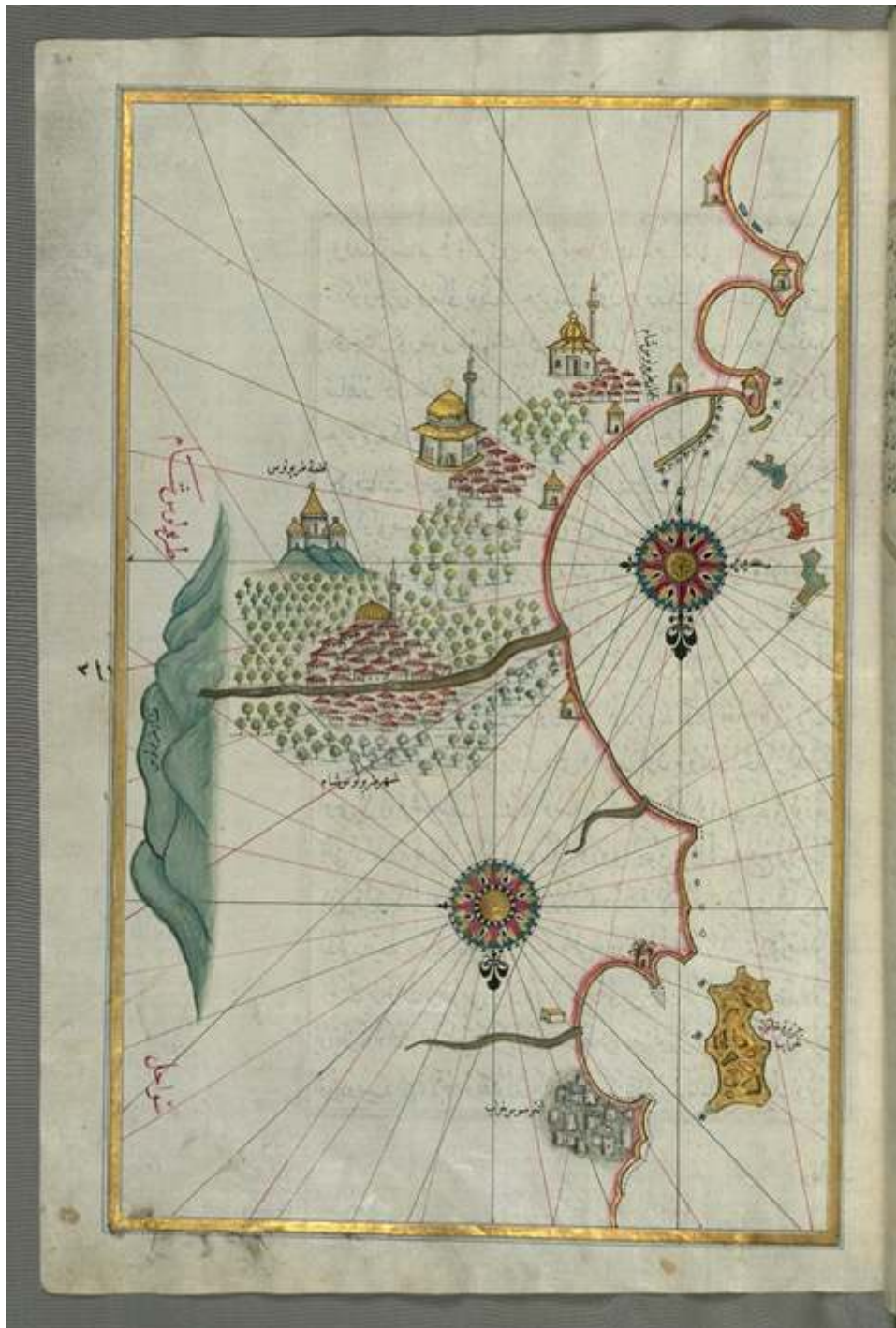


Figure 1.23. "City of Tripoli" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 319a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000647_sap.jpg



Figure 1.24. “Anatolian coastline and the cities of Adana and Tarsus” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 324a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000657_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.25. “City of Ferrara with the six rivers flowing into the Gulf of Venice” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 187a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000383_sap.jpg.

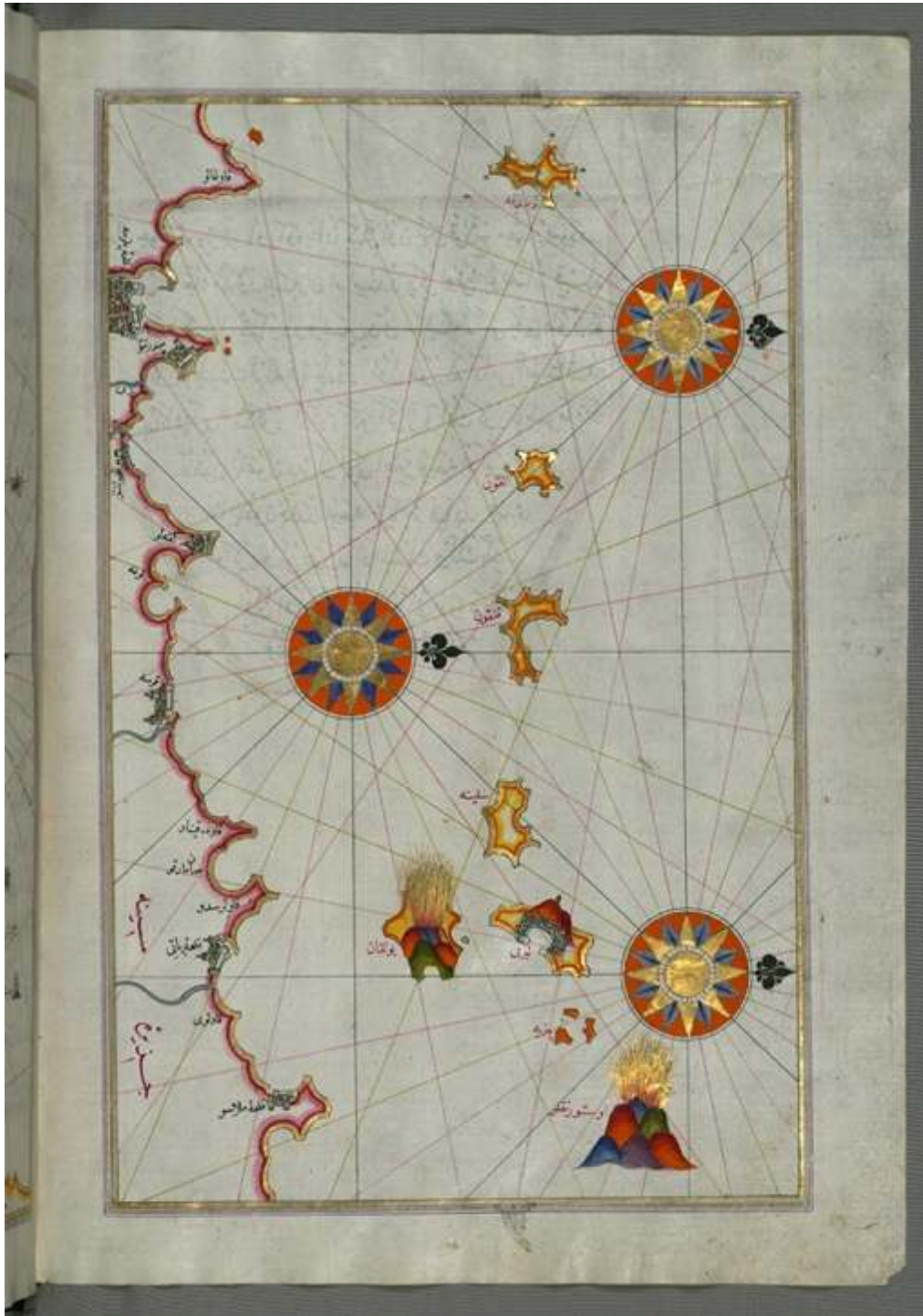


Figure 1.26. “Northern coastline of Sicily, from Milazzo to Palermo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 220b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000450_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.27. "Fortress of Trieste" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 182b.

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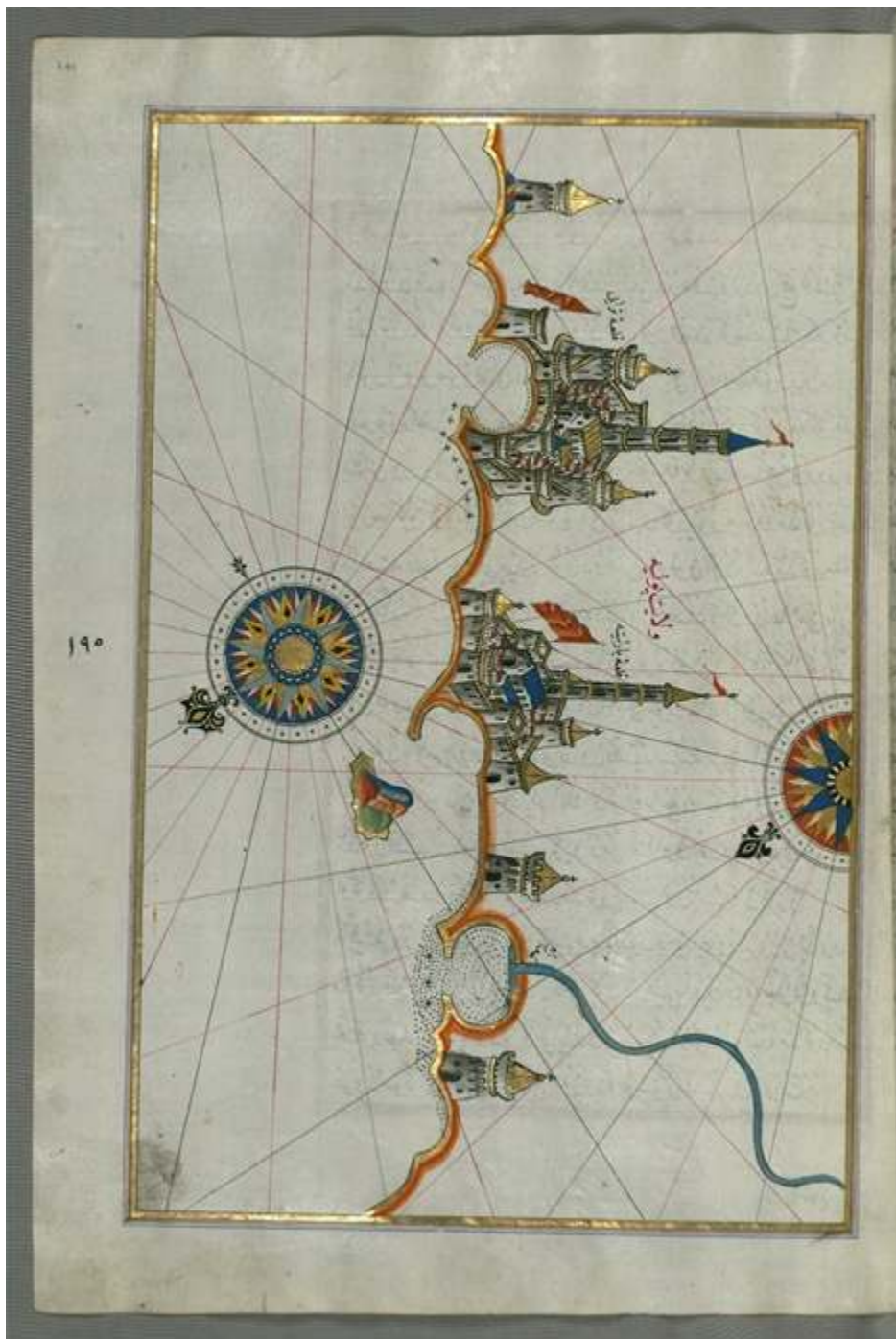


Figure 1.28. “Italian coastline from Barletta to Trani” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 201a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000411_sap.jpg.

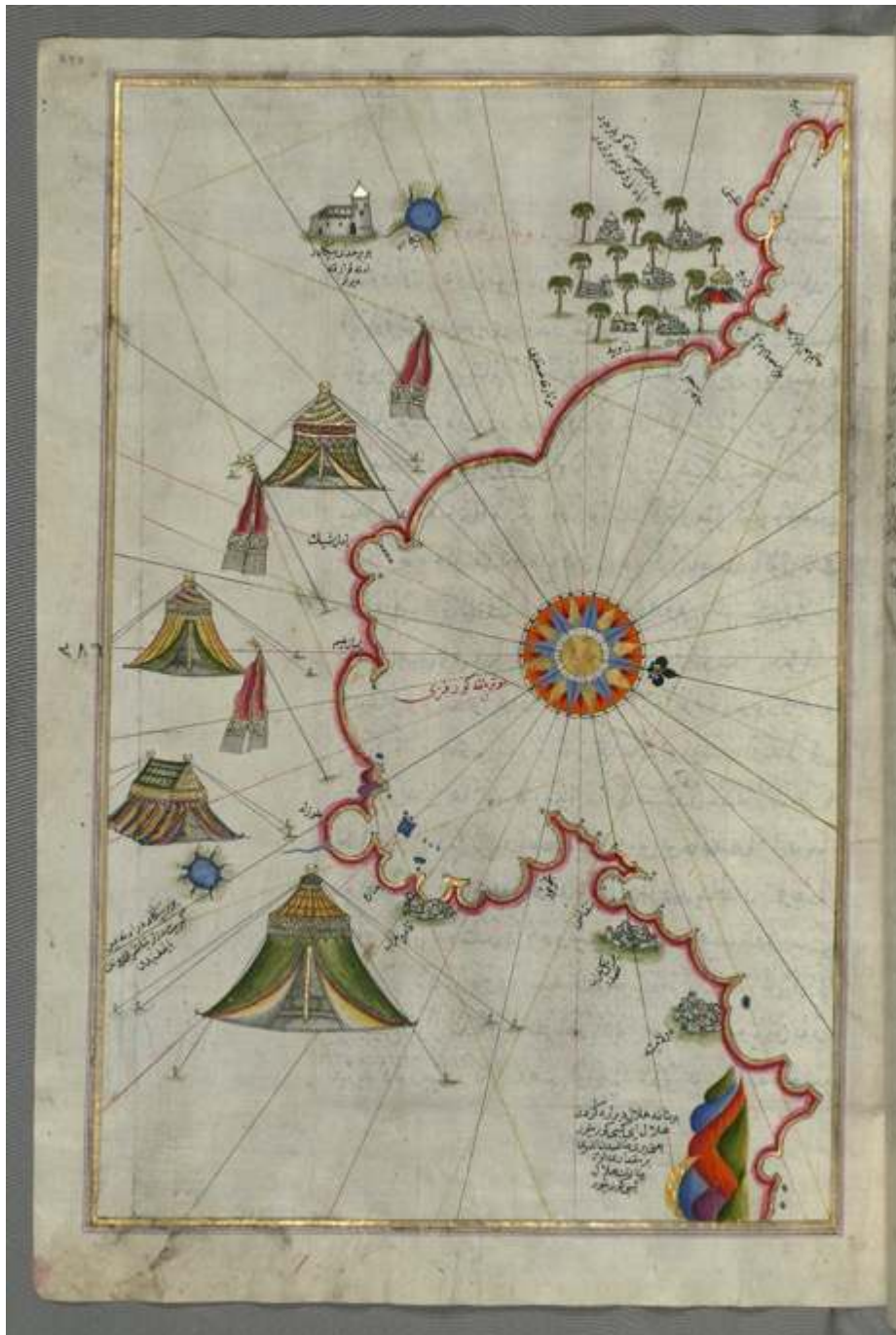


Figure 1.29. “Libyan coastline as far as Benghazi” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 293a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000595_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.30. “City of Alexandria” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 302a.
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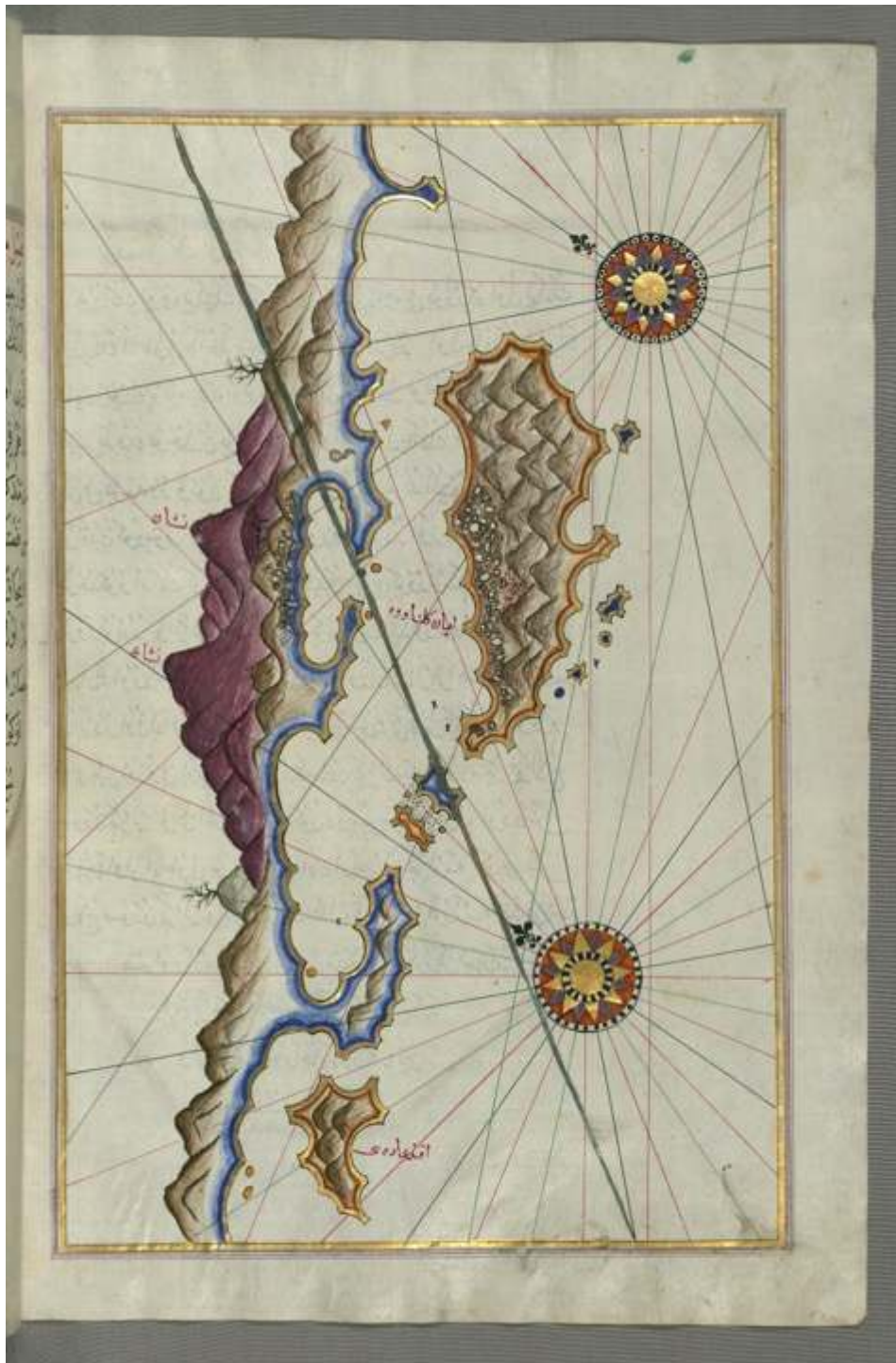


Figure 1.31. “Islands off the coast of Finike” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 337b.

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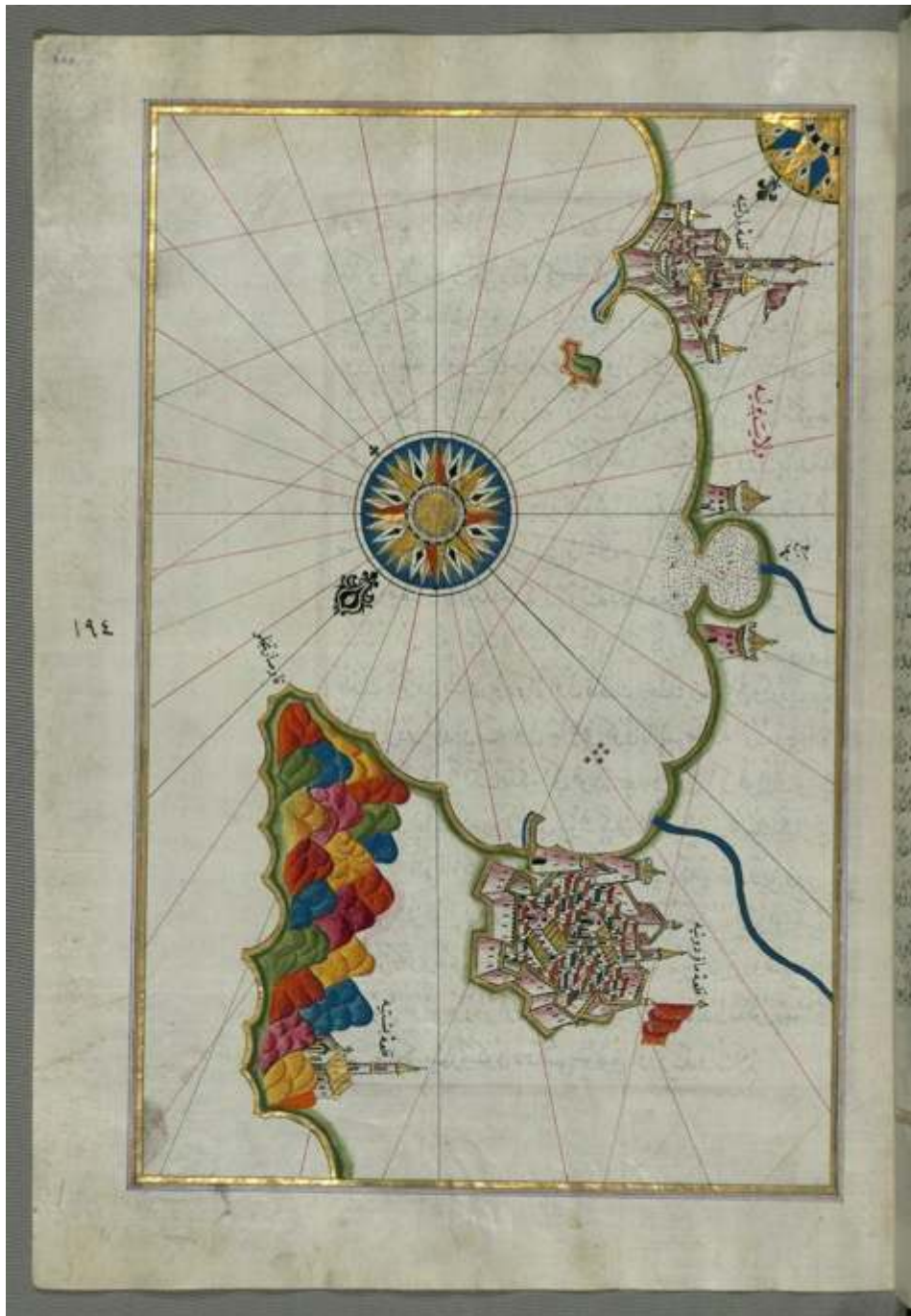


Figure 1.32. "Italian coastline from Mafredonia as far as Barletta" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 200a.

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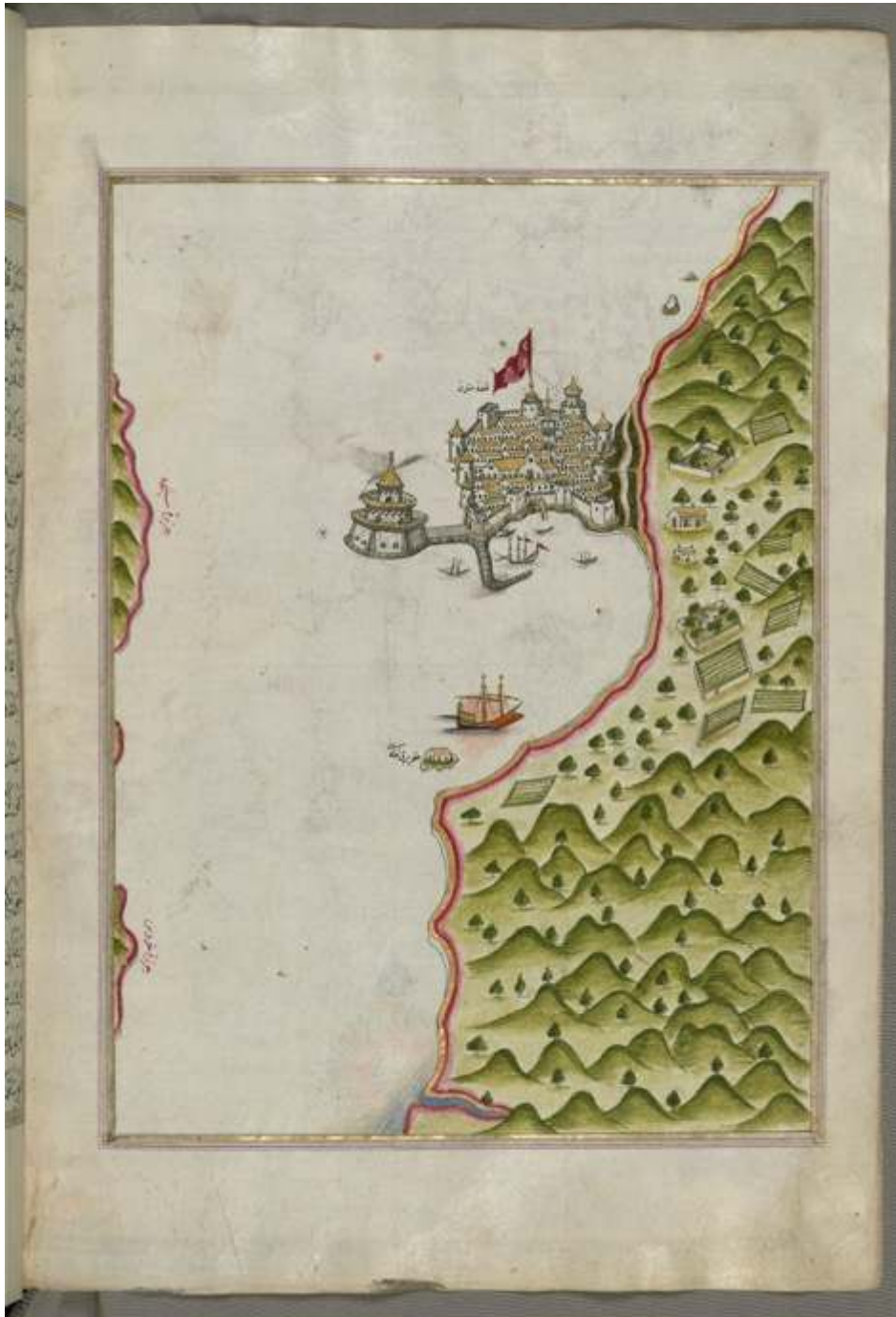


Figure 1.33. “Methana fortress in the Bay of Saronikos” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 130b.
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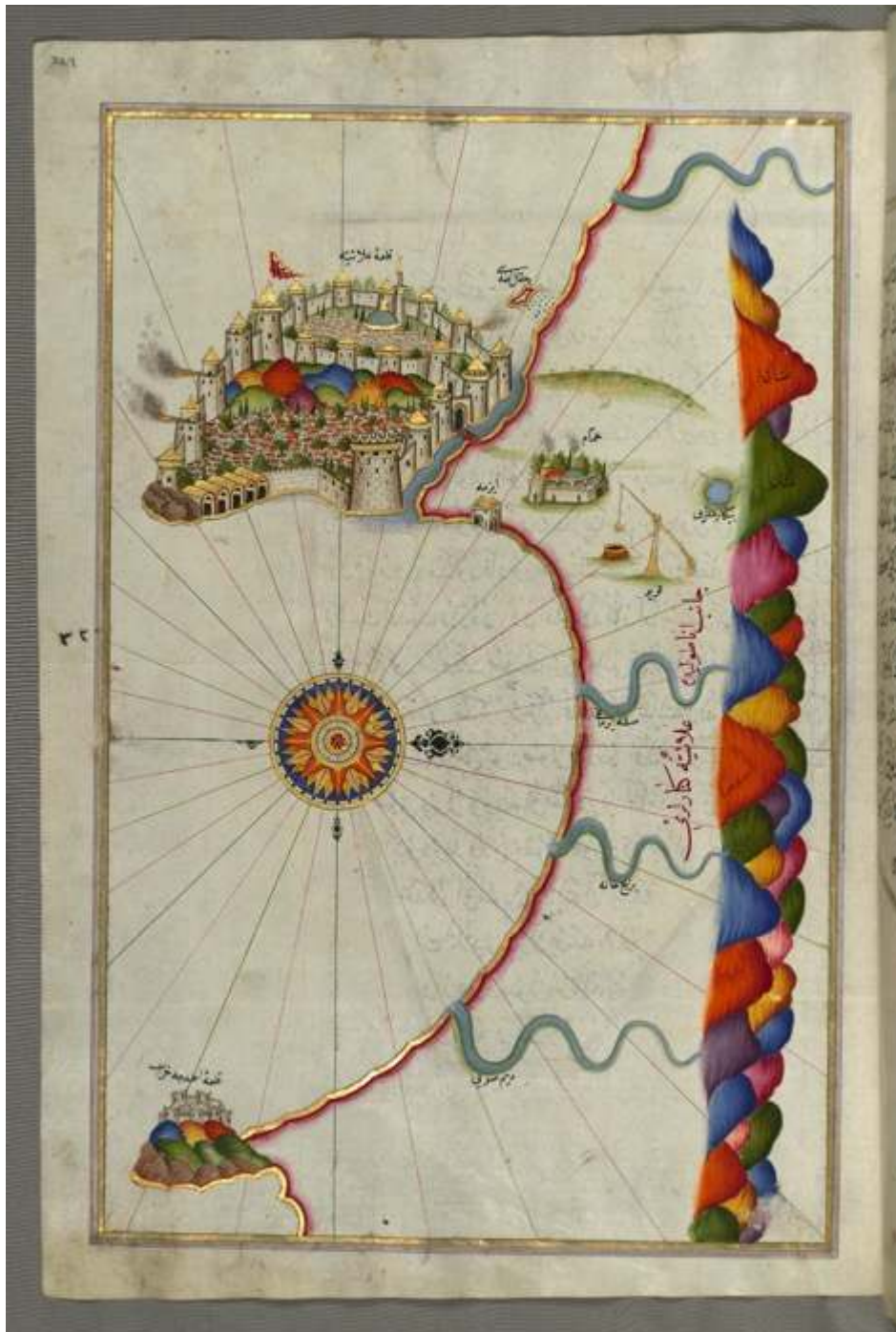


Figure 1.34. “Fortress of Alanya” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 329a.

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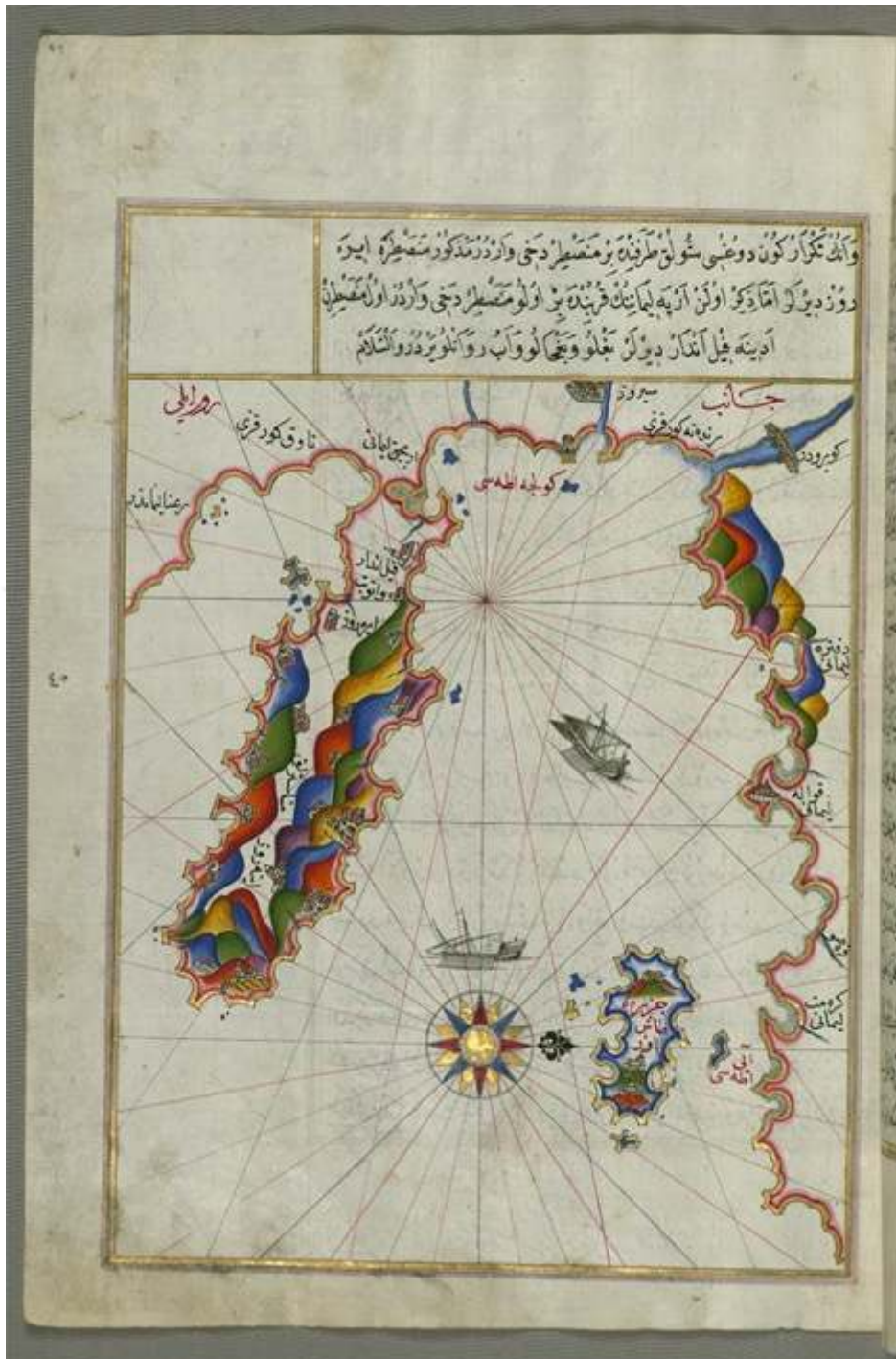


Figure 1.35. “Area west of the island of Thasos and the Ayion Oros peninsula” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 49a.

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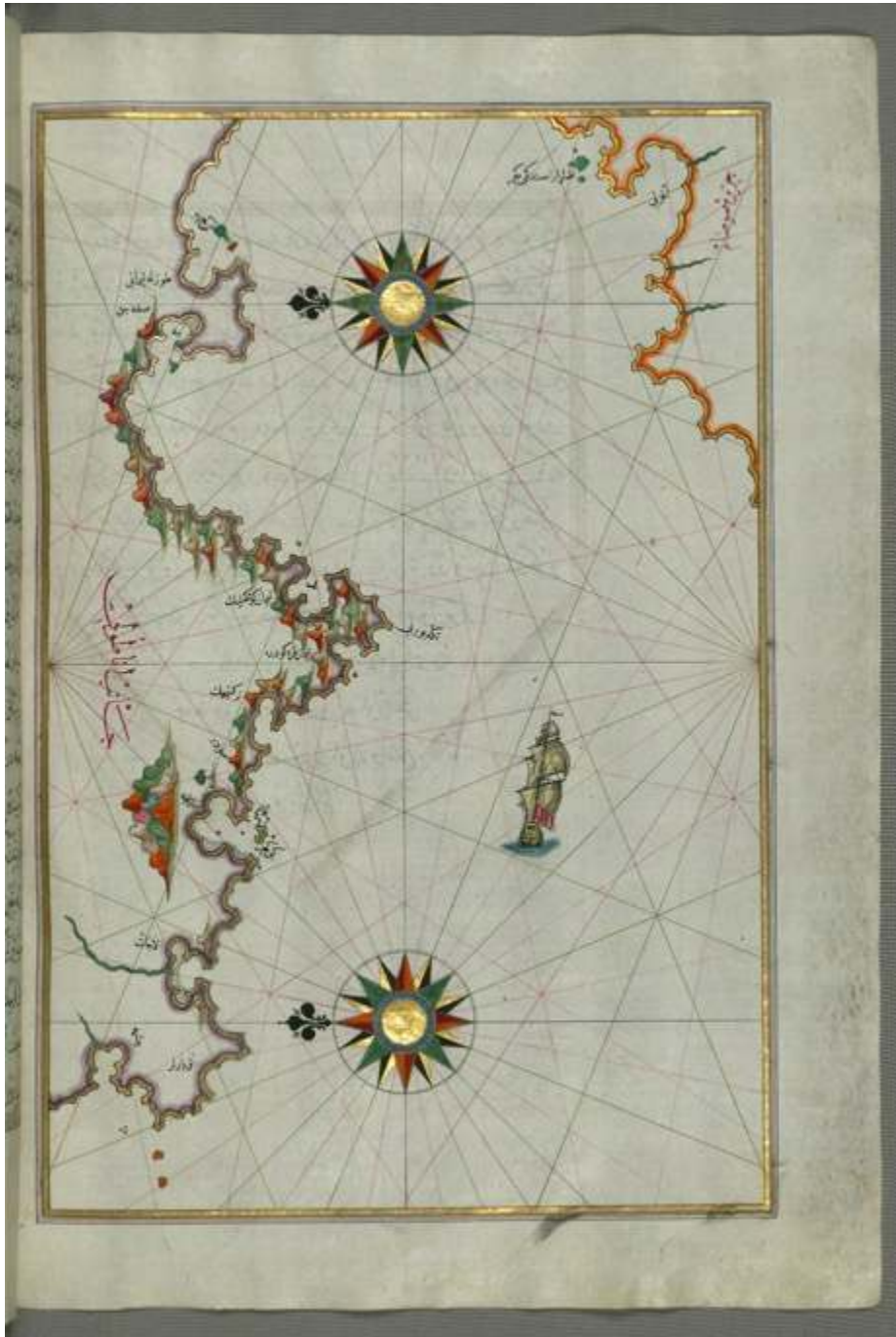


Figure 1.36. “Anatolian coastline facing the island of Samos” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 75b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000159_sap.jpg



Figure 1.37. “Area between the islands of Ikaria and Samos in the eastern Aegean Sea” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 82b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000173_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.38. “Island of Ikaria” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 83b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000175_sap.jpg.

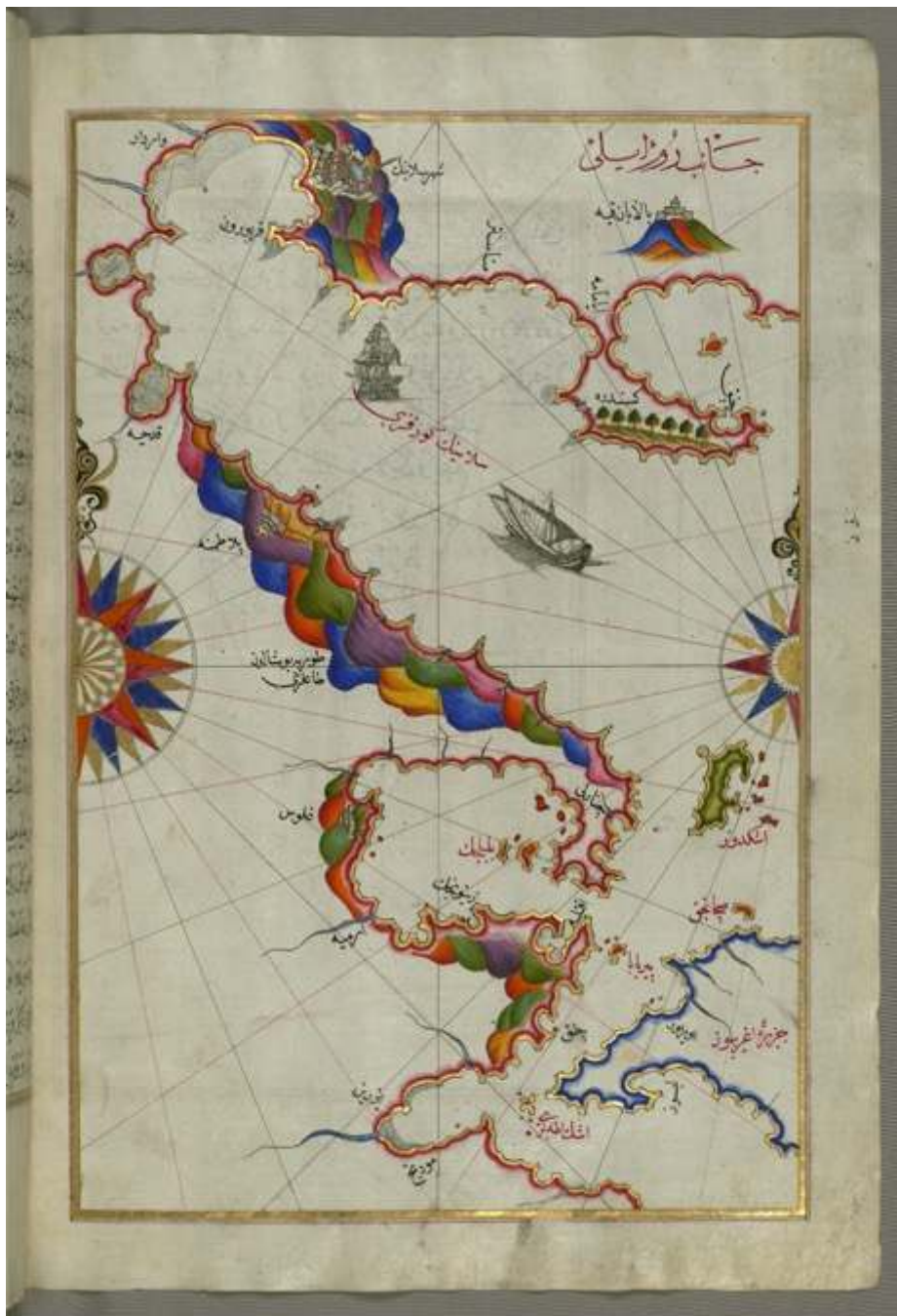


Figure 1.40. “Bay of Salonica and the Western Coastline” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 52b.

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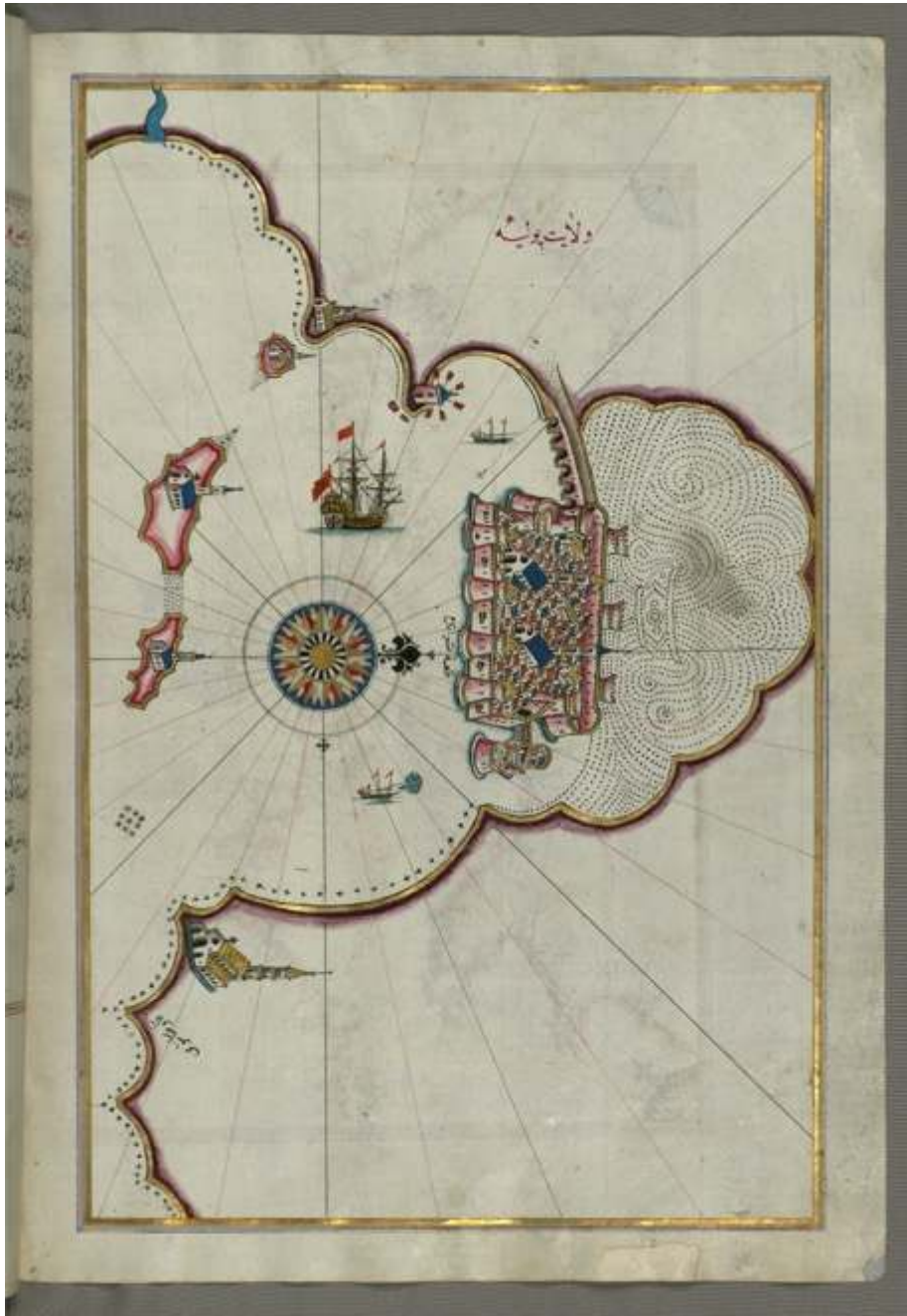


Figure 1.41. “City of Taranto” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 208b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000426_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.42. "Island of Naxos in the southern Aegean Sea" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 110b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000230_sap.jpg.

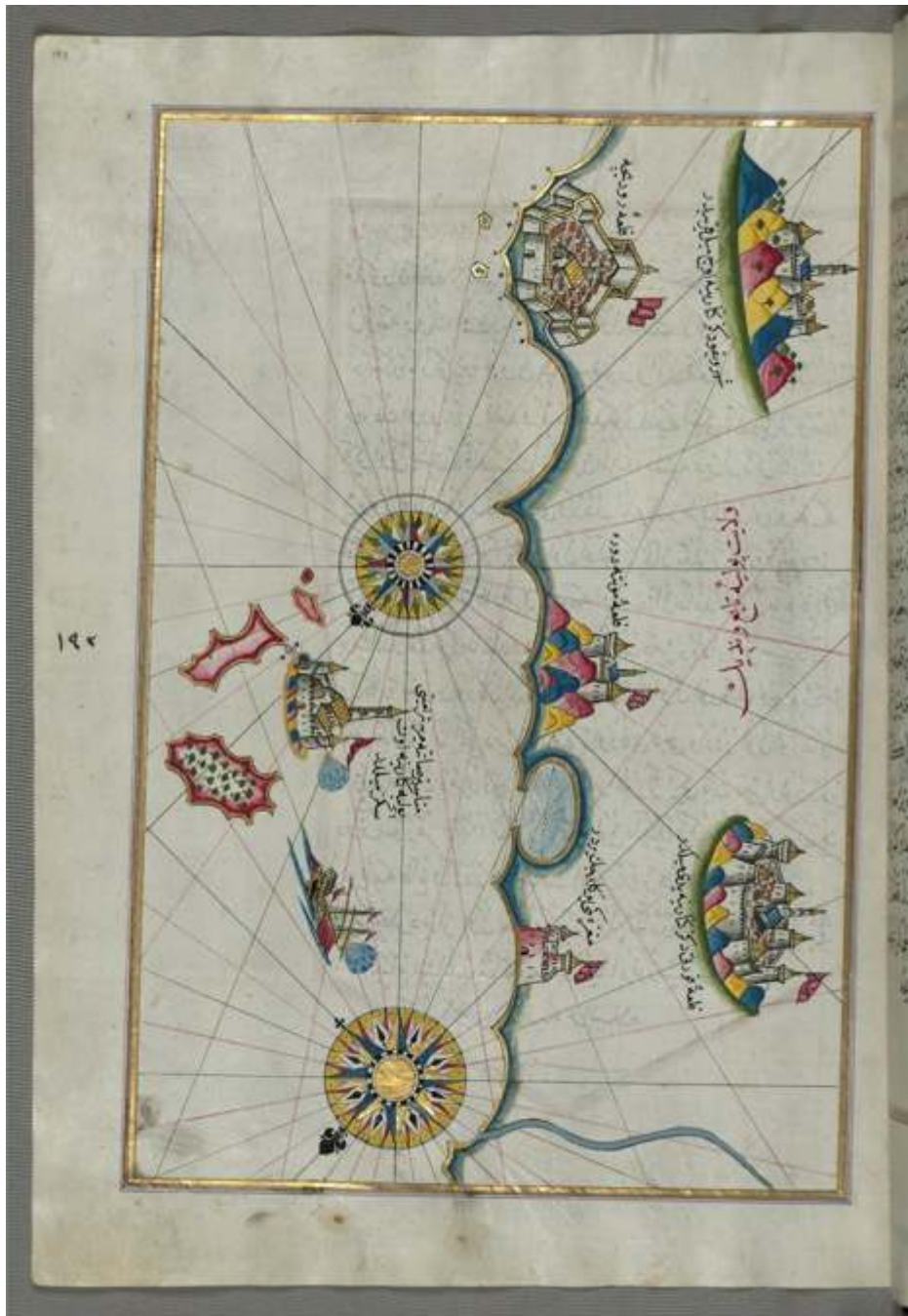


Figure 1.43. "Italian coastline between Termoli and Perschici" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 198a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000405_sap.jpg



Figure 1.44. Seyyid Lokman, “Nuh (Noah) and his family in the Ark” in *Zübdetü’l Tevârih* (Cream of Histories), 1585-1590. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T.414.61.
https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/T_414_61/2/LOG_0000/.



Figure 1.45. Seyyid Lokman, “Giacomo Cristo, last podesta of Chios, arrested in 1566” in the *Süleymannâme* (History of Sultan Süleyman), 1579. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T.413.33. https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/T_413_33/2/LOG_0000/.

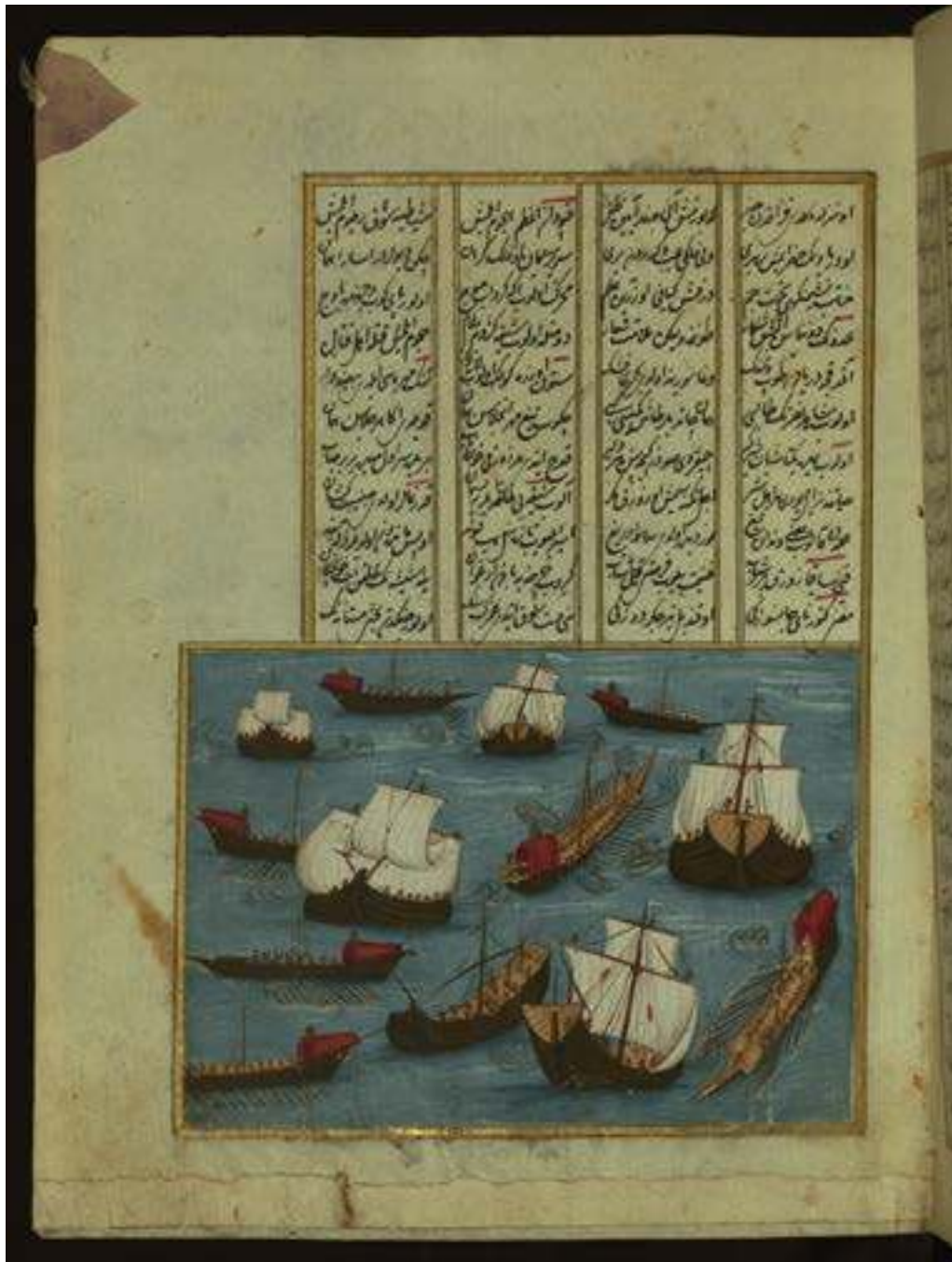


Figure 1.46. Nevizade Atayi, "Ottoman Fleet" in *Hamse-yi Atayi* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 5a.

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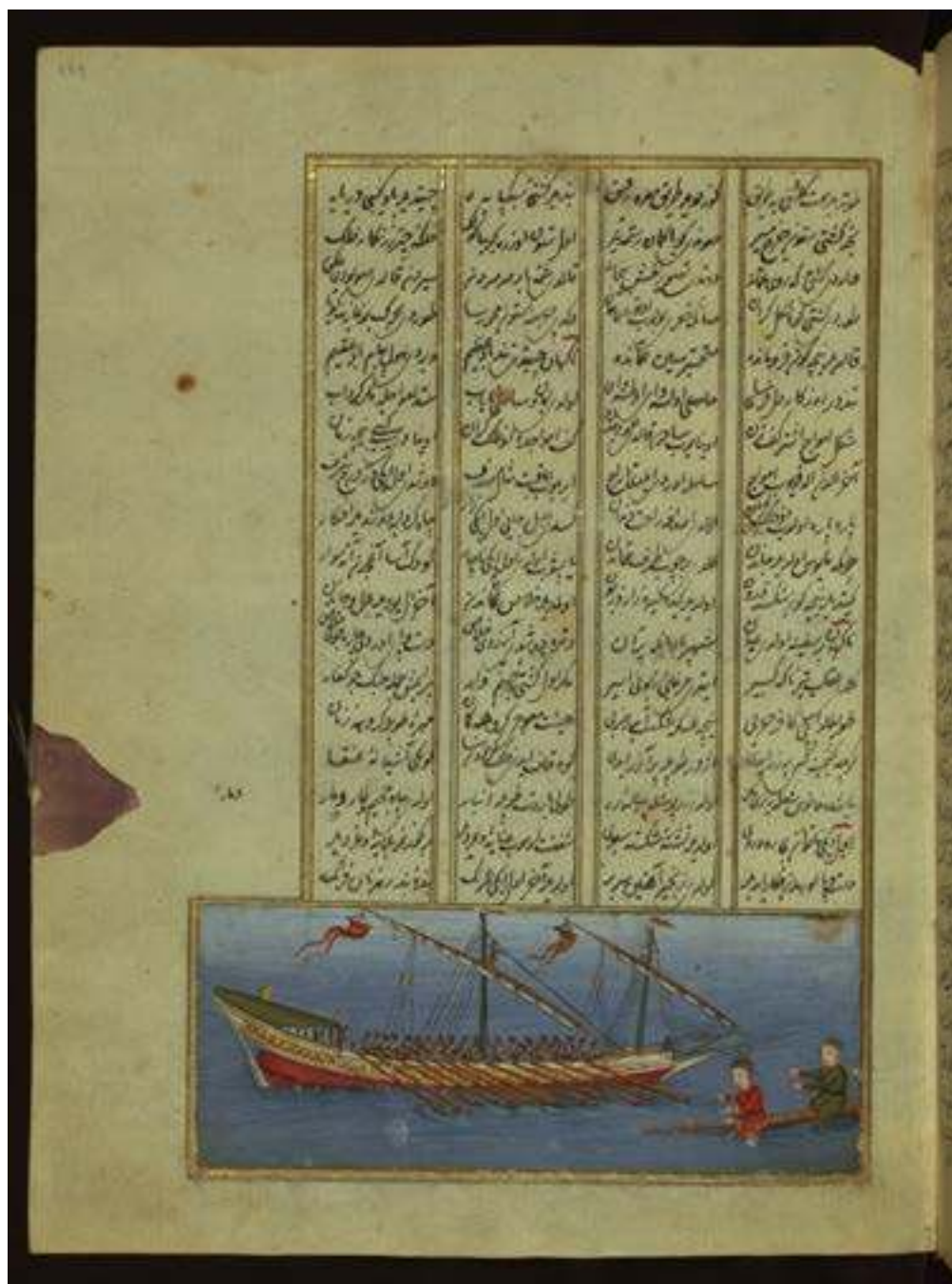


Figure 1.47. Nevizade Atayi, “Tahir and Tayyib being rescued by a Christian ship” in the *Hamse-yi Atayi* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 137a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W666/data/W.666/sap/W666_000280_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.48. Nevizade Atayi, “Ship carrying Tahir and Tayyib being greeted by two Christian nobles in a boat” in the *Hamse-yi Atayi* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 139b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W666/data/W.666/sap/W666_000285_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.49. Melchior Lorck, Detail of boats in the Golden Horn in “The Prospect of Constantinople,” ca. 1570. Leiden, Leiden University Library, BPL 1758.
<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2026523>.



Figure 1.50. Stefano della Bella, "Two Turkish Merchants in a Port" in "Landscapes and seaports" (*Paysages et ports de mer, dans des ronds*), 1656. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.1180.583. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/377301>.



Figure 1.51. Seyyid Lokman, “Fortifications along the Ottoman frontier with Safavid Iran” in the *Süleymanname* (History of Sultan Süleyman), 1579. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T.413.12. https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/T_413_12/2/LOG_0000/.



Figure 1.52. Seyyid Lokman, “The Ottoman encampment at Belgrade” in the *Süleymanname* (History of Sultan Süleyman), 1579. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T 413.116.
https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/T_413_116/2/LOG_0000/.

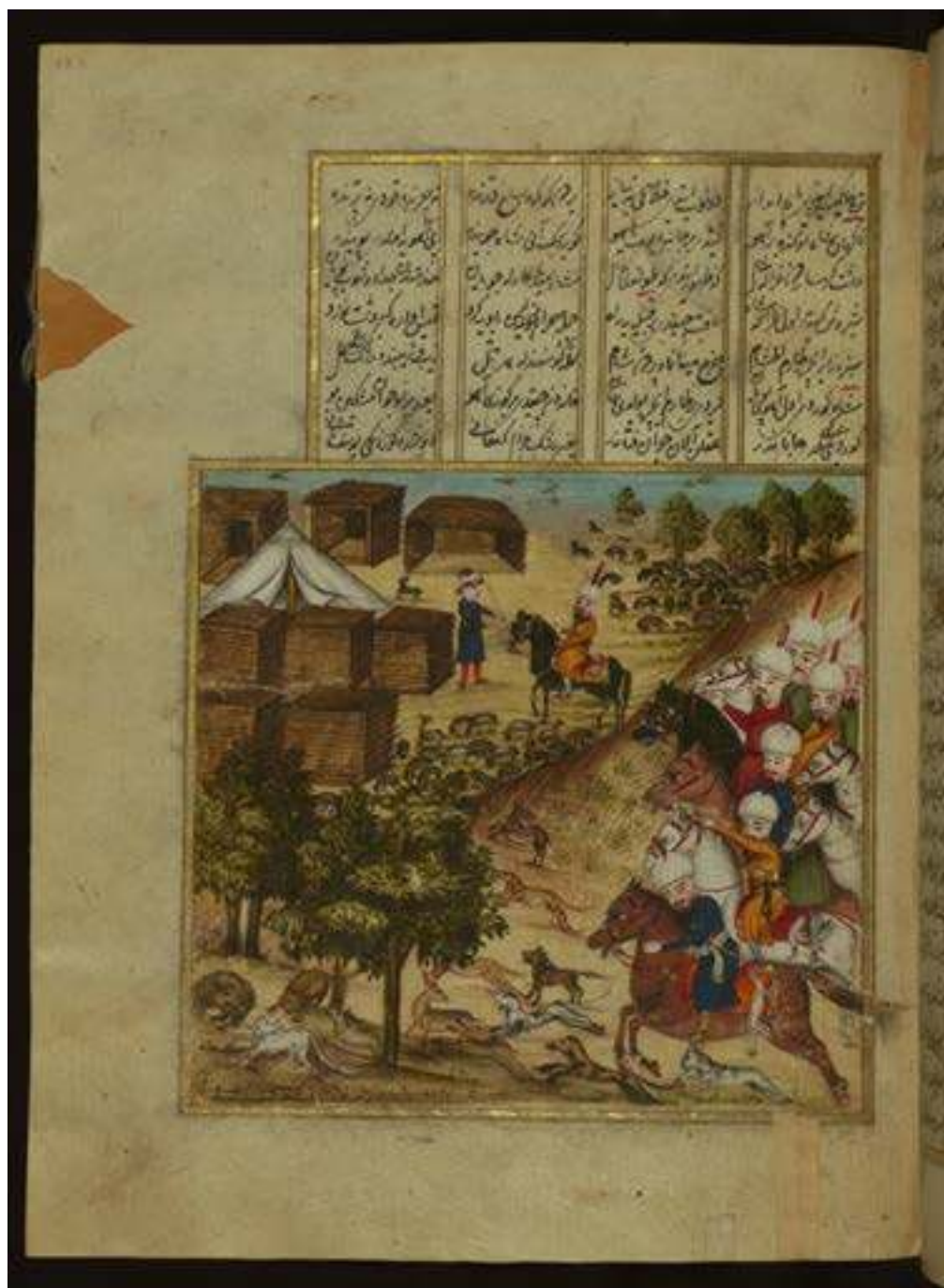


Figure 1.53 Nevizade Atayi, “Sultan Mahmud on horseback speaking with Ayaz” in the *Hamse-yi Atayi* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 123a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W666/data/W.666/sap/W666_000252_sap.jpg



Figure 1.54. Melchior Lorck, “Turkish Military Tent,” 1575. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, KKSgb6149.
https://open.smk.dk/en/artwork/image/KKSgb6149?q=turkish%20tent&page=0&filters=has_image%3Atrue.

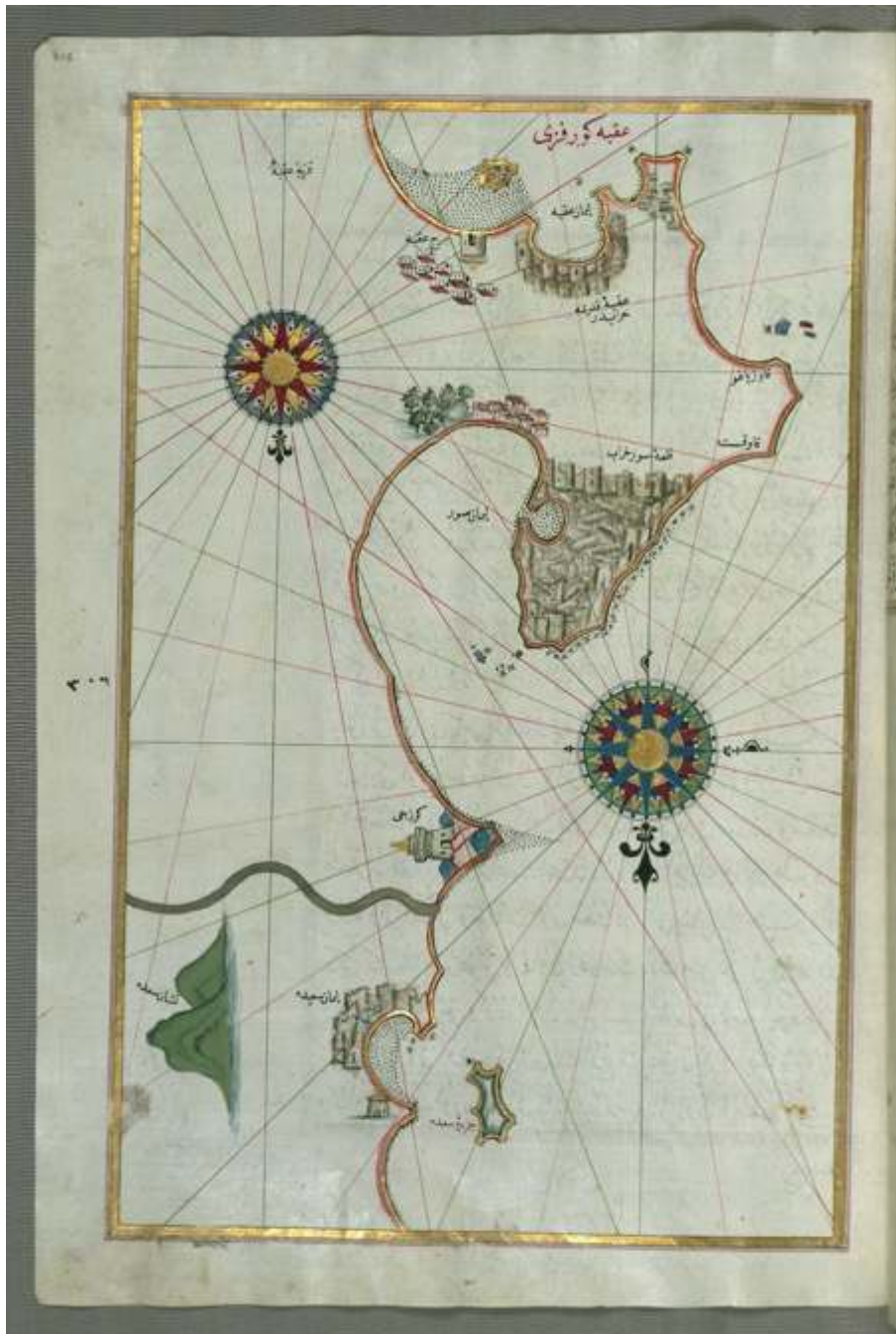


Figure 1.55. “City of Tyre” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 315a.

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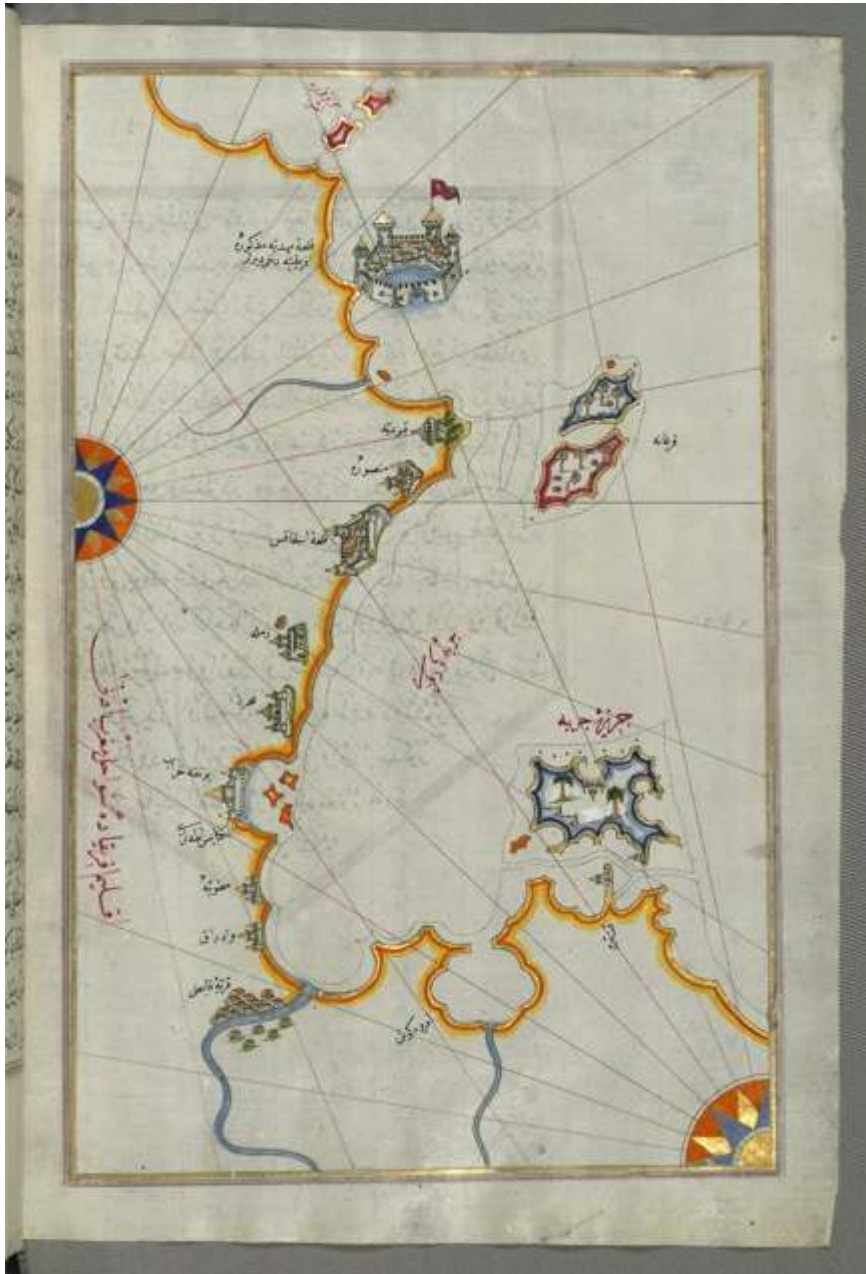


Figure 1.56. “Tunisian coastline with Mahdiya fortress” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 283b.

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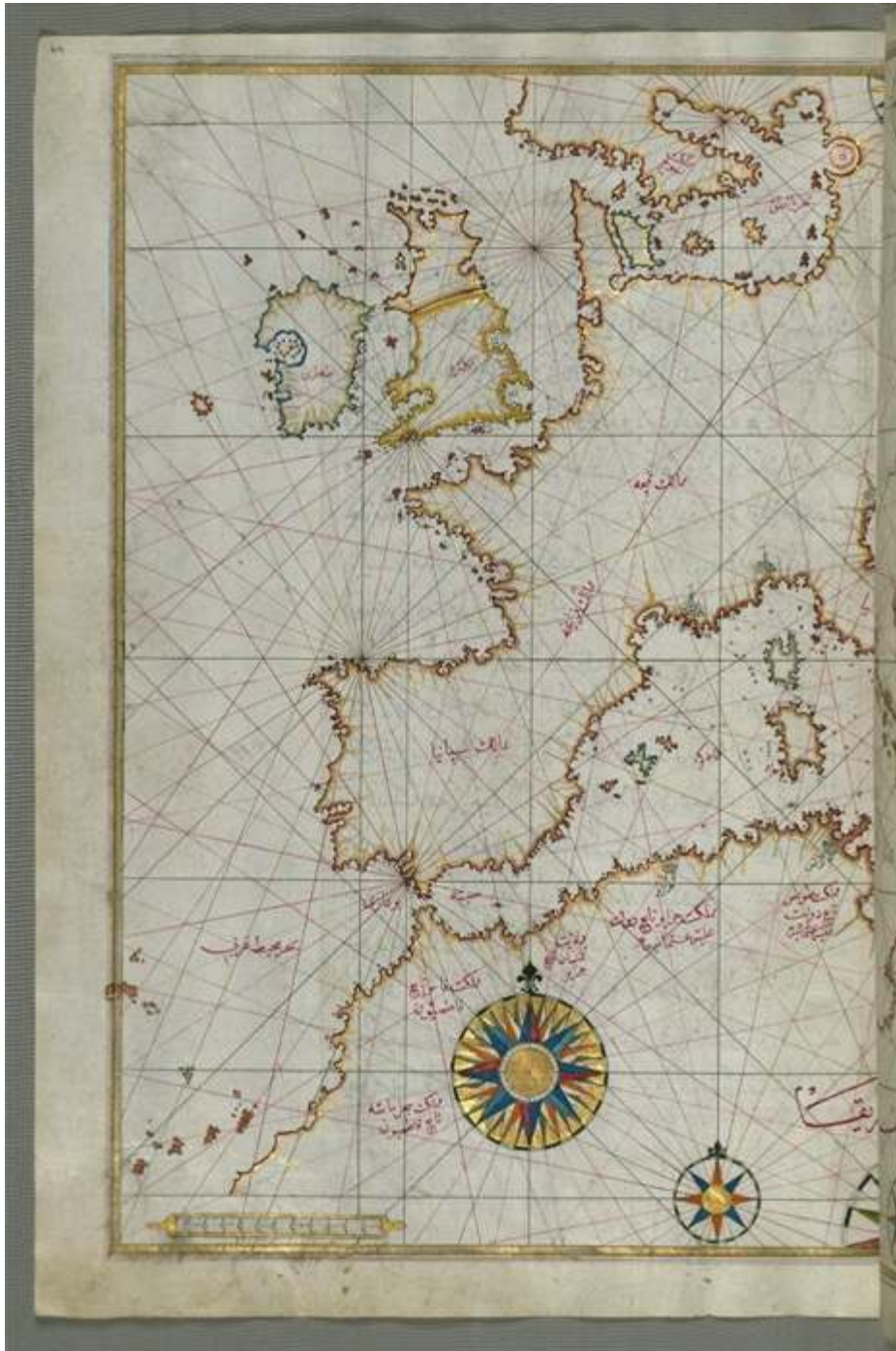


Figure 1.57. “Western Europe and North Africa” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 64a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000136_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.58. “Eastern Mediterranean, the Aegean, and Black Sea” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 63b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000135_sap.jpg.

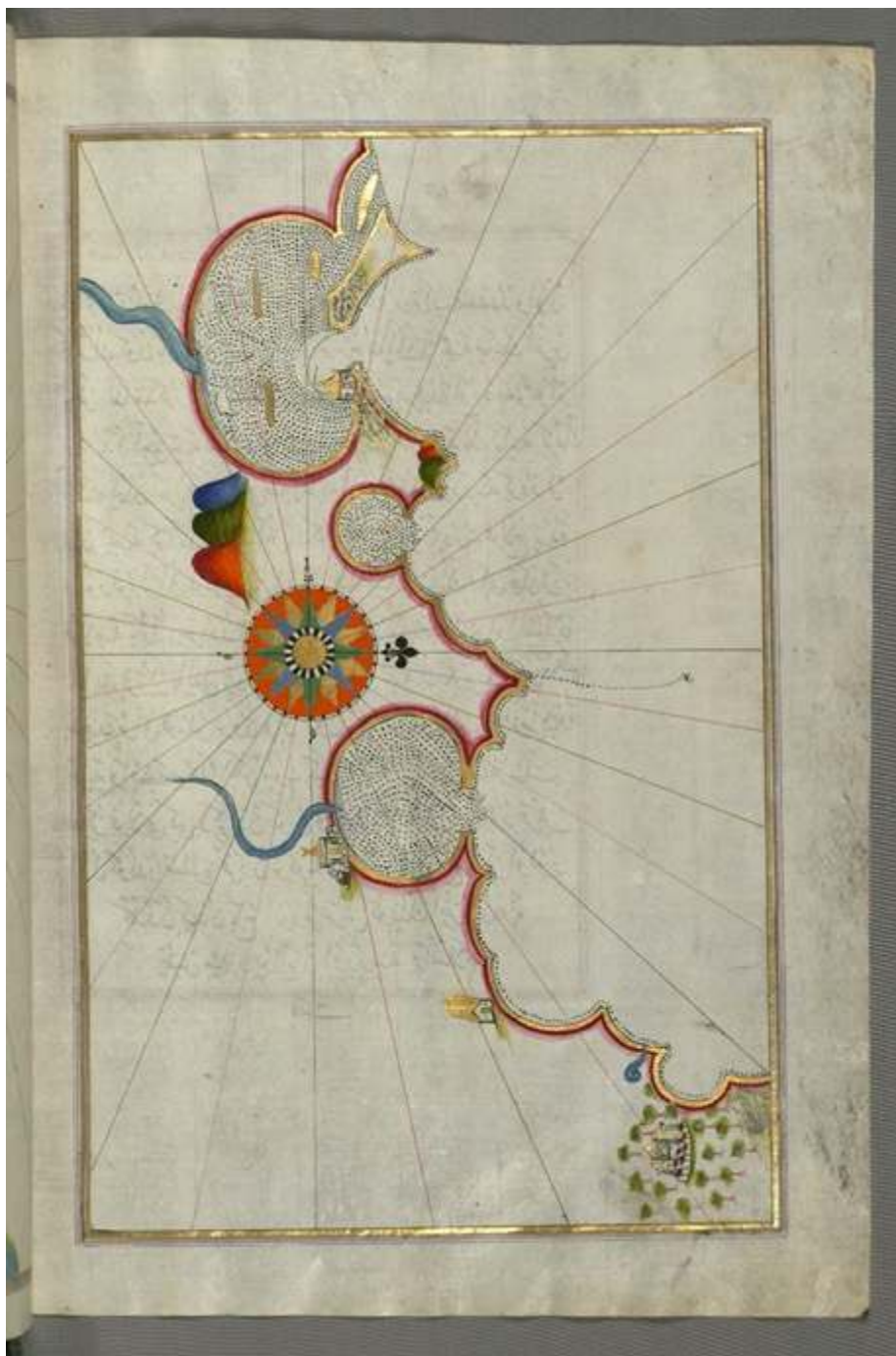


Figure 1.59. “Unmarked part of the Egyptian coastline” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 309b.

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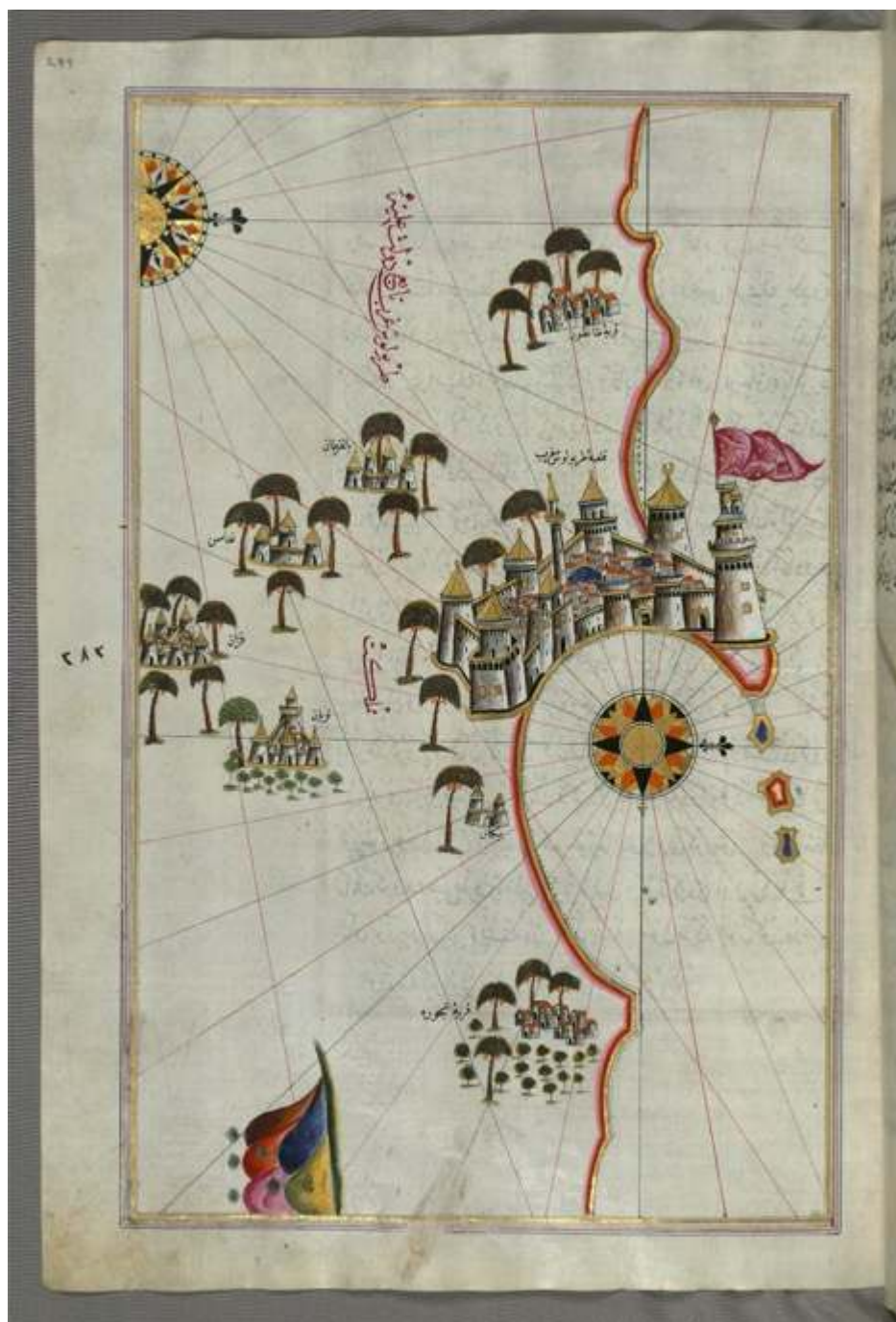


Figure 1.60. "Fortress of Tripoli" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 289a.

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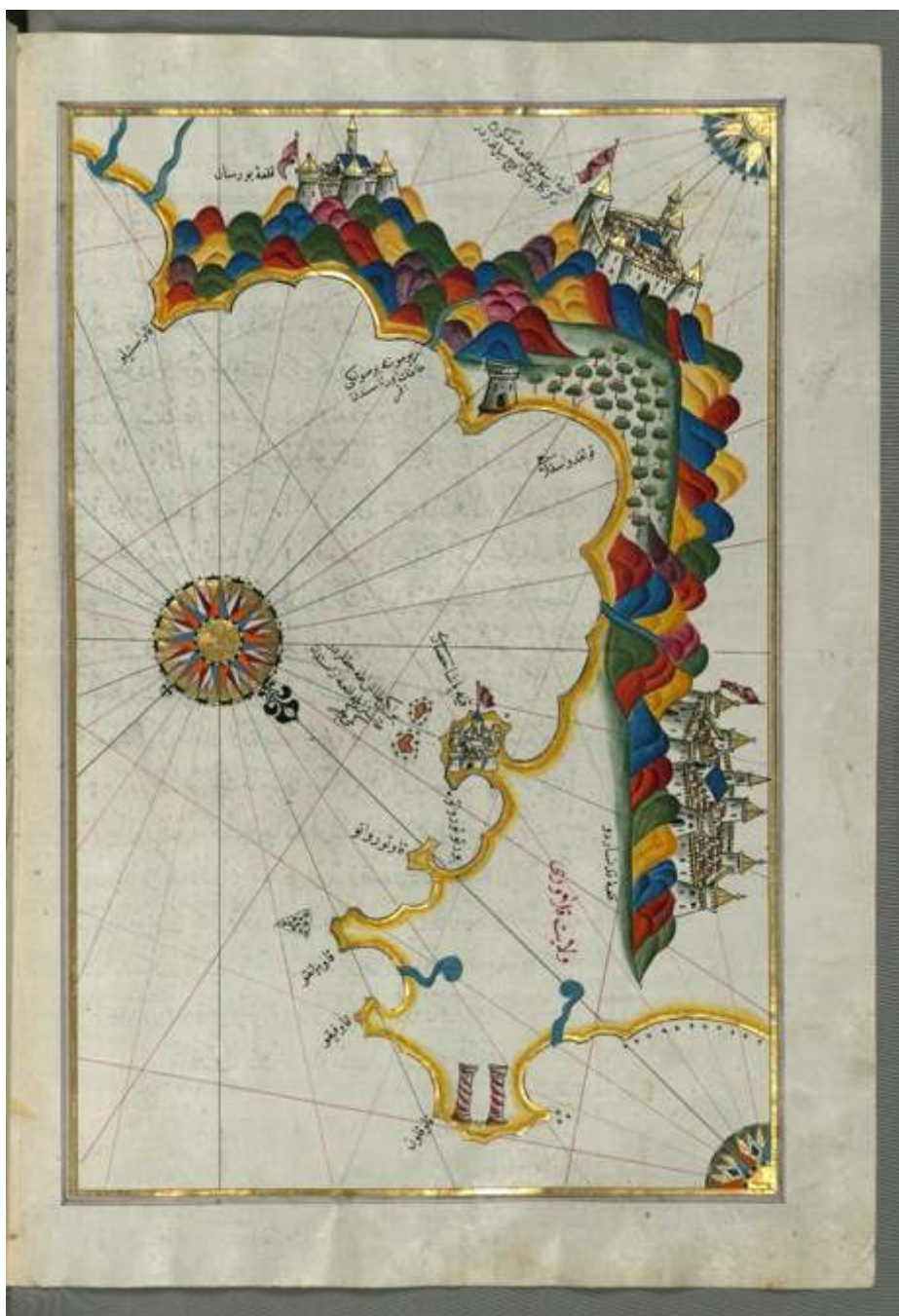


Figure 1.61. "Calabrian coastline" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 212b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000434_sap.jpg.

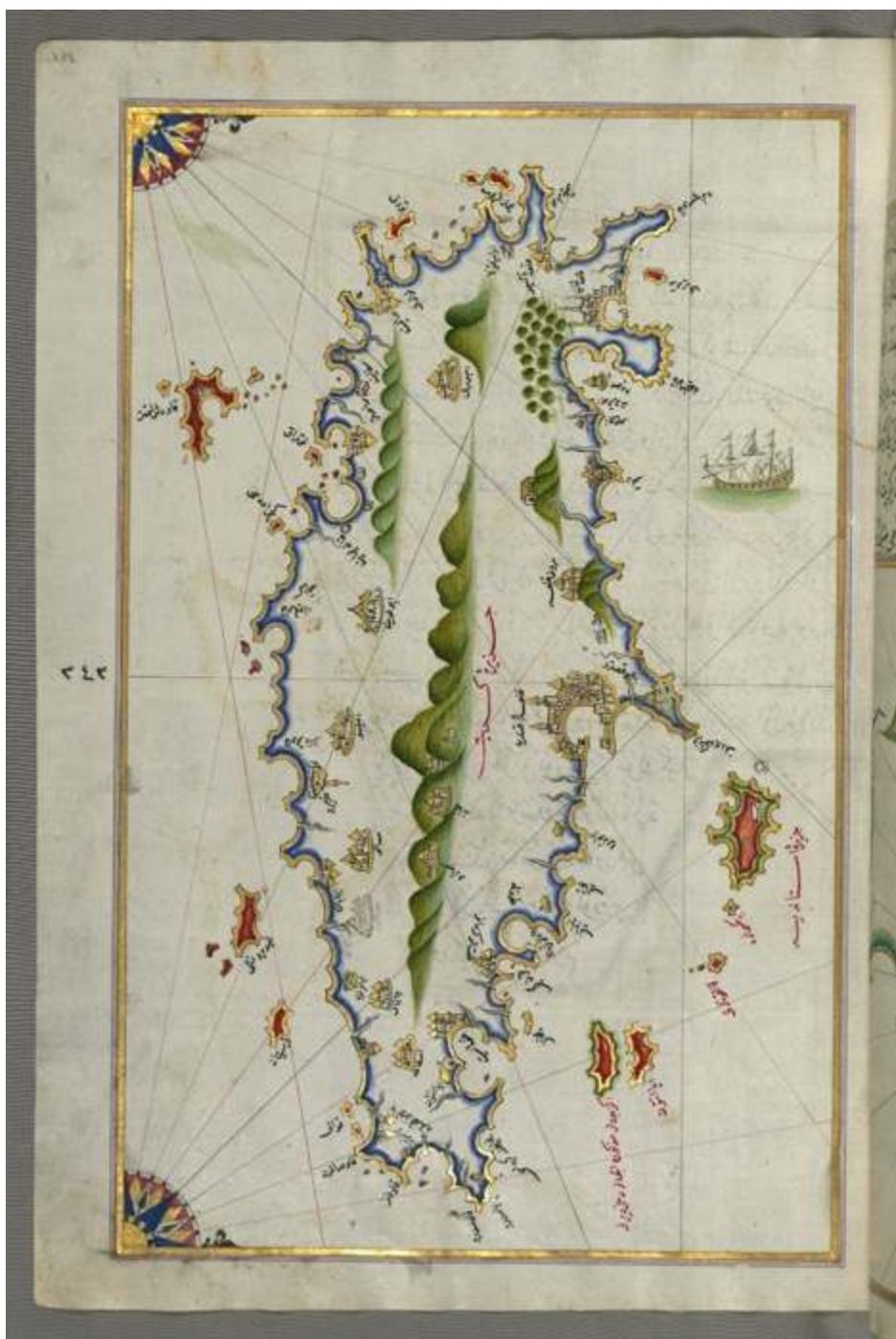


Figure 1.62. "Island of Crete" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 352a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000713_sap.jpg.

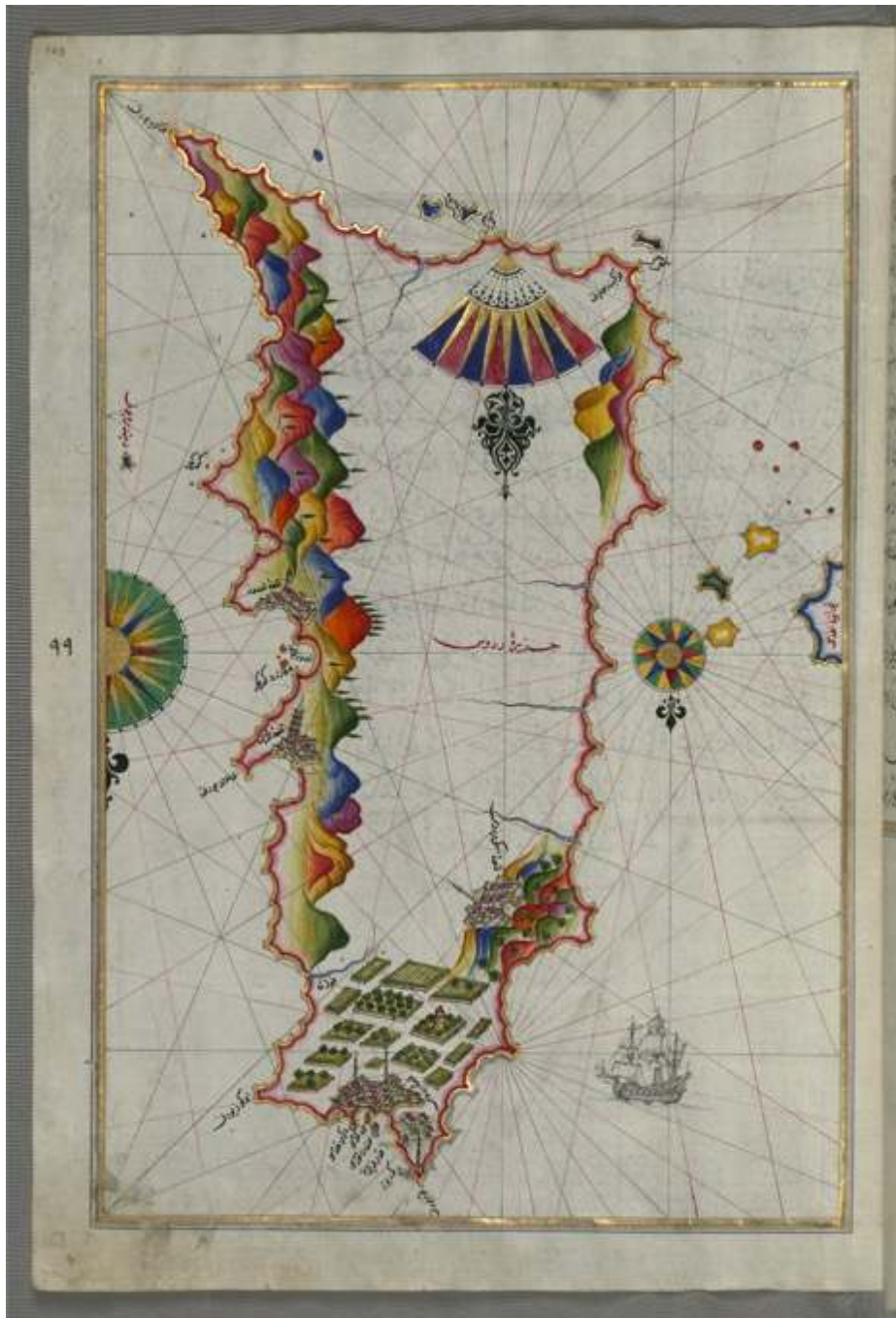


Figure 1.63. "Island of Rhodes" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 103a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000454_sap.jpg.

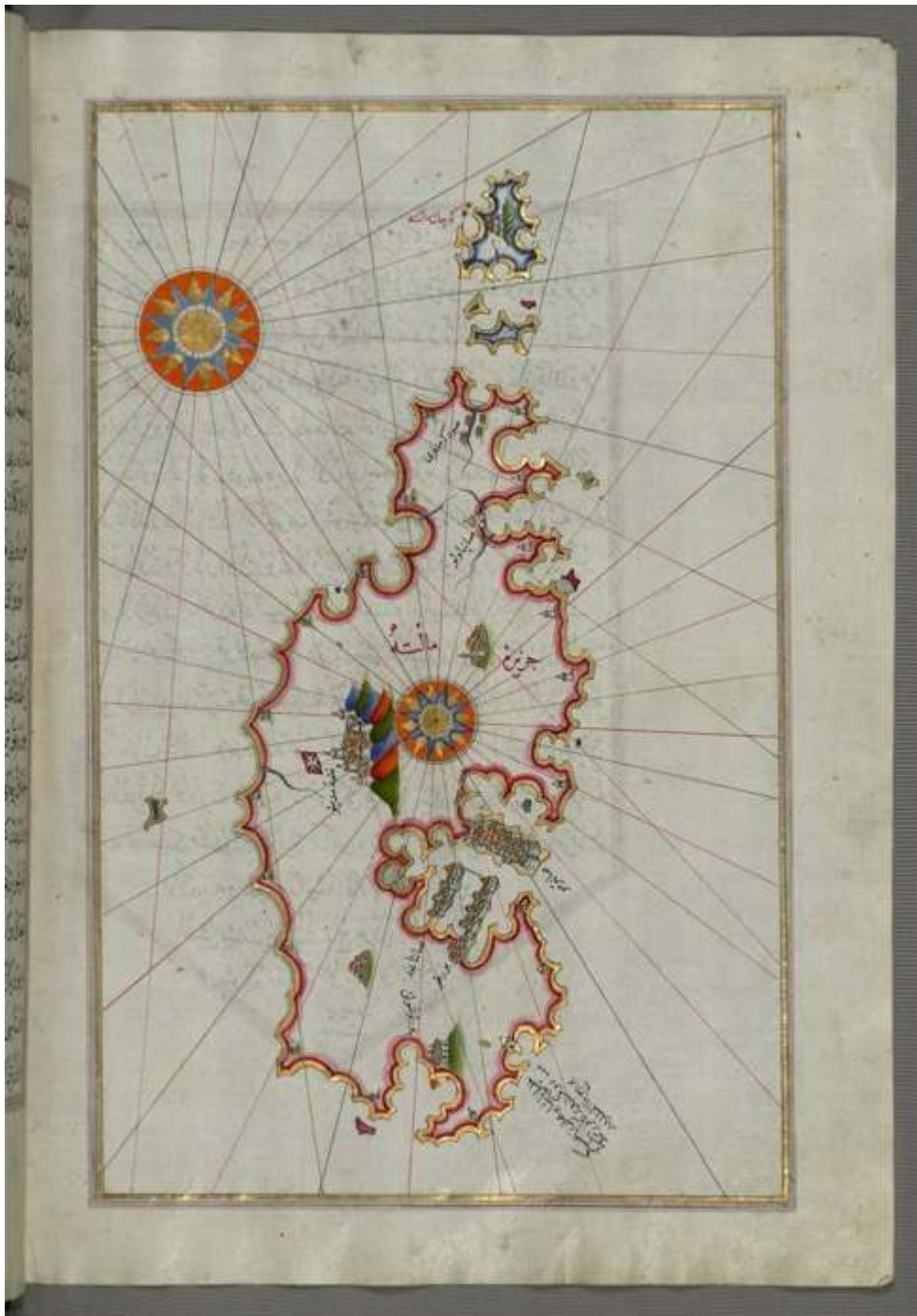


Figure 1.64. "Island of Malta" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 222b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000454_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.65. “World Map #1” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 23b.

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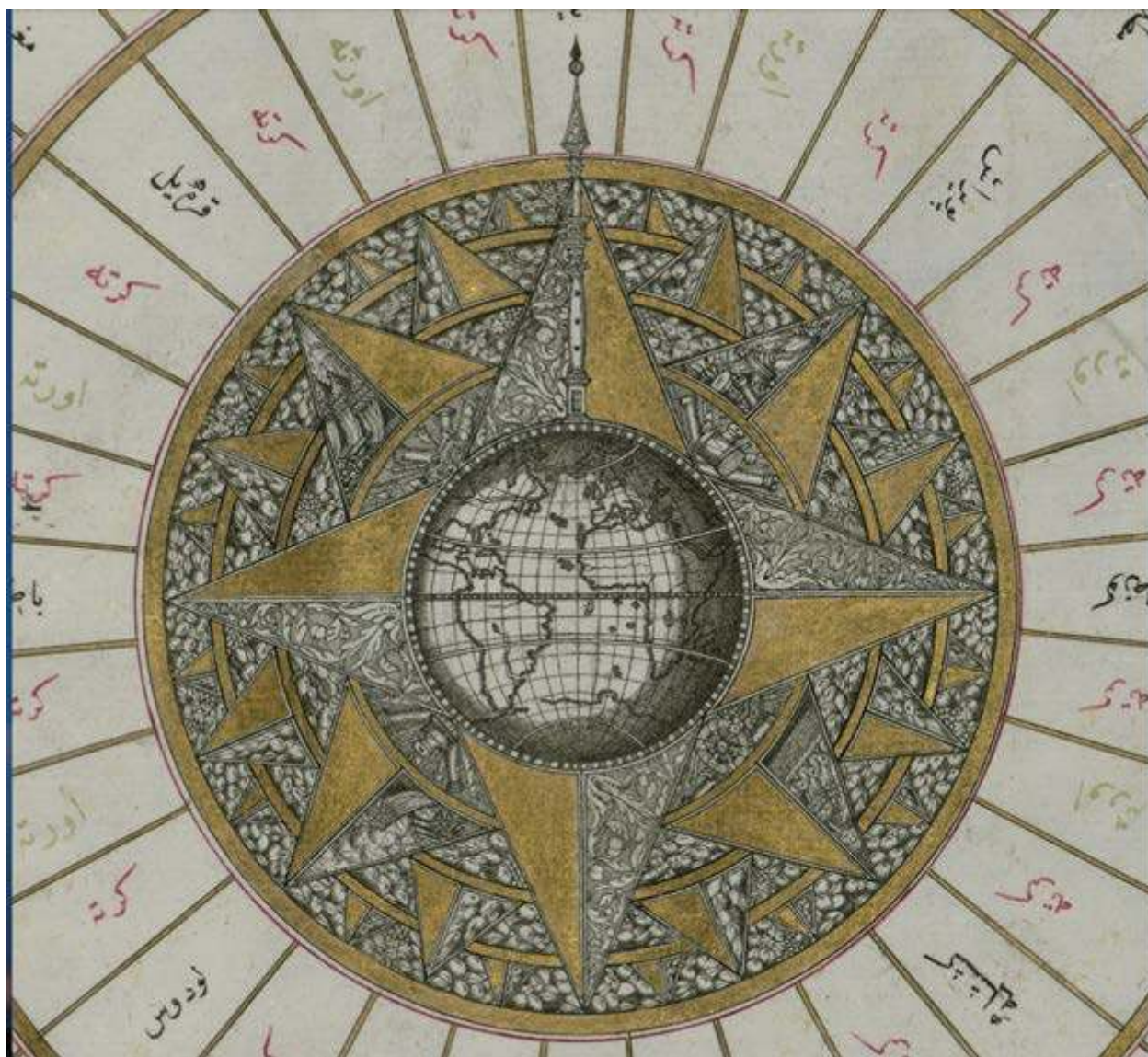


Figure 1.67. Detail of “World Map #2” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 24b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000056_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.68. Detail of “World Map #2” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 24b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000056_sap.jpg.

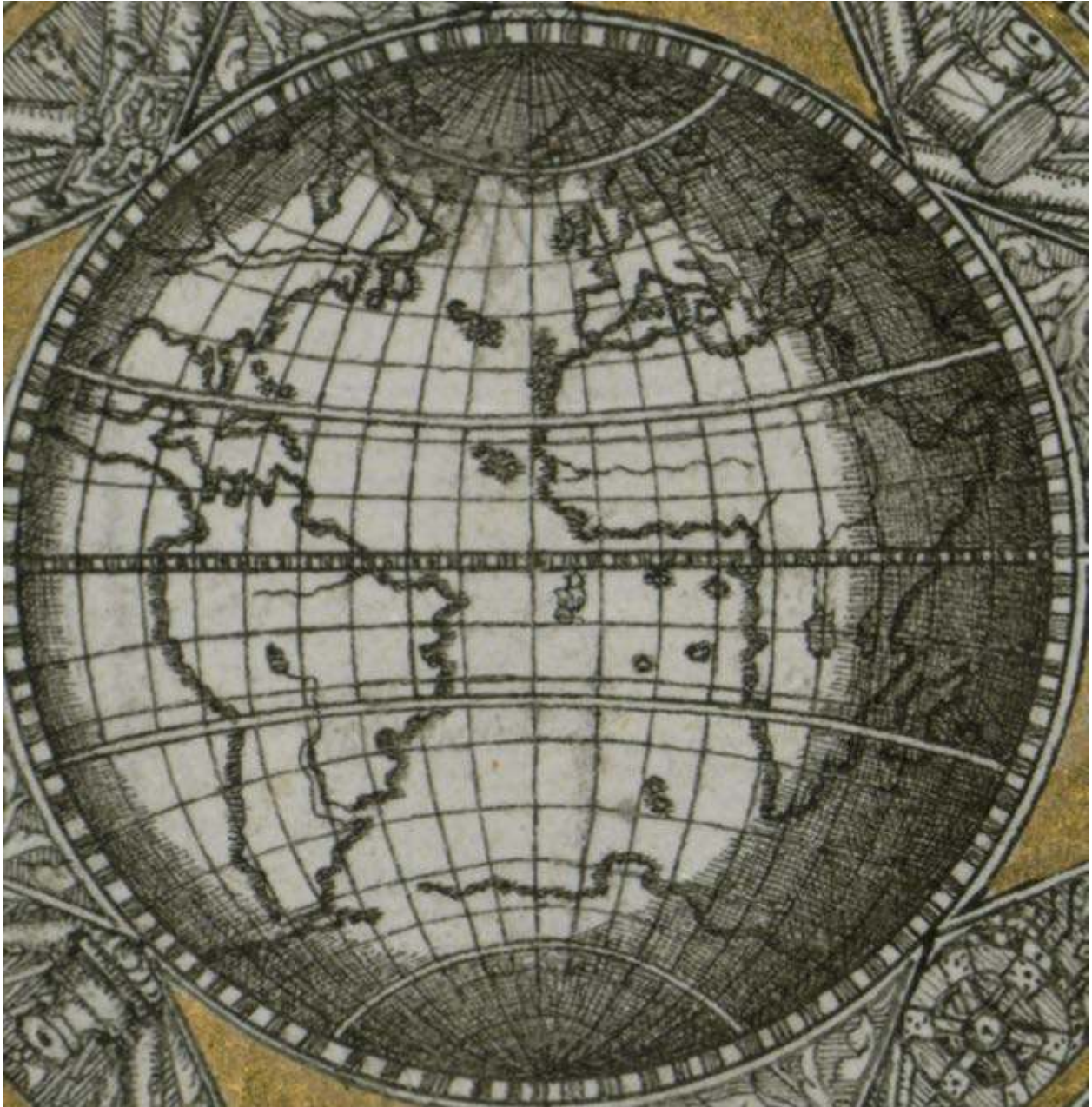


Figure 1.69. Detail of “World Map #2” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 24b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000056_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.70. Detail of “World Map #2” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 24b.

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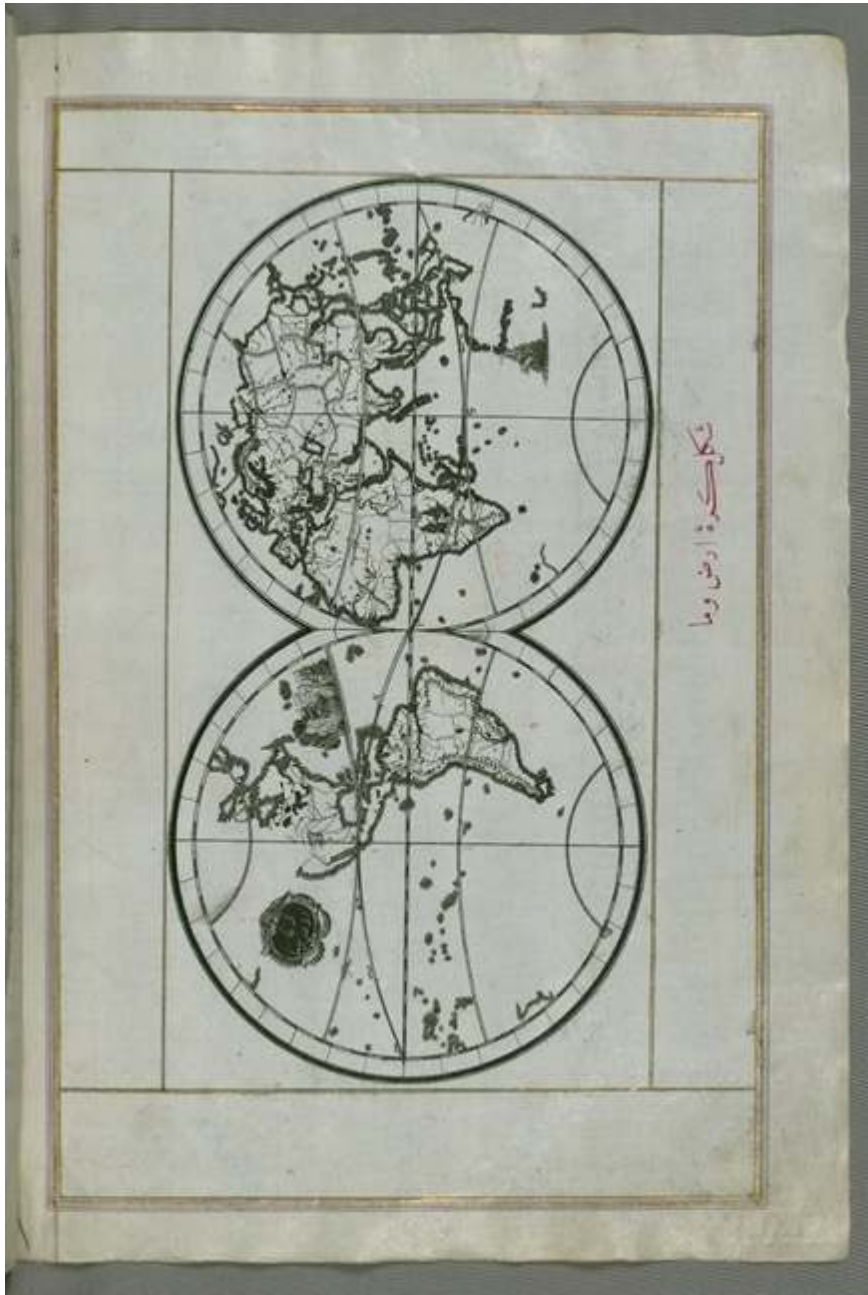


Figure 1.71. “World Map #3” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 40b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000088_sap.jpg



Figure 1.72. Detail of “World Map #3” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 40b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000088_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.73. Detail of “World Map #3” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 40b.

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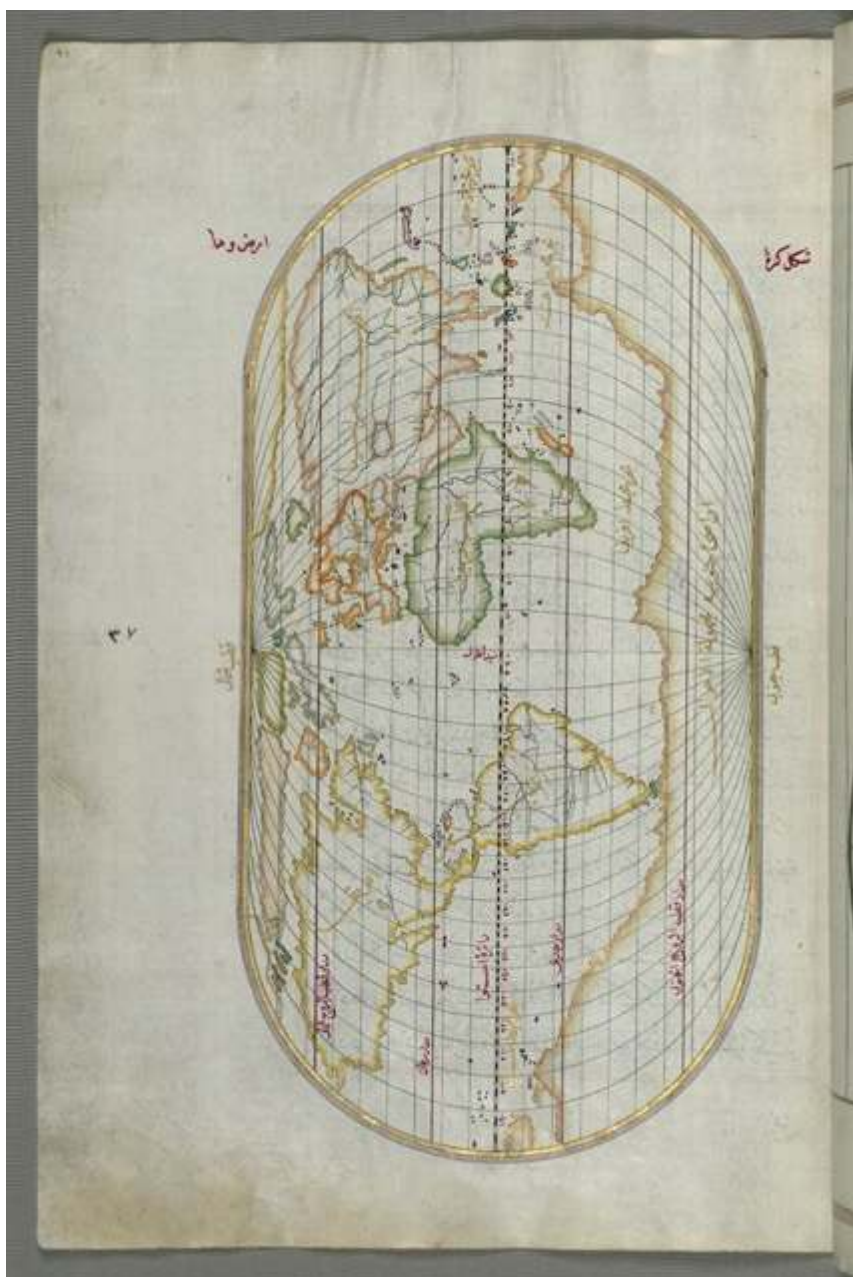


Figure 1.74. “World Map #4” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 41a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000089_sap.jpg.



Figure 1.75. Antonio di Jacopo d'Antonio del Pollaiuolo, "El Gran Turco," c. 1470. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 140-1879. <https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/97142>.

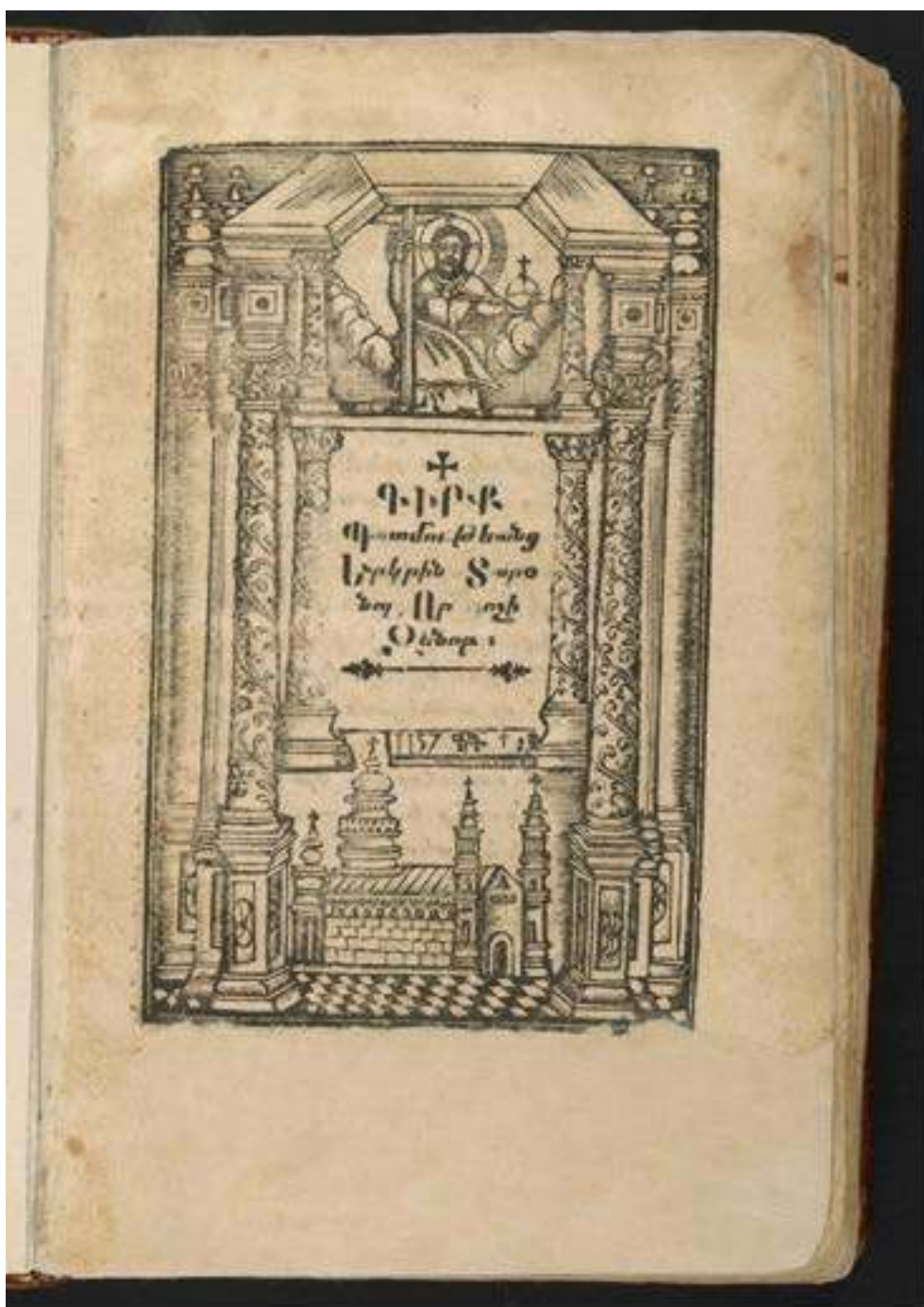


Figure 1.76. Zenob Glak, Frontispiece of *Girk' patmut'eants' erkrin Tarōnoy* (The History of Taron), 1719. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 2001419782.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2001419782/>.



Figure 1.77. Guillaume de L'Isle, "Mappemonde a L'usage Du Roy," 1720. Washington D.C., Library of Congress, 2005627023. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2005627023/>.



Figure 1.78. Hendrik Hondius, "Venezuela, cum parte ufrali Novae Andalausiae," 1630. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 97683568.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/97683568/>.



Figure 1.79. Stefano della Bella, "Cartouche with Title: Nouvelles inventions de Cartouches," 1647. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.1180.649.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/377482>.

Chapter Two:



Figure 2.1. “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century.
Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.2. Detail of “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.4. Detail of Galata Tower and Genoese Walls in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitáb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.5. Detail of Yedikule Fortress in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.6. Detail of Topkapı Palace and Ayasofya in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.7. Detail of Süleymaniye Mosque and Beyazıt Mosque in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b. https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.8. Detail of Mihrimah Sultan's Edirnekapi Mosque in the "City of Istanbul" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.9. Detail of Üsküdar Gardens and Karacaahmet Cemetery in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.10. Detail of Kağıthane featuring Tersane Garden, Shipyards, and Sa'dabad Pavilion in "City of Istanbul" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg



Figure 2.11. Detail of Üsküdar in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.12. Detail of Sultan Ahmet Mosque and the Atmeydanı (Hippodrome) in “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.13. “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, seventeenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. Turc 956, fol. 434v. <https://images.bnf.fr/#/detail/749967/1>.



Figure 2.14. Matrakçı Nasuh, “City view of Istanbul” in the *Beyân-i Menâzil Sefer-i Irakeyn Sultân Süleymân Hân* (Depictions of Halting Stations on Sultan Süleyman’s Campaign in the Two Iraqs), 1537. Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, fol. 8b-9a. From Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu’s chapter “Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire: The View from Heavens, the View from the Street” in *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital* (Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 315.



Figure 2.15. Seyyid Lokman, “City view of Istanbul” in the *Hünernâme* (Book of Skills), vol. 1, 1584. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, H. 1523, fol.158v-159r. From Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu’s chapter “Ottoman Images of Istanbul in the Age of Empire: The View from Heavens, the View from the Street” in *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital* (Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 320.

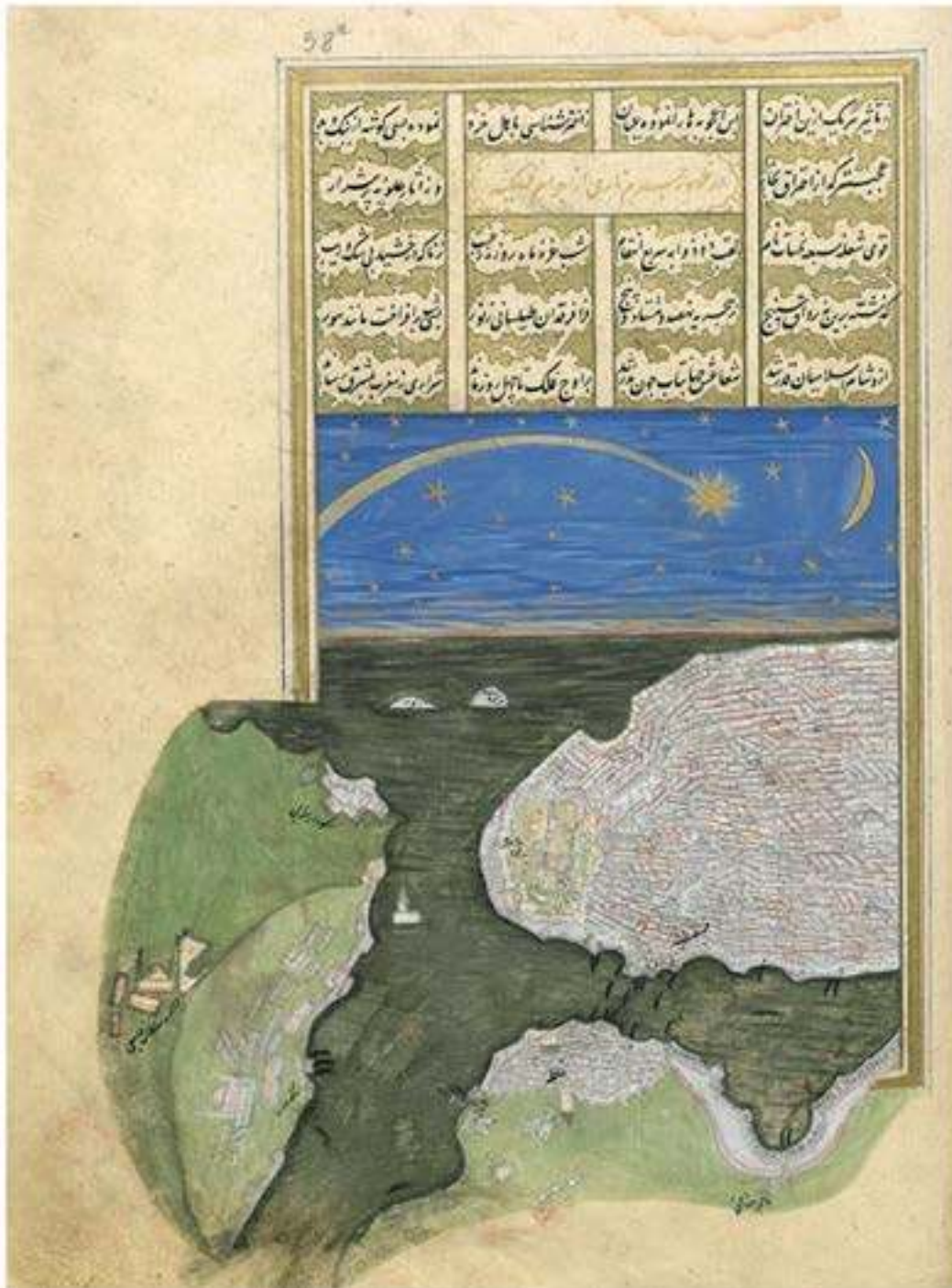


Figure 2.16. Seyyid Lokman, “View of Istanbul with comet,” in the *Şehinşehnâme* (Book of the King of Kings), vol. 1, 1581. Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, F. 1404, fol. 58r. From Çiğdem Kafescioğlu’s “Passages, Linkages, Departures in the Making of Istanbul’s Panoramic Image,” in *On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, a History*, edited by Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, K. Mehmet Kentel, and M. Baha Tanman (Suna and Inan Kiraç Foundation, 2023), 47.



Figure 2.17. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, “Plan of Constantinople” in *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (Book of Islands), ca. 1465. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, GE FF 9351 RES, fol. 37r.
<https://images.bnf.fr/#/detail/742010/15>.

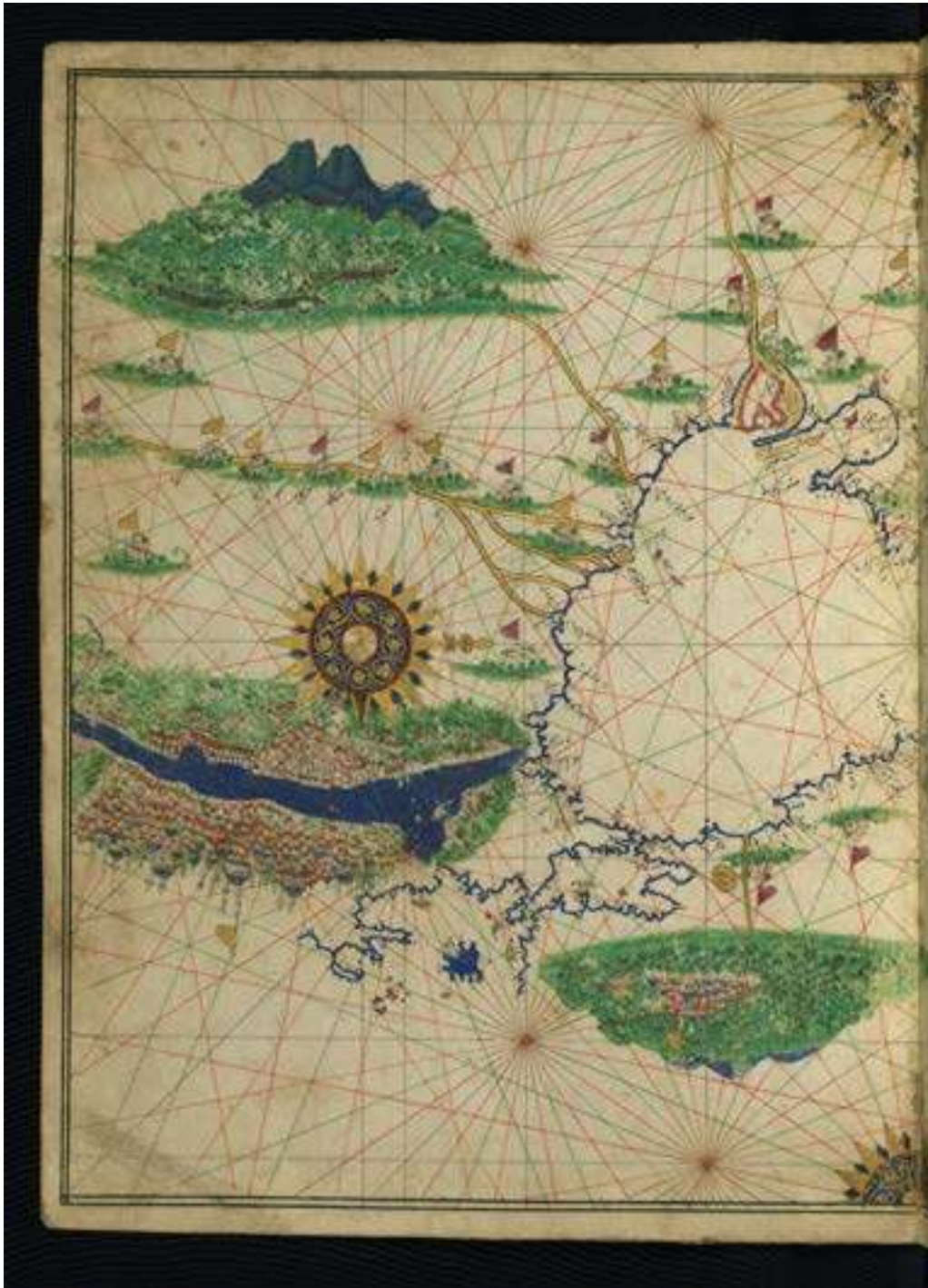


Figure 2.18. “Western part of the Black Sea with a city view of Istanbul” in the Walters’ Maritime Atlas, also known as the Walters’ *Deniz Atlası*, sixteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 660, fol. 9a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W660/data/W.660/sap/W660_000021_sap.jpg



Figure 2.19. After Pieter Coecke van Aelst, “Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeydanı” from the freize *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Customs and Fashions of the Turks), 1553. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28.85.7a, b.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/375772>.



Figure 2.20. After Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Background detail of “Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeydanı” from the freize *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Customs and Fashions of the Turks), 1553. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 28.85.7a, b. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/375772>.

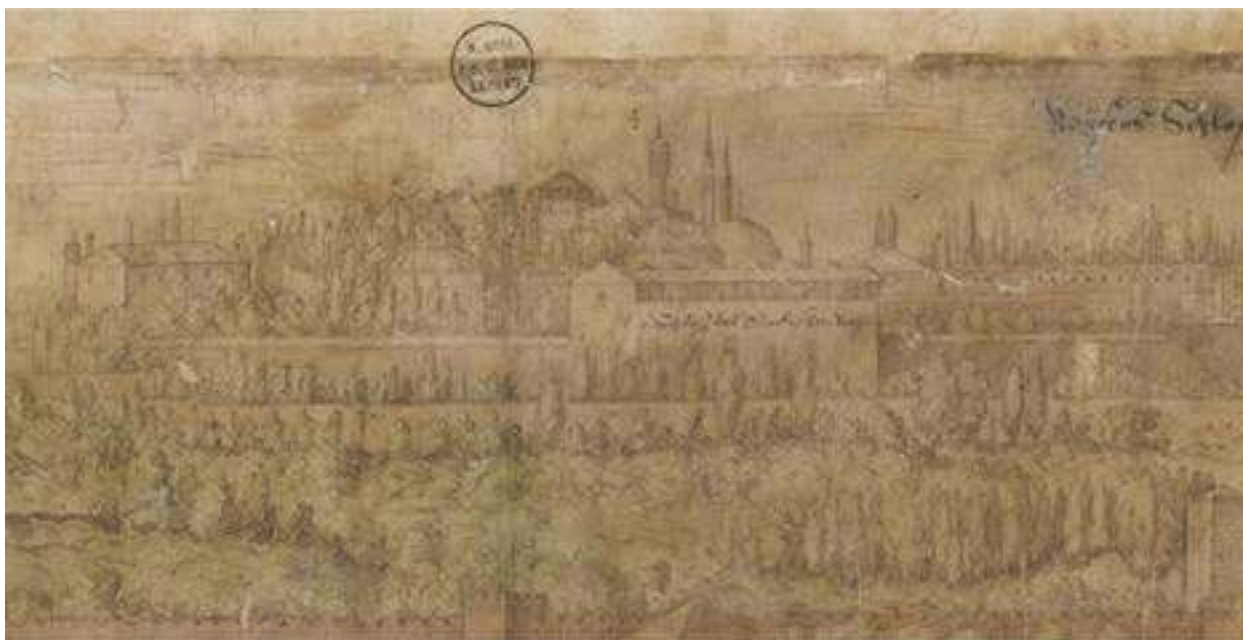


Figure 2.21. Melchior Lorck, Detail of Topkapı Palace in “The Prospect of Constantinople,” ca. 1570. Leiden, Leiden University Library, BPL 1758.

<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2026523>.



Figure 2.22. Melchior Lorck, Detail of the Golden Horn in “The Prospect of Constantinople,” ca. 1570. Leiden, Leiden University Library, BPL 1758.

<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/2026523>.

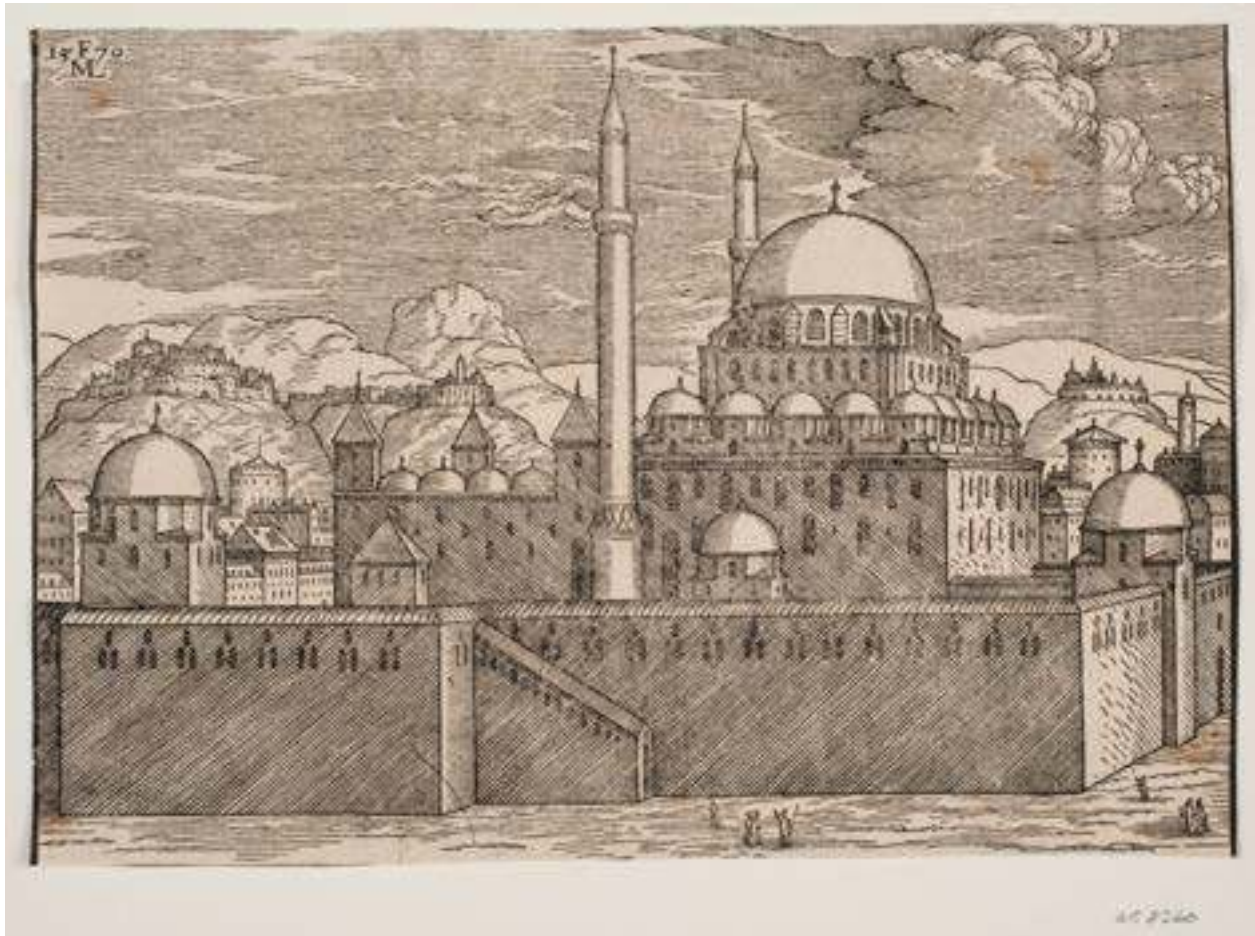


Figure 2.23. Melchior Lorck, “Mosque of Bayezid,” 1570. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, KKSgb8260.

<https://open.smk.dk/artwork/image/KKSgb8260?q=Lorck&page=2>.

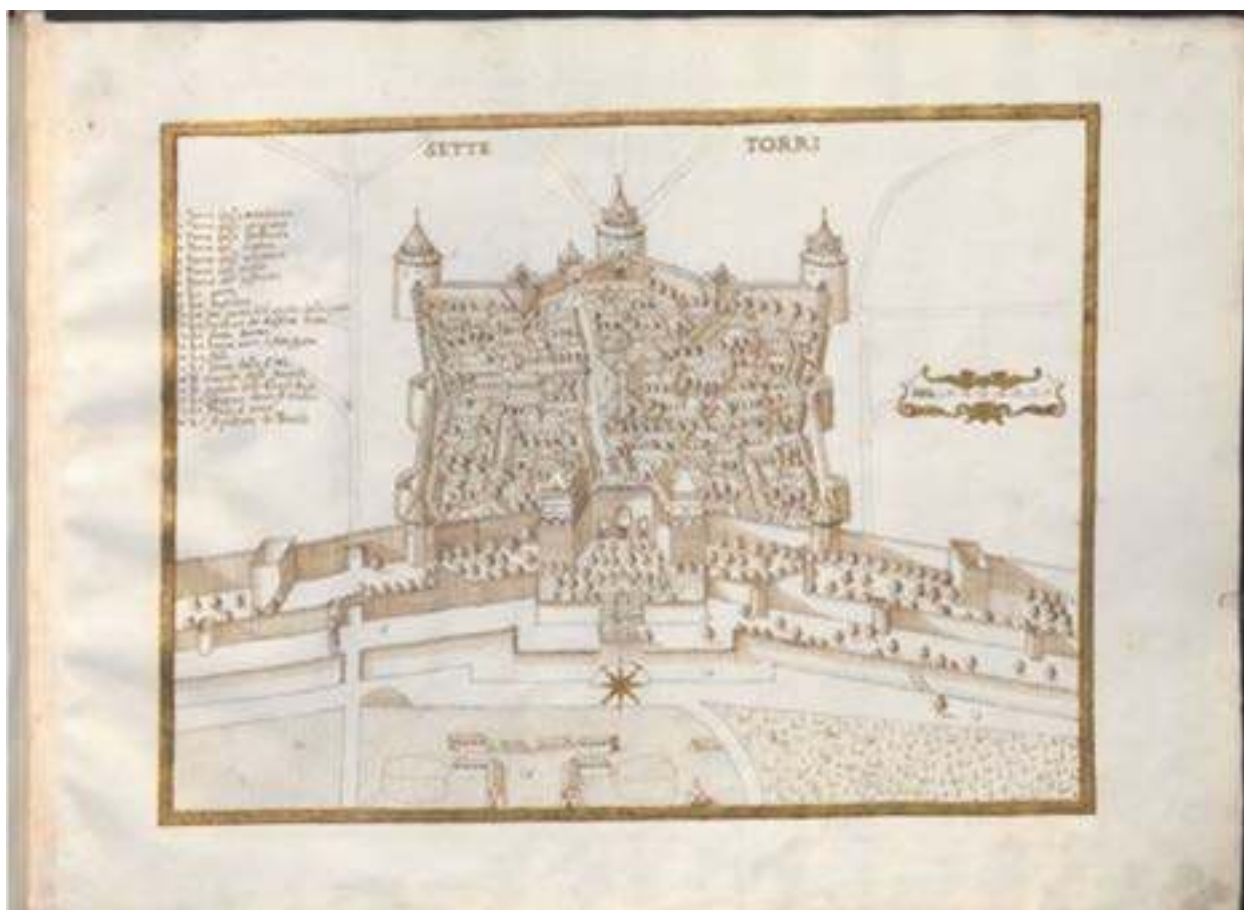


Figure 2.24. Francesco Scarella, “Sette Torri” or Seven Towers, in *Disegni della citt... di Constantinopoli*, 1686. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8627 HAN MAG. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6494297&order=1&view=SINGLE.



Figure 2.25. Francesco Scarella, Detail of “Sette Torri” or Seven Towers, in *Disegni della citt... di Constantinopoli*, 1686. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8627 HAN

MAG. https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6494297&order=1&view=SINGLE.

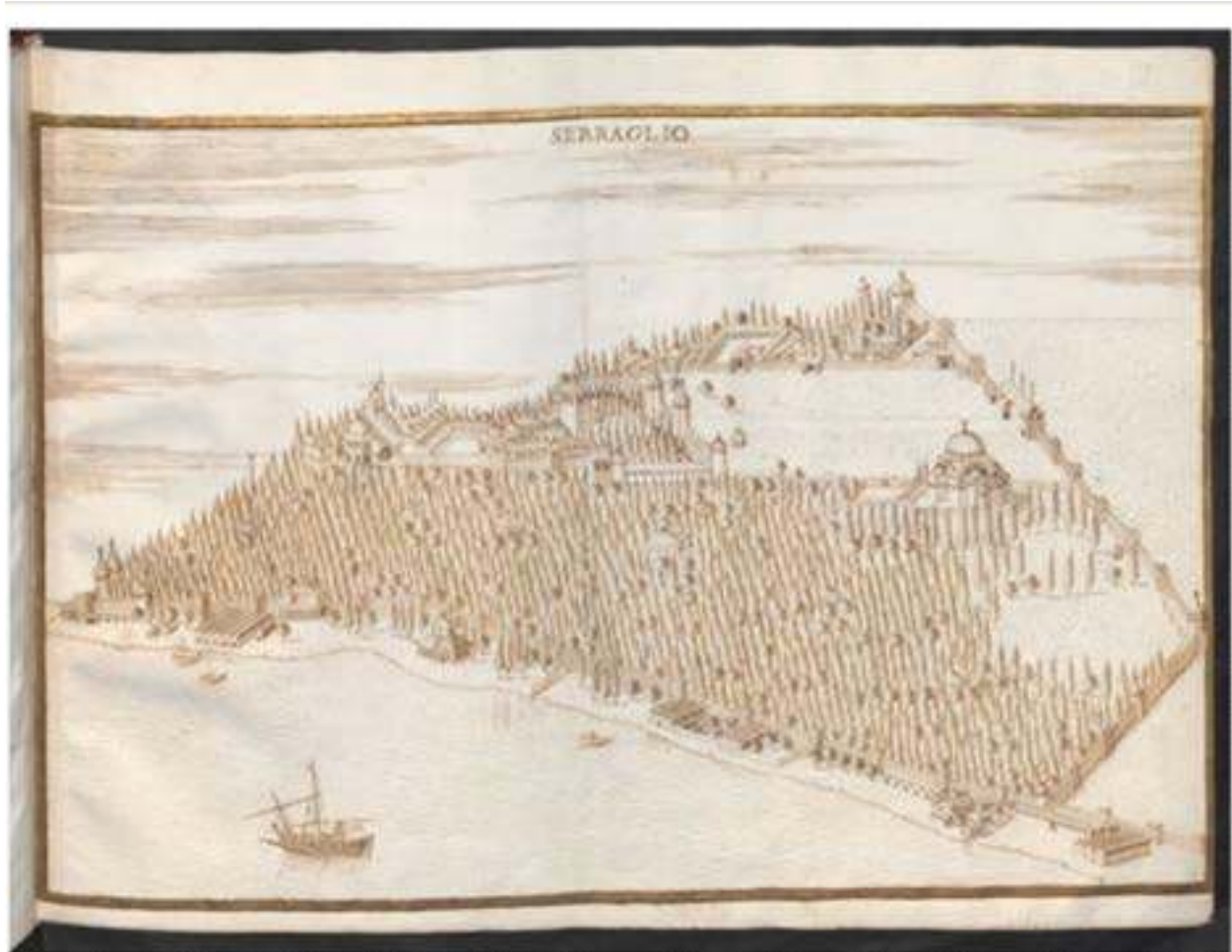


Figure 2.26. Francesco Scarella, "Serraglio" in in *Disegni della citt... di Constantinopoli*, 1686. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 8627 HAN MAG.
https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_6494297&order=1&view=SINGLE.



Figure 2.27. Nevizade Atayi, "A View of the Bosphorus" in the *Hamse* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 10a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W666/data/W.666/sap/W666_00026_sap.jpg.

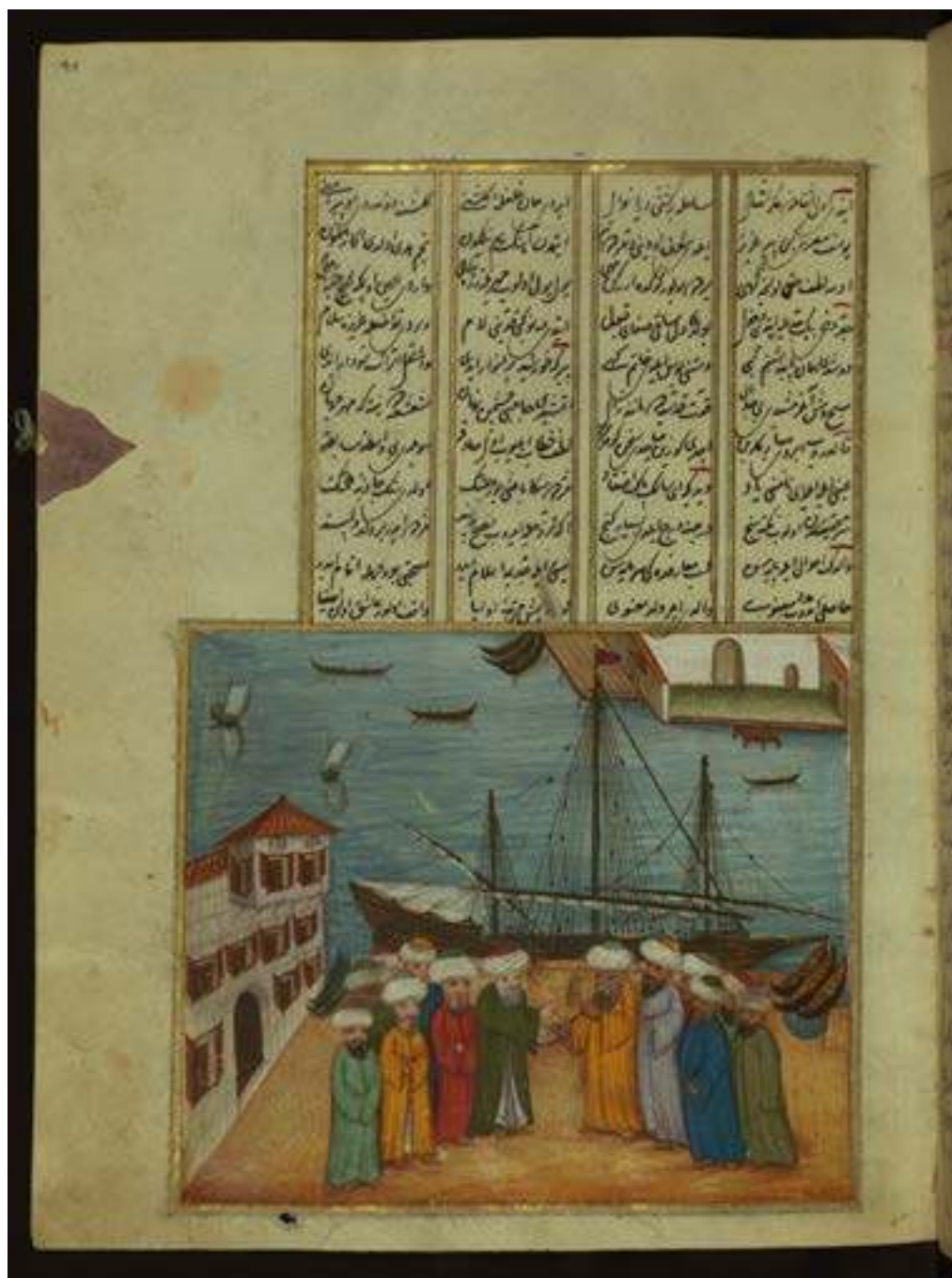


Figure 2.28. Nevizade Atayi, “Şeyh Gülşeni setting out with his disciples on a voyage” in the *Hamse* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 41a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W666/data/W.666/sap/W666_00088_sap.jpg.



Figure 2.29. Nevizade Atayi, “A pederast” in the *Hamse* (Quintet), 1721. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 666, fol. 57b.

<https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W666/description.html>.

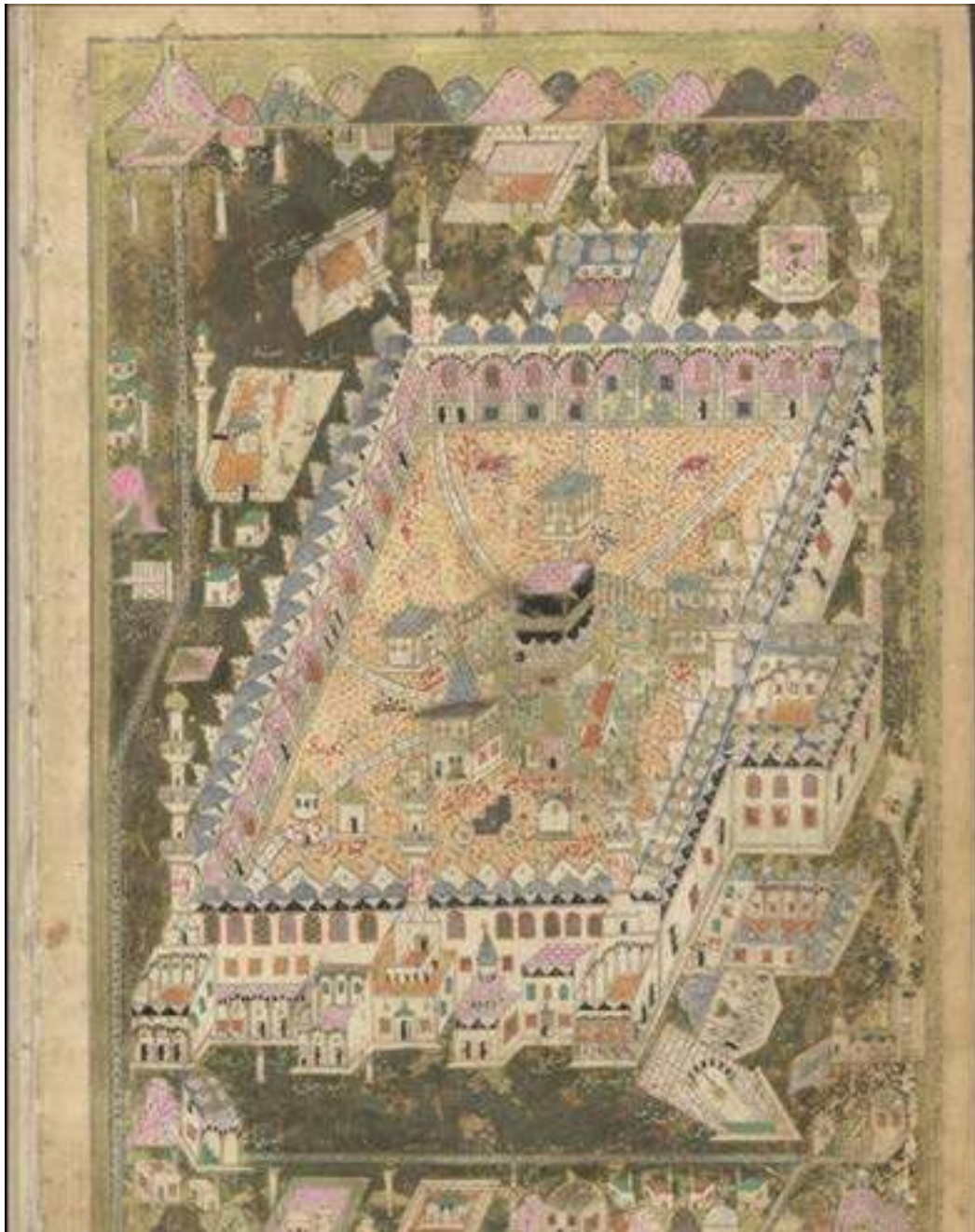


Figure 2.30. “Painting of Mecca” in *Manaqib Mekka*, 1700. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. oct. 1602, fol. 45v. <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00008C3600000000>.

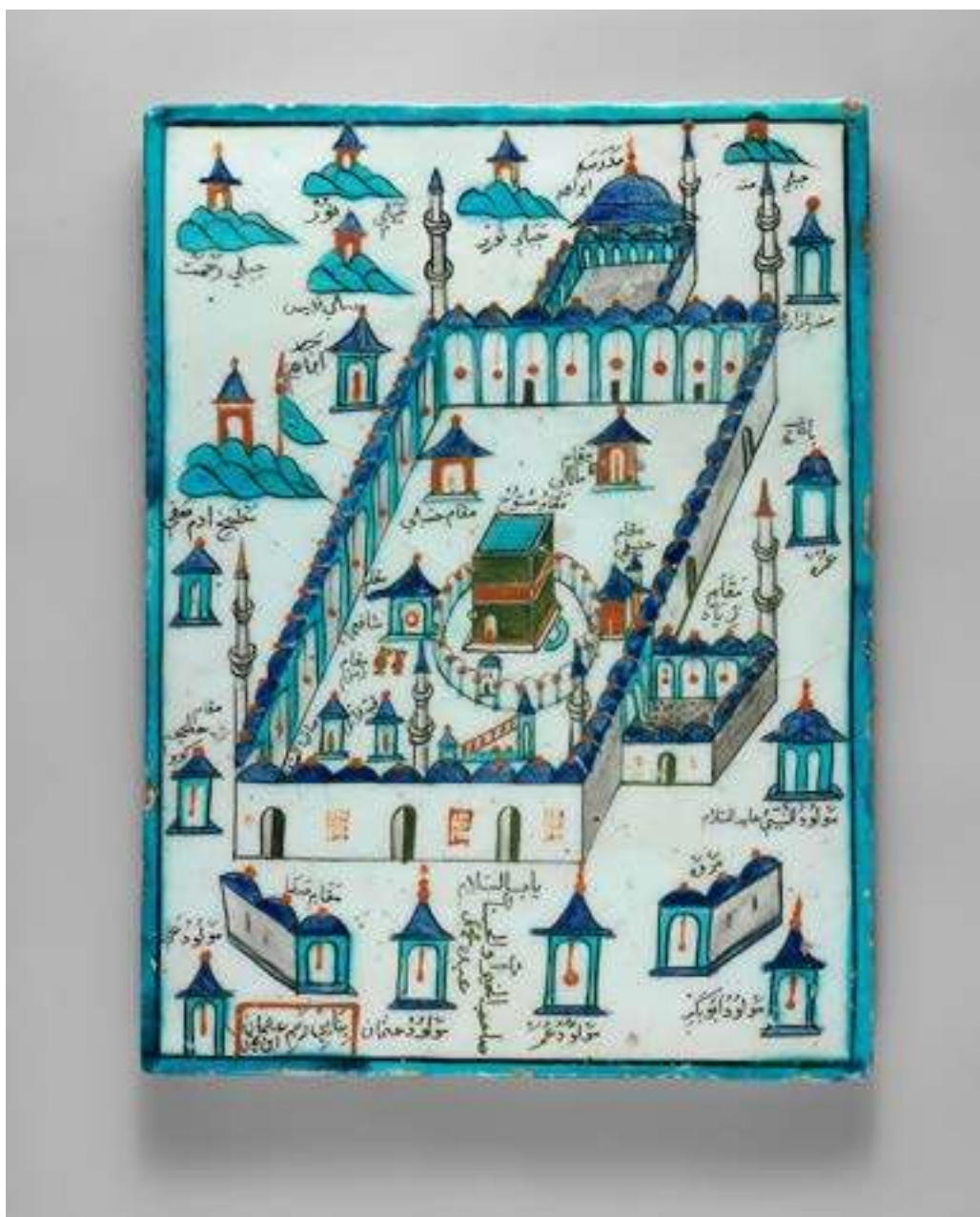


Figure 2.31. Osman Ibn Mehmed, Ka'ba Tile, ca. 1720-1730. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012.337.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/457791>.



Figure 2.32. "Painting of Mecca," early 18th century. Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, UU 2372. <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record%3A91693&dswid=4597/>

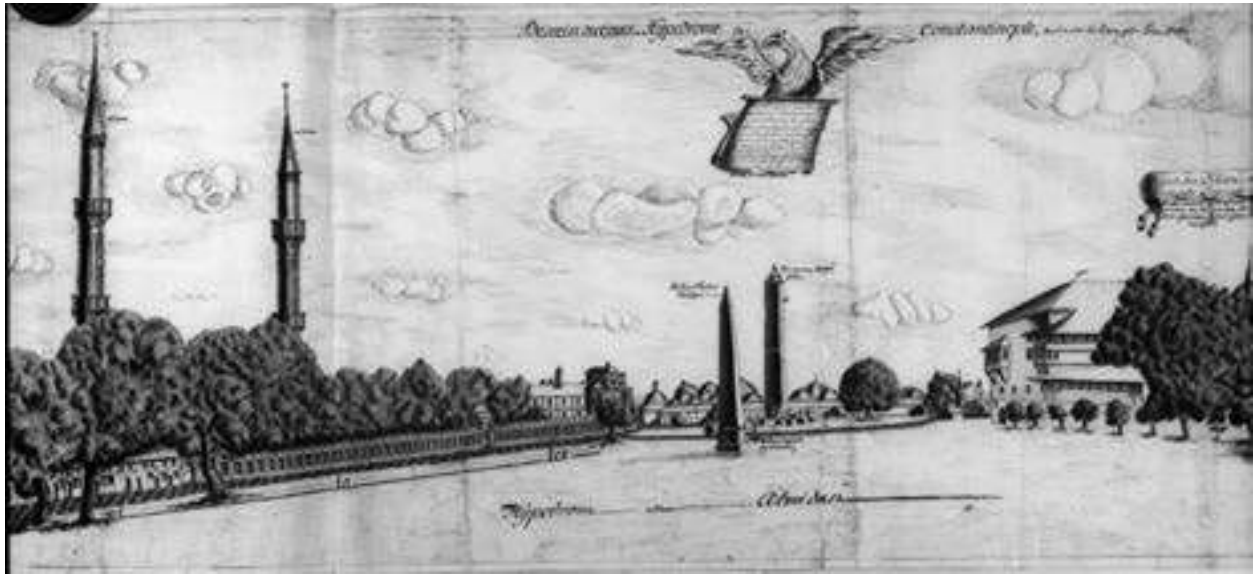


Figure 2.33. Cornelius Loos, Detail of “Utsikt över hippodromen i Istanbul,” 1710. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NMH THC 9115.

<https://collection.nationalmuseum.se/en/collection/item/61175/>.



Figure 2.34. "Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome," in the Freshfield Album, ca. 1574. Cambridge, Trinity Library, Ms. O.17.2, fols. 20v-21r. <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/O.17.2>.

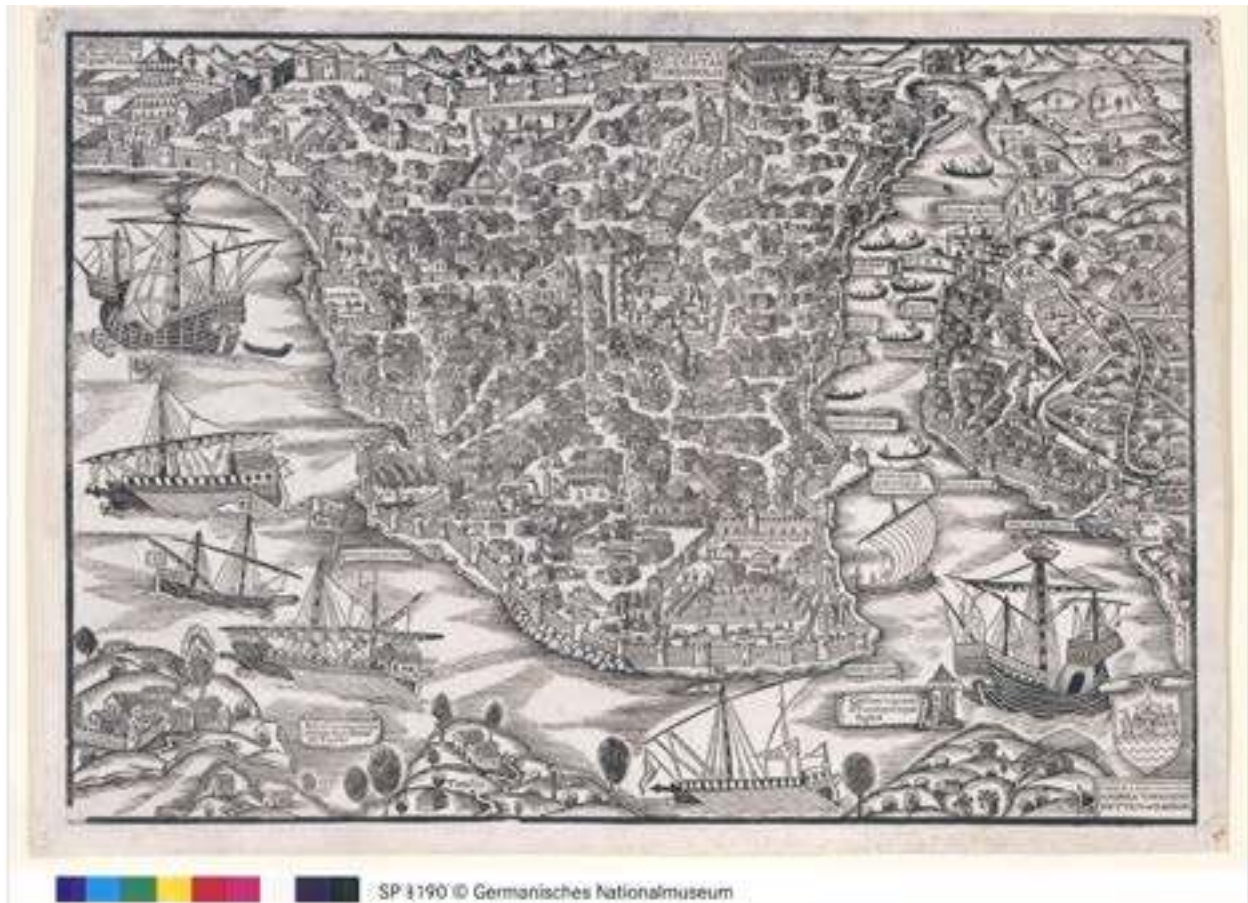


Figure 2.35. Giovanni Andreas Vavassore, “Byzantium sive Constantinopolis,” 1535. Munich, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, SP8190.
<https://objektkatalog.gnm.de/wisski/navigate/60431/view>.



Figure 2.36. George Braun and Frans Hogenberg, "Byzantium Nunc Constantinopolis" (based on Vavassore) in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World), 1612. Washington D.C., Library of Congress, 2008627031.
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200m.gct00128a/?sp=114&r=-0.583,-0.059,2.167,0.879,0>.



Figure 2.37. Detail of Yeni Valide Mosque (1708-11) in the Walters' Istanbul.



Figure 2.38. Dell Upton, "Exterior of the Yeni Valide Mosque (1708-11)," 1998. SAHARA Public Collection, Vw 14DU98.jpg. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.8700422>.

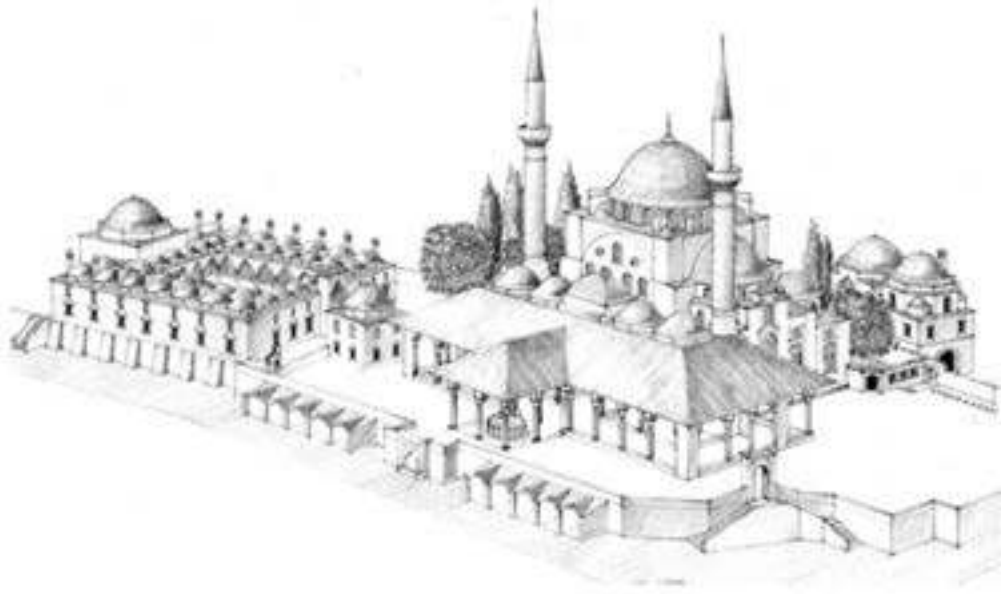


Figure 2.39. Axonometric project of Mihrimah Sultan Mosque Complex (1543-1548). From Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan* (Reaktion Books, 2005), 300.



Figure 2.40 Detail of the Bosphorus shoreline in the “City of Istanbul” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 370b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000750_sap.jpg..



Figure 2.41. Melchior Lorck, “Turkish Cemetery,” 1576. Copenhagen, Statens Museums for Kunst, KKSgb8253.
<https://open.smk.dk/en/artwork/image/KKSgb8253?q=Melchior%20Lorck&page=1>.

Chapter Three:



Figure 3.1. "City of Cairo" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century.
 Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.



Figure 3.2. “Egyptian coastline from Alexandria as far as the city of Rosetta” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 303b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000616_sap.jpg



Figure 3.3. “The Nile River from its Estuary South” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 304b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000618_sap.jpg.



Figure 3.4. “The Nile River estuary with the cities of Rosetta and Burullus” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 306b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000622_sap.jpg



Figure 3.5. “The Nile River with various oases” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 307a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000623_sap.jpg.



Figure 3.6. “Nile River oases beginning with Bulaq” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 307b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000624_sap.jpg.



Figure 3.7. “City of Damietta on the Mediterranean coastline” in the *Kitāb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 308b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000626_sap.jpg.

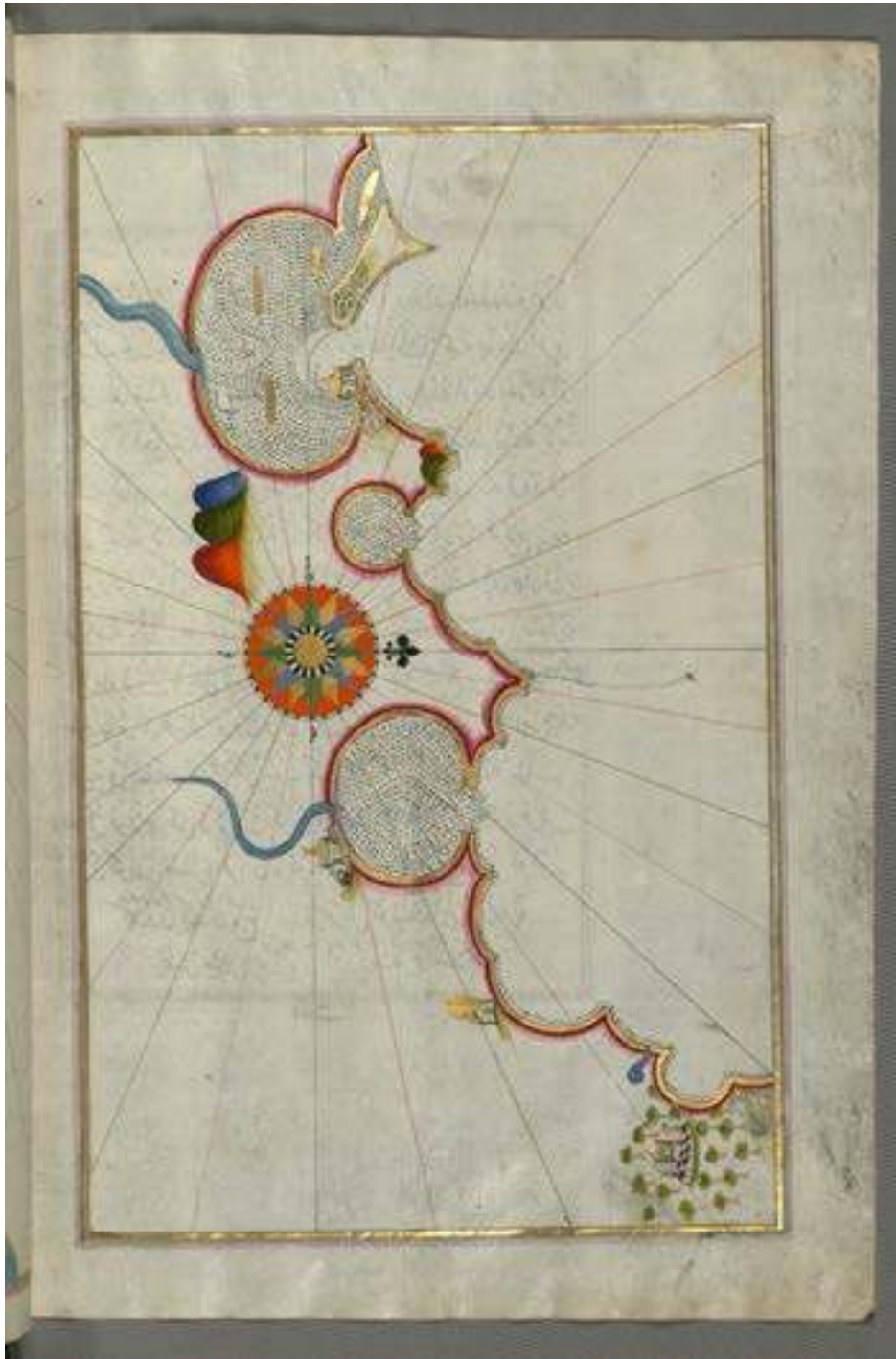


Figure 3.8. “Unlabeled Egyptian coastline with estuary and Nile” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 309b.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000628_sap.jpg.

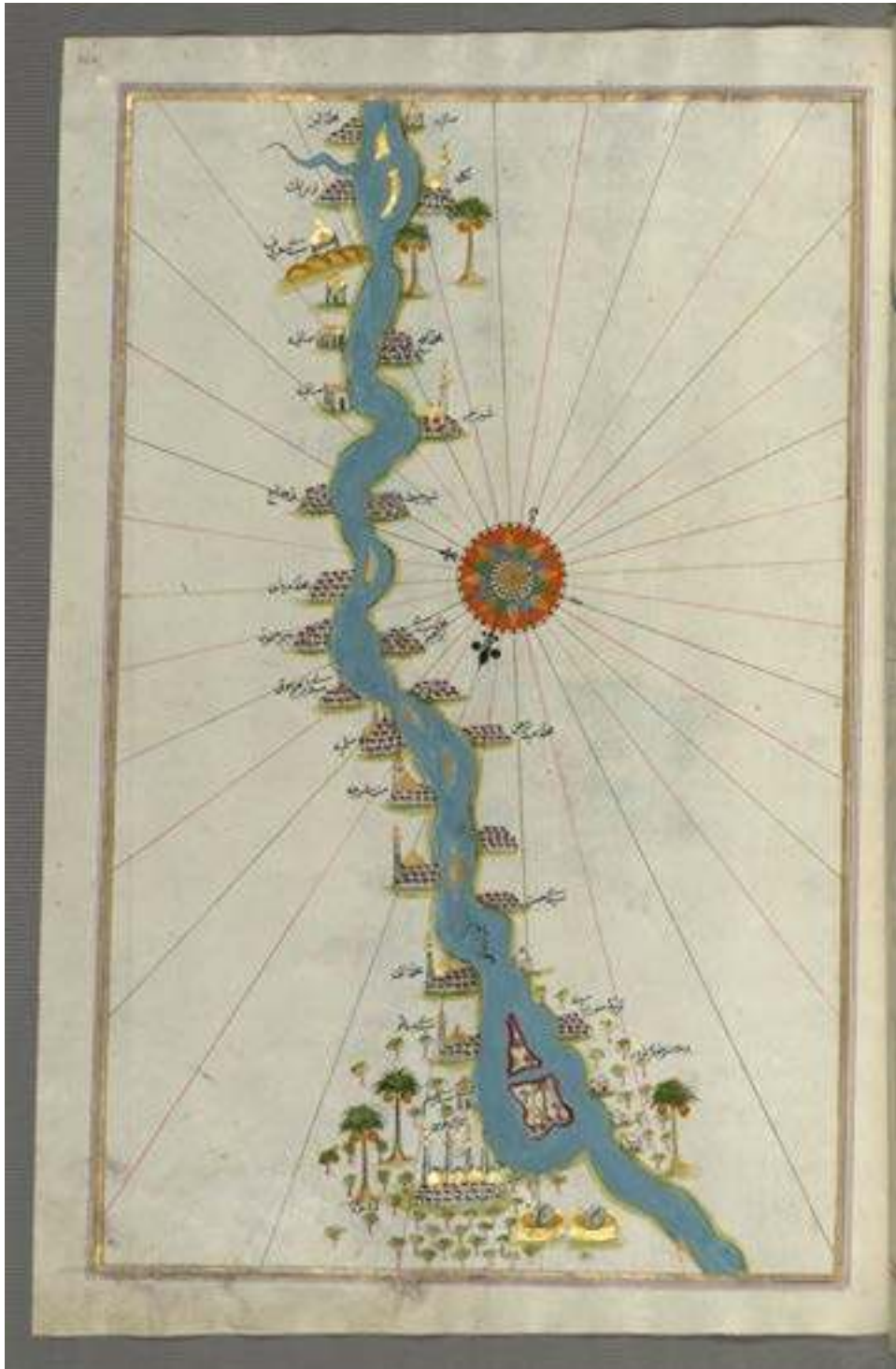


Figure 3.9. “Oases along the Nile River as far as Sidi Musa” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 310a.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000629_sap.jpg.



Figure 3.10. “Oases along the Nile River as far as Sidi Ma’ruf” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 310b. https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000630_sap.jpg.

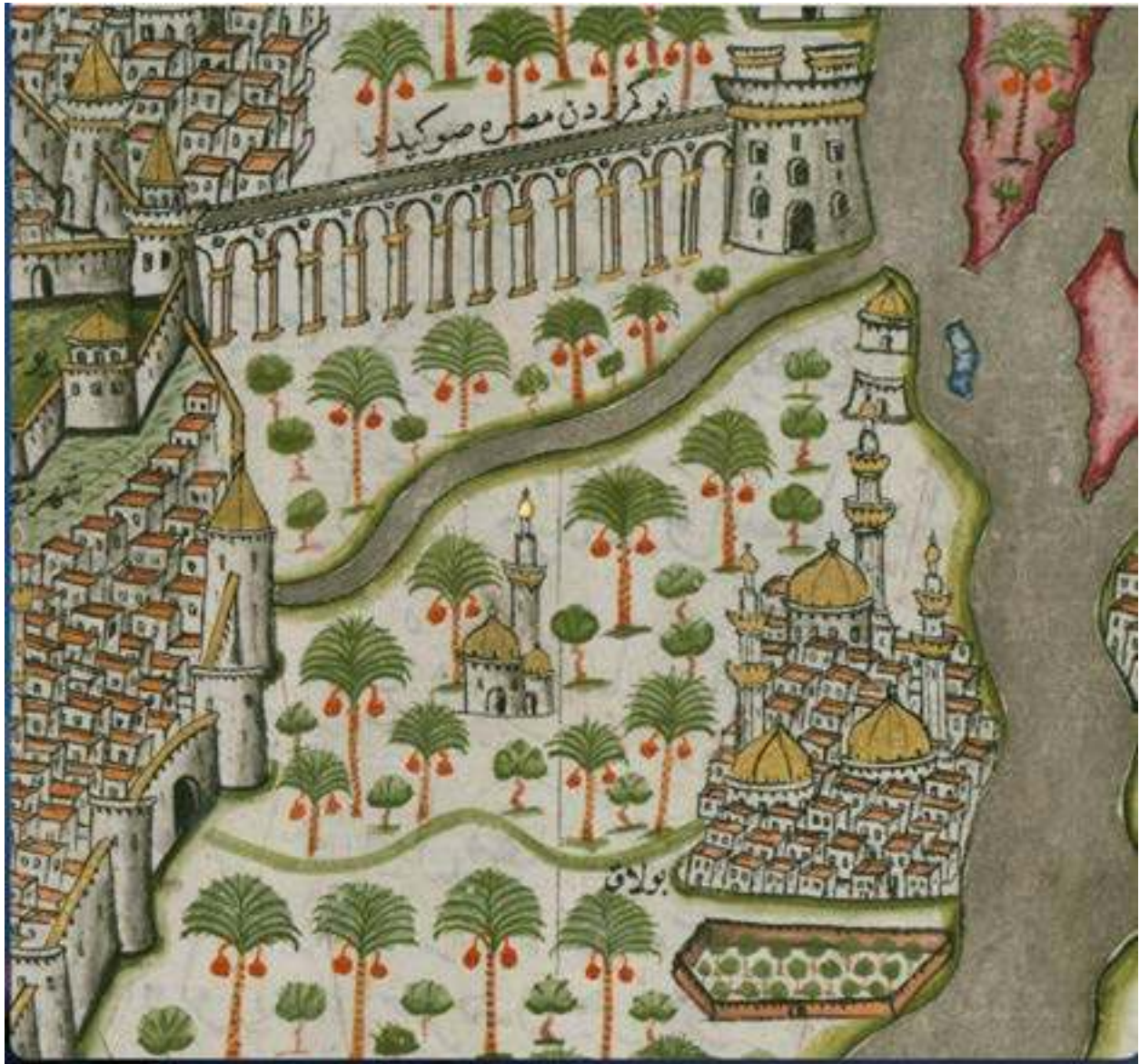


Figure 3.11. Detail of Bulaq, Khalij al-Masri Canal, and Acqueduct in “City of Cairo” in the *Kitāb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_san_ino



Figure 3.12. Detail of Old Cairo (*Atik Mısır*), Island of Rhoda, and Nilometer in “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_san_ino



Figure 3.13. Detail of Al-Hassan Mosque and Citadel in “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_san_ino



Figure 3.14. Detail of Nile River boats Çerim and Kiyâse in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_san_ino



Figure 3.15. Detail of Nile River boats Akabe and Shahtor in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_san_ino



Figure 3.16. Detail of Imam al-Shafi'i Mosque, Muqattam Hills, and Qarafa Cemetery in the "City of Cairo" in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.png



Figure 3.17. Detail of Birkat al-Hajj in the “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, early 18th century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, W. 658, fol. 305a.

https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W658/data/W658/sap/W658_000619_sap.jpg.

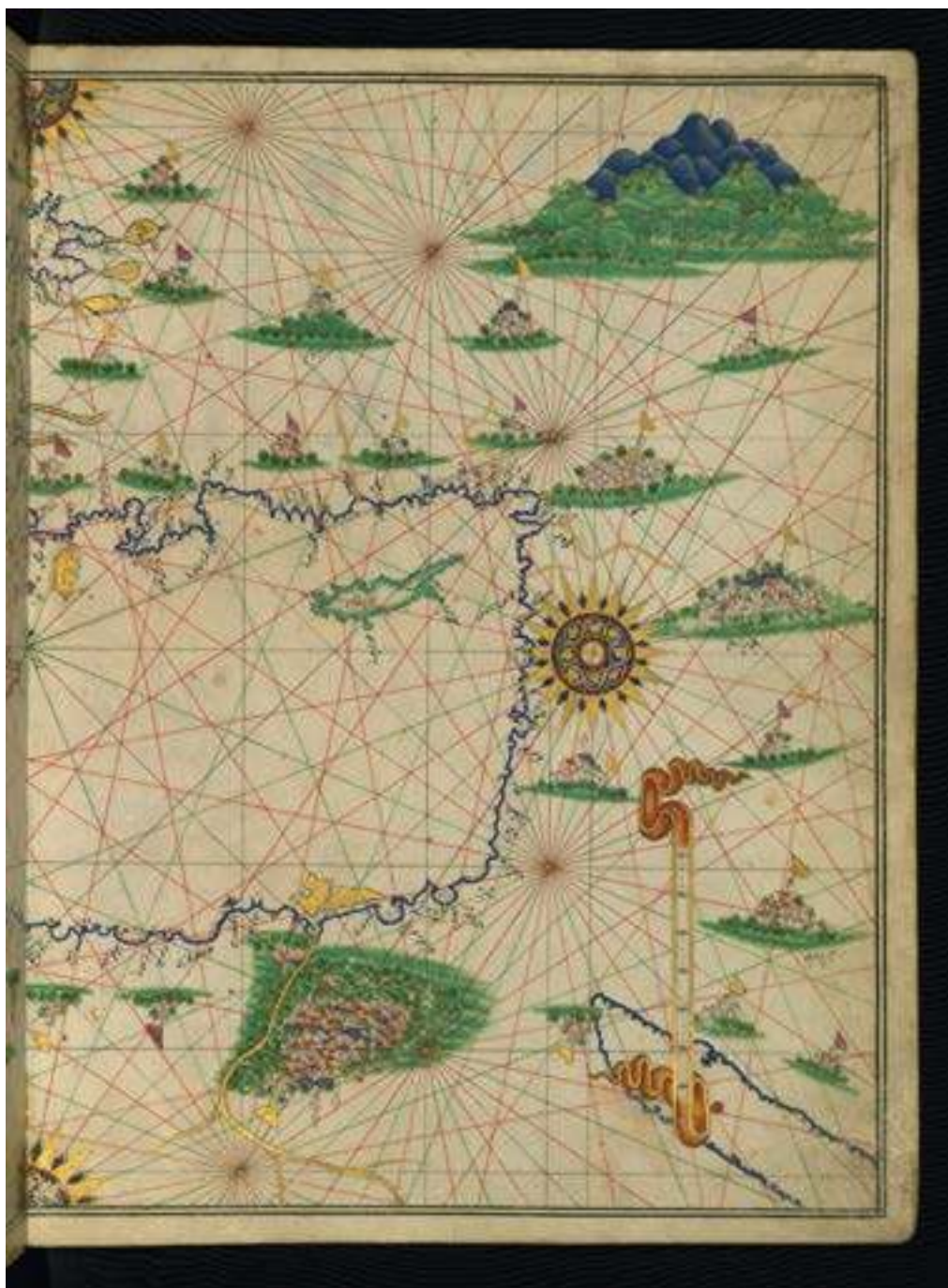


Figure 3.18. "Eastern Mediterranean with city view of Cairo" in the Walters' Maritime Atlas, also known as the Walters' *Deniz Atlası*, sixteenth century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W. 660, fol. 7b.
https://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W660/data/W.660/sap/W660_000018_sap.jpg.

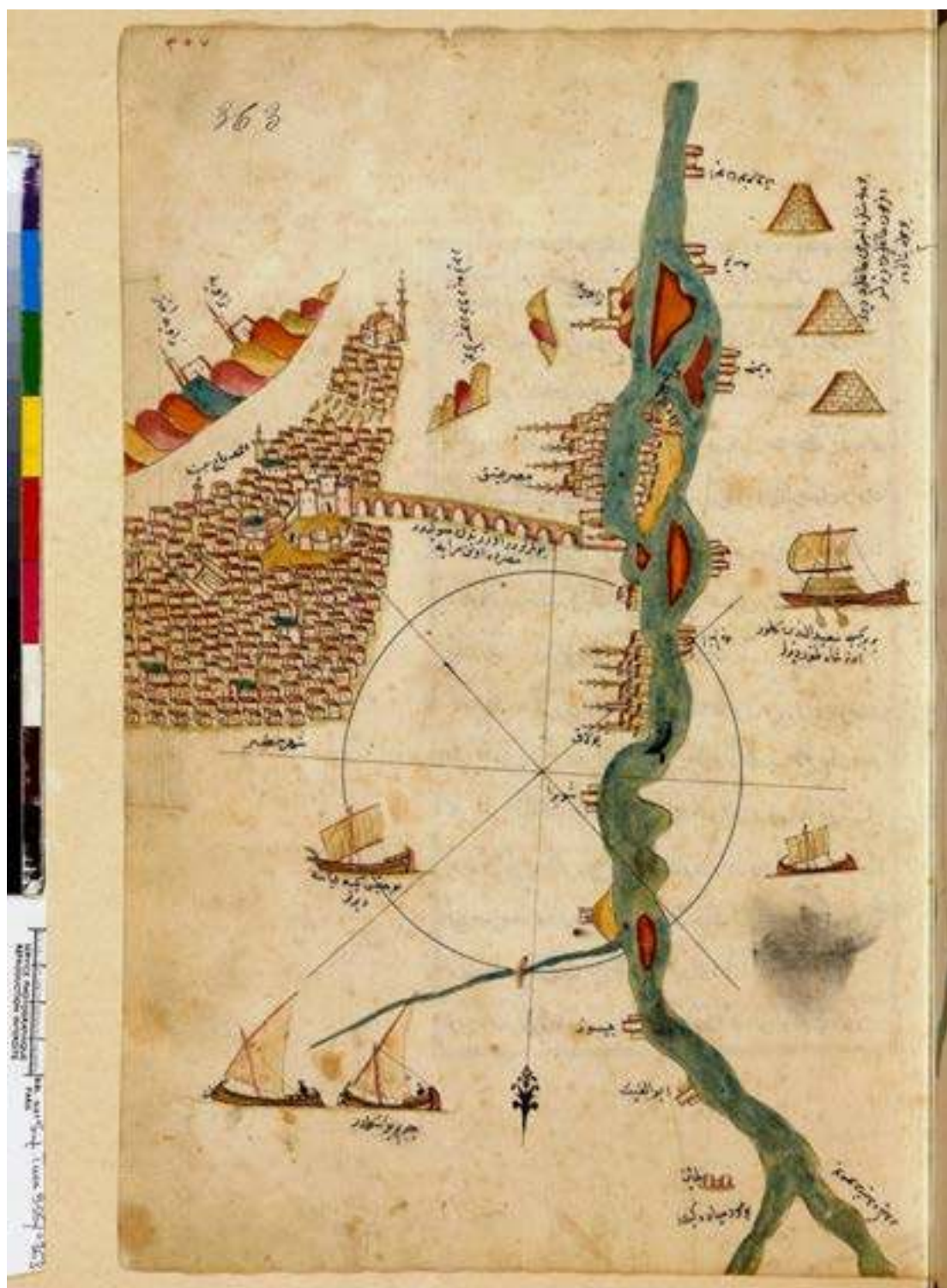


Figure 3.19. “City of Cairo” in the *Kitâb-ı Bahriye*, seventeenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Suppl. Turc 956, fol. 363v.
<https://images.bnf.fr/#/detail/735837/25>.