THE LAND BETWEEN TWO SEAS

Art *on the* Move *in the* Mediterranean *and the* Black Sea 1300 – 1700

Edited by **Alina Payne**

BRILL

The Land between Two Seas

Mediterranean Art Histories

STUDIES IN VISUAL CULTURES AND ARTISTIC TRANSFERS
FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE MODERN PERIOD

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Cover illustration: Anonymous, Map of the World, 1457.

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From Riverbed to Seashore: An Introduction

Alina Payne

1 Of Roads and Seaways

"The stream that runs through the city of Sarajevo [...] flows into the river of Saray; this river in turn meets waters arriving from Herzegovina and Croatia before it flows over mountainous terrain into the Sava which 'meets the Danube right beside Belgrade.' The Danube itself in all its majesty eventually runs into the Black Sea, and 'it is clearer than sunlight'; the Black Sea meets the Mediterranean in Istanbul and the Mediterranean, in turn, flows through the straits of Gibraltar into the Surrounding Sea which meets the larger Ocean 'by the order of the Creator of both worlds.' These are the words of Evliya Çelebi (1611–after 1683), the Ottoman traveler whose ten hefty volumes may well be the most monumental example of travel writing in any language."[1]

Indeed, for this seventeenth-century author the rivers seem to have been a system of capillaries, forever in movement, flowing gently one into the next, filling out the seas, allowing them to flow further, into each other, connecting the world: the world of the Ottomans, that of the Europeans, and further, beyond the known boundaries, the mysterious oceans that hug the globe.

For Claudio Magris, writing some 400 year later, the Danube leaves behind "a Nilotic slime in which pullulate germs still confused and indistinct," a lively melting pot of races and cultures, "a fertile mud in which flourished a Carpatho-Balkan community that resulted from an ancient but still extant underground stream, that of the Byzantine-Turkish-Mongols seeking the Lands of Rum, and that bathed the shores of the Danubian principates."[2] These two testimonies are remarkable for zeroing in on rivers as the cultural infrastructure of the Mediterranean world, as the carriers of people, things, and ideas that fused in myriad ways once they reached the larger pool of the inland sea, of the *mare nostrum*. In their own ways, both statements reveal an act of attention that is eloquently represented by an anonymous 1457 map (Fig. 0.1).

It is then the rivers and the sea writ large that constitute the geographic template upon which this volume was developed. Why the Mediterranean? And why rivers? Taking up Fernand Braudel's notion of a hinterland that is connected to the Mediterranean world, the volume looks to the reverberations and echoes of this classic site far beyond its shores and into the continent both North and East.[3] Conversely, it also looks to the reciprocal effect: the world moved two-ways, not just from a Mediterranean seen as center toward its peripheries but also from deep into the Eurasian continent toward the Mediterranean itself. Indeed, the rivers create a complex texture—fine threads that crisscross Europe, some as main avenues while others diverge—connecting territories that on land routes would have been too distant to reach and even to imagine. Scholarship, however, has mostly neglected this secondary system of contact that swelled the Mediterranean in both directions. Not that the Mediterranean has not claimed a central place in recent work—especially among historians, though art historians have also joined the trend.[4] However, the original Braudelian idea of a shore and a hinterland and the ties between them has been somewhat moved to the sidelines, so appealing has the work on the cultures bordering the sea become. Yet, the liquid network of rivers—those natural highways—that extends inland and ties the golden fabled shores with the mountains and the peoples living in their shadow or along the paths of the rivers' passages is as interesting as it is understudied. Among them, the king of the rivers has to be the Danube, running a parallel course to the Mediterranean and cutting across Europe from West to East only to come to rest in the Black Sea, thus pouring itself into the system of the communicating vessels of the Mediterranean—the old Roman *mare nostrum* itself, the Sea of Marmara, the Black Sea, and, the last ripple within this body of water that separates and unites three continents, the Sea of Azov. But the Danube is not alone in so swelling the Mediterranean world with the cultures along its shores. The Sava, the

FIGURE 0.1   Anonymous, *Map of the World*, 1457
FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE

Adige, the Pruth, the Dniester, and the Dnieper, not to mention the Don (which flows into the Sea of Azov) connect the "traditional" Mediterranean cultures— the Italian, the Ottoman, the Greek/Byzantine, the Provencal, and the Spanish—with the world of the Balkans and beyond.

Along the East-West highway that is the Mediterranean, and the caravan routes that crossed the Anatolian plateau and linked Tabriz and Baghdad with Bursa and Izmir on the East/West axis, and, on a North/South axis, Antalya with the Black Sea, these rivers carried craftsmen and slaves, merchants and armies, ambassadors and concubines. And with them silks and spices, furs and wheat, gold and silver, and most of all salt, together with books and luxury objects, jewelry and painted panels, ideas and scientific instruments, tiles and marble in all directions radiating toward the center—the classic sites of Mediterranean power—and away from it. Already in the wake of the *Pax Mongolica* in the early thirteenth century, much trade occurred to connect these regions, and many colonies—Genoese, Anconese, and Venetian—had flourished as far away as the shores of the Sea of Azov linking the Italian city-states with the

steppes across caravanserais and hans, along river and transhumance routes (Figs. 0.2 and 0.3).[5]

Alongside trade, the other major driver of connectivity was inevitably war. Indeed, war was always the primary agent that redrew the maps of empires and principalities, reconfigured not only borders but entire ethnicities, and produced endless forms of connectivity whether imposed or organically flourishing in its wake. The geographic area under consideration here was in a perpetual state of intense geopolitical crisis, destructive military conflicts, and related revisions of state borderlines in this period. Indeed, it is no coincidence that—to take just one example—two famous battles that pitted Eastern and Western forces against each other were fought at the same location, at Mohacs, on the Danube River: in 1526 under Suleiman the Magnificent, and in 1687 under Mehmed IV. It is the valleys of the Danube and its network of tributaries that afforded the route along which the Ottomans penetrated into the heart of Europe and dreamed of extending their empire.

Starting from this perspective of powerful riverine ties between the seas of the Mediterranean system

and the hinterland, this volume seeks to develop a framework for investigating the mediating role of the Balkans between East and West and their northern neighbors, all the way to Poland and Lithuania, as well as this region's contribution to the larger Mediterranean artistic and cultural melting pot in the early modern period. Concentrating on the Eastern slice of Europe as it encounters the Central Asian cultures on the move, the volume therefore focuses on the Eastern parts of the Mediterranean system, rather than on its entire breadth. For it is the thesis underlying the essays gathered here that the penetration of Islamic cultures into Europe occurred over a broader terrain than is generally acknowledged and that the Eastern frontier, extending away from the Mediterranean deep into the interior, played a determinant role in negotiating the dialogue between Western Europe and Iran, Armenia, Georgia, and the Ottoman Empire. On the cusp between cultures and religions—mostly Eastern Orthodox (except for, e.g., Hungary, Dalmatia, and Poland), and mostly Slavic languages (except for, e.g., Romania)—these principalities, kingdoms, and fiefdoms came to embody hybridity, to act as a form of buffer or cultural "switching" system that assimilated, translated, and linked the cultures of Central Asia with the Western European ones. Some became satellites of the Ottoman Empire, others retained political independence, if not an economic one, but all testify to the seeping of a complex culture inland from the Mediterranean seas along riverine routes, and outwards again toward the *mare nostrum* (Fig. 0.4).

The historical period this volume focuses on is 1300–1700—naturally allowing some leeway at either end to signal continuity. This is the period traditionally labeled "Renaissance" and "Baroque" in the West—terms that would be anachronistic to use for the geographical areas under discussion here.[6] Indeed, concentrating on the cultural exchanges between the Mediterranean and the inland perimeter toward the North should also help adjust our Eurocentric glasses that have seen an early modern world—mostly called Renaissance—that was emanating from Italy, and especially from Rome, Venice, and Florence, and that excluded the contribution of other centers, perceived as peripheral. At most, recent scholarship has focused on the cultural ties between Eastern European countries and Italy, but leaving no doubts as to the direction of influence and the location

of cultural hegemony.[7] Instead, the essays collected here seek a more balanced view of the complex ties that connected the "hinterland" with the Mediterranean and aim to recover its role in the contaminated world that the sea engendered.

Much of the bias in favor of Western Europe as cultural leader across history had to do with the Industrial Revolution and was a product of it. Britain, France, Germany, and the Austrian Empire rose quickly to the fore as industrial nations in the nineteenth century, while the more agrarian focused Eastern countries (under foreign hegemonies, be they Ottoman or Tsarist) did not, thus sliding away from the scene of modernity. While the Western countries may be justifiably seen as the cradle of modernity as we know it today, it does not follow that the same patterns obtain with respect to the early modern period. Nor does it obtain that Renaissance cultural renewal was exclusively Western-driven. It is thus another aim of this volume to challenge this perception and draw attention to the contributions of the Islamic world and that of the "in between" world of frontier European territories to the "center" of European culture. Taking a transregional approach, the aim here is therefore to reconstruct the culture of these fluid spaces characteristic of a period in which hegemonies were short-lived and unstable, and in which contact nebulas generated artistic nebulas that challenge our most cherished art-historical categories of influence, regional identities, and originality.

2 Art History on the Cusp between Continents

Methodologically the volume can be inscribed in the recent attempt in the historical disciplines to acknowledge the mobility of populations and the fluctuating hegemonies of most territories. The shorthand and often misleading denomination for this endeavor is global history, whose inevitable implications of a blanket totalizing perspective have been both energetically rejected and attacked. The term nevertheless endures, though it has been effectively side-stepped even when genuinely global histories have been attempted and successfully achieved.[8] To a degree, the "global turn" is also connected to the "spatial turn," a recent and powerful "turn" in history writing that proposed place as repository of social
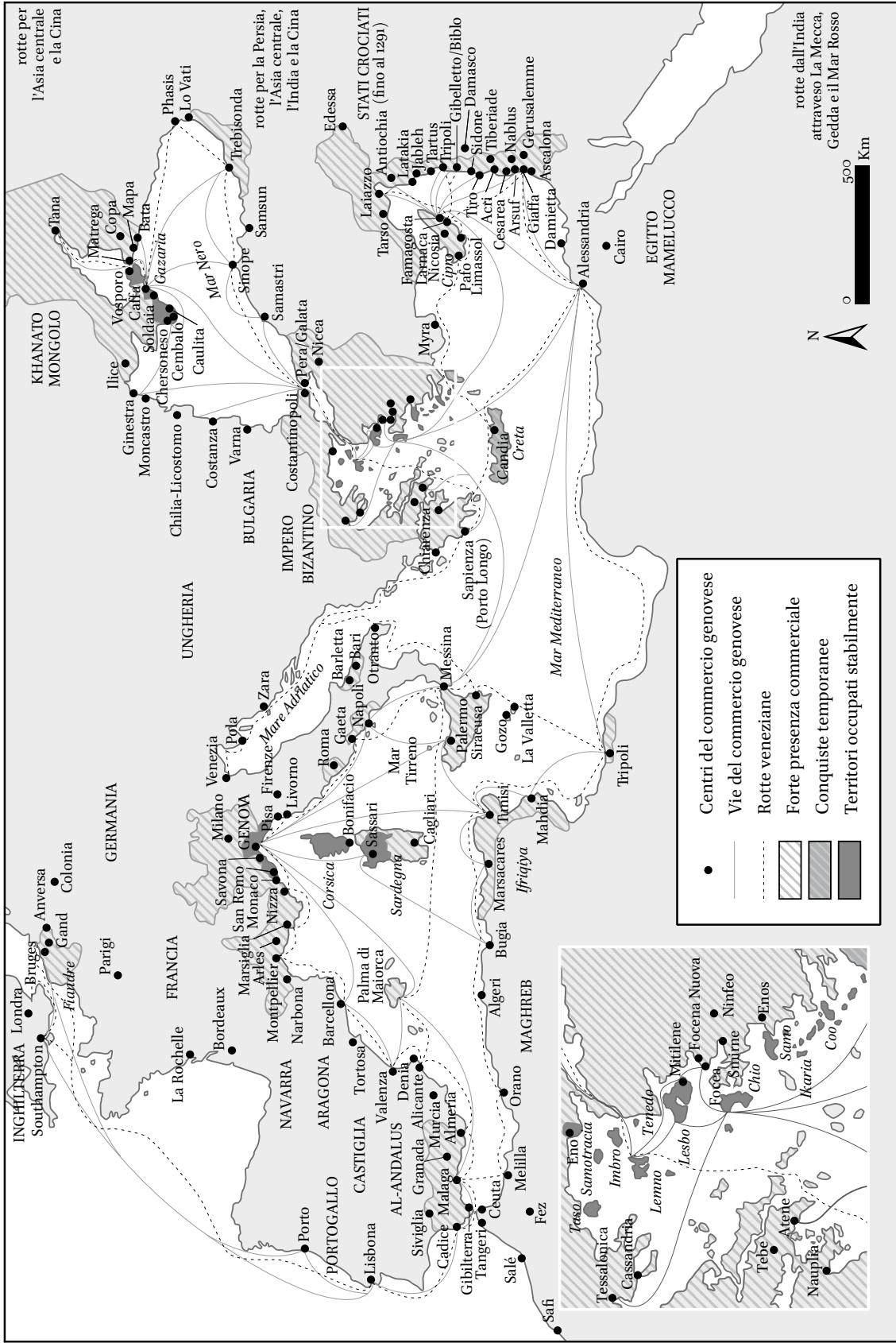
FIGURE 0.2   Map of the Genoese and Venetian expansion in the Mediterranean and Black Sea in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries
FROM ANTONIO MUSSARA, *IL GRIFO E IL LEONE* (LATERZA, 2020)

FIGURE 0.3   The Genoese presence in the Black Sea in the fourteenth century
                FROM ANTONIO MUSSARA, *IL GRIFO E IL LEONE* (LATERZA, 2020)

meaning and invited a greater geographic consciousness of history, a recognition of geography's (or place's) own agency.[9] More nuanced terms like "connected," "transnational," "integrative," and "entwined histories" have been proposed instead of "global" to describe relationships and encounters between cultures, while terms like connectivity, hybridity, and exchange are now currently used to describe their cultural consequences.[10]

If these trends and associated discussions for and against global readings originated with history, art history has since followed suit, particularly with respect to artistic mobility and its consequences, as well as with respect to the agency of portable art objects as catalysts of innovation once displaced and present in other, foreign contexts.[11] However, as far as the buffer territory between East and West goes, art historians have done less. On the one hand, the field has been particularly affected by local nationalism that worked against

recognizing mobile, portable, and displaced objects as significant and instead privileged those where a clear ethnic lineage could be traced. Thus, what has been written about this territory has been nation by nation and confessional group by confessional group, rather than as a fluid territory that managed an ancient Roman heritage, waves of later invasions from Slavs up to the Mongols and beyond to the Ottomans coming from the East and, no less rapacious or powerful, to the Habsburg juggernaut coming from Europe's West.[12] On the other hand, the traditional and likewise nineteenth-century division between Renaissance, Byzantine, and Islamic studies (with its unspoken period implications since the latter two were mainly focused on medieval rather than early modern art), have contributed just as much to isolating discourses and driving wedges between them than to seeing points of contact.[13] Indeed, both national and period-based readings were historically contingent,

FIGURE 0.4   Enisala, Genoese fortress on the Black Sea, Romania, second half of fourteenth century
                 PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

deeply affected not only by nineteenth-century nation- alisms but also by the consequent collapse of empires (Habsburg, Ottoman, Tsarist), and subsequently by Communist nationalist propaganda. In most of these arenas, the main object was political legitimation, and as one author has aptly described it, it led to a "perverse attempt to hammer modern definitions of ethnicity onto an ancient society in which they were irrelevant."[14] Perhaps the clearest confirmation of the novelty of the attempt to bridge these wide trenches is the difficulty encountered in categorizing this work—where to place it. Where should this volume be located: within Europe, Western or Eastern, or perhaps within Middle Eastern studies? The simplest answer is that it seems to fall between the cracks, between the boundaries of so many established cottage industries.

The specific geographic area this volume addresses is hence unsurprisingly difficult to define in our contem- porary terms since current nation-states have little to do with the more amorphous and variable boundaries that were constantly being drawn in this period. However, having said that, it is precisely this state of amorphous- ness that is being unpacked here; it is this geographic instability that was the glue binding territories and cul- tures together in ways so different from today and that the essays seek to explore. It is also this territorial hybrid- ity that allowed a more than usual cultural porosity to come into being, such that a Mediterranean world could be transmitted and have an active agency as far North as Poland, Lithuania, or Ukraine (to use contemporary country names). Thus, the essays collected here look to the European countries that bordered the extensions of

the Mediterranean (such as the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and the Adriatic) and that were "serviced" by the rivers that flowed into these seas, indirectly linking them to the Mediterranean. Parts of eastern Hungary, southeastern Poland, and eastern Slovakia turn up in these pages as well, though their geography places them also within other and different spheres of influence that connected them as tightly to Western Europe. For this reason the Danube itself, though such a central "avenue" across Europe, is only a part of this volume in its final reaches toward the Black Sea.[15] Of course one could argue for the contamination of all cultures and it might seem wrong to exclude some. But the aim here was to consider two vectors, the Mediterranean and the Islamic presence (which colors the Mediterranean itself, and coming from the East is itself contaminated with Mongol, Byzantine, Persian, and Chinese cultures), so the "object" countries are those most closely and directly connected to both these cultural forces.

3   The Agency of Objects

From an art-historical perspective, beyond territory, the second main issue the volume proposes to deal with is the agency of objects. Thus, another important coordinate is that of the portability and mobility of objects and people. And it starts from the observation that art objects—from paintings to architecture—have restless lives and, as a result, engage territory, that is, they have a geographical footprint. Put another way, the paths and itineraries art objects travel describe a field of impact or agency, a territory within which they generate and receive energy, and produce consequences commensurate with the disturbance they cause. Perhaps most importantly, thinking in terms of portability wrenches the discussion away from the traditional topics of the artist, the museum, or making and instead signals the *explosive* quality of the object as a comet or meteorite that suddenly appears on the horizon and sets off a chain of consequences—the more unlikely the portability, as is the case of architecture, the more powerful.[16] Thus, methodologically speaking, thinking in terms of portability offers us the opportunity to think in terms of a "territory of agency" (in which the object made itself felt) that cuts across nation-states and ethnic units. For what is interesting in rewriting history as enmeshed

rather than linear (which after all is what global art history attempts to do) is precisely to recognize that it is not the parallel lives of objects but the intersecting ones that are relevant.

Furthermore, such a reading is not only about a biography of objects (and the map of their efficacy and agency) but also about a way to identify geographic nodes, points that became thick sites of layered encounters, resembling radioactive sites: places where paths converged and diverged and things mutated. The unexpectedness of such geographic connections could be thought to operate like a wormhole (well known in astronomy and relativity theory) that links separate points in space-time by way of a vertiginous shortcut or short circuit that collapses distances and that can be so severe that it can cause meltdowns—such as, in our case for example, the unexpectedness of the connection between Venice, China, and Tatar culture in Crimea (see chapter eight).

Thinking in terms of portability has three more important consequences. Firstly, it credits agency to the object over its *longue durée* existence. Secondly, it invites rethinking the distinctions between high and low art, and with it, the exchanges between the monumental and minor arts. Evidently the most portable of all objects have always been the small crafts (especially textile), yet despite their small scale their impact has reached deep, to architecture and large ensembles—as I have discussed elsewhere regarding the connections between *sgraffito* palace facades in Renaissance Italy and silk and damask patterns made locally or imported from the Near East.[17] Considering such exchanges between the arts also allows us to recognize exchanges between scales—the micro and macro in dialogue at any point in a series of serendipitous encounters.[18] And, to take this thought to its ultimate conclusion, it allows us to think about exchanges between media—between textiles and architecture, for example, between glassware and sculpture, stone carving and goldsmithry, and so on. Finally, in this scenario the viewer's and artist's bodies also reclaim their agency—the body that encounters, holds, crafts, confronts, or inhabits temporarily an object in its passage and records this memory subsequently in whatever shape or medium.

One example should suffice to illustrate these possibilities of assimilation, intersection, and appropriation across borders, materials, and scales. The building of

the votive church, later cathedral, at Curtea de Arges in Wallachia (today's Romania, completed in 1517) by Voivode Neagoe Basarab (ruled 1512–21) can stand as a paradigmatic example of this complicated history and its conflicted recording in modern era historical accounts (Fig. 0.5).[19] Indeed, the church is a remarkable example of hybridity, a mixture of Armenian, Georgian, Ottoman, Serbian, and Greek elements. As scholars have noted, some materials were imported from Constantinople (marble and mosaics brought by way of sea and river routes along the Danube, as well as bricks with Allah imprinted on them); the architect was probably Armenian (Manoli of Niaesia); the architectural ornaments on the windows are similar to Armenian and Caucasian examples (today's Georgia); the plan of the church is similar to Serbian examples.

However, the origins of other details have been overlooked and provide interesting material for reflection on hybridity. For example, the bronze birds that adorn the upper frame of the rosette windows and produce a whistling sound when the wind blows through them are similar to Pisa cathedral's bronze griffon, originating from an Islamic territory (from Cordova, eleventh–twelfth century) and may suggest a similar Eastern provenance and reference (Fig. 0.6).[20] Likewise, scholars today do not make much of Voivode Neogoe Basarab's ties to Italy (through which he maintained diplomatic relations, especially with Venice and Rome, even offering to broker the union between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches and claiming a leadership role for his territory within the crusade conceived by Pope Leo X) and with Istanbul where he is said to have participated in the construction of a mosque (as subprefect) during Bayezid II's reign, with perhaps the same Manoli as chief architect.[21] Yet this may explain the extraordinary *muqarnas* that gird the church exterior at the upper level. Such an association between a classic Islamic motif, predominantly associated with mosque architecture—the *muqarnas* traditionally negotiate the transition from the square plan to the dome—and a Christian church, particularly one located at the site of a miracle-making icon, is unprecedented and signals a remarkable case of cultural acceptance of such mixtures across confessional divides (Fig. 0.7). Might this have been the work of craftsmen from Bursa, experienced in marble carving and already versed in a cross-cultural vocabulary much in evidence there, rather than of Armenian or local

craftsmen? Traditionally, scholarship has stressed the church's Christian models, while the Islamic ones have been more or less ignored.[22]

But the church offers yet another set of references. The patron, Neagoe Basarab was close to Niphon, the Athonite monk and patriarch who had settled in Wallachia, and for whose bones he commissioned the reliquary once he was pronounced a saint. The reliquary, discussed in chapter eleven by Kalavrezou, is in the shape of a five-domed miniature church that bears a close resemblance to the full-fledged (albeit four-domed) monastery church. As Kalavrezou observes, this was a type that spread through the Balkans in that period (a type distinct from the traditional Greek cross embedded in a square) (Fig. 0.8). Might the circulation of such reliquaries—of which this is just one example—have contributed to and reinforced the aesthetic acceptance and popularity of the architectural type? If so, this would be an example of portable objects as microarchitectures—miniature architectures in precious materials that further dignified the form itself—affecting the reception and patronage of monumental architecture, an example of the crossing of scales that such circulation invited and that we do not normally consider in architectural history.[23] Further still, if we look at the two commissions of the same patron—the church and the reliquary—that share a similar shape, we observe that from an ornamental point of view they diverge greatly. As Kalavrezou observes, the reliquary has Gothic details; the church, however, has pronounced Islamic ones. Is this range of adopted forms a testimony of a local taste that appreciated and assimilated forms regardless of their origins and associated meanings? Might such heterogeneity of ornamental vocabularies suggest an exceptional tolerance and interest in ornamental forms qua forms, detached from their iconographic and symbolic meanings?

The nineteenth-century presentation of the monument throws some light on the nationalist discourses that colored so much of its modern reception. In 1867 the church was presented in the guise of a massive model (1:14) at the Paris World Exhibition as the national monument of Romania. This was no coincidence, as it followed closely upon the unification of Wallachia and Moldova in 1856 and proceeded by only a few years Romania's war of independence from the Ottoman Empire (1877). This historical juncture can easily explain the focus on Christian links and rejection of Ottoman influences and the biases introduced into the subsequent chain of scholarship. As

FIGURE 0.5
View of the Royal Monastery of
Curtea de Arges, completed 1512–17,
Romania
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

this volume will abundantly show, such examples of the appropriation of forms that produced highly original artistic cultures, as well as their treatment at the hands of nineteenth-century scholars, and later, were the norm rather than the exceptions in these buffer territories "between two worlds."

4   The Essays

In keeping with its amorphous geographic boundaries, this volume does not present—nor does it seek to—a unified history. To the contrary, all essays attend to local case studies, to specific monuments or artifacts, and raise larger questions from these focused investigations, addressing the themes of this volume and at the same time opening a window into material that has remained uncharted by mainstream art history. Can we speak of Renaissance here? Byzantine? Islamic? Are any of them useful? What is useful? How does one handle this collision of vocabularies—Golden Horde, Armenian, Ottoman, Muscovite, Polish, Serbian, Hungarian, Romanian, and Greek with penetrations from the Mediterranean South and the Islamic East—and its offspring?

FIGURE 0.6   Detail of frieze with *muqarnas* and rosettes, Royal Monastery of Curtea de Arges, Romania
                PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 0.7   Detail of *muqarnas*, portal of Karatay Medresesi, 1251, Konya, Turkey
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

One important aspect of this work—and that sets it apart from much global history (and art history)—is the recognition that such a number of ethnicities and their artistic heritage cannot be evaluated by a single researcher alone. Scholars from each of the countries that now make up the vast territory under investigation here needed to come together to attempt a dialogue, to encounter each other and compare notes, and to exchange knowledge and share modern and ancient languages to attend to a world where there was no Latin as a lingua franca that united them all. Thus, Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Hungarian, Polish, Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and Russian scholars came together to address the equally heterogeneous artistic deposits to be found in these frontier or buffer zones.

Consistent with the themes of portability and mobility, the objects under investigation were drawn from all domains of art making that display such characteristics, even architecture. Thus, among the "objects of contact" that come under scrutiny here are: books and book merchants as intermediaries; minor arts like goldsmithry and textiles; folklore rituals and stories; ships as floating polities or ecosystems; religious buildings, fortifications, and caravanserais; and materials and substances, including marble and coffee. To bring some order to this material heterogeneity, the essays are organized broadly geographically: the territories North of the Danube, Poland, eastern Hungary, and parts of Transylvania; the Adriatic and Eastern Mediterranean, that is, Constantinople, and the Dalmatian and Illyrian coasts; and the Black Sea and

FIGURE 0.8   St. Niphon reliquary, back view, Dionysiou Monastery
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

its Eastern neighbors. Of course, the essays beg other cuts as well and can be read in many directions, forwards, back, and across: following historical sequences (synchronic or diachronic), for example, or routes (land and sea) rather than territories, or ethnicities and artistic lineages. And the reader is invited to try them all.

In part one, the Adriatic is the center of gravity of the essays, as the most immediate liminal zone between the "classic" Mediterranean cultures and the Eastern European territories that became colonized and/or captured by foreign invaders, from the Mongols to the Ottomans. Indeed, the Adriatic was one of the most contested liquid territories of the Mediterranean and, as such, the site of perpetual conflict, ranging from random but frequent corsair attacks and local skirmishes to outright naval battles (Fig. 0.9).[24] However, and perhaps not surprisingly, it was also the site of equally intense commerce that needed to be protected and maintained,

FIGURE 0.9   Fortress Church St. Mary of Mercy Vrboska, Hvar Island, Croatia
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOŠKO BELAMARIĆ

and therefore caused confrontation. For much of the medieval and early modern period under the control of Venice—until the Ottomans challenged that role—the territories bordering on the Adriatic—predominantly maritime republics—were most tightly connected to the Italian states and looked to them for support and legitimation when faced with the threat of invasion.

The first essay in this section, by Mirko Sardelić, identifies the ship as the quintessential device of the sea and raises the question of its agency in promoting exchange and hybridity. As a floating community of different creeds and ethnic origins, Sardelić argues that it was a "ground zero" of cultural cohabitation and exchange. Tight micro ecosystems, ships were governed like polities, approximating floating microcities and cultural condensers. His focus is on people rather than goods or materials, and he raises the question: Did such conditions as the ship imposed facilitate exchange? Was it a vehicle for it? Did it engender emotional understanding (or rejection) between people?

Recording travel accounts of passengers on such voyages, Sardelić identifies a neglected yet ideal site of study where one can examine cultural exchange and its mechanisms, like in a petri dish.

Continuing the focus on the sea and its conflicts, Ana Šverko turns to war management in the Adriatic. Given perennial alarm in the region and waves of real and feared invasions, the local administrations turned to serious fortification of their shores. The Venetian Stato da Mar that extended over this territory for most of the early modern period used Michele and Giangirolamo Sanmicheli as military architects, and it is in locations off "center," such as Sebenico (Sibenik), halfway down the Dalmatian coast, that they developed innovative systems for the defenses of these shores. Šverko's research then seriously challenges the center and periphery concepts: as it turns out, for fortification construction and ideation the "periphery" was actually the center of innovation (Fig. 0.10).

FIGURE 0.10   Michele and Giangiorgio Sanmicheli, fortifications, mid-sixteenth century, Sebenico, Croatia
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOŠKO BELAMARIĆ

Arrival from the sea and the dangers of the sea also prompted the development of a new building type for the maritime republics: the *lazaretto*. Looking at the *lazaretto* in Split as a new building type, Darka Bilić argues for its evolution from the caravanserai by a Jewish entrepreneur who sought to create a new land route between Venice and the Dalmatian hinterland, precisely to avoid the dangers of the sea and the perennial attacks by pirates. Like in Šverko's essay, here too the case is made for innovation in the "periphery," for the creation of a hybrid and eminently useful new building form evolved from Eastern models that protected both travelers and local communities.

How does a pocket-sized state hanging off the rocks of the Dalmatian coast survive in this context of superpowers vying for hegemony? For Joško Belamarić, the architecture of the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) is a mirror of its politics. The coherence of the city reflected the coherence of civic behavior and identity (an "organic system") and allowed it to preserve its independence and remain a useful link between East and West. The Renaissance villa—an Italian (and ancient Roman) export—upon which he focuses, was the *locus amoenus* as dream or desire in this theater of war and found a remarkable flowering and evolution here in keeping with Ragusa's civic ideals, which, Belamarić argues, it epitomizes.

Daniel Premerl looks away from Venice and turns to Rome and the pope, who remained an important reference point for the Adriatic territories. Diplomacy in particular was called to the aid of the threatened Christian hegemony in the area, specifically in Bosnia, which was at the time fully under Ottoman domination. It is the Illyrian case that the Bosnian prelate Ivan Tomko Mrnavić presents before Urban VIII in the first decades of the seventeenth century using visual aids to further the case of the Catholic population there in the face of the continuous Ottoman threat and occupation. Alongside a visual discourse that he proposes so as to strengthen the Illyrian/Roman connection, Mrnavić also uses a version of the "questione della lingua" to buttress his project: The Illyrian dialect, he argues, is appropriate for the region precisely because it is understood by its mixed population (including the Slavs); indeed it is language that suggests and invites thinking of a Pan-Slavic "commonwealth" that stretches from the Balkans and the Dalmatian coast all the way to Russia and Poland. And it is this larger cultural/political view that converged with papal policy in Eastern Europe and enabled artistic patronage supporting the Illyrian cause.

In part two the authors turn East at the Dardanelles and present the extension of the Mediterranean all the way to the Sea of Azov as the quintessential melting pot of East and West. Much colonized by the Italian city-states of the Adriatic and beyond (especially Genoa and Venice but also Ancona), this territory connected the Mediterranean basin with the steppes and the northern European countries, like Poland and Lithuania, and with the major caravan routes across Asia (Fig. 0.11). Linked with the Golden Horde as much as with Central Asian khans and emperors, it was a very contested territory precisely because of its extremely rich commercial links. Crimea, which comes up in two essays, is a case in point. When Ibn Battuta passed through in the 1330s, he counted 200 ships in Kaffa harbor alone. This was perhaps "the most profoundly Latinized of Black Sea ports," with a minority Genoese population that was swelled by "Turkish soldiers and nomads, Russian fur traders, Egyptian slave agents, Greeks, Circassians and Alans, not to mention Florentines, Venetians and Provencals."[25] A tract of land that saw "Oriental and southern influences arriving by way of the Caucasus and the Black Sea, Greek influences spreading along the sea routes, and Western influences passing down the great Danubian route," it experienced "the formation from time to time, of mixed civilizations, very curious and very interesting."[26] These were heterogeneous cultures, combining Greeks, Jews (Karaim and Khazars), Caucasians, Armenians, Italians, Mongols, and Tatars, nomads living with sedentary peoples, that belied any easy categorization. Indeed, in places like Theodoro-Mangup, Kaffa, Sudak, and as far as Olbia at the mouth of the Dnieper, "Gothic, with Greek and probably Hebrew, was one of the languages which continued to be spoken in Crimea as it emerged into the modern period" (Fig. 0.12).[27]

This is the world whose folklore Cemal Kafadar surveys. It is here in the Balkans and Black Sea territories, in these mixed worlds of East and West, that vampire lore shows a significant uptick in the early modern period, and he ascribes this to an unexpressed but deeply felt anxiety about blood mixtures. As he argues, blood was most important in Christian territories and not so in

FIGURE 0.11   Unknown artist, Port of Ancona, 1731, Maritime Museum Dubrovnik

Islamic ones, and he traces a geography of vampire hysteria that does not include Ottoman lands, where neither blood as such nor anxieties about *metissage* existed and therefore did not call for a similar popular expression. As he puts it, migration, lands changing hands, redrawn imperials boundaries produce "new occupants of nightmares"—the dark side of the cultural exchange that this volume charts.

Two essays on Crimea show the effects of this *metissage* in art and architectural terms. Nicole Kançal-Ferrari turns to architectural and sculptural ornament in heraldic contexts, both civic and familial, that is, at precisely those sites where bloodlines are most at issue. Her examples span the mid-thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, between the *Pax Mongolica* and the rise of the Renaissance in the West. Looking at heraldic devices embedded in façades, city gates, and notable funerary monuments, she demonstrates a consistent display of ornamental hybridity that in turn testifies to a *convivenza*, to alliances—driven by political, economic, as well as social motives—that give the Crimean melting pot a visible dimension.

Turning to architecture in the later sixteenth century, Tatiana Sizonenko describes a connection between "Venice and the (a different) East," though not the Ottoman East but Crimea and the Northeast, Muscovy.

FIGURE 0.12   Diogo Homem, Portolan chart of the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, circa 1559
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

Looking at the work of Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana (known in Moscow as Alevisio Novy) for the Muscovite Tsar Ivan III, as well as for the Crimean Khan Meñli I Giray, she shows "a nontrivial meeting of cultures," an openness to other vocabularies in the Renaissance, and their original blending. In the wake of alliances with Italy brokered by Cardinal Bessarion after the fall of Constantinople, she traces the exchanges between and mixture of Eastern and Western vocabularies in the cases of major monuments, such as the Archangel Michael Cathedral in Muscovy and the Iron Gate portal in Bakhchisaray (Bahçesaray) Palace in Crimea.

Gülru Necipoğlu focuses on the mid-sixteenth-century mosque in Mangalia (Romania) on the Black Sea and on the Mediterranean-ization of Eastern European territories after the Ottoman conquest. She identifies a network of complex endowment deeds intended to tie peripheral tribute-paying territories from the Volga to the Danube, the Sava, and the Black Sea to the center of Ottoman power in Istanbul. "The interdependent architectural endowments of Princess İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha constituted an extensive network, many of its units concentrated on the main land route diagonally cutting across the Ottoman Empire and dotting the port cities of the Black Sea, Mediterranean, and Adriatic, as well as riverbanks connected to those interlinked seas." These monuments reflected "a persistent preoccupation with communications and connections throughout the empire and beyond with their infrastructure of roads, bridges, and ports that

stimulated mobility." The same vision was manifested in the grand vizier's unrealized state projects, including the creation of a canal in Suez and another one connecting the Don with the Volga.

The fluidity of the political systems and the shifts in hegemonies also meant opportunities for patronage that displayed the serendipity and hybridity of the rulers' careers as they were negotiating various centers of power. Anna Mária Nyárádi examines the Wallachian princely family of the Cantacuzino/Kantakouzenoi and their patronage between Venice, Byzantium, Wallachia, Transylvania, and the Ottoman Empire as an example of rulership that spanned the Danubian/Black Sea territory geographically and historically. Michael Kantakouzenos's patronage recalls the Ottoman-style patronage of the Sokollu power couple that Necipoğlu describes, showing that not only objects but also artistic practices traveled across regions. Beyond architecture, the Kantakouzenoi patronage focused on goldsmithry and the family supported goldsmiths from Transylvania and (present-day) Bulgaria, thus contributing to the circulation of luxury objects in the region.

From large-scale infrastructure projects we turn to small portable objects with Ioli Kalavrezou's essay, which focuses on a sixteenth-century silver reliquary and follows the dizzying set of interactions that its circulation reveals between Wallachia, Constantinople, Mount Athos, and Venice. Cast in the shape of a church for the Wallachian Prince Neagoe Basarab, and made to contain the relics of St. Niphon, it represents a Byzantine church with five domes but, remarkably, with Gothic ornamentation. Kalavrezou traces links between this shape and its models, with a vertiginous shift in scales from Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and St. Mark's in Venice (whence the Gothic elements derive) to the reliquary as microarchitecture, and recovers a complex set of references to New Rome, Mount Athos, and Wallachia at a moment of political transition (early 1500s) in the region.

Returning full circle from the Balkans to the Adriatic, Vladimir Simić looks to the book trade and publishing that connected it to the Black Sea territories. Books were another portable commodity, and book merchants as well as itinerant artisans moving between them created yet another link between the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. Thus, Simić looks at a late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Montenegro printing shop of

Cyrillic books and its relations to Venice, as well as its influence on the Balkan hinterland through itinerant printers, in particular on Wallachia and Serbia, and as far South as Mount Athos. As Simić argues, not only were printing methods, types of fonts, and quality shared between these sites but also ornament. Hybrid like so much that was transported, this graphic ornament contained a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance elements, just like Kalavrezou's reliquary, once again showing how forms migrated from Venice and Dalmatian sites and how they were appropriated and transformed in the East.

In part three, "The Danube and Beyond," essays look to the eastern part of Central Europe. Here the slice of Eastern Europe that we have been following throughout these essays intersects with the territory normally addressed within studies of Central Europe, the Spanish Habsburg and Holy Roman Empires, and their satellites along the Danube (Fig. 0.13). However, as the epicenter of confrontation between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, this territory was also the site of complex cultural exchange. Thus, the essays in this section turn to the ties that link this world to the East—to the Black Sea, to the Mediterranean, and to the Ottoman Empire—and to the commerce and traffic that it brought and that collided and often came into severe conflict with the Catholic and Protestant world collected under the aegis of the Western empires.

A number of essays look to architecture located in this conflict zone. Iván Szántó turns to Szigetvar, in southwestern Hungary, a region bordered by the Sava and Drava Rivers, both tributaries of the Danube, that included parts of today's Croatia and Bosnia and was the westernmost foothold of the Ottoman Empire. As such, it frequently changed hands between its various aggressors, and with it so did its religious monuments, thus allowing Szántó to explore their *longue durée* fate in these unstable political contexts where Ottoman and Habsburg succeeded each other on and off over time. Sufis and Protestants coexisted only to suffer persecution at the same time when the winds of fortune changed: "under these circumstances," Szántó argues, "it is particularly difficult to assign the region to a particular cultural geography." The fate of monuments left behind in hostile territories, "like sea-shells on a dry river bed," meant that "churches were abandoned, destroyed, converted, or rebuilt as mosques; and then restored to their Christian sites within short intervals"

FIGURE 0.13   Eastern Danube territories, in Willem Blaeu, *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive atlas novus* (1649–1655)

in a complex layering and give-and-take between religious identities.

Diana Belci likewise looks at architecture in a conflict zone, in this case at vernacular churches in one of the most unstable Danubian territories, the Banat, much contested among German, Hungarian, Serbian, and Romanian princes, as well as the Ottomans. As a result, communities were often on the move to escape conflict and with them architecture was as well. Belci thus offers perhaps the most unexpected example of portability: the wooden churches of Banat were assembled and disassembled, transported, and relocated when communities were on the move. An example of the complex hybridity of the Danubian territory, these churches were also examples of the transmission of crafts across confessional borders: the wooden joinery was of the Ottoman type/technique, as the same craftsmen were

employed to build churches and mosques. Here, too, like in Szigetvar, churches were turned into mosques and back again.

Shifting attention further North, Alexandr Osipian looks at the phenomenon of Sarmatism in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as part of the local effort to reject annexation to the Holy Roman Empire and claim a Mediterranean past however fictive. Much of the staging of the Sarmatian claims depended on costume and Oriental luxury. The Oriental trade (primarily for rich aristocratic elites) in northeastern Europe was almost entirely in the hands of Armenians, and when Oriental luxury challenged the established social order, the go-betweens (mostly Armenians and Jews) were perceived as the mobilizers of excessive consumption. But the larger question Osipian poses is how were objects divested of their original meanings and reinterpreted in

the host culture? Indeed, in the process of supporting a fictional Sarmatian past, the Oriental objects lost their referencing power to their Eastern origins, thus illustrating the chameleon-like ability of portable objects to be absorbed into alternative discourses along the routes of their distribution.

With the final two essays we turn to materials and substances. Daniela Calciu breaks down the myth of the Danube as a Habsburg river and focuses on its final reaches into the Black Sea in the 1600–1700s, a river that "Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who paid particular attention to the rivers that flow into the lower Danube" listed thus: "from its left [flow]: the Tisza, Sava, Drava, Mureș, Bega, Timiș, Sebeș, Olt, Palosuz, and Ormancea; the Prahova, Ialomița, Buzău, Rîmnic, Focșani; and the Putna, Siret, Bârlad, Scînteia, among others."[28] The valleys of these tributary rivers allowed the establishment of trade routes between the Carpathians and the Danube, at first locally later becoming regional roads linking Buda to the Black Sea through Transylvania and Wallachia.[29] Along these riverine highways Calciu traces the penetration of another form of Mediterranean culture into this area, the paradigmatic Mediterranean fluid—coffee—but also, with it, rituals of hospitality and ostentation, which were not unlike those described by Osipian in the northern lands of Poland and Lithuania.

A fitting closing to the volume, the last essay looks to one of the most important material commodities to connect the Mediterranean regions with its Eastern and Northern neighbors: white marble. Looking at the seventeenth century and beyond, Michał Wardzyński examines the usage of marble in historic Hungarian and Polish territories, at quarries, crafts, and the importation of Carrara and Massa marble. What he discovers is that elite monuments, especially royal ones, looked to the traditional imperial materials of ancient Rome—white marble and porphyry—and used this vocabulary of color and material for self-legitimation, even when the real materials were unavailable and had to be replaced with poorer quality local ones. Thus, he argues that "at the crossroads between red (local) limestone and white (Mediterranean) marble, dynasties bordering the Danube fashioned varying narratives." Always seeking to insert themselves in a historical arc that included the Roman Empire, they made their own Mediterranean links materially visible.

5   From *Longue Durée* to Hybridity and Back

Clearly, this volume is not proposing a master narrative to understand the buffer world stretching from the Mediterranean system of seas both North and East. But what it does propose by means of these focused analyses is that this liminal zone was neither periphery nor center but a world onto itself, more flexible and elastic in manners, tastes, and even faiths, and that it belies the simplistic binary view of East and West, Christian and Islamic, and high and low with which history writing has traditionally defined it. To describe the consequences of the encounters between these cultures a number of terms recur frequently in these pages and create a conceptual grid upon which the essays' arguments are mapped: hybridity, contamination, *metissage*, connectivity, nebulas, liminality, porosity, amorphousness, and elasticity are some of them. Their meanings and the further clouds of meanings they call forth like so many halos all point to the complex ways in which cultures and civilizations met and confronted each other across confessional and political divides. And they signal the semantic space in which the thinking about the individual case studies is embedded.

To be sure, some of these terms—hybridity and contamination in particular—have been much debated in the context of postcolonial and globalization studies.[30] However, although their use in the essays gathered here may recall these larger debates, they are aimed at different issues and a different historical arc. For one thing, the territory under investigation here, though riven with conflict, is not a colonial one. For another, cultures are always hybrid. It is the degree of hybridity and the mechanisms by which it becomes so that call for attention, particularly in a territory where dominant and subaltern positions changed frequently, sometimes to such a degree that the binary opposition lost its meaning. In this volume then we see hybridity in action, we see what it actually looked like on the ground—not as a theoretical concept but as it happened, through its agents, over time. From this perspective, the ambition of the volume is to carve a space for an alternate history of art that is less essentialist and less nationalist and purist and instead accepts mixtures as artistic possibilities of significance and values the consequences of cross-pollination between neighboring and often warring cultures.

Above and beyond a new reading of the various cultures dealt with in this volume, such a stance raises the larger issue of periodization and period monikers and their shortcomings. The broad swath of time covered here is due precisely to the fact that the traditional temporal cuts do not work everywhere equally. Interactions need to be followed to their origins as well as to their conclusions, often along slow and circuitous routes. For example, what happens in Crimea or along the Danube cannot be sufficiently understood if separated into medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque. Instead, the *longue durée* applies to the extensions of the Mediterranean as well and must be invoked since the traditional period divisions are not useful and only alert to their insufficiency and reductiveness. Indeed, Braudel's term may be a helpful way to think about the temporalities of hybrid cultures, too, not only about the geographical and climatic infrastructure that moves with the slowness of tectonic plates, to use his powerful metaphor.[31]

Ultimately then, this volume shows that what unified this liminal zone between faiths and cultures was that it collected and mixed the worlds of the steppes and of the seas, of horsemen and mariners, with the settled lives of the farmers and artisans and the remains of ancient cultures that pierced through the accumulated detritus of collapsed civilizations like so many white marble icebergs. To be sure, in this unstable territory many cultures met and fought, but they also cooperated and cohabitated and—something we tend to forget—marveled at each other. When the Berber Moroccan scholar-explorer Ibn Battuta (d. 1369) encounters the *ordu* (camp) of Ozbeg Khan moving south toward the sea, thousands of people strong, he describes it in awe: "[…] and we saw a vast city on the move with its inhabitants, with mosques and bazaars in it, the smoke of the kitchens rising in the air (for they cook while they march), and horse-drawn wagons transporting people."[32] No less awestruck is the chancellor of Spalato (Split), Antonio da Proculiano, 200 years later when in a public oration he describes, almost in filmic terms, this city on the Adriatic—the palace of Diocletian turned into a bustling port like a white phantasm rising from the sea:

"[…] people used to stroll and ride in circles above these sunny vaults almost as through a never-ending square, and while strolling and riding they looked out from the three sides at the territory in front of them, at the grounds, gardens, vineyards, fields, hills, valleys, flatlands and mountains; from the southern side they looked out with great delight and solace at the sea, cliffs, islands, and at the close and more distant bays. And then the people standing outside almost as through a beautiful and elevated theater could look at those strolling and riding inside, one moment from one window, the other from a different one, passing by rarely or frequently; in such a way that it looked like the earth and its inhabitants standing outside, the sea, cliffs and ships *yearned* for the palace and its inhabitants, while the palace and the people inside it *yearned* for the earth and the sea, and for the people outside."[33]

A mobile city of the steppes and a mobile spectator looking at an ancient city from the sea—two mobile worlds that crossed and mixed and left an equally strange and wonderful deposit along riverbeds and shores.

Notes

1 Cemal Kafadar, "An Ottoman Gentleman's Encounter with Latinity: Evliya Çelebi in Dalmatia," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 59.

2 Magris quotes the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium* (Iasi: Center for Romanian Studies, 2000; 1st ed. Paris, 1935); Claudio Magris, *Danube* (London: Collins Harvill, 1989; Ital. 1986), 363.

3 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949).

4 Classic studies of the Mediterranean remain Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed et Charlemagne* (1935); Braudel, *La Méditerranée*; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (1967–2000). Recent scholarship, particularly in history, has returned to these themes, see Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); David Abulafia, ed. *The Mediterranean in History* (Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2003); W.V. Harris, ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Gabriel Piterberg, Teofilo F. Ruiz and Geoffroy Symcox, eds., *Braudel Revisited: The Mediterranean World*

1600–1800 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010). See also the critique of Horden and Purcell's "grim view of the Mediterranean" by Paolo Squariti, Review of *Mohammed, the Early Medieval Mediterranean and Charlemagne, Early Medieval Europe* 2, no. 3 (2002): 263–79. And for the early modern period, see Francesca Trivellato, "Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work," *Journal of Modern History* 82 (March 2010): 127–55.

5   For example, Florentine silk merchants bought their raw materials from Asterabad (on the Caspian). See in particular the activity of Tommaso Spinelli in Florence. See Philip Jacks and William Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence: Fortunes of a Renaissance Merchant Family* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2001), 83. On Ancona's colonies along the Black Sea and Sea of Azov (threatened after 1375—the fall of the Armenian Empire to the Mamluks), see Eliyahu Ashtor, "Il commercio levantino di Ancona nel basso Medioevo," in E. Ashtor, *Studies on Levantine Trade in the Middle Ages* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), 216. On Genoa and the Black Sea, see Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region* (New York and London: Routledge, 2018); and Antonio Musarra, *Genova e il mare nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015).

6   On the problems arising from using such terms across the board, see Alina Payne, "Introduction," in *The Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Architecture*, ed. Alina Payne (New York: Wiley/Blackwell, 2017), xxv–xlvi.

7   Peter Farbaky and Louis A. Waldman, *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art of the Early Renaissance* (Florence: Officina Libraria and Villa I Tatti, 2011) and Charles Dempsey, ed., *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*. Villa Spelman Colloquia 5 (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editrice, 1996).

8   World history has been an alternative and less contested term. See *Worlds Together, Worlds Apart: A History of the World*, eds. R. Tignor et al. (New York: Norton, 2008; 1st ed. 2002). Another strand of global history has looked to the early modern period. A leading example is Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: Ed. De la Martiniere, 2004). For the good and bad of global history, see the recent review by Cornell Fleischer, Cemal Kafadar and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "How to Write Fake Global History," *Cromohs. Cyber review of modern historiography*, doi:10.13128/cromohs-12032 (Firenze University Press, 2020).

9   Ralph Kingston, "Mind over Matter: History and the Spatial Turn," *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 1 (2010): 111–21.

10   Joseph F. Fletcher, "Integrative History: Parallels and Interconnections in the Early Modern Period 1500–1800," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (1985): 37–58; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62. See most recently Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Introduction," in *Empires Between Islam and Christianity. 1500–1800* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2019), 1–25. On hybridity as a cultural consequence of both colonialism and fluid borders, see especially Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

11   On the itinerant artist, see especially David Kim, *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); on mobility and portability see Payne, *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean*.

12   Historians have tilled this field more assiduously, though more with respect to the Ottoman Empire and its ties to the West (especially to Italy) and less with respect to the place of Eastern Europe in this confrontation. For this reason, scholarship from the 1920s and 1930s remains relevant and is still cited. For examples of older literature, see Georges D. Cioriceanu, *Les grands ports de Roumanie* (Paris: M. Giard, 1928); and Nicolae Iorga, *Byzantium after Byzantium* (1st ed., Paris, 1935). More recently see Michel Balard, *La Romanie Génoise (XIIe–début du XVe siècle)* (Rome/Genoa: École francaise de Rome, 1978). Nicolae Iorga is still used as a departure point for recent studies. See, for example, Andrei Pippidi, *Byzantins, ottomans, roumains: Le sud-est européen entre l'héritage impérial et les influences occidentales* (Paris: H. Champion, 2006). On exchanges between the Ottomans and Italy the theme has been especially prominent in economic history, see, for example, from this by now fairly ample literature, Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10 (1986): 191–218; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); and for broader treatments, see Giovanni Ricci, *Appeal to the Turk: The Broken Boundaries of the Renaissance* (Rome: Viella, 2018; Italian ed. 2011); Molly Green, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Most recently see Diana Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism: The Scholarly Politics of Region Making* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

13   A notable and recent exception is the work on Venice and the Middle East, as well as that of Gülru Necipoğlu,

who looks to exchanges out of and into the Ottoman Empire in the period of the Renaissance. See especially Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2005); "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 29 (2012): 1–81. For Venice's ties to the Islamic world, see especially *Venezia e i Turchi: Scontri e confronti di due civiltà* (Milan: Electa, 1985), and the trailblazing work of Ennio Concina, *Dell'arabico: A Venezia tra Rinascimento e oriente* (Venice: Marsilio, 1994); and Deborah Howard, *Venice & The East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). For an equally important exhibition, see Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797* (exh. cat., New York and New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2007). On Genoa—another recently added node of Mediterranean art history scholarship—see essays in Alireza Naser Eslami, ed., *Genova una capitale del Mediterraneo tra Bisanzio e il mondo islamico: Storia, arte e architettura* (Milan and Turin: Mondadori, 2016); Antonio Mussara, *Il Grifo e il Leone* (Bari: Laterza, 2020) and Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region* (New York and London: Routledge, 2018).

14 Neal Ascherson, *Black Sea* (Hill and Wang, 1995), 27.

15 For an important work on the Austro-Hungarian Danube, see *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum*, eds. Karl Möseneder, Michael Thimann and Adolf Hofstetter (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014).

16 Alina Payne, "Portable Ruins : The Pergamon Altar, Heinrich Wölfflin and German Art History at the *fin de siècle*," RES. *Journal of Aesthetics and Anthropology* 54/55 (spring/autumn 2008): 168–89; "The Portability of Art: A Prolegomena to Art and Architecture on the Move," in *Remapping Geographic Imaginaries*, ed. Diana Sorensen (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 92–109; Alina Payne, ed., *Croatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence* (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Eva R. Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Art History* 24, no. 1 (2001): 17–50.

17 Alina Payne, "Wrapped in Fabric: Florentine Facades, Mediterranean Textiles and A-Tectonic Ornament in the Renaissance," in *Ornament: Between Local and Global*,

eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 274–89.

18 On scale as a relative category once exchanges between media are envisaged, see Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale," *Oxford Art Journal* (December 2009): 365–86.

19 See the excellent essay with all relevant bibliography by Horia Moldovan, "Arhitectura bisericii lui Neagoe Basarab," in *Marturii. Frescele Manastirii Argesului*, exh. cat. Muzeul National de Arta al Romaniei, Dec–May 2013 (Bucharest: Muzeul National, 2013), 18–37.

20 The bronze birds are mentioned by a contemporary witness, Gavril Protul (a Greek monk describing the monastery on its dedication day), as is the sound they produced. Instead, later seventeenth-century accounts (Paul of Aleppo) mention small bells held in the beaks of the birds as producing the sound. See Elisabeta Negrau, *Cultul suveranului sud-est European si cazul tarii Romanesti* (Iasi: Lumen, 2011), 183–84. However, in view of the whistling-griffon type of bronze ornament that came to Europe from Islamic sources, the original description by Gavril may be more accurate. On the Pisa griffon, see Anna Contadini, "Volando sopra il mediterraneo: Il grifone di Pisa e aspetti della metallistica islamica medievale," in Naser Eslami, *Genova una capitale del Mediterraneo*, 75–88, and most recently, *The Pisa Griffin and the Mari-Cha Lion: Metalwork, Art, and Technology in the Medieval Islamicate Mediterranean*, ed.s A. Contadini, D. Anedda and R. Azuar Ruiz (Pisa, Italy: Pacini Editore, 2018).

21 What exactly Neagoe Basarab contributed to a mosque in Constantinople remains uncertain. Some sources describe him as subprefect, while folklore weaves fantastic stories of him having built a mosque with 999 windows and 366 minarets.

22 Acknowledged by Moldovan, "Arhitectura bisericii lui Neagoe Basarab," note 14.

23 On slippages between scales in architecture that embrace everything from models to *Kleinarchitektur*, see Alina Payne, "Materiality, Crafting and Scale"; *L'architecture parmi les arts. Materiaux, transfers et travail artistique à la renaissance* (Paris: Edition Louvre and Hazan, 2016). Most of the work on microarchitecture to date has been done in the medieval field. For example see Achim Timmermann, "Architectural Vision in Albrecht Scharfenberg's *Jüngerer Titurel*—A Vision of Architecture?," in *Architecture and Language*, eds. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 58–71.

On microarchitecture and its effect of a "viral" diffusion of artistic models of exceptional importance in architecture (such as of the monastery of Batalha) in Portugal, see Joaquim Oliveira Caetano, "La microarchitettura: La decorazione architettonica nell'oreficieria portoghese," in *Tesori dal Portogallo: Architetture immaginarie dal Medioevo al Barocco*, exhibition catalogue Turin, Palazzo Madama, May 7–September 28, 2014 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2014), 537.

24   See Green, who complicates the story of Mediterranean piracy by showing that maritime skirmishes were more complex than traditional histories of the period claim and involved a much broader negotiation between all manner of ethnicities and religious groups. Molly Green, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013).

25   Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 163–64.

26   Mikhail Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russian*, quoted in Ascherson, *Black Sea*, 8.

27   Ascherson, *Black Sea*, 27.

28   Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (Istanbul, 1896–1938), trans. Mustafa Ali Mehmet, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 6 (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976).

29   Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders, Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities*, trans. Valentin Cîrdei (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010).

30   I refer to the debates that followed the publication of Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," in *Modern Literary Theory: A Reader* (London; New York: E. Arnold, 1992), 369–80. See also the use of the term "mongrel cultures" that echoes Gruzinski's *métissage* and designates hybridity with yet another set of associations. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Serge Gruzinski, *Visions indiennes, visions baroques: les metissages de l'inconscient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1992). For applications of these terms to studies of globalization and global history respectively, see Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); and Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde*. For a review of the concept of hybridity and the debates surrounding it, see M.M. Kraidy, "Hybridity in Cultural Globalization," *Communication Theory* 12, no. 3 (2002): 316–39.

31   Braudel, *La Méditerranée*.

32   As quoted in Dunn, *Ibn Battuta*, 167.

33   *Commissiones et relationes Venetae, Annorum 1553–1571*, ed. Simeon Ljubic, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium* (Zagreb: Oeficina Societatis Typographicae, 1880), 3:220–21. My emphasis.

Italy and the Adriatic, in Willem Blaeu, *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula*, Amsterdam 1649–55

PART 1

The Adriatic

∵

The Late Sixteenth-Century Ship in the Adriatic as a Cultural System

Mirko Sardelić

"When, then, the anchors had been weighed and the hearts of those embarked had been raised with pious prayer and they had commended their souls to God, and when the ship had begun to cut through the water, getting under way with set sails before a fair, foul or indifferent wind, then the pilgrim may gradually take what opportunities present themselves carefully and unobtrusively try to get to know the other passengers, the *patron* (Captain), the *scriban* and the other officers and make friends with them, so that they might the more willingly give him any help and succor he might need in the future. [...] All travelers should avoid arguments about matters of belief with any Turk, Jew, Greek, Armenian or any other such people who might happen also to be on board, and should do nothing to vex them. For great misfortune can sometimes arise from such behavior. [...] In any case let no traveler neglect to show charity to those who are ill and in need, no matter what their nation or religion, by offering them food and drink and such things. The reason for this is that not only will God Almighty richly reward such good deeds of charity, but the recipients of such benefits will never forget to repay them."[1]

BERNHARD WALTER VON WALTERSWEIL, 1587

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The theme of this volume is to explore and record the variety of contacts and modes of cultural (and artistic) exchange in the late medieval and early modern periods, primarily facilitated by the medium of water (rivers, seas, etc.). In this sense, the ship is without a doubt the most compelling agent of cross-cultural exchange in the sixteenth-century Mediterranean. As I will show, the ship is a system consisting of a carefully designed physical space and natural elements, together with social, emotional, and (cross)cultural components that interact and intersect on board. By exploring the ship as a complex and mobile microcultural system, this essay aims to propose a new avenue for inquiry into cross-cultural exchanges in the history of art and architecture, cultural history, and the history of emotions in the Renaissance Mediterranean.

During the Renaissance, shipbuilding and navigation underwent significant advancement. Increasingly sophisticated mariners' astrolabes facilitated more accurate navigation with regard to celestial bodies, while Mercator's improved nautical charts armed navigators with another highly precise tool. One of the results of this improvement in maritime technologies was that the two Americas were added to the world map, both of which were exclusively accessible by ship. At the same time, in the sixteenth century the Mediterranean witnessed the slow but steady decline of the Venetian Republic, the peak of the Ottoman and Spanish maritime powers, and the emergence of an English presence in the region. Venice fought three major wars for supremacy with the Ottomans in that century, the last (1570–73) resulting in a significant reduction of its sea power. As a result, the Mediterranean became almost entirely divided between Spain and the Ottomans in a sort of a stalemate, while the Habsburgs were an increasingly powerful opponent of the Ottomans on the European continent.[2]

As the border zone and the meeting point of three powerful early modern empires, Southeastern Europe should be considered a region of intensified cultural exchange, both enforced and voluntary or peaceful. Port cities especially were key sites of cross-cultural encounter and exchange. Indeed, the Venetian *stato da mar* was often simply portrayed as a chain of ports.[3] Some of them were literally located at the junction of riverbeds with seashores, while others had capillary connections with other towns through road networks. Cities like Venice, Dubrovnik, and Constantinople relied heavily on these maritime exchanges, as well as on their osmotic connection with their mainland.

In this essay, I would like to suggest that thinking about Renaissance ships and cities is strategically useful. Ships are smaller, but no less complex cultural units, than cities: in fact, they are floating cities. They are the physical sites and carriers of cultural, intellectual, and trade exchange between cities. However, in addition, they constitute worlds of their own that share many—perhaps even all—of the features of an early modern city. Firstly, ships are genuine ecosystems. Secondly, they have specific architectural features that respect their functions. They have their public, private, and sacred spaces, even if often with very blurred boundaries between them. Thirdly, they contain their "inhabitants" with their physiological, emotional, spiritual, and administrative needs and thus function as polities, complete with their administrative structure and social stratification. Finally, they have a central economic function.

1   Ships as Ecosystems

Ships were conceived as ecosystems at least since the time of Noah. A fine balance of organisms cohabiting within the vessel could mean the difference between life and death, or at the very least cause changes in the physiological, emotional, and psychological states of the passengers. A rough division can be made between the life forms that are desirable on board and those that are undesirable. The former group consists of all sorts of livestock intended for trade or food (e.g., chickens, ducks, and geese). Other animals were regularly transported alive, including cows, horses, goats, and sheep, and, in this early period of transoceanic travel, ships also frequently carried exotic creatures back to Europe, such as reptiles, monkeys, and tropical birds.[4] The unwanted group of animals was comprised mostly of rats, lice, fleas, bed bugs, and woodworms. Rats and a variety of bugs presented a danger and annoyance to both crew and passengers, and anyone they came into contact with ashore, while woodworms could eat away a ship in matter of years.[5] This "enemy within" eventually "retired" or sunk more wooden ships than enemy fire.

Naturally, everything started with the wood. Shipbuilders inspected the allocated forests, searching for suitable masts and other building elements. Precious oak was used for body timbers, while pine and larch sufficed for superstructures.[6] Wood was both the essence

of the ship and the source of the power of Venice. As Frederic Lane argues, the fading of the maritime glory of Venice was primarily a failure to keep up with its competitors, who expanded their fleets more rapidly: "the basic reason for this failure was the exhaustion of one of the most vital of her natural sources, ship timber."[7] Apart from the oak forests in Italian regions (Trevisana, Friuli, and Apulia), sites on the Eastern Adriatic, such as Istria, the Quarnero Islands, and Senj and its hinterland, were very important sources of wood for the Republic, albeit they were almost depleted by the seventeenth century. The second vital component of the ship was also of vegetal origin: tar (pitch) from the black pine was used to maintain the impermeability of wooden structures. How crucial tar was for the ship is underlined by the number of craftsmen needed to complete the work on a large galley: 500 work days for a sawyer, 1,000 work days for a shipwright (carpenter), and as many as 1,300 work days for a caulker.[8] Caulkers applied the tar to make the vessel waterproof, while some animal fat was applied to reduce its friction with water.

It is not without reason that the shipbuilder is called the naval architect, whose product is a work of art. The ship has almost all the characteristics of a city, with its "urbanistic" solutions for the infrastructure, working and private spaces for officials and crew, and supplies for all of their needs. In addition, this microcosm needed to be mobile in a very unstable medium. The privileged had their cabins, while the common people were often "condemned" to humid, dark places, sleeping on flea-infested mattresses.[9] Indeed, it was the internal structure of the ship that was responsible for a great deal of discomfort and death. "As the vessels began to be decked over, which improved their seaworthiness and offered more protection from the elements, several factors combined to compromise these benefits: diminished air flow to spaces between and below decks, decreased light at lower deck levels, and accordingly, higher humidity below decks."[10] This "stacking up" of living surfaces created a birdcage-like environment where every imaginable bit of debris, filth, and human effluvia from the decks above gravitated to the bilges below. All of this meant that the construction of the sewage and ventilation systems was of the utmost importance.

The first element that was loaded onto the ship was the ballast, in the form of stones and large-grained sand; this maintained the stability of the ship.[11] Then followed

all the tools and merchandise, systematically placed around the ship, with the most vulnerable things at the bottom, to avoid exposure to water. Sometimes a big wooden cross would be put on top of the merchandise to repel "infidels." All of this would be fixed with chains and sealed with tar.[12] The prow held the sails, ropes, cannonballs, gunpowder and various supplies. In the stern were victuals, barrels with drinking water, and a pump for wastewater from below deck.

Long before anyone considers the social, cultural, or economic functions of a ship (just as is the case with a city), one perceives it as a physical space.[13] The most distinctly urban feature of an early modern city was the outer protecting wall, which can be compared with the hull of a ship. Cavities within the wall, or spaces on top of it, are reserved for ordnance in both cases.[14] The space inside, on the decks, was separated into public and private. On ships, these two spheres often ended up too close together, particularly problematic when physiological needs had to be satisfied. The microbiological aspects of these tight quarters were another major problem: the seventeenth-century traveler Pietro della Valle blames such closeness for the death of at least three of his fellow passengers.[15] However, these deaths are almost negligible in comparison with microbiologically caused losses in large-scale naval operations: the Holy League fleet that set sail to fight the Ottomans in 1571 lost over 20,000 rowers and soldiers by early October (in the Venetian ranks alone, as reported by their commander Zane) to typhus and dysentery.[16] All spaces were washed down with vinegar and fumigated in order to reduce the scale of such problems. Finally, on a Christian ship, sacred space was created around the altar. A Dry Mass (*messa secca*) was performed, with no host consecrated or consumed.[17]

As Blackmore suggests, the term "navigation" in the early modern period not only designated the system of knowledge by which ships were guided at sea but also more generally described the relationship(s) between shipping, trade, and warfare; in short, "an issue of national importance."[18] The captain, officers, and crew had to literally navigate this complex system. In the case of Venice, the captain was usually a Venetian nobleman fluent in several languages.[19] Along the Adriatic the ship employed at least two pilots—one of necessity from Istria (Poreč, Rovinj, or Pula) and one from either Korčula or Corfu—who were experts and who knew all

the traps of the shallows around Venice and the troublesome waters of the southern Adriatic.[20]

One of the key members of the personnel was the scribe (*scriban*) who recorded every piece of cargo and luggage on board and controlled the embarkation and disembarkation of every passenger in every port.

Mariners (or sailors) were the cohesive factor that molded the heterogeneous nature of the passengers together in at least three different ways. Coming from various backgrounds, they were often skilled singers, dancers, and entertainers of all kinds. Johan Helffrich of Leipzig, who traveled in 1565, gives an account of "partying" on board during a lull: "After dinner, one of the sailors played the zither (cithara) and organized a dance, for in our company there were several women from Brabant and Holland. Other sailors performed a rarely seen show that included dancing, magic tricks, playing with ropes and other things, that lasted till late in the night."[21] Also, with their elementary knowledge of several languages from various linguistic groups (e.g., Romance, Germanic, Slavic, Turkic, Greek, and Albanian) sailors must have also facilitated communication on board. Additional supporting evidence for the importance of sailors as key language and cultural mediators includes occasional reports of mariners acting as ad hoc court interpreters in lawsuits against foreigners in Dalmatian cities.[22] Finally, and perhaps most importantly, sailors' skills in both extreme situations and in quotidian chores on the ship gave them the confidence to mediate difficult social conflicts or psychological crises on board. Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil strongly advised that pilgrims should highly respect the crew and even bravely come to help them during difficult weather conditions.[23]

Again, just like cities, ships are highly organized polities under the command of the captain, who holds both the prerogative and chief responsibility in regard to maritime law, commercial law, and the conduct of the ship's crew. In fact, city statutes regulated different aspects of the equipment and life on board their ships in dozens or hundreds of articles.[24] In the early modern period, the ship was also an intelligence office, a media hub, and a post office. A skilled naval officer, or even a passenger, could collect a great deal of information concerning the ports of call from his fellow passengers who disembarked and went to visit the inn, the fortress, the local monastery, or the market. The garrison strength, food supplies, and presence of merchant or war vessels

were all often known by someone aboard. When two or more ships met at sea, they frequently exchanged both hard mail and news, as Pietro Casola noted in 1494: "A small boat, or rather, as they say, a copano, was lowered into the water from one of the Beyrout galleys, and many persons came to visit our captain, and many letters were brought to him from Venice. They told us the news of the West, especially about the movements of the King of France; […] and much other news."[25]

It would not be an exaggeration to say that ships were the engines of the economies of Mediterranean countries in the late medieval and early modern periods. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the great rival maritime empires of Venice and Genoa established sophisticated networks of ports and trade routes, thus (re)establishing the Eurasian circulation of goods, ideas, and people during the period of the *Pax Mongolica* and later. In the two centuries that followed, the Iberian nations expanded the process on a global scale. Silver that was transported by ships from American mines via Seville and the newly founded Spanish Manila to satisfy increased Chinese demand effectively gave the world its first ring of globalization.[26]

2   A Corsair, a Merchant, and a Pilgrim

In the late sixteenth century there were dozens of different types of vessels in the Adriatic, varying greatly in their function and, therefore, also in their architecture and the types of passengers on board. In the face of such diversity, I single out three specific historical examples that reflect the history of the Adriatic during the period and comprise key aspects of the cultural systems of interest here. My first example is an unknown vessel in the (in)famous navy of the legendary converted corsair Uluç-Ali that was involved in the pillaging of towns and islands of the Adriatic in the summer of 1571 on the eve of the Battle of Lepanto. The second example, a vessel that belonged to Uluç-Ali himself before it was sold to a Venetian merchant was sunk in 1583 and lies wrecked at Gnalić, just off the town of Biograd in central Dalmatia. The third example is a pilgrim ship that traveled from Venice to Jerusalem in 1587; its story has been well documented in the account of the German pilgrim Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil.[27] These three historical examples of different types of vessels common in the

Mediterranean during this period serve to illuminate various aspects of my claim that ships functioned as embodiments of cultural exchange and emotional interaction in the Adriatic. They also serve to introduce the protagonists of this exchange, as well as provide historical context for the geography and people involved.

Uluç-Ali's life story began with a pirate ship: the sixteen-year-old Calabrian Giovan Dionigi, a priest-to-be, was captured on April 29, 1536 by the legendary corsair Hayreddin Barbarossa.[28] From a slave oarsman he fought his way up to become the viceroy of Algiers and eventually the grand admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1572–87). Ships had irreversibly changed his identity, for he remained unmoved by all efforts of Habsburg spies to convince him to change loyalties. Some of these attempts even included contacting his closest family in Calabria.[29] Unlike many others—we should recall the example of the famous Genoese *condottiere* Andrea Doria who in 1528 stepped out of the French service to become the commander of the Habsburg Mediterranean fleet—Uluç-Ali remained resolute. Such changing of sides, and frequently "fluid" identities played an important role in intelligence, trade, and wars in the Mediterranean.

In 1571, Uluç-Ali arrived with his corsair fleet in the Adriatic, instilling fear into Venetian subjects, and threatening to attack the Queen of the Seas herself.[30] After sacking the castle in Budva, and conquering Ulcinj and Bar in Montenegro, the corsairs laid siege to the city of Korčula and pillaged the island of Hvar.[31]

The fleet left the waters of these islands on August 20, but the fear that it generated has left its traces over the centuries. In Venice, the atmosphere was very similar to the one in 1567, when rumors of an upcoming conflict with the Ottomans were the reason why the sandbanks of the lagoon were fortified and garrisoned. The island of Hvar similarly records this fear embodied: the fortified Church of St. Mary in Vrboska still dominates the village. More emotional scars (with religious implications) can be traced by reading the reports of apostolic visitations to the island. The reports insist that one of the main problems in the parishes was a form of bigamy that came about as a result of many islanders' decisions to remarry, even though their spouses were still alive—though taken into slavery by Ottoman corsairs.[32]

A little more than three decades earlier, in 1539, Hayreddin Barbarossa's fleet attacked the coastal

cities of present-day Montenegro. He managed to take Castelnuovo and laid siege to Cattaro (Kotor). Faced with such great naval force, the governor of the city, Gian Matteo Bembo, decided to sink the largest ship in his port to limit the maneuverability of enemy vessels. Very conveniently for the city, and very inconveniently for her captain, a 160-ton *marciliana* happened to be present in the port. Stripped of her mast and ordnance she was sunk, which proved to be crucial in defending the city.[33] As saviors should be, she was later resurrected from the seabed, repaired, and returned to the owner.

It was not only the Ottoman privateers who instilled fear in the Adriatic; by the end of the sixteenth century, the Uskoks of Senj had become a danger to any vessel and one of the main factors affecting relations between three empires. Wendy Bracewell has successfully identified multiple factors that influenced the formation and actions of these (in)famous privateers who pillaged on land and at sea.[34] Although the peace treaty between Venice and the Sublime Porte in 1573 resulted in intensified trade relations, the shaky borderland always represented an active danger.

In the sixteenth century the relationship between the two Mediterranean powers, Venice and the Ottomans, was never a fight to death but rather a rough game of alternating partnership and rivalry.[35] The two powers constantly struggled to dominate trade and to gain the upper hand in other diplomatic and political matters. In this period, due to the geopolitical developments, and especially because Venice was in a difficult situation, stuck "between the Habsburg anvil and the Ottoman hammer," the Republic found itself in a subordinate position. Knowing that only the Ottomans could challenge the Portuguese monopoly over the spice trade, Venice was forced to assume a more subtle, even submissive, approach toward its rival. As Eric Dursteler has demonstrated, "Venice's submission was further encouraged by its reliance on Ottoman grain, which was so significant that one official reported that Venice's Dalmatian subjects would die of famine if the Ottoman trade were ever interrupted."[36] As trade never ceased, Uluç-Ali captured a Venetian merchant ship in 1571 during the Cyprus war and held it for ten years until 1581, when he sold it to Odardo da Gagliano, an Ottoman subject settled in Pera (Constantinople). The ship received the name *Gagliana grossa* due to its capacity of some 750 tons (1,200 Venetian barrels).[37]

In August of 1583, Zorzi Lopes Vas, a Portuguese Jew, and the Greeks Nicolo Studognoti and Dimitri Colauro began loading their goods on board the *Gagliana grossa*, followed by the leather merchants Giovanni di Battista and Giovanni and Stefano di Silvestri.[38] It set sail from Venice shortly before October 29, 1583, just after the Flemish merchant Guglielmo (Wilhelm) Helman had loaded his last-minute cargo: a small iron chest and a trunk in a sealed linen roll. Helman's letter that informed his partner Antonio Paruta, who was expecting the shipment in Constantinople, provides a firm chronology. It is not clear what had delayed the ship's departure until this date, just close to two weeks before the legal ban of sailing in the harsh winter months (November 15 to January 20).

Less than two weeks later, on November 9, 1583, the news of the disastrous shipwreck of the *Gagliana grossa* reached Venice. What followed, apart from the production of all kinds of notary documents regarding the involved parties, the maritime insurance of lost merchandise, and the like, was the immediate start of the salvage operation under the auspices of the senate.[39] Upon reaching an agreement with Giacomo Pesaro, the prefect (*conte*) of Zara (Zadar), the man in charge, Pietro della Moneta, engaged an entrepreneur of Greek origin, a certain Manoli, also known as "Fregatta," to dive for the sunken cargo. The rescue operation took place at the turn of the year (December/January) under the protection of a Venetian galley, as the interested parties feared a possible Uskok attack on the rescuers. The winter weather and the depth of the shipwreck (twenty-seven meters) would have increased the expenses of an extensive rescue mission, so the operation was probably halted after Manoli and his crew managed to recover the chest of the ship's clerk (*scrivano*), which contained money, pearls, diamonds, and Peruvian emeralds. The jewels were traded between the respective merchants, Salomon Rigola and Guglielmo Helman, and their business correspondent in Constantinople, Antonio Paruta.

While the most precious merchandise was reclaimed, most of the cargo remained on the seafloor and has been dived for over the last four decades. How rich the site is can be seen from the fact that the fifty-day research campaign of 1996 alone yielded approximately 5,000 artifacts. The main shipment was glass: 5,000 round window panes for Sultan Murad III's harem, renewed after the fire that had occurred earlier that year. Apart

from those objects (757 of which are preserved intact), there are sixty different kinds and shapes of glassware.[40] The most numerous collection of spectacles from the period was found neatly sorted in twenty-two wooden boxes; it seems there should have been 432 spectacles with leather frames in total. An iron-clad chest recovered in 1967 contained three linen shirts, eight woolen caps, a small box made of teak wood containing weights and a precision scale, and a remarkable roll (54 m long by 64 cm) of luxurious silk damask, decorated with a floral pattern and dyed purple. There were also many brass chandeliers (602) of German origin, possibly from Lübeck, transported in pieces to be assembled at their destination. The ship's cargo included other metals in all forms: brass sheets and wire, tinplated sheet iron, mercury, tin, mercury sulfide (cinnabar), lead carbonate (cerussite), lead oxide (minium), and with powdered sulfur alongside them. A great variety of raw materials as well as semi- and fully finished products were found that had traveled as cargo, along with objects of everyday use, such as cauldrons, pans, bells, and silverware.[41]

Shipwrecks were quite common in the late sixteenth-century Adriatic, as shown by Tenenti in his meticulous work on the period 1592–1609.[42] The objects salvaged by marine archaeologists, along with the archival materials of public notaries, maritime insurance documents, *contralitterae* (customs permits), senate decrees, city statutes, and other documents offer a compelling interdisciplinary challenge when piecing together life on board and around a Renaissance ship. The richness, diversity of cargo, and its provenance—from more than a dozen countries—attest to a wide network of cross-cultural exchange opportunities.

The third example is the galley that transported pilgrims from Venice to Jerusalem in 1587. Among them was Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil, who generously composed a sort of travel manual for future pilgrims traveling to the Holy Land. Bernhard begins with the things one should do at home before the voyage, including making a will and obtaining a promissory note from a known merchant. The preparations in Venice included obtaining permission from the Church for the voyage, buying clothes and footwear and securing dishes to eat from, books, and assorted objects, including lighters, a compass, candles, needles, and thread. A highly detailed account of food follows: live animals, eggs, parmesan cheese, prunes, almonds, several species of grains, garlic, flour, oils, and all sorts of other provisions.[43]

In addition to recommendations on preparations for the voyage, Bernhard paid special attention to the behavior of passengers once on board. For instance, the sick and needy had to be cared for, in accordance with the requirements of Christian charity. Moreover, Bernhard specifically instructs passengers to avoid any discussions of religion—or "any matters that might be unpleasant"—with members of other ethnic groups.[44] His practical advice on this issue is fully in line with modern theories of cultural regulations of emotions. Since emotions, as powerful internal experiences, can both assert someone's individuality and potentially disrupt social harmony, members of interdependent cultures should seek to regulate their outbursts more than members of independent cultures.[45]

3 Ships as Cultural Condensers

Two major distinguishing features of a ship are mobility and confinement. Both of these features contribute to the speed and intensity of exchanges. While the ship itself is a confined, almost compressed, physical and social space, people and goods move through it continuously, thus producing a peculiar dynamic of confinement and heterogeneity, even cosmopolitanism. People join and disembark in other port cities, the composition of the ship's population changes within weeks or by the day, and they ultimately land at their respective destinations enriched with (or weighed down by) diverse experiences. It is a cultural system that gives and takes; in constant flux, it changes in accordance with the stops it makes, whether regular or irregular. Flexibility and variation from the initial sailing plan represent one of the most striking aspects of diaries and travelogues. In fact, they are a crucial and an integral component of every voyage, especially as the effective sailing time was limited to only somewhere between 31% and 39% of the journey.[46] Due to the very confined space, all of these cultural and emotional exchanges become intensified. As people of all social classes most often shared the same deck, they interacted in a way that would have been impossible on land.[47]

Thus, on a ship a new emotional space is created where there is a greater necessity for people to adapt their behavior. The ship's community has to deal with intensified emotional responses that are associated with leading a life in a mobile, confined space, and

quite literally sailing in the sea of uncertainty. In the very first instance, many passengers describe a need to deal with changed physical environments and their resulting disgust and shame, as eloquently described by Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil. The German realized, to his dismay, that it was practically impossible to go to the toilet without being seen by someone. That usually made people hold back their needs for days, a repulsive, not to mention dangerous, practice.[48] The fear that crept into the souls of voyagers due to severe storms, unknown ships, bad news, or outbreaks of diseases, known and unknown, on board was palpable and is often thus described. The countermeasures included bonding, prayers, the sharing of hopes, all of which were embodied in newly formed friendships, more pilgrimages, votive paintings with emotional dedications, metal figurines, and so on.[49]

On board, the senses were constantly assaulted from all sides. Bernhard gives an account of quite often seeing "sailors climbing up ropes and sails, people dashing around," but, as he notes, one gets accustomed to that quickly.[50] Travelers complained much more about bad odors and stench than about the various sounds breaking the silence, but the whole ship's activity must have been accompanied by a wide range of voices, shouts, and a cacophony generated by the sailing gear. The inner ear was even more affected, especially in rough seas: in 1551, Daniel Ecklin of Aarau complained that during "a bit stronger wind, the ship moved up and down" in a fashion where he thought he "would need to throw the liver and lungs up."[51]

As these different examples show, the demands of the ship as a cultural and emotional system often conflicted with or superseded the heterogeneity of ethnicities as well as religious identities. This can be read in Bernhard's words from the very beginning, where he pleads for avoiding religious disputes and for showing mercy to anyone in need, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. However, sometimes, threatening or frustrating physical situations increased the tensions and were met with superstition and intolerance. Severe storms and lulls, for instance, were both interpreted through various aspects of faith. One very famous example is the connection made by fellow passengers between the formation and duration of a storm, and the water from the Jordan River that one pilgrim to Palestine carried with him. In another suggestive example from

1579, a Greek monk was blamed for a long-lasting lull because he was carrying some Protestant books with him. The incident almost resulted in the monk being forced to disembark.

As early as the seventeenth century, Sir Henry Blunt puts it in a nutshell:

"Then upon the seventh of May, 1634 I embarq'd on a Venetian Galley with a Caravan of Turks and Iewes bound for the Levant, not having any Christians with them besides my selfe: this occasion was right to my purpose, for the familiarity of bed, board, and passage together is more opportune to disclose the customs of men, than a much longer habitation in Cities, where society is not so linkt, and behaviour more personate, than in travel, whose common sufferings endear men, laying them open, and obnoxious to one another."[52]

Ships can be studied as ecosystems, but they are equally complex from a cross-cultural point of view. Ships connected and separated people, gave them new experiences, new ideas, and new identities; they were the most active agents of cross-cultural exchange in both peaceful and confrontational contacts. The mobility and confinement of ships made them a highly dramatic and intense site of cross-cultural exchange. They were the synapses that enabled late medieval and early modern cities to flourish, bringing fresh impulses to and from distant shores.

Notes

1 Bernhard Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß auß Teutschland biß in das gelobte Landt Palæstina* (München: Adam Berg, 1609), 13–14. Translated from Early High German into English by the author with help from Olivia Michalowski and Raymond Geuss. I would like to thank Elizabeth and Peter Garnsey for their invaluable comments on the draft of this text. I also owe thanks to Katrina O'Loughlin and Krešimir Kužić for their helpful suggestions.

2 Cf. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); and Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1978).

3   Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteller (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 137–38.

4   Hans Stockar of Schaffhausen, pilgrim to Jerusalem in 1519, provided a long list of different animals that could be found on board; see Petar Kužić, *Hrvatska obala u putopisima njemačkih hodočasnika XIV.–XVII. st.* (Split: Književni krug, 2013), 435.

5   Wood worm is actually a mollusk, a saltwater clam known as *teredo navalis*.

6   Frederic C. Lane, "Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966), 19. Cf. Antonio Lazzarini, "Boschi, legnami, costruzioni navali L'Arsenale di Venezia fra XVI e XVIII secolo," *Archivio veneto* 145, s. 6, no. 7 (2014): 111–75.

7   Lane, "Venetian Shipping," 21.

8   Frederic C. Lane, *Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 135.

9   "There is no doubt that some of the travelling party will be accommodated in humid and wet places on board. Therefore, their mattresses and other belongings will not only absorb moisture and unpleasant smells/stench, but also will be infested with white lice. It is therefore important—if the weather is nice—that these belongings are either washed or aired in the sunshine and cleaned"; Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 13–14.

10   Joe J. Simmons, *Those Vulgar Tubes: External Sanitary Accommodations Aboard European Ships of the Fifteenth through Seventeenth Centuries* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 6.

11   A reference to how much ballast was used can be found in Richard A. Gould, *Archaeology and the Social History of Ships* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 213: "The approximate 35 tons of stone ballast recorded at the site would have sufficed for a ship of 100 tons [...]." How delicate a problem stability can be: one can observe this in contemporary cruisers (effectively floating cities of a kind) that carry huge water-filled containers on their upper decks. The water does the fine-tuning in stabilizing the ship by causing it to ease more smoothly back to a stable position in rough seas, thereby lessening the sudden movements that would

otherwise affect the passengers on board (i.e., becoming seasick).

12   Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 522.

13   Cf. Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450–1750 (A History of Urban Society in Europe)* (London: Longman, 1995); see also Niklas Eriksson, *Urbanism under Sail: An Archaeology of Fluit Ships in Early Modern Everyday Life* (Stockholm: Södertörn University, 2014).

14   John F. Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the 16th Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Conway Maritime Press, 2003).

15   Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino* (Roma: Appresso Vitale Mascardi, 1650).

16   Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits, and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (London: Penguin House, 2015), 118–21.

17   Some people speculate that this was to prevent seasickness.

18   Richard D. Blackmore, "Navigating Culture: Navigational Instruments as Cultural Artefacts, c. 1550–1650," *Journal for Maritime Research* 14, no. 1 (2012): 31–44.

19   Hans Stockar mentioned that his captain was fluent in "pagan (Arabic), Turkish, Greek, and many other languages"; Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 435.

20   Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 506. See also Mithad Kozličić, "Adriatic Sailing Routes as Reported in the 14th and 15th Century Pilgrims and Travel Reports," *Balkan Studies* 41, no. 1 (2000): 5–25.

21   Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 490.

22   Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Lettere di rettori e di altre cariche. Liesina 1498–1792*. Busta no. 278. Lesina 5.X.1498–21.III.1598, f. 277–78. I owe thanks to Sabine Florence Fabijanec for this information; cf. Eric R. Dursteler, "Language and Identity in Early Modern Mediterranean," in *Mediterranean Identities in the Premodern Era. Entrepôts, Islands, Empires*, eds. John Watkins and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 35–52; and also Predrag Matvejević, *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

23   Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 15.

24   Distinctions among four city statutes (Venice, Zadar, Split, and Dubrovnik) in regulating all important maritime issues (albeit covering just the period until the second half of the fifteenth century) were dealt with in Domagoj Mijan, "Pomorske odredbe Zadarskog statuta u usporedbi s istim odredbama Venecijanskog,

Dubrovačkog i Splitskog statuta." *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 46 (2004): 109–68.

25 Margaret Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494* (Manchester: University Press, 1907).

26 Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6, no. 2 (1995): 201–21.

27 Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*.

28 Gustavo Valente, *Vita di Occhialì* (Milano: Editrice Ceschina, 1960), 34.

29 Emrah S. Gürkan, "My Money or Your Life: The Habsburg Hunt for Uluc Ali," *Studia Historica: Historia Moderna* 36 (2014): 121–45.

30 The author of this essay is currently writing a paper titled "Uluc-Ali's Adriatic Expedition of 1571" (forthcoming).

31 Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1571* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 1025 onward.

32 Andrija Vojko Mardešić, Slavko Kovačić and Antun Oršolić, eds., *Spisi apostolskih vizitacija dalmatinskih biskupija. Spisi apostolskih vizitacija Hvarske biskupije iz godina 1579., 1602./1603. i 1624./1625.: Acta visitationum apostolicarum Diocesis Pharensis* (Rome: Hrvatski povijesni institut, 2005).

33 Renard Gluzman, "Resurrection of a Sunken Ship: The Salvage of the Venetian Marciliana that Saved Cattaro from Barbarossa," *Archivio Veneto*, sesta serie, no. 8 (2014): 29–78.

34 The Uskoks were members of a military community, mostly consisting of refugees or rebels from the regions where there were intense war operations or other sorts of issues associated with conflicts in the border zone. Catherine W. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992); cf. also Alberto Tenenti, *Piracy and the Decline of Venice 1580–1615* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

35 Cf. Maria Pia Pedani, *In nome del Gran Signore: Inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia* (Venice: Deputazione editrice, 1994); cf. also Benjamin Arbel, "Maritime Trade and International Relations in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean: The Case of the Ship Ghirarda (1575–1581)," in *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community: Essays in Honour of Suraiya Foroqhi*, eds. Vera Costantini and Markus Koller (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 391–408.

36 Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 4–5.

37 Irena Radić Rossi and Mariangela Nicolardi, "The Shipwreck of Gnalić—Mirror of Renaissance World," *TINA Maritime Archaeology Periodical* 2, 2014: 34–52.

38 Irena Radić Rossi, Mauro Bondioli, Mariangela Nicolardi, Zdenko Brusić, Lovorka Čoralić and Filipe V. Castro, "The Shipwreck of Gnalić—Mirror of Renaissance Europe," in *Gnalić—blago potonulog broda iz 16. stoljeća*, eds. Ana Filep, Ela Jurdana and Ankica Pandžić (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2013), 76.

39 The first one to identify the shipwreck from the Venetian documentation was Gasparetto, who was primarily interested in the ship's glass cargo. Astone Gasparetto, "Vetri veneziani da un naufragio in Dalmazia e da documenti dell'ultimo cinquecento," *Studi veneziani* 17–18 (1973): 411–46; "The Gnalić Wreck: Identification of the Ship," *Journal of Glass Studies* 15 (1976): 79–84.

40 Irena Lazar and Hugh Wilmott, "The Glass from the Gnalic Wreck—Preliminary Report," *Annales du 17e Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre Anvers* 2006 (2009): 333–38.

41 Irena Radić Rossi, Mariangela Nicolardi and Katarina Batur, "The Gnalić Shipwreck: Microcosm of the Late Renaissance World," in *Croatia at the Crossroads*, eds. David Davison, Vince Gaffney, Preston Miracle and Jo Sofaer (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2016), 223–48.

42 Several hundred ships ended up as wrecks. Alberto Tenenti, *Naufrages, corsaires et assurances maritimes à Venise 1592–1609* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1959); Braudel, *Mediterranean*. Cf. also Carlo Beltrame, Sauro Gelichi and Igor Miholjek, eds., *Sveti Pavao Shipwreck: A 16th Century Venetian Merchantman from Mljet, Croatia* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014).

43 Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 3–5, 10–11.

44 Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 14.

45 Brett Q. Ford and Iris B. Mauss, "Culture and Emotion Regulation," *Current Opinion in Psychology* 3 (2015): 1.

46 Renard Gluzman, "Between Venice and the Levant: Re-Evaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 96, no. 3 (August 2010): 268.

47 I could not find any scholarly works dealing with the psychology of confined spaces in this particular historical period. However, the space missions—on modern or future (space)ships—have created a great demand for studies on the topic of long journeys in the Earth's orbit or to Mars. Instead, cf. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Mirko Sardelić, "Model proučavanja i izazovi povijesti emocija—skica," *Historijski zbornik* 58, no. 2 (2015): 395–402.

48 Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 16–17.

49 Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 431–32. See also Sante Graciotti, *La Dalmazia e l'Adriatico dei pellegrini "veneziani" in Terrasanta* (Lido di Venezia: La Musa Talìa Editrice, 2014); Anica Kisić, *Ex voto Adriatico: Zavjetne slike hrvatskih pomoraca od 16. do 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2001).

50 Walter von Waltersweil, *Beschreibung Einer Reiß*, 16.

51 Kužić, *Hrvatska obala*, 463.

52 Henry Blunt, *A Voyage into the Levant*, 4th ed. (London: Printed by R.C. for Andrew Crooke, 1650), 9–10.

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Peripheral or Central? The Fortification Architecture of the Sanmichelis in Dalmatia

Ana Šverko

Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559) and his nephew Giangirolamo (*c*.1513–59), famed Italian military architects, were both active along the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea: the western, on which they were engaged in the fortification of cities in the center of the Venetian Republic; and the eastern, on which they fortified strategically important cities along the edge of the republic (Zadar and Šibenik among them).[1]

For almost the entire time the Venetians and the Ottomans were present in the Balkans, Dalmatia was exposed to encroachments on one or the other side into its territory. These ongoing conflicts and territorial campaigns resulted in frequent changes to the borders in the area—a dynamic territory that has been exposed throughout history to shifting cultural and artistic impacts. The Venetians managed to occupy the coastal parts of Dalmatia for good only at the beginning of the fifteenth century, from 1409 to 1420, after they had bought the rights to the territory from the king of Hungary-Croatia, Ladislaus of Naples. The Venetian acquisitions in Dalmatia were soon threatened by the Ottoman Empire, which had set off on its powerful drive westwards. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, frequent conflicts broke out between the Venetians on the one hand and the Ottomans on the other, the latter however gradually gaining the upper hand in the southern areas of Croatia and coming within reach of the Venetian possessions.[2] Thus, this is a space marked by conflict and unstable borders, and at the same time the location of a dialogue among different cultures, where relationships of center and periphery and the influences of East and West alternate and intertwine.

Venice was primarily a trading power, and safe harbors on the eastern coast of the Adriatic had been essential for its trade routes ever since the tenth century. However, the Ottoman-Venetian Wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would prompt Venice to begin intensively investing in the construction and modernization of fortifications. Some of them—those in Zadar, Šibenik, and Corfu, as well as Crete and Cyprus—were worked on by the Sanmichelis, both the uncle and the nephew. In this essay I consider their major projects in Dalmatia: the fortifications in Zadar and Šibenik.

The Adriatic coastline during the Renaissance is usually divided into the central part, that of the Italian Peninsula, and the eastern section, where the very edges of the Venetian Republic's coastline were located. The first proposition of the following discussion then is that from the perspective of fortification architecture, the "periphery" is in fact the "center" of architectural innovation, for it represents the first line of defense. From this, it follows that the architectural innovations and creativity of the Sanmichelis, the main fortification architects of Venice in the sixteenth century, are most likely to be found on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

Furthermore, military architecture necessarily entails secrecy. The Sanmichelis did not leave any treatise or writings, and we analyze their remarkable fortification projects with hardly any preserved drawings. Accordingly, some of their innovations, even in terms of decoration, might have remained unattributed to them until today; an example is the so-called Sansovino corner sequence at the Marciana Library in Venice.[3] Innovations in architectural decoration were presented in the "real" centers, like Venice for example, and applied to important public buildings at a time when the Sanmichelis were vigorously engaged in fortifying the cities of the eastern Adriatic.

The focus of this paper will therefore be on the military architecture of the Sanmichelis and how it supports the theory that discussions of fortification architecture shift the concept of the center. I will consider the Sanmichelis' Dalmatian projects from this

original perspective, relying on previous research, primarily on the excellent monograph about Michele Sanmicheli by Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, as well as on my own on-site studies, which offered me valuable arguments that support the thesis that has been established. I will show that they spent a critical part of their professional lives devoted to building fortifications in Stato da Mar—in Venice's overseas territories.[4] I will also demonstrate that, given the military situation at the time, Zadar and Šibenik were, at the time the Sanmichelis were active, at the very center of the state's entire defensive system. I will explore the Sanmichelis' innovations and the manner in which they adapted defensive models to the local context, using the Zadar and Šibenik projects as examples. This will be demonstrated using various scales—from urbanism and planning through to the architectural, and all the way to the level of ornament. From a planning and architectural point of view, then, I examine the Sanmichelis' approach in an inherited urban context on the one hand (in which the architects bring together the logic of the military and that of urbanism) and a natural context on the other. The results of my research into bastions and city gates as the key elements of Renaissance fortification structures will testify to the originality of the Sanmichelis' contributions to architecture, both in terms of their important role in improving fortification systems, as well as in the refinement of their interpretation of Vitruvian theories. Finally, I also look at ornament, which likewise acted as a bearer of meaning superimposed onto the language of fortification itself.

1 Dalmatia in the Context of the Sanmichelis' Renaissance Fortifications

Around the year 1500, at an early age, and after having learned the elements of architecture from his father Giovanni and his uncle Bartolommeo, who were both architects, Michele Sanmicheli set out from his native Verona for Rome. In 1509 he went to Orvieto, where he practiced for almost the next two decades. Among his earliest works, his contributions to the design of the Duomo of Orvieto and the Duomo of Montefiascone, an octagonal building surmounted by one of the largest

domes in Italy, have been recorded. Michele returned to Veneto in January 1527, after having been engaged by Pope Clement VII to inspect all the places of great importance in the Papal States and, wherever necessary, to see to the construction of fortifications.[5] Of particular focus were Parma and Piacenza, the two cities most distant from Rome and the most exposed to the perils of war. On his return to the Veneto region, Michele was engaged building new forts in Verona, where he introduced polygonal bastions (instead of the previous round or rectangular structures used in defensive architecture) and radically changed the previous defensive system. In 1532, Sanmicheli began building a massively fortified and richly decorated city gate for Verona, the Porta Nuova, on which the Roman Doric order is superimposed on layers of rustication (Fig. 2.1).[6]

In 1535, Michele Sanmicheli was appointed engineer of the state for lagoons and fortifications by the Venetian Senate and charged with the examination and updating of forts throughout Istria, Dalmatia, Cyprus, Crete, and Corfu (Venetian reports from the 1520s had informed the government of the dilapidation of the defensive structures in Dalmatia). He passed on some of the engineering projects to his nephew, Giangirolamo (born in Verona), with whom he had collaborated on several projects on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. In 1537, Michele was sent to Zadar (a city he already knew, having been there in 1534), and Giangirolamo joined his uncle two months later.[7]

Of course, there were immediate historical factors that contributed to the campaign to fortify Zadar and Šibenik. Suleiman the Magnificent's campaigns to conquer the region placed the Venetian territories in Dalmatia in an extremely challenging military and strategic position. The fall of Knin, Skradin, and Ostrovica on the Krka River in the early 1520s raised awareness of Šibenik as, geopolitically speaking, the most important city in Dalmatia. Šibenik is located at the mouth of the Krka River on the Adriatic Sea. For the Ottomans, conquering Šibenik would allow them to establish sea routes with the territories they had already acquired on the mainland and its interior, which was particularly important for trade and the export of raw materials. In addition to Šibenik, it was essential that Zadar, which was the main city in Venetian Dalmatia, be fortified as well. In 1537–38, the Ottomans conquered Klis and two
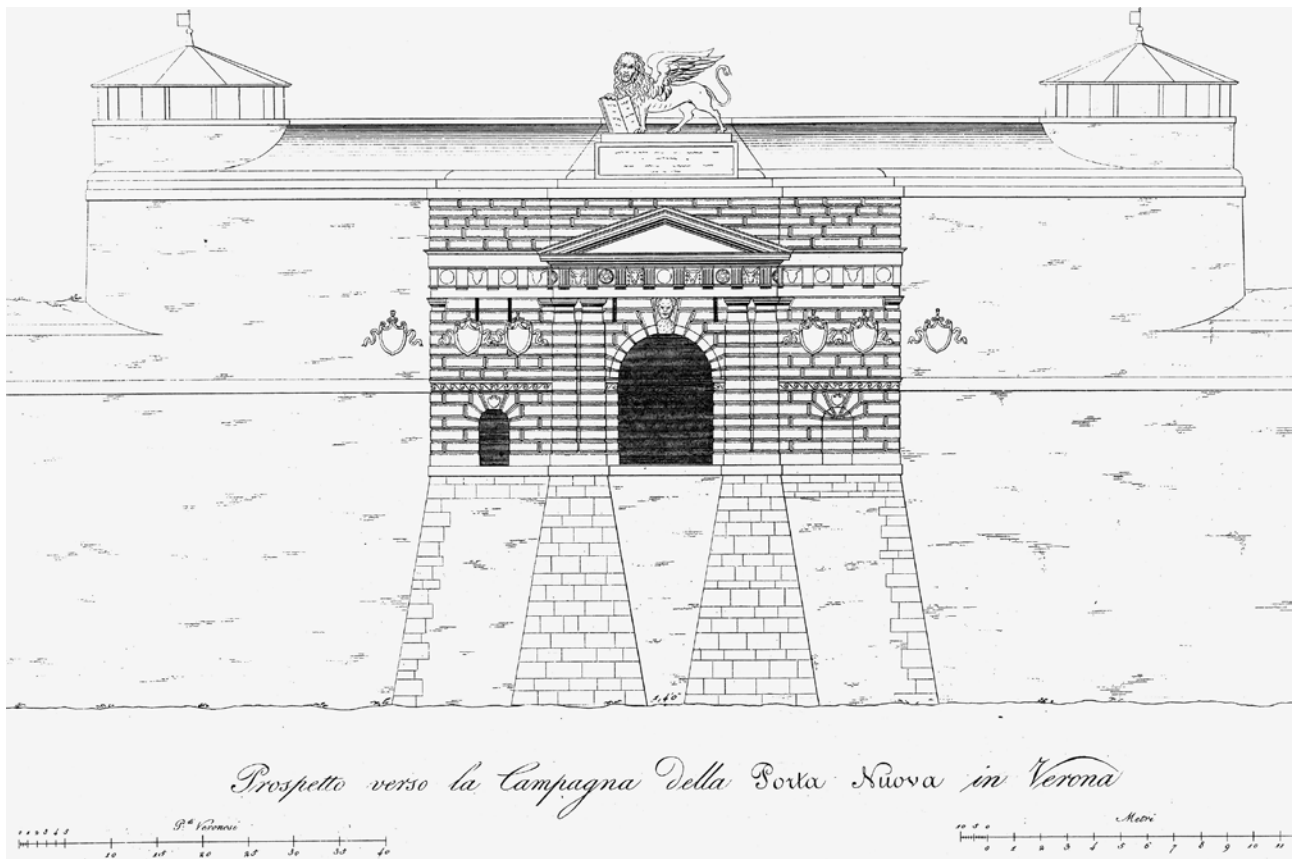
FIGURE 2.1   Francesco Da Ronzani and Girolamo Luciolli, "Prospetto verso la Campagna della Porta Nuova in Verona," in *Le fabbriche civili, ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele Sanmicheli*, Venice, 1831
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strategically significant forts in the Zadar hinterland—Nadin and Vrana—placing central Dalmatia in a particularly difficult military and strategic position. As a result, during the Third Ottoman-Venetian War (1537–40), Venetian territories in Dalmatia were at their most vulnerable.

In Zadar, Michele developed a concept for the defense of the town. The design was probably devised even earlier than his arrival in Zadar, for in the very same year work started on building the Ponton, the central bastion and key feature of the entirely original polygonal defensive system. In contrast to Zadar's other bastions, the Ponton was built largely of brick.[8] Michele departed for Corfu and Crete just a few months after work started, and the development of the Zadar fortifications was taken over by Giangirolamo. Returning from Greece, Michele Sanmicheli stopped in Kotor; from 1539 to 1541 he was once again in Zadar and Šibenik, just at the

time when the building of the monumental Land Gate in Zadar was in full swing and work on the Fortress of St. Nicholas in nearby Šibenik began. The leading role taken by Giangirolamo in the design and supervision of the building of the Fortress of St. Nicholas is evidenced by reports from the time of building.[9]

Michele Sanmicheli is mentioned again for his work in Verona in 1541–42, when he was invited for the construction of the San Zeno Gate. For the composition of this gate, as we shall see, the Land Gate in Zadar served as a prototype. Michele was subsequently sent to Cyprus, visiting Zadar, Šibenik, Corfu, and Crete on the way. By the time of his return in 1543, the designs for the Zadar fortifications were close to completion. Giangirolamo was to stay in Dalmatia and Šibenik, and Michele returned to Veneto, where he was engaged (among other things) in building the Fortezza di Sant'Andrea, which defended the Lido entrance to the Venetian lagoon.[10]

In 1547, Michele Sanmicheli once again went to Greece and Cyprus, this time with Giangirolamo, who stopped off at Corfu, left for Cyprus in 1548, and returned via Crete and Corfu.[11] Both of them returned to Veneto, and Giangirolamo, soon after getting married in Verona, was sent to Cyprus in 1558. He died there the following year, in his mid-forties. Overcome by grief at the death of his nephew (a genuine pupil and disciple), Michele soon followed him to the grave.

From this reconstruction of their movements along the Adriatic, it is obvious that the Sanmichelis, and Giangirolamo in particular, spent a significant part of this period in their working lives dedicated to the construction of fortifications along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. As a result, it is entirely realistic to suggest that it was on the eastern Adriatic that they developed an architectural language in the field of fortification architecture.[12]

2 Urban Morphology and Topography: The Examples of Zadar and Šibenik

As we have already noted, the Sanmichelis arrived in Zadar at the beginning of the Third Ottoman-Venetian War. This coastal city was the capital of Venetian Dalmatia, excellently sited on a peninsula and with a protected port for naval and other vessels. In terms of military strategy, the most vulnerable point of this peninsula was the connection with the mainland; here the city was protected with a wall and a lower wall and an artificially created moat that had effectively turned the city into an island.[13]

The whole process of fortifying Zadar is not my object here. Rather, I will focus on a few interventions made by Michele Sanmicheli that are crucial for this investigation. The first is the design of the central bastion itself, and the second is the position and design of the Land Gate right beside it (Fig. 2.2).

With respect to the relations between the given site and the construction of the bastion, Sanmicheli did not follow an architecturally or geometrically ideal form or system as might have been expected of a Renaissance architect, that of two bastions with the city gate in the middle—a symmetrical design which would not have been adequate to control the long tract of the landward side of Zadar. Instead, he adapted the design to respond to the characteristics of the site: Sanmicheli broke the line of the defensive wall divided from the land by the moat and placed a monumental pointed bastion in the center of the landward side of Zadar. As far as it is known, this angled bastion, the Ponton, was the largest bastion in the Venetian Republic at that time. By adjusting to the topographical demands of the site, Michele Sanmicheli enabled defense from all angles of the field of view, effectively offering complete control of the territory.

Sanmicheli's design for the Ponton closed one of the two city gates that led from the mainland into the city. To make up for it, Sanmicheli replaced those gates with a single massive entryway that he placed in a novel position: not in the center of the wall but directly beside the huge new bastion so that it connected with one of the two main city streets.[14] This decision reflects his skill as an urban planner. If we consider the potential locations for a new city gate, it becomes clear that Michele Sanmicheli chose the ideal position, both because it could be easily connected to the existing city street and because of the excellent defensive position it occupied within the new fortification system. Sanmicheli clearly respected the existing topographic and town-planning constraints of the site and did not impose any ideal architectural scheme upon the location.

Let us consider now the completely different location of Šibenik's Fortress of St. Nicholas. It is not situated in an urban setting but rather upon an isolated islet, where the natural location determined the architectural concept. The Fortress of St. Nicholas was designed for the islet called Ljuljevac, which according to documents from the tenth century was the location of the Monastery of St. Nicholas. In contrast to earlier plans for building two forts at the entrance into the St. Anthony Channel, Giangirolamo's idea to build only a single fort had already been accepted when the Sanmichelis arrived in Šibenik from Zadar in 1540 (Fig. 2.3).[15]

A report dated September 3, 1540 and signed by Giangirolamo confirms that the fort was his design.[16] There is a very detailed description of the triangular fort, with its two demibastions on the landward side and a roundel and entry from the sea on the eastern side, that has been preserved. This is precisely the way in which the fort was actually built. If we look at the contours of the island, it is clear that the shape of the fort was made to fully conform to the requirements of the site (Fig. 2.4).[17]
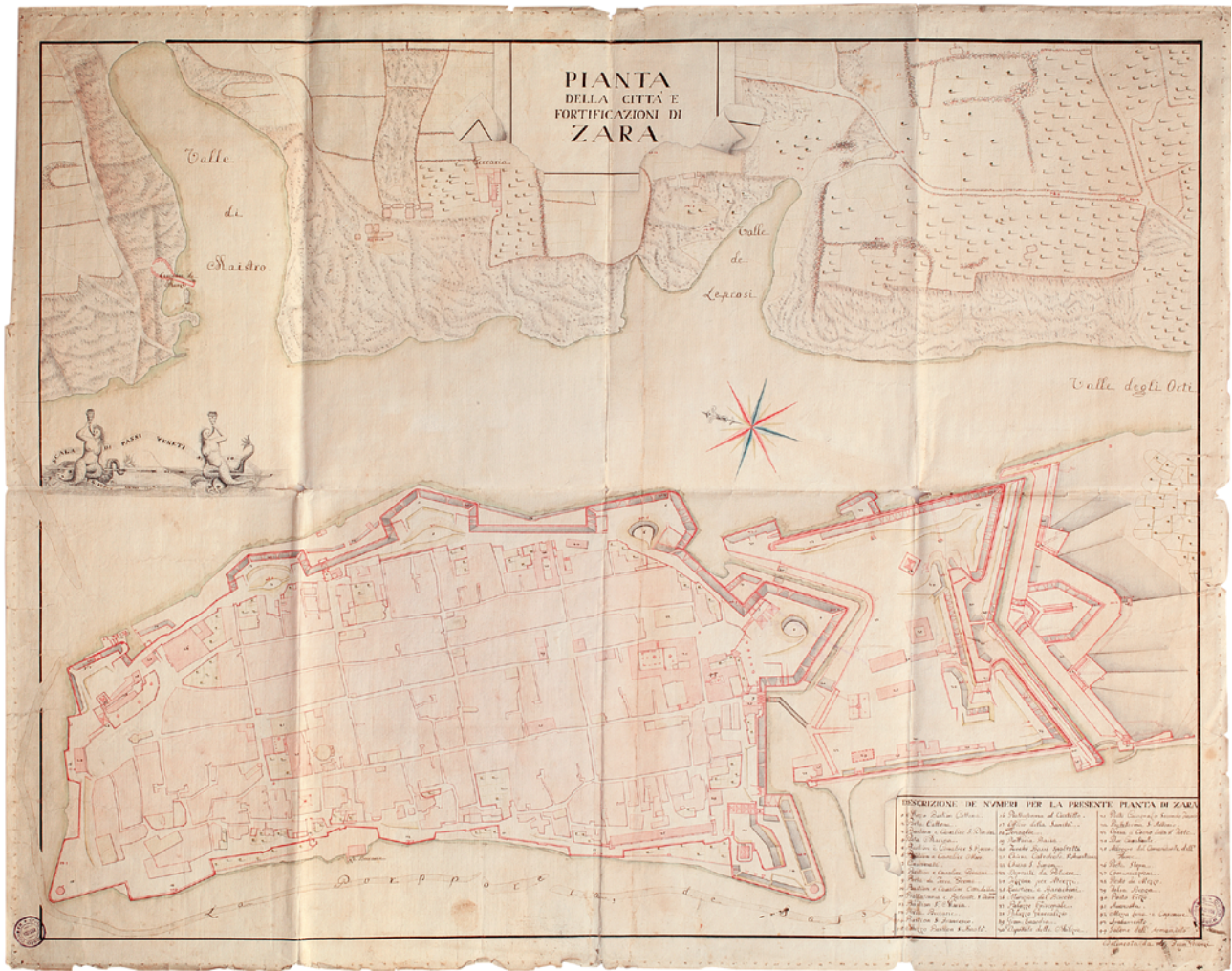
FIGURE 2.2   Francesco Geronzi, Plan of the town and fortifications of Zadar, eighteenth century
CORRER MUSEUM, VENICE, CL. XLIVB N. 0635

The fortifications of Zadar and Šibenik designed by the Sanmichelis were built on a stone footing in brick. Brick is a material not used, as a rule, in Dalmatia, but it provides a flexibility of execution not possible in stone, which would have been more expensive, lengthier, and much more complex. In addition, a brick structure is better at absorbing hits.[18]

As far as I have managed to determine from examples of the Sanmichelis' military architecture in Italy, Greece, and Croatia, the technique of building in brick was never implemented so comprehensively and to such exacting standards as at Šibenik. Although several kinds of brick can be seen at the Fortress of St. Nicholas, an ochre yellow brick that belongs to the original structure stands out for the fineness of its workmanship.

From the point of view of the reconstruction of the Sanmichelis' working process, it will be interesting to carry out further detailed research into the types of brick used and the transport of the materials, as well as the origins and employment conditions of the master builders in what was—for Dalmatia—the unfamiliar material of brick.

It is important to emphasize the close collaboration between Michele and Giangirolamo Sanmicheli, who worked on the projects together. Giorgio Vasari writes thus of the work of Giangirolamo:

"[…] and, among other places, he took part with much judgment and labor in the fortification of Zara, and in the marvelous fortress of S. Niccolò at Sebenico […]

FIGURE 2.3   Marcello Alessandri, Map of Šibenik, Marcello Alessandri, 1620
CORRER MUSEUM, VENICE

Gian Girolamo, besides his great judgment in recognizing the nature of different sites, showed much industry in having them represented by designs and models in relief, in so much that he enabled his patrons to see even the most minute details of his fortifications in very beautiful models of wood that he would cause to be made; which diligence pleased them vastly, for without leaving Venice they saw every day how matters were proceeding in the most distant parts of their State."[19]

Likewise, in his celebrated 1778 book on the lives of the most famous Venetian architects and sculptors of the sixteenth century, Tomasso Temanza discusses the work of Michele and his nephew Giangirolamo Sanmicheli under a single heading.[20] This is not surprising because Giangirolamo continued projects founded on joint work with his famed uncle with convincing mastery. This biographic information is evidence of

how closely the two collaborated, but it also reveals the extent of Giangirolamo's own capabilities, which were no less than those of his famous uncle. Skill in making models on the one hand, and presence on the ground on the other, enabled Giangirolamo to creatively perfect his uncle's ideas while adhering to his premises. The fact that the Sanmichelis were working away from the center, where they were far from the controlling system, must have given them both a creative freedom that they would otherwise hardly have had the chance to develop.

Francesco Milizia, the most influential Italian architectural theorist of the Settecento, elaborates on Michele Sanmicheli's role in the history of military architecture as an architect to whom is owed the glory of inventing the military architecture that was in use in the eighteenth century: "[...] Before him all the bastions were round or square [...] The mystery of this art consists in defending every part of the enclosure by a flank; therefore making a bastion round or square, the front of it, that is, the space which remains in the triangle, is undefended; and that is precisely what Sanmicheli effected."[21] Milizia (as well as Giorgio Vasari), gives Michele Sanmicheli credit for the revolutionary invention of the angled bastion. Although later studies have demonstrated that credit for this invention might belong to Francesco Maria Della Rovere, the Sanmichelis were unquestionably pioneers in the use of pointed bastions in the Venetian Republic and the further development of the bastion as an element in fortification systems.[22] It was while working on the Fortress of St. Nicholas in Šibenik that Giangirolamo introduced important innovations to this field.

In Šibenik Giangirolamo did in fact build a round bastion, but one facing the sea, where there was no fear of the enemy approaching the walls themselves; indeed, in this place the round form enabled him to design an optimal radial disposition of cannons. It is important to point out that two angled demibastions linked with a short curtain wall are called *tenaglia* or *tenaille*, meaning "pincers." This usually appears as one of the outer elements of a fort, separated by a ditch from the basic fortification. From research done to date it can be hypothesized that the Šibenik *tenaille* was one of the earliest examples in the context of Venetian military architecture.[23] Another specific feature of the Fortress of St Nicholas is the *orillion* at the
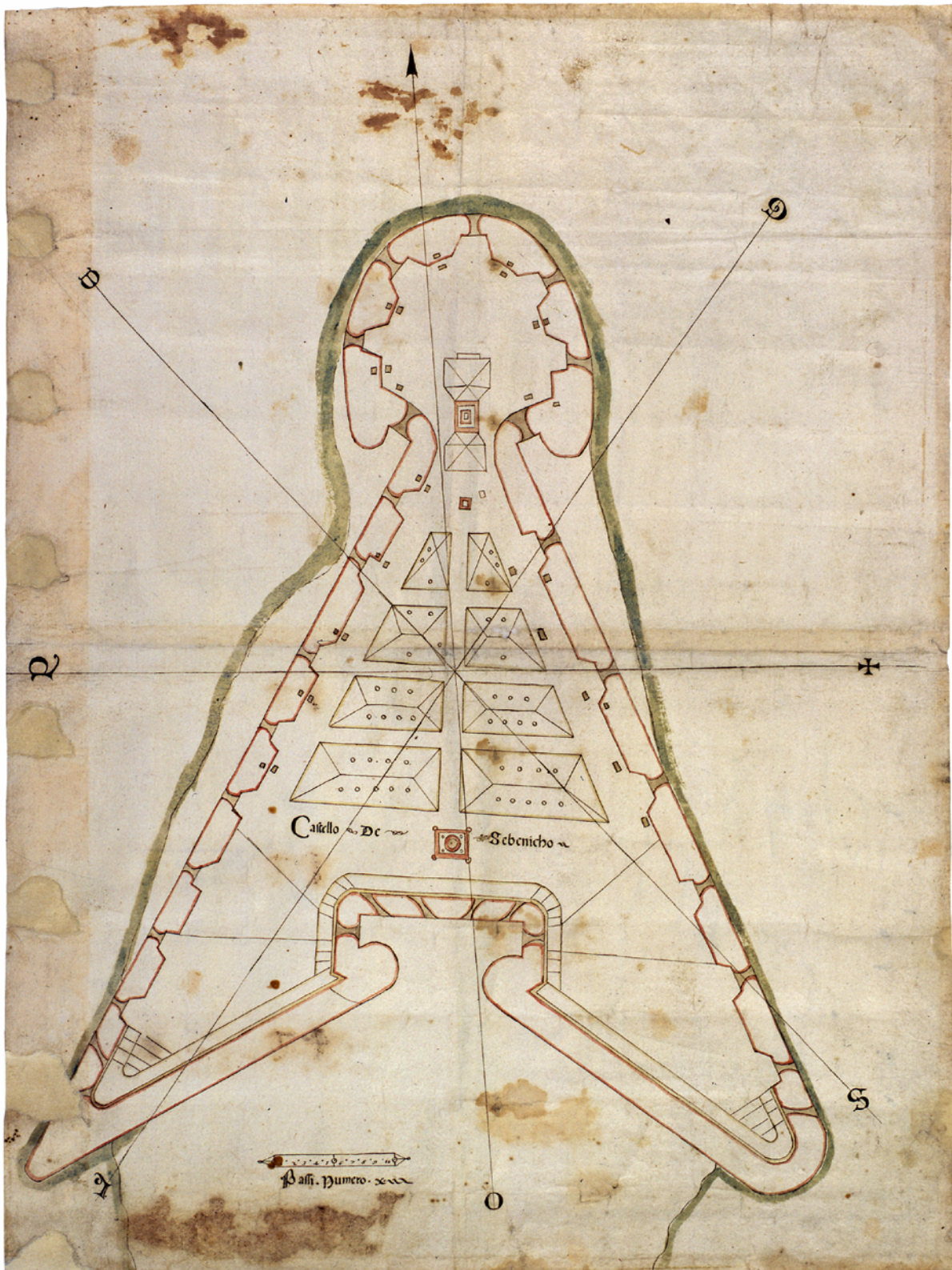
FIGURE 2.4   Anonymous, St. Nicholas Fortress, Šibenik, sixteenth century
CORRER MUSEUM, VENICE, CL. XLIVB N. 0796

FIGURE 2.5   Giovanni Maria Falconetto, Porta Savonarola in Padua
PHOTOGRAPH BY FEDELE FERRARA, SHUTTERSTOCK, 682814572

joint between the bastion and curtain wall, an element that is also one of the first known examples in Venetian fortifications. Later, it was to become standard.[24]

Later criticisms of the Fortress of St. Nicholas from fortification experts relate mainly to the insufficient depth of the ditch separating the fort from the land. It is probable that a deepening of the ditch was not carried out because of the great difficulty and expense of digging in the rocky ground. One of the earliest reviews of the quality of the Fortress of St. Nicholas was given by the influential military commander and fortress architect Sforza Pallavicino (1559), who continued working on the fortifications in Zadar after the Sanmichelis.[25] He criticized the vaults of St. Nicholas as being likely to collapse during a bombardment and complained of the many cannon ports that additionally exposed the fort to the enemy. This type of fort would be developed in the direction of a reduction of ports and interior space in

favor of thicker earthworks.[26] The existing spatial conditions demanded creativity from the Sanmichelis in terms of how they applied contemporary fortification models.[27] In doing so, they introduced some innovations into the design of fortifications that would later become common. Their approach, which was based on the principle of adapting to the context as the starting point for their architectural innovations, is one of those timeless, universal lessons that all urban planners and architects must keep in mind.

3   The Gates at the Forts of Zadar and Šibenik: From Their Composition to Their Details

It is important to point out that military architects were not only dedicated to the defensive characteristics of city walls but also to their appearance and aesthetics.
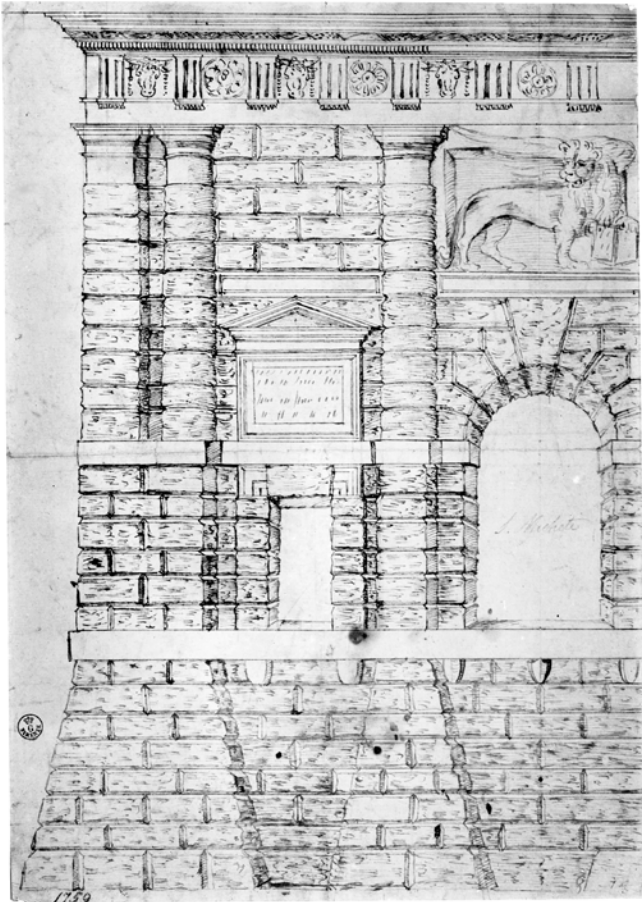
FIGURE 2.6   Michele Sanmicheli, Drawing of the Porta di
Terraferma in Zadar, Michele Sanmicheli
UFFIZI GALLERY, 1759 A

FIGURE 2.7   Sculptural decoration from the Porta di
Terraferma, Zadar
SHUTTERSTOCK, 1279159333

This doubled responsibility for structure and ornament comes into particular focus in the design of monumental city gates, which often constituted a contrast to the surrounding countryside.

In addition to their monumentality, gates of course had an important defensive role. Behind the façade there were originally spaces for housing the city watch and the artillery, service spaces, and devices for raising the drawbridge. The design of the façade and gates was also a powerful device for representing the strength and domination of the Venetian Republic.

The blend of the useful and the beautiful in Venetian Renaissance fortification architecture is a theme on its own, but here I shall briefly say that—considered through the eyes of power—fortifications had to play a double role. Their first function was to protect the city by means of their architectural structures and by serving as a garrison for soldiers. The second was to represent and define an aesthetic and "ordered" language, which could be clearly understood and easily referred to by the economic and political powers.[28]

If we take the case of Giovanni Maria Falconetto, a slightly older contemporary of Michele Sanmicheli, it is clear that for the city gate in Zadar, Sanmicheli adopted Falconetto's composition of the Porta Savonarola in Padua (Fig. 2.5).[29] While Falconetto based the appearance of the front on chromatic contrasts between elegant Composite columns and decorative elements in Istrian stone on a background of gray trachyte, Michele Sanmicheli treated that composition in the Doric-rustic order, which in its solidity and massive firmness corresponds to the strength of the site.[30] Thus,

FIGURE 2.8   Porta di Terraferma, Zadar
SHUTTERSTOCK, 1288769269

unlike Falconetto, he introduced the strongest order, the Doric, and created an impression of sophisticated impregnability.

In my construction of the space of the periphery as center of defense, that is, as the point of origin for innovations in fortification architecture, there is additional backing for this thesis with respect to the ornamental language as interpreted by Davies and Hemsoll. They argue that it could have been Michele Sanmicheli who first questioned, and indeed resolved, the celebrated corner sequence with a double column in the Doric order on the Porta Nuova in Verona, which could not follow Vitruvian demands without some innovation, even before Sansovino applied it to the Marciana Library in Venice.[31] According to Vitruvius, the Roman Doric frieze needed to have a centered triglyph in line with the final column and to conclude with a metope that wrapped around the corner; but there was not enough space for this. Michele Sanmicheli's focus on this architectural theme, before Sansovino drew attention to it

in 1539 (in a sensational way), can be seen not only on the Porta Nuova but also on the Zadar gate. To appreciate the originality and specificity of Sanmicheli's approach in Dalmatia, I would point to his solution of the corner metope of a Doric frieze on the Zadar gate, which was also later applied to the gate of the Fortress of St. Nicholas in Šibenik.

Sanmicheli's sketch for the Zadar gate (probably created in 1537), does not contain the actual decoration of the corner metope, but all other elements indicating the innovative approach to the corner are present (Figs. 2.6 and 2.7).[32] There is nevertheless an important difference in the approaches of Sansovino and Sanmicheli. Sansovino solves the problem of the corner in a two-dimensional manner, at the level of the façade, while Sanmicheli solves it at the level of the ornaments and details, which is logical given that Michele Sanmicheli also trained as a carver of architectural ornaments.[33] On the Porta Nuova, Sanmicheli decreases the radius of the paterae on the metopes so that in the narrower space of

the final demimetope, by decreasing the distance between the patera and the triglyph, he can convincingly wrap it around the corner. Sanmicheli creates a slight increase in the width through subtle adaptations to the width of the frieze, all but making it level with the rustication of the corner columns. Thus, he achieves a rather convincing solution for the corners through the combination of these two interventions. Sanmicheli would develop this approach further on the Zadar city gate, where he decorates the alternating metopes with an intricate rosette, whose third dimension on the corner entirely overcomes the insufficient width of the final metope. The position of the gates, directly beside the Ponton bastion, doubtless had an impact on this approach to articulating the corner metope, as well as on the overall raised design of the gate. As a clear central view of the gate, because of its position, was impossible, it was necessary to dedicate a great deal of attention to its third dimension in order to create an impression of monumentality. For his solution in Zadar, which was based on the criterion of ornaments in stone, Sanmicheli could rely on the skill of the excellent local craftsman Dujam Rudičić.[34] Sansovino, meanwhile, creates space for the corner demimetope in the full width with skillful increases in the width of the corner column. His solution for the Marciana Library would not have been so convincing in terms of the scale and proportions on the city gates in Zadar, where the aim was to emphasize the illusion of rustication. In 1539, therefore, when Sansovino was finishing the Marciana Library and Michele and Giangirolamo were spending time on the eastern Adriatic coast, the celebrated corner had already been resolved on the Porta Nuova in Verona and recorded in Michele Sanmicheli's sketch for the Zadar "Terraferma" gate, although the two architects did not produce identical solutions.[35]

By comparing the Zadar gate and the Porta Savonarola in Padua (designed by Falconetto) with Sanmicheli's Porta Nuova, it is clear that the Zadar gate was created through a fusion of Falconetto's composition with the classical Doric style that Sanmicheli interpreted, with a rustication that imparts a three-dimensionality to the front. After the Zadar gate, Sanmicheli designed the Porta di San Zeno in Verona; the latter is almost identical to the Zadar gate in composition, but with a different decorative treatment.[36] For example, the first string course in Zadar has no ornamentation, and the second is ornamented with a spiral motif, while the decoration on the portal of San Zeno is a degree higher: the first string course has a spiral motif, and the second has a meander. While in Zadar the Doric half columns bear the architrave and frieze, in Verona Composite pilasters are employed instead, which bear the architrave and cornice on consoles. In the symmetrical fields of this tripartite composition, horizontally and vertically, are inscriptions, the coats of arms, and the Venetian Lion of St. Mark over the main entrance. In Zadar the keystone of the main entrance is graced with the figure of St. Chrysogonus, symbol of the Zadar commune (Fig. 2.8).

The San Zeno gate is built in brick and stone, while that in Zadar is executed entirely in stone. The San Zeno gate, with its Composite order and color contrast between brick and stone is thus closer in appearance to Falconetto's than the Zadar gate. In other examples, Sanmicheli was to draw on the composition of the Porta Nuova. This suggests that the Zadar gate is the most distinctive example of Sanmicheli combining a traditional composition of the kind used in Falconetto's gate with his own rustic three-dimensional interpretation of the Doric order.

The Porta Nuova, however, served as a direct model for Giangirolamo Sanmicheli in his design of the gate leading into the Fortress of St. Nicholas in Šibenik.[37] In accordance with the size of the fort, only the central part of the city gate in Verona was taken as a prototype for the gate of St. Nicholas (Figs. 2.9 and 2.10). This comparison was first made in 1823 by Francesco Ronzani and Girolamo Luciolli.[38] However, careful observation of the gate of St. Nicholas indicates Giangirolamo's skillful adaptations to the limitations of the site. The height restriction forced him to shorten the arched opening by the height of the base. The width of the gate located right by the round bastion did not permit Sanmicheli's usual placement of the coats of arms in the space alongside the gate, and so it is positioned on the bottom of the arched aperture. Such a location of the coat of arms, along with the uncommonly richly decorated lower side of the architrave (with a motif of oak leaves and decoration in the lowest part of the cornice), strongly indicates that the gate was carefully designed to be seen from below or from up close. The approach to the portal of this sea fort, protected by an *orillion* (a similar logic to placing Zadar's city gate directly beside the bastion), is altogether unique. The gate, located behind the *orillion*, can only be seen from close up, and access was not—as
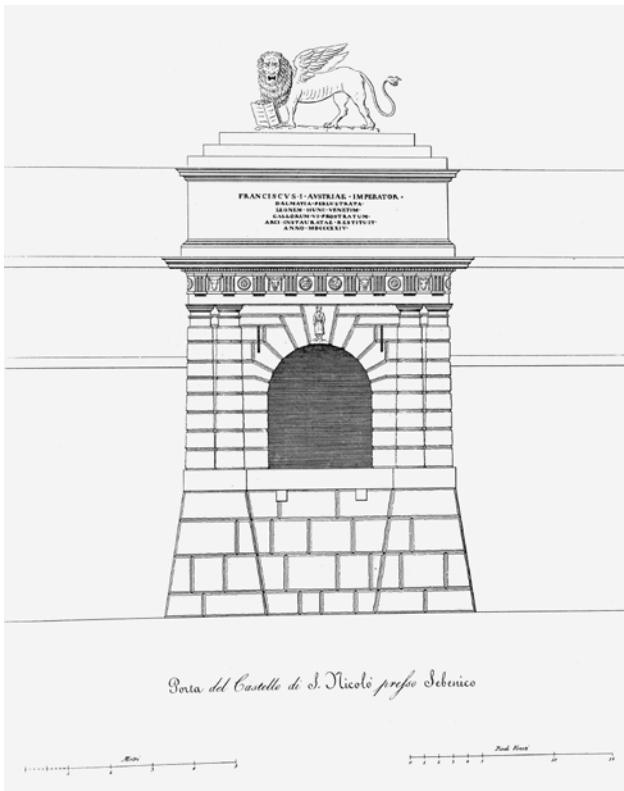
FIGURE 2.9
Francesco Da Ronzani and Girolamo Luciolli, "Porta del Castello di S. Nicolò presso Sebenico," in *Le fabbriche civili, ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele Sanmicheli*, Venice, 1831
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FIGURE 2.10   Fortress of St. Nicholas, Šibenik
SHUTTERSTOCK, 532769578

FIGURE 2.11   Detail of the frieze of the Gate of St. Nicholas Fortress, Šibenik
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

was usually the case—via a drawbridge over the ditch at the level of the gate but rather at the foot of the fortress, on the shore of the little island. The approach to the gate was from the sea level and at close distance, so my assumption is that Sanmicheli purposely designed the St. Nicholas gate according to this specific spatial context and way of moving through it.

The corner on the frieze is handled in the same way as that of the Porta Nuova; however, the corner decorative shield of the demimetope is displayed—as it is in Zadar—outwards, and more richly decorated in comparison with Sanmicheli's other works. Around the central triglyph, but so far not comprehensibly discussed in the literature,

are two lions in the place of the decorative shield. Both figures are depicted *in moleca*, without sword and aureole; one holds an open book and the other a closed one (Fig. 2.11).[39] The Venetian Republic never coded the symbolism of the open versus the closed book. Indeed, the fairly common interpretation that links the closed book, nestled between the paws of Mark's symbol, with periods of war and the open book with periods of peace has not been confirmed by the evidence.[40] The intention of this paper is not to offer an answer to this intriguing dichotomy but rather to draw attention to the layers of research that hide behind fortification architecture, even to the level of ornamental symbolism.

The metopes were decorated more richly than with the mere decorative shield used in Sanmicheli's earlier projects. It is only on the gate of the Fortezza di Sant'Andrea in Venice that we find a similar level of decorative motifs, but this was after the gate on the Fortress of St. Nicholas had already been completed. In the decoration of the St. Nicholas gate, however, what is so special is not just the design of an ichnographically and typologically rich decorative scheme; we can also observe a remarkably high level of execution, which was due to the skills of local craftsmen. Just as with the Zadar gate, local masons were involved in the execution of the stone architectural decorations on the gate of Šibenik's Fortress of St. Nicholas.[41] In both monumental entrances, the fine work of the carver Dujam Rudičić of Split is prominent.[42] In these gates, the Sanmichelis were offered a space for uniquely creative decorations, thanks to local stone-carving practices, which were highly developed, and the unique positioning of the gate, which created the need for emphatic three-dimensional articulation. The Sanmichelis adapted existing decorative models to the context of the Šibenik and Zadar fortifications. Bringing together the local and the universal thus proved to be a source of creative synthesis in architecture, irrespective of the scale at which they worked.

response to the environment—both urban and natural. The actual gates—the aesthetic component of the fortifications and vehicles of symbolic meanings—bore the emblems of the Venetian Republic but were adjusted each time to the situation on the ground with a different artistic formulation, clearly showing the difference between the creative application of a model and a mere uninventive copy. The distance from the political center provided by Dalmatia gave the Sanmichelis freedom in their interpretation of fortified architectural design, and local craftsmen of great skill brought the execution of their designs to the highest level.

The Sanmichelis were active on the Dalmatian coast, on that "paradigmatic shore" that divided the "East" from the "West,"[44] at the moment when the cities of Zadar and Šibenik represented, in terms of the military situation at the time, the center of the Serenissima's overall defenses. The significance of their work on the fortification of these cities places Zadar and Šibenik in a crucial position within the overall Venetian defensive system of the sixteenth century. In studying them it becomes clear that, when it comes to fortifications, those on the periphery were no less important than those in the center; rather, we can make a case for perceiving the periphery as the center—both in terms of defense as well as architectural creativity.

4 Conclusion

The Šibenik and Zadar fortifications are part of a single system: all the fortified cities were elements of the "great Venetian state defense machine."[43] The mid-sixteenth century was an age of great advances in military construction techniques, and I would like to argue that the examples of Zadar and Šibenik indicate the importance of their designs to this overall system. On the so-called "peripheral coast" of the Adriatic, the Sanmichelis had more opportunities to develop innovative systems of city defenses. They adapted every defensive structure to the specific spatial context, either urban or natural, while it was their gates that showed clearly that all these fortifications, adjusted to the spirit of the place, belonged to the same system.

From the perspective of function, the Sanmichelis took certain elements across the Adriatic, but not ready-made models of forts. They designed on the spot and in

Acknowledgments

Notes

1 For a full account of the lives of the Sanmichelis, see Paul Davies and David Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli* (Milan: Electa, 2004). In addition to his work on military architecture, Michele Sanmicheli was extremely active in the fields of religious and civil architecture. Giangirolamo is

regularly referred to as Michele's nephew, although he was in fact the son of Michele's cousin Paolo.

2 See Evliyâ Çelebi, *Putopis: Odlomci o jugoslavenskim zemljma* (Sarajevo: IRO Veselin Masleša, 1979); Josip Vrandečić, "Had an Ottoman Combatant Any Chance to Win the Love of the Daughter of the Rector of the Dalmatian Town Zadar (Islam in Ottoman Dalmatia in the 16th and 17th Century and Its Coexistence with the Christian World of Neighboring Venetian Dalmatia)," in *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 34 (1994/1995), 163–83; Josip Vrandečić and Miroslav Bertoša, *Dalmacija, Dubrovnik i Istra u ranome novom vijeku* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2007); Cemal Kafadar, "Evliyâ Çelebi in Dalmatia: An Ottoman Traveler's Encounters with the Arts of the Franks," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean. Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 59–78.

3 See Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 19–20.

4 Stato da Mar spread from the Adriatic to the Eastern Mediterranean and included Venetian possessions southeast of Istria, including parts of Dalmatia and Albania, many islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas, and two large islands—Crete and Cyprus.

5 Giuliana Mazzi, "Michele Sanmicheli, la cosiddetta scuola sanmicheliana e le difee della Repubblica," in *L'architettura militare di Venezia in terraferma e in Adriatico fra XVI e XVII secolo, Aatti del convegno internazionale di studi. Palmanova 8–10 Novembre 2013*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2014), 119.

6 Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 236–74.

7 Ana Deanović, "Il contributo dei Sanmicheli alla fortificazione della Dalmazia," *Castellum* 7 (1968): 37–56; Kruno Prijatelj, "Sanmicheli e la Dalmazia," in *Michele Sanmicheli. Architettura, linguaggio e cultura artistica nel cinquecento*, eds. Howard Burns, Christoph L. Frommel and Lionello Puppi (Vicenza and Milan: Electa, 1995), 222–27; Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 33; Pavuša Vežić, "Vrata Michelea Sanmichelija u Zadru," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 29 (2005): 93–106; Žmegač, *Bastioni jadranske Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2009), 39.

8 Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 45.

9 Šime Ljubić, ed., *Commissiones et relationes Venetae II (1525–1553)* (Zagreb: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1877), 150–52, 155–59.

10 Construction of the Fortezza di Sant'Andrea began three years after work began on the Fortress of St. Nicholas. This was the first of the standalone fortresses that defended the entrance to the Venetian lagoon. In a conceptual sense, they were therefore related to the fortress in Šibenik. Andrej Žmegač, "Utvrda Sv. Nikole pred Šibenikom." *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 25 (2001): 98–99; Giorgio Crovato and Maurizio Crovato, *Isole abbandonate della laguna veneziana* (Venice: San Marco Press, 2008), 229–36.

11 The Sanmichelis were, as far as it is known, the only famous Venetian Renaissance architects who observed ancient Greek architecture in situ.

12 This reconstruction of the movements of the Sanmichelis along the Adriatic is based on the following literature: Davies and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 236–74; Francesco Da Ronzani and Girolamo Luciolli, *Le fabbriche civili, ecclesiastiche e militari di Michele Sanmicheli* (Verona: Tipografia degli eredi di Marco Moroni, 1823); Eric Johan Langenskiöld, *Michele Sanmicheli: The Architect of Verona: His Life and Works* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells boktryckeri, 1938); Lionelo Puppi, *Michele Sanmicheli architetto di Verona* (Padua: Marsilio, 1971); Deanović, "Il contributo dei Sanmicheli," 37–56; Christoph L. Frommel, "Roma e l'opera giovanile di Sanmicheli," *Michele Sanmicheli. Architettura, linguaggio e cultura artistica nel cinquecento*, eds. Howard Burns, Christoph L. Frommel, Lionello Puppi (Vicenza and Milan: Electa, 1995), 14–31; Žmegač, "Utvrda Sv. Nikole", 91–100; Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 29–61; Mazzi, "Michele Sanmicheli," 119–42.

13 Deanović, "Il contributo dei Sanmicheli," 37–56.

14 Deanović, "Il contributo dei Sanmicheli," 37–56; Andrej Žmegač, "Zadarske utvrde 16. stoljeća," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 27 (2003): 112–13.

15 Šibenik had been ruled by the Venetians since 1412. But after Skradin, a town on the Krka River, fell to the Turks in 1522, there were fears that the Turks would be able to achieve a sea link with Skradin. This would mean the Turkish fleet could enter the Bay of Šibenik, and so in 1524 Malatesta Baglioni, a condottiero who had the general assignment of reporting on the state of the Dalmatian forts, was sent to Šibenik. His recommendation was that Šibenik should be particularly defended from the seawards direction. The sole entry into the Bay of Šibenik was through the mile-and-a-half-long

St. Anthony's Channel, which made it possible to mount a quality defense and control the entry of ships. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, passage through the channel was controlled by *torette*—the large and small towers built on both sides of the channel at the entry into the port of Šibenik. At that place, a chain was stretched from one side to the other, preventing ships from sailing into the port, particularly at night. Baglioni proposed building two forts at the entrance into the Channel of St. Anthony to prevent the entry of the Turkish fleet into the bay. One would be built at the site of the medieval Monastery of St. Nicholas, the ruins of which were still visible, and the other would be alongside the church of St. Andrew on the other side of the channel. A document reveals that Giangirolamo was in Šibenik in 1538 for discussions relating to the defense of the harbor of Šibenik. See Šime Ljubić, ed., *Commissiones et relationes Venetae I (1433–1527)* (Zagreb: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1876): 178–188; Josip Ćuzela, "Pomorska utvrda Sv. Nikole na ulazu u kanal Sv. Ante kod Šibenika," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 33 (1992): 51–75; Mazzi, "Michele Sanmicheli", 137; Ivo Glavaš and Ivo Šprljan, "Kule na ulazu u Kanal sv. Ante: Neodvojivi dio šibenskih fortifikacija," *Ars Adriatica* 8 (2018): 47–60.

16   This document indicates that the construction of the fortress began during the period of the Third Ottoman-Venetian War (1537–40). The lost inscription over the main showed shows 1543 as the year of the conclusion of that original phase of the building. This was during the period of office of Šibenik's Rector Francisco Coppo and of the first castellan, Orsato Manolesso. See Krsto Stošić, *Šibenske utvrde* (manuscript in the Šibenik City Museum).

17   Deanović, "Il contributo dei Sanmicheli," 37–56; Ljubić, *Commissiones II*, 150–52; Ćuzela, "Pomorska utvrda," 55.

18   Ćuzela, "Pomorska utvrda," 72–74. Given its similarity to the construction of the Fortress of St. Nicholas, the extensive use of brick for the construction of the Ponton has led to the conclusion that its creator must have been Giangirolamo, who built it on a site selected for him by Michele as part of the overall project. See Žmegač, "Zadarske utvrde," 114.

19   Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti, di Giorgio Vasari* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 3: 512–527.

20   Tomasso Temanza, *Vite dei Più Celebri Architetti, e Scultori Veneziani Che Fiorirono Nel Secolo Decimosesto* (Venice: Stamperia di C. Palese, 1778), 1: 151–97. See Ronzani, and Luciolli, Le fabbriche civili, 11.

21   Francesco Milizia, *Le Vite De' Piu Celebri Architetti d'Ogni Nazione e d'Ogni Tempo: Precedute da un Saggio Sopra L' Architettura,* trans. Edward Cresy (Rome: Stamperia di Paolo Giunchi Komarek a spese di Venanzio Monaldini Libraro, 1768), 207. See also Giannantonio Selva, *Elogio di Michel Sammicheli architetto civile e militare* (Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1814).

22   Davies and Hemsoll, Michele Sanmicheli, 239; Ennio Concina, *La macchina territoriale. La progettazione della difesa nel Cinquecento Veneto* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1983); Giuliana Mazzi, "Il Cinquecento. I cantieri della difesa," in *L'architettura a Verona nell'età della Serenissima* (Verona: Banca Popolare di Verona, 1988), 95–145.

23   Ćuzela, "Pomorska utvrda," 51–75; Andrej Žmegač, "La fortezza di San Nicolò presso Sebenico. Un'opera importante di Giangirolamo Sanmicheli," Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz 49, 1–2 (2005): 133–51.

24   Ćuzela, "Pomorska utvrda," 51–75; Žmegač, "La fortezza," 133–51.

25   Žmegač, *Bastioni*, 55–60.

26   Antonio Manno, "Strategie difensive e fortezze veneziane dal XV al XVIII secolo," in Palmanova, fortezza d'Europa, ed. Gino Pavan (Venezia: Marsilio, 1993), 500–49.

27   Christopher Duffy, *Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World 1494–1660* (London and Haley: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 31–32.

28   Paul Hirst, "The Defence of Places: Fortifications as Architecture [part 1]," *AA Files*, 33 (1997): 13–26; Federico Bulfone Gransinigh and Livio Petriccione, "War landscapes and fortifications from the 15th to the 17th century: the useful and the beautiful (or unless?) at the service of the State", *Proceedings of the XVIII—IPSAPA Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference* (2014): 177–188.

29   On Falconetto's gates and Sanmicheli's Porta San Martino in Legnago as forerunners of the Porta Nuova, see David and Hemsoll, *Michele Sanmicheli*, 241–53.

30   Vasari, Le vite, 3: 267–271.

31   Davies and Hemsoll, Michele Sanmicheli, 43–45, 289–313.

32   Davies and Hemsoll, Michele Sanmicheli, 55–56.

33   Frommel, "Roma e l'opera giovanile," 14–31.

34   Laris Borić, "Dujam Rudičić, Sanmichelijevi i Girolamo Cataneo u procesu prihvaćanja klasičnog jezika arhitekture od Zadra do Dubrovnika tijekom druge četvrtine 16. stoljeća," Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 39 (2015): 41–54.

35   According to the letter of Pietro Aretino, Sansovino's model of this corner solution existed in 1537, see Manuela Morresi, Jacopo Sansovino (Milan: Electa, 2000), 451. The preserved sketch for Zadar by Michele Sanmicheli with the same detail was made in the same year.

36   Ferdinando Albertolli, Porte di città e fortezze, depositi sepolcrali ed altre principali fabbriche pubbliche e private di Michele Sanmicheli, Veronese, misurate, disegnate: incise e brevemente illustrate da Ferdinando Albertolli (Milan: Cesarea regia stamperia, 1815); Davies and Hemsoll, Michele Sanmicheli, 258.

37   About the sculpture of the lion of St. Mark that was placed on top of the St. Nicholas Fotress in Šibenik in a similar manner as it was placed on top of the Porta Nuova in Verona, see Borić, "Dujam Rudičić, Sanmichelijevi i Girolamo Cataneo," 43–45.

38   Da Ronzani and Luciolli, Le fabbriche civili, 12.

39   For the first mention of the difference between the depiction of the book in the lions' paws, see Ana Šverko, "The Sanmichelis' City Gate in Zadar: Necessity and Art, Tradition and Innovation," in Discovering Dalmatia (Zagreb: Institute of Art History, 2015): 23; Ivo Glavaš, "Marginalije o tvrđavi sv. Nikole kod Šibenika i Velikim kopnenim vratima," Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske 39 (2016): 131–32.

40   Venice was, above all, a trading rather than a military power. According to Maria Pia Pedani, the two versions of the lion draw attention to the double aspect of power in Venice: on the one hand is "St. Mark in the form of a lion" with an open book and on the other is the "lion of St. Mark" with a closed book. The first symbolizes sovereign rule, the second delegated power. On the approach to this problem, see Maria Pia Pedani, "Il leone di San Marco o San Marco in forma di leone?" Archivio veneto 5, no. 166 (2006): 185–90.

41   Bulfone Gransinigh and Petriccione, War landscapes, 184. On the local craftsmen hired for these projects, see Borić, "Dujam Rudičić, Sanmichelijevi i Girolamo Cataneo," 41–54.

42   Stošić, Šibenske utvrde; Cvito Fisković, "Zadarska renesansna crkva sv. Marije," Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 10 (1956): 118; Borić, "Dujam Rudičić,

Sanmichelijevi i Girolamo Cataneo," 41–54; Emil Hilje, "Uz nekoliko arhivskih podataka o gradnji šibenske lože," Ars Adriatica 10, no. 1 (2020): 69.

43   M.E. Mallett and J.R. Hale, The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400 to 1617 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

44   Alina Payne, "Introduction: The Republic of the Sea," in Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1–18.

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Daniel Rodriga's Lazaretto in Split and Ottoman Caravanserais in Bosnia

The Transcultural Transfer of an Architectonic Model

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In the travelogue of their pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1562, the, German pilgrims Jacob Wormbser and Count Albrecht of Löwenstein recount their fear of robbery and enslavement by Dorghut 'Ali, just one of the many Barbary corsairs then plundering the Mediterranean, as they sailed along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. This fear was not only shared by travelers and the crews of pilgrim and merchant ships sailing across the Adriatic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but also by all inhabitants of the Adriatic coasts.[1] Indeed, since the fifteenth century, Barbary corsairs from North Africa had occasionally raided the western coast of the Italian Peninsula, and especially those territories beyond Venetian control. During the same period, Ottoman privateers from Ulcinj (Dulcingno) and Herceg Novi (Castelnuovo) raided and plundered settlements along the eastern coast of the Adriatic, arriving as far north as the Istrian Peninsula. In addition, from the beginning of 1499, the part of the Dalmatian coast from the Neretva River, north of the Republic of Ragusa, to the city of Omiš (Almissa), was held by the Ottomans, who occasionally also raided the surrounding Christian lands. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the local corsairs, Uskoks, based in the city of Senj on the coastal border of the Habsburg Empire, posed especially significant threats for ships crossing the Adriatic.[2]

As a consequence, numerous fortifications in the form of watchtowers, fortified monasteries, churches, and private residences sprouted up along each side of the Adriatic coast, embodying the efforts of the local population to improve the living conditions on the seashore. These, seemingly improvised, locally funded fortifications protected smaller settlements from pirate raiding. Larger, well-planned, and state-funded fortifications like the St. Nicholas fortress, situated at the entrance to Šibenik Bay, protected the towns of strategic importance against presumed Ottoman military naval operations in the Adriatic, as exemplified by the 1539 Ottoman intervention in the Bay of Kotor led by Hayreddin Barbarossa.[3] Fear of the Ottoman invasion on Venetian territories and a strong desire to protect the main Venetian maritime merchant route that was attached to Dalmatia also resulted in the subsequent fortification of Venetian-held strategic points along the Eastern Adriatic coast.

The security of this part of the Venetian sea-trade route was of the utmost importance for the economic survival of the *Serenissima*. The Venetian sea trade routes had, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, three main strongholds, Venice, Corfu, and Crete, complemented by smaller auxiliary strongholds, such as Famagusta on Cyprus, Nauplius on the Peloponnese, Zante, Kefalonia, and along the Eastern Adriatic coast Kotor, Korčula, Hvar, Zadar with Pula, and Rovinj in Istria, and Kopar.[4] Traditionally, the Dalmatian towns—even after they came under Venetian rule at the beginning of the fifteenth century—did not participate in the lucrative Venetian trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. Instead, of exceptional importance to the development of the Eastern Adriatic towns prior to Venetian dominion was the "horizontal" East-West trade, which connected them with the Italian Peninsula, specifically with the regions of Abruzzo, Marche, and Romangna.[5]

In the second half of the sixteenth century the Venetian Republic was presented with the opportunity to establish a new trade route. It was intended to shorten the journey across the Adriatic, favoring the horizontal land movement from the Dalmatian coast toward the hinterland to Istanbul across the Balkan Peninsula. The promoter of this alternative new trade route was the Jewish merchant Daniel Rodriga. In order to successfully implement his project, among other tasks, Rodriga had to build a *scala* or stopover complex in the town of Split, on the East coast of Adriatic Sea, at that time a Venetian

FIGURE 3.1   G. Santini, View of the port, Split, 1666
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possession. The complex, originally intended to provide housing for Ottoman merchants and storage for their goods, gained additional functions in response to new trade conditions in the Adriatic (Fig. 3.1).

Unlike previous scholarship, my focus here is on Rodriga's activities as a merchant and mediator in the Balkans, drawing attention to his connections with prominent Ottoman officials. Following him across the network of trade routes we will see that Ottoman influence did not stop at its state border in the hinterland of the Eastern Adriatic coast. I will bring to light the extent of influence Ottoman policy could have had on the creation of a new trade route toward Venice and the extent of influence Ottoman architecture had on the form and function of the Venetian lazaretto in Split by comparing it to analog structures in the Adriatic at a time when sanitary measures to combat the spread of epidemics in the Adriatic had become an inevitable part of trade infrastructure.

1   Daniel Rodriga and a Project for a New Trade Route

Rodriga was probably a Levantine Jew of Iberian origin[6] who is first mentioned in Ancona where in 1549 he seems to have founded a company that promoted trade between the Apennine Peninsula and the Ottoman Empire through the Ottoman port of Neretva.[7] The oldest-known mention of Rodriga's presence on the eastern side of the Adriatic dates from 1563.[8] In the letter written by an Ottoman public official in Bosnia addressed to the Venetian government, the Ottoman statesman recounts that the governor of Bosnia, Sokollu Mustafa—a close relative of second Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha—seeks to alert the authorities in Venice that he is sending his personal merchant, *Ludriga*, in order to purchase the necessary textiles for his household on his behalf, specifically the silks and wools for which the town is known.[9] One can

surmise that the merchant mentioned in this letter was indeed Daniel Rodriga. The merchant Ludriga was traveling to Venice equipped with Mustafa Bey's money and was supposed to be welcomed and assisted by Venetian authorities in order to successfully accomplish his task. He is also known to have maintained good relations with another Ottoman public official; specifically, in a letter addressed to the Venetian authorities in 1573, Hasan, governor of Hercegovina, announces the arrival of *Daniel Lodrisch* (Rodriga) to Venice as one of his emissaries in talks concerning slave exchange, calling him *my close friend* and *my merchant*.[10] During the same period, Rodriga is also known to have acted as Jewish consul in the Ottoman port of Neretva (Drijeva, near Gabela) on the Adriatic coast and was approved by Venetian authorities. During 1574, Rodriga seems to have been a Venetian consultant and an intermediary in negotiations concerning the delineation of the Venetian-Ottoman border in Dalmatia. The main Ottoman negotiator was the Bosnian Ferhad Pasha, another member of the Sokollu family who had been a governor of the Ottoman province of Klis between 1566 and 1573, through which territory Rodriga's new trade route was supposed to cross.[11]

While these earliest documents tracing Rodriga's life depict him as a confidant of the governors of the Ottoman provinces, he always maintained a close relationship with the Venetian government.[12] Indeed, he was not a passive player among bigger and more important entities; instead, he was proactively inserting himself into the geopolitical arena in order to create favorable conditions for himself and for the Jewish communities in Venice and the Balkans.

In 1577, Rodriga began to lobby the Venetian authorities persistently, presenting various projects,[13] of which the majority concerned opportunities for commerce between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire that, in his own words, would benefit the political relations between these two traditional adversaries.[14] In order to implement these projects, however, Rodriga needed two concessions from the Venetian government: first was the permission to establish a free-transit "scala" (or stopover) in the town of Split in Dalmatia; the second was granting privileges to Jewish merchants residing in Venice and Split.[15] According to Rodriga, this *scala* or way station in Split was an essential part of the project for a new trading route connecting the Balkans

with Venice through Sarajevo and Split, thus channeling commerce from the territories of the Ottoman Empire toward Venice. While providing a more secure route for the merchants by shortening the maritime part of the trip in the pirate-infested Adriatic Sea, Rodriga's project seems to have been a deliberate attempt to divert trade away from the well-established southern route passing through Neretva, Dubrovnik, and Ancona on the way to Central Italy and as such was clearly aligned with Istanbul politics.[16]

The oldest-known mention of the *scala* in Split seems to be in a 1573 letter from Ali Pasha (the nephew of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha) addressed to the Venetian government, which predated Rodriga's petition by a full four years. At that time, Ali Pasha was the governor of the province of Klis bordering the territory of Split along the intended passage of the planned new trade route. In his letter, he reminded the Venetian authorities that upon the end of the War of Cyprus (1570–73), the *scala* and shipment activity in Split could be activated.[17]

A year later, in August 1574, Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha wrote to Doge Alvise Mocenigo, informing him of his order to all maritime merchants to avoid Ancona and other enemy ports and instead to favor Venice.[18] Information from the meeting that took place in Pera in August 1575 between the Venetian special ambassador Giacomo Soranzo and Chiaus Mustafa dei Cordovani further explains the geopolitical reasoning why the Ottomans insisted on redirecting the trade toward Venetian territory and thus could have stood behind Rodriga. From Soranzo's report, it appears that Mustafa dei Cordovani—who presented himself as a good friend of Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha's close relative Sokollu Ferhat, then governor of Bosnia—had informed the Venetian government, following the orders of the grand vizier, about the intention to "lift all trade from Ancona […], which is the city of the Pope, enemy of our Lord [the Sultan]."[19]

Sokollu's plan thus lies at the core of Rodriga's proposal for the creation of a new land route connecting the Balkans with Venice through the Venetian port town of Split, diverting trade away Dubrovnik—Venice's trade rival in the Adriatic—and papal Ancona.[20] Indeed, two years after Soranzo's meeting with Mustafa de Cordovani, the extremely well-connected Rodriga began to petition the Venetian government for the creation of the new trade route.[21]

The project was supposed to be a state-owned venture, but probably convinced of its cost effectiveness, Rodriga subsequently presented the project as his private enterprise: the construction of the *scala* and the organization of roads, inns, and horses was to be funded with his own money. According to his writings, the free-transit *scala* in Split was envisioned as a customhouse and *lazaretto*—a quarantine station for merchants and travelers—with enough space to sanitize merchant goods. Moreover, the building had to be both enclosed and defendable in order to prevent attacks on the foreign merchants residing within it. However, the decision about its precise position—whether inside or outside the city walls—was left to the Venetian authorities.[22]

The senate approved this legislation and Rodriga obtained the permit in 1581. According to his own account, he then moved with his family from Venice to Split and hired a *proto*, a stonemason suggested by the governor of Split Nicolo Correr, probably Vicko (Vicenzo) Bugardelo, who was active in the cities of central Dalmatia at the time and to whom he paid 600 ducats.[23] Bugardelo, together with another anonymous master from Zadar, most likely in consultation with Rodriga, produced a drawing with a plan for the construction of a complex that was sent to Venice for approval. The construction of the customhouse began on public terrain close to the city walls, by the seashore—a location determined in 1577 by the then governor of Split, Marco Corner.[24] In preparation for the realization of this project, Rodriga convinced the Ottoman officials presiding over the territories between Sarajevo and Split to construct the necessary roads and to build a bridge over the Cetina River and caravanserais along the roads leading to Split.[25] Soon after having spent his money, and disappointed with the lack of state support and presented with the difficulty of the sudden death of the stonemason who had been commissioned to construct the customhouse, Rodriga abandoned the idea of the new trade route and left the city of Split and the unfinished buildings in the city's port. Moving from Split to Venice, two years later he was back on the east coast of the Adriatic, in Neretva, and subsequently in Dubrovnik, where he was named consul of the Jews of Ragusa.[26]

Soon thereafter, in 1588, the Venetian Board of Trade, *Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia*, decided to resume and complete Rodriga's project of a new overland trade route, turning his private enterprise into a state-owned project,
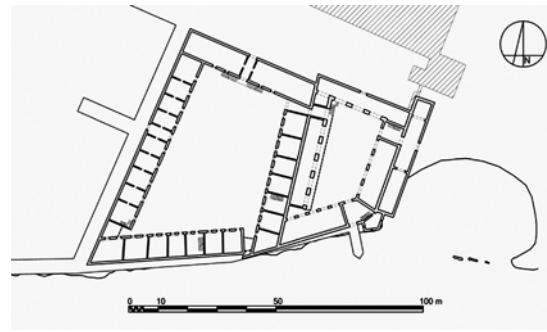
FIGURE 3.2   Lazaretto, Split, 1603
S. PEROJEVIĆ, 2002

considered to be of the utmost economic importance for the *Serenissima*.[27] In order to put the *scala* into function as soon as possible by preparing it to host a large number of merchants, the republic did not spare any money, material, or diplomatic effort. According to directives sent from Venice, the governor of Split, Nicola Bragadin, was to organize the work by engaging renowned artisans to follow the original design of the complex, which was therefore sent back to Split.[28] With the infusion of a large amount of state money, and building material sent directly from Venice, the once abandoned buildings were soon finished. However, the project needed to be coordinated once again with Ottoman officials in Bosnia. During the next four years, Venetian officials not only consulted Rodriga on matters concerning the *scala* but also sought his engagement in persuading the Bosnian pasha to redirect the trade route from Neretva to Split.[29] It seems that Daniel Rodriga had moved to Split again in order to help launch this project.[30] The lazaretto with customhouse was put into function in 1592 (Fig. 3.2).[31]

2   *Una Scalla di negocio di mercantie*

According to extant documents, it can be assumed Rodriga was personally involved in the architectural design of the lazaretto, and when it was completed, it comprised several buildings of different purposes. The plan consisted of a quadrangular courtyard enclosed on three sides by buildings, and on the side toward the city port it was closed off by a high wall.[32] The arrangement of this complex of buildings is geometrically irregular due to the configurations of the available plot of land.

The complex consisted of a customhouse and guesthouse for the merchants on the east, with ground-level storage and residences for merchants above.[33] A spacious courtyard in the center provided enough space for the manipulation of merchandise. The entire complex was completely isolated from the surrounding area, and the building's apertures were limited to the façades facing the internal courtyard, thus providing the security Rodriga had insisted upon. The main entrance was on the north wall through a double gate, with the administrator and guardhouse beside it. There was a well in the courtyard for the provision of water. On the east, buildings were attached to the medieval city wall, which was still in use so the height of the buildings was limited by the height of the wall for security reasons.[34] For the purposes of defense and supervision, there was a pentagonal watchtower attached to one of the corners of the complex toward the sea. Beside the tower and opposite to the main entrance was another gate on the sea side of the complex. This opening led to a small pier where ships berthed and loaded the goods. In 1602, in order to augment the capacity for the quarantine of suspected merchants and their goods, a building was constructed on the west side of the courtyard, beside the wall facing the city port. It had open storage space on the ground level that was divided by five arches and surmounted by six rooms above.[35]

Before long, it became evident that the existing structure was not adequate for the effective implementation of quarantine and the disinfection of goods, so in 1595 work began to enlarge the complex with the construction of a new, larger courtyard and its attendant buildings adjacent to the existing structure.[36] This new courtyard, which was financed by the Venetian Republic and probably designed by state engineers, maintained the original plan of the courtyard.[37] The big quadrangular void in the middle was surrounded on three sides by buildings with twenty-four storage spaces on the lower level and as many rooms for residing merchants on the upper level. Once again, openings, windows, and entries faced the inner courtyard exclusively. On the fourth, northern side of the courtyard were vaulted stables for horses and horsemen, above which were rooms big enough to host merchants and their goods. Attached to the corner of the complex toward the sea was once again a watchtower to serve as protection as well as for supervision.[38] A cistern was located in the middle of the

courtyard that was connected to the existing space by an opening in the wall of one of the warehouses. This courtyard served as a *fondaco*: it housed merchants waiting to be transported to Venice after the quarantine and also on their way back from Venice. The sanitation of goods continued to be performed in the original courtyard, the so-called Lazzaretto Vecchio.[39] As commerce boomed,[40] the Republic of Venice invested in subsequent enlargements of the lazaretto until 1629, when it reached its maximum capacity, with a final structure consisting of six courtyards. By this time the lazaretto had reached such imposing dimensions that its sea-facing façade was longer than the adjacent southern façade of Diocletian's palace (Fig. 3.3).

3 The Dubrovnik and Venice Lazarettos

It is evident that the initial two courtyards of the lazaretto in Split—1581 and 1611—are distinctive in form. One beside the other, they are almost mirror reflections on a different scale, consisting of buildings organized around a quadrangular courtyard and surrounded in turn by a high wall with a defensive tower in one of the corners. Almost all buildings had storage space on the ground floor and residences for merchants on the upper level. In order to identify possible architectural models that may have influenced the design of the complex, it is necessary to compare it with similar buildings already in existence on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. It is clear in the documents that from the very beginning of design and construction, the new complex of the *scala*, or reloading station for merchants and their goods, needed to function simultaneously as a lazaretto with enough space to sanitize goods. The practice of sanitizing goods and quarantining merchants appeared at the end of the fourteenth century on the coast of the Adriatic Sea and it was considered and adopted throughout the Western Mediterranean to be the only effective tool for combating the spread of plague and other infectious diseases.[41] Indeed, trade networks were not only main arteries for the exchange of people and goods but also enabled the spread of disease, with devastating consequences.

The first to implement quarantine as a prevention tool against the spread of the plague was the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In 1377, state regulations required that all

FIGURE 3.3   G. Santini, Plan of Split, 1666
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passengers coming from infected lands remain thirty days in quarantine; initially, they were confined to the two islands south of Dubrovnik, and later, from 1397, to a monastery on the island of Mljet that had been converted into a lazaretto.[42] In 1590, seeking an adequate position to simultaneously favor trade and impede the spread of plague inside the city walls, the Ragusan government intended to build a large lazaretto attached to the city port and southeast of the city walls, in the suburb of Ploče. In this manner, the republic sought to more adequately service the land trade route connecting Dubrovnik with Ottoman Bosnia and further with Istanbul. The construction of this lazaretto, which remained in service until the second half of the nineteenth century, began only in 1627, almost half a century after beginning the construction of the lazaretto in Split and as such could not serve as its model (Fig. 3.4).[43]

Venice, like the Republic of Ragusa, used islands for the construction of lazaretti as natural, convenient sites of isolation for infected individuals.[44] For instance, the so-called Lazzaretto Vecchio, the first permanent lazaretto to be established in Venice and in general, was set up on the island of Santa Maria di Nazareth from which, through a linguistic distortion, the term "lazaretto" was eventually coined. This first permanent establishment was set up in 1423 on the premises of the monastery of the Augustinian order as a plague hospital for the infected inhabitants of Venice and for those who arrived aboard ships presenting symptoms of plague.[45]

The Lazzaretto Vecchio in Venice first began to expand with the construction of several separate wooden buildings for the accommodations of additional patients. In the second half of the sixteenth century, permanent buildings for treatment of those infected were erected

FIGURE 3.4   Courtyard, Lazaretto, Dubrovnik
ZAVOD ZA OBNOVU DUBROVNIKA

around the original nucleus of monastic buildings with a church and bell tower, a pattern that led to the formation of large intervening courtyards and to the definition of the island perimeter. These elongated single-story buildings with gabled roofs had perimeter walls perforated with window openings placed at regular intervals. Probably after the big epidemic of 1630, a uniform sequence of warehouses in the form of the letter E, separated with courtyards, was constructed on the artificially enlarged portion of the island.[46] These single-story constructions were completely opened toward the courtyards, with roofs resting on pillars. This intervention reflects the addition of new functions of quarantine and the sanitation of merchant goods to the complex's original function as a plague hospital. In these warehouses the goods arriving to Venice by sea were stored and continuously shifted in order to ventilate them and expose them to the sun in the belief that the goods would thus be disinfected. In addition, attached to the narrow warehouses, three multilevel buildings were erected for the *bastazzi* (merchants quarantined separately) who worked there. As the English prison reformer John Howard reported in 1785, the final layout of the complex

was conditioned by the presence of original monastic buildings and the nature of the space remaining for construction (see fig. 3.5). Considering that the quarantine and disinfection function was added only in the seventeenth century and that the complex maintained its original function as a plague hospital, it seems improbable that it served as a model for the Split lazaretto.[47]

In 1468, the Republic of Venice established a new lazaretto on the island of Vigna Murata.[48] This, so-called Lazzaretto Nuovo, provided accommodations for the patients who had recovered in the Lazzaretto Vecchio. During the first phase of its spatial development, a wall was built on the perimeter of the island, framing a quadrangular vast empty space. Attached to this wall was a row of numerous small cottages with arcades in front of them.[49] In this case, during the sixteenth century, with the addition of the new function of quarantine for merchants arriving on ships to Venice and the disinfection of imported goods, further construction proceeded from the outside perimeter, thus filling an empty space inside the circumference wall. Andrea Cornello's drawing shows that in 1687 the entire perimeter of the lazaretto was divided into ten compartments of various

VENICE.
Ground Plan of the old LAZARETTO.

A. *Warehouses.* B. *Courts.* C. *Apartments.* D. *Powder Magazines.* E. *Prior's House & Gardens.* F. *Cellar for Wax.* G. *Parlour.* H. *Common entrance.* I. *Landing places.*
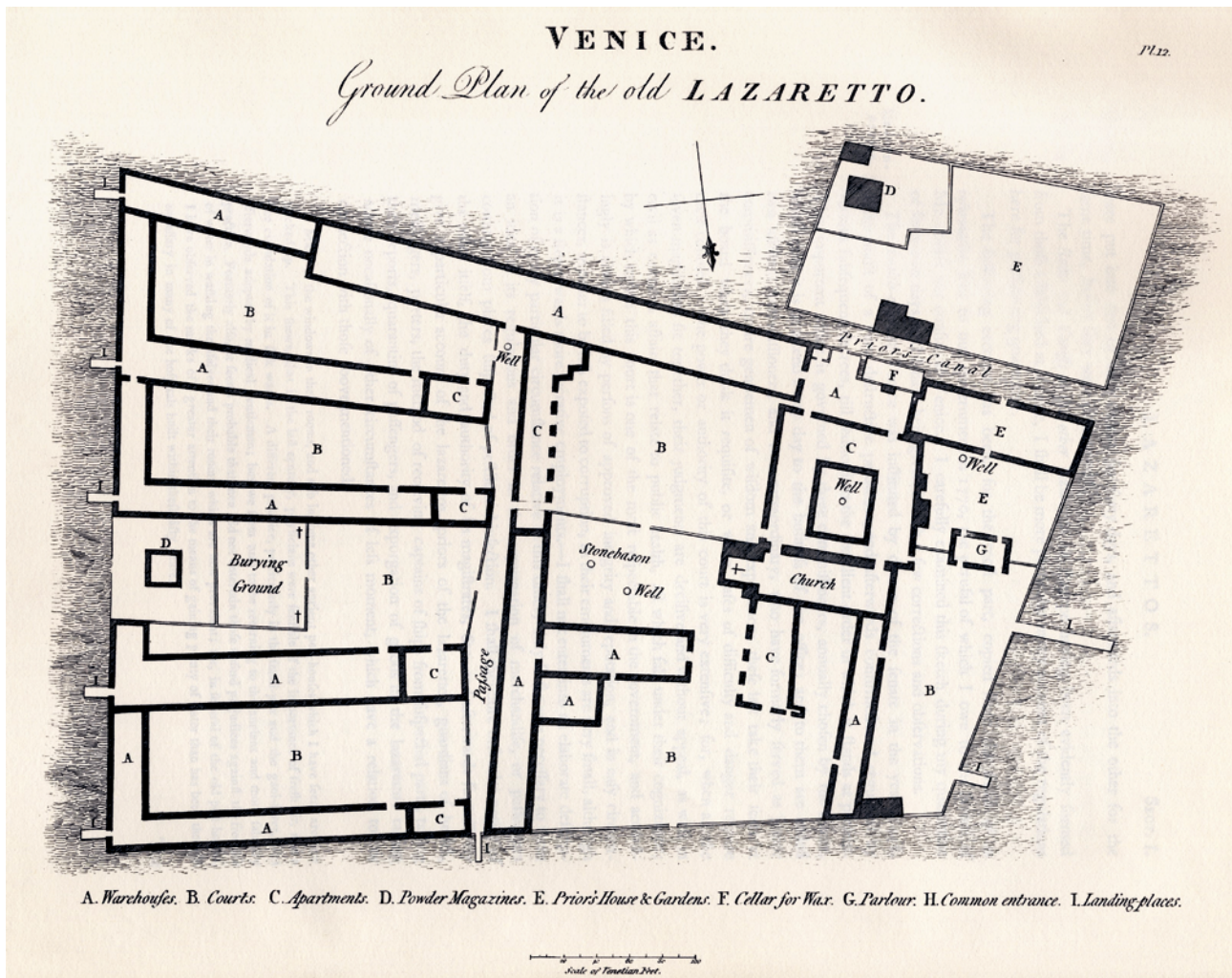
FIGURE 3.5　　　　Plan, Lazzaretto Vecchio, Venice
　　　　　　　　　　J. HOWARD, *AN ACCOUNT OF PRINCIPAL LAZARETTOS*, 1791

sizes. Here, as in the old lazaretto, the same principle was applied, according to which certain sections were used only for disinfection of goods and others for quarantine. Merchants quarantined in the original two-level cottages. Storage compartments occupied the central space, showing that the modifications in the original function of the structure were realized by erecting partition walls toward the inner, central space of the lazaretto. Storage and disinfection spaces were created mainly by adding overhanging rooftops resting on columns along the partition walls. Also, a large, still existing, freestanding warehouse, *tezon grando*, was built shortly after the mid-1500s.

One can consequently identify an ambiguous use of the term "lazaretto" in historical accounts concerning these two Venetian case studies. The flexibility of the term is attributable to its equally flexible typology: specifically, in many cases, such complexes served a double function, both as a hospital for the sick and as a place for quarantine and the sanitation of goods. It is here in Venice, where the first permanent lazaretto was founded in the fifteenth century, that in the next century the lazaretto became a crucial tool in the fight against the spread of plague, functioning as site for quarantine and sanitation—an indispensable stop on the trade route.[50]

Upon comparing the plans of the two Venetian lazarettos with the first two courtyards of the Split lazaretto it is obvious that in the latter the typology introduced by the Venetian lazarettos was not used as a model for the design of their Dalmatian counterpart. Indeed, both

Venetian complexes only achieved their final form long after they were founded and construction began. The layout is accordingly the result of a succession of expansions that do not adhere to a prescribed architectural or geometric design. The accretive quality of the Venetian examples hence diverges from the Split example, which was governed by a single, unifying design. Buildings of different functions, such as quarantine, disinfection, customs, and accommodations for traders after the quarantine, were located around a single courtyard. Also, the principle according to which the quarantine was performed in separate courtyards from the disinfection of goods was not applied in any of the six courtyards in Split. Almost all the buildings in the lazaretto consisted of a disinfection storage area on the ground floor, with quarantine rooms above them. Therefore, other types of buildings with lodging and commerce that Rodriga may have encountered on his voyages probably served as his models.

4 Venice *Fondaco*s

The *fondaco* thrived in the Mediterranean port cities during the Middle Ages. The typology traces its roots to the *pandocheion*, a hostel for travelers in the Byzantine world, which evolved in the Islamic world into the institution of the *funduq* or *khan*, a trading post that offered both hospitality and a locus of commercial activity in the eastern and southern Mediterranean.[51] The *funduq* was a building or complex of buildings owned by a local authority intended to lodge foreign merchants, provide storage for their goods and space for their commercial activity.[52] Each *funduq* was designated for a particular national community. In late-fifteenth-century Alexandria, for example, Felix Fabri, a Dominican monk on pilgrimage to Palestine, visited two Venetian *funduq*s, then those of the Catalan and Genoese nations, as well as those of the Turks from Constantinople and the Tartars.[53] The main characteristic of these buildings was their limited access, with a gatekeeper and guards who oversaw the security of the facility upon nightfall.[54] The *funduq* adhered to a standard architectural formula—a central courtyard was used for the movement of goods, business negotiations and transactions, and government taxation. The courtyard was surrounded by storage spaces on the ground level, which were rented to merchants, and perhaps stabling, while the lodgings were located on the upper floors, with a corridor that opened toward the central courtyard through the arcades.[55]

The concept of the *funduq* was imported to Europe, Italy, and the south of France by merchants and other travelers who used these facilities as bases for accommodation and commercial practice during their prolonged overseas stay in eastern or south Mediterranean ports.[56] Daniel Rodriga could have encountered this type of building during his stay in Venice. The name *fondaco* was used in Venice inter alia to identify the building intended to accommodate merchants from diverse ethnic communities.[57] In Venice, there were *fondacos* for German and Ottoman merchants, institutions that Rodriga could have visited while living in the *Ghetto Vecchio* in order to conduct business deals. The biggest, most important architecturally developed *fondaco* was the Fondaco dei Tedeschi,[58] a state-owned facility destined for use only by merchants of German provenance. It was established in the thirteenth century and situated on the Grand Canal, close to the Rialto Bridge, the main trading district in the lagoon city. According to state regulations, merchants had to take lodging, store their goods, and carry out purchase and sale transactions on its premises. After the Fondaco dei Tedeschi burned to the ground, it was completely restored between 1505 and 1508.[59] On the ground level were warehouses, on the first floor the offices, and on upper floors numerous living quarters. As in all Venetian *fondacos*—independent of their main purpose—there was a state appointed official who was permanently present on site to collect taxes on transactions.[60]

The project of the confinement of Ottoman merchants in Venice in one building was carried out from 1574 to 1621.[61] The well-known Fondaco dei Turchi was established by the Venetian authorities in one of the private palaces on the Grand Canal. All Ottoman-Muslim merchants were supposed to reside in the *fondaco*, with the neat designation of spaces for Balkan (Bosnian and Albanian) and Anatolian merchants.[62] Since the function of the *fondaco* was imposed on a preexisting private residential structure, the Fondaco dei Turchi did not have a central courtyard, as was a characteristic feature of other residential *fondaco* buildings.[63] Another essential characteristic of this typology is the clear distinction of their form from the surrounding urban fabric. This

was a result of enclosure, not only necessary to ensure the security for Venetians but also to allow the foreigner communities a certain measure of social autonomy. During the refurbishment of the original, private structure, all openings of the Fondaco dei Turchi toward the outside were closed, a wall was constructed toward a canal, rooms' windows were displaced toward the central courtyard, and other openings provided with grating.[64] The *fondaco* was also provided with water in a cistern. There were only two exits—one toward the canal and the other on the backside toward the street. The reconstruction of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the subsequent formation of the Fondaco dei Turchi at the beginning of the seventeenth century shows that this widespread architectural institution from the medieval period continued to serve its purpose in Venice very well, even in the early modern period. Even though many Ottomans sought alternative accommodation, the Fondaco dei Turchi maintained its function—with only small modifications to its form—until the end of the republic in 1797.[65]

Considering that both of the Venice *fondaco*s were city dwellings, and they did not provide enough room for horses or for the sanitation of goods, and were hence developed in height, it is more likely that Rodriga considered their Ottoman architectural "cousins" as a more appropriate model for the construction of the lazaretto in Split.

5   Ottoman Caravanserais in Bosnia

Although there is no direct evidence of Rodriga's knowledge of Ottoman architecture in Bosnia, he must have encountered caravanserais or *khans* during his numerous trips through Ottoman Bosnia and used them for his own accommodations, and likely conducted business there. Considering that the lazaretto in Split was intended to accommodate primarily Ottoman merchants arriving from the territory of Ottoman Bosnia, a decision to erect an Ottoman-type caravanserai with a central courtyard used for hosting merchants and to boost mercantile exchange, already present on territory of Bosnia for at least a century, probably seemed both natural and logical to Rodriga.

In period sources, the word *funduq* is often replaced by the words *khan* or caravanserai, even though in

practice there was no architectural distinction between these commercial buildings.[66] With the rise of the Ottoman Empire and the more frequent use of the Turkish language, however, the trend changed, and the former *funduq*s of the Arab world became known as *khan*s or caravanserais.[67] The Ottomans appropriated the Seljuk architectural model of caravanserai and further standardized it.[68] With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe in the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth centuries, the Ottomans imported this institution to the territory of their newly conquered province of Bosnia bordering the Venetian province of Dalmatia. During his overland trip from Split to Istanbul in 1550, the Venetian ambassador Caterino Zen mentions fourteen caravanserai-type buildings, the westernmost of which was located outside of Sinj—an Ottoman settlement only thirty-five kilometers in the hinterland of Split.[69] Caravanserais were, along with roads and bridges, one essential part of commercial networks and a tool for the development of towns and regions by facilitating commerce and bringing an influx of capital to the local community.[70] They were built on newly conquered territory in the hinterland of Dalmatia as a part of pious foundations (waqfs) established during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[71] This period in Bosnian history is marked by the Ottomanization of the conquered territory and by its intense urbanization. The central government in Istanbul deliberately prompted the foundation of new cities that became new political, economic, and cultural centers and populated them with newly arrived settlers. In addition, it stimulated the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, and caravanserais, as well as the broader infrastructure that enabled both the development of trade and fulfilled key military functions in this border province.[72] All of this was carried out with endowments established largely by high-ranking governors and administrative officers. For example, in 1558, the aforementioned governor of Bosnia Sanjak, Sokollu Mustafa Bey—in whose service we find Daniel Rodriga—built a mosque, mekteb, caravanserai, bridge, hamam, mill, and many shops in an empty meadow, all of which were funded by his endowment. This settlement, named Rudo, very quickly grew to become *kasaba* Rudo, an important node in regional trade routes.[73]

During the sixteenth century, almost all larger settlements at the crossroads of trade routes were serviced by caravanserais. In the second half of the sixteenth

century, Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha built a caravanserai in Višegrad,[74] in the southeast part of the Bosnia eyelet, while before 1587 Sokollu Ferhad Pasha built a large caravanserai covered with lead in Banja Luka, the capital of this Ottoman province. Three of a total of four caravanserais with courtyards in Sarajevo were built during the sixteenth century.

Isa Bey Ishakovic, the founder of Ottoman Sarajevo, built one of the oldest caravanserais in 1462, on the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the center of the Baščaršija district in Sarajevo, a commercial center of Bosnia.[75] Known as the Kolobara Han, it had stable accommodations for thirty horses, four warehouses, and forty rooms on the upper floor. Since it was built of wood and mud bricks, it was destroyed in the fire of 1937, and there is no detailed information about its appearance.

Another courtyard caravanserai in Sarajevo was Tašlihan (see fig. 3.6) built through the endowment of the governor Gazi Husrev Bey in 1543.[76] Tašlihan was the most monumental of all the caravanserais in Bosnia. It had a rectangular base and layout typical of all the caravansaries built as two-story buildings and was constructed entirely of stone. Unlike other caravanserais in Sarajevo, in which the central courtyard was used for the loading and unloading of goods, Tašlihan's courtyard had a row of shops on the ground level, which characterized it as a commercial han. In the center of the rectangular courtyard was a fountain for water and *mesdžid*, a place for prayer supported by pillars. From the courtyard, close to the main caravanserai entrance, there were two stone staircases leading to rooms and hallways on the top floor. The sleeping quarters were vaulted with small domes, and hallways with barrel vaults, and lead was used throughout as a roof cover. This caravanserai provided lodging for travelers and merchants and also functioned as a bazaar. Toward the completion of Tašlihan, between 1542 and 1543, craftsmen skilled in the construction of domes and vaults were called from the nearby Republic of Ragusa, with a specific request for the dispatch of thirty stonemasons specializing in the construction of walls, vaults, and domes (Fig. 3.6).[77]

The Morića Han in Sarajevo (see fig. 3.7) is the only surviving large commercial caravanserai in the region that almost entirely preserves its original form.[78] The caravanserai, which housed three hundred beds, was built as part of Gazi Husrev Beg's waqf in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For a number of years, it marked the center of the political and social life of artisans, merchants and scholars. The caravanserai consists of a ground and first floor, with a rectangular ground plan;[79] while the top floor was constructed with wood, the ground floor was built of stone, partly so it could hold the weight of the top floor and partly as a protection against fire for the goods stored there. The central courtyard is mostly situated under the top floor, supported by a colonnade of oak columns, forming a porch encircling the space. This solution maximized the capacity of the space, as all four sides of the courtyard were thus full of shops, storage spaces, and horse stables that almost always faced the main entrance. The top floor was used for living quarters, with a layout completely independent of that characterizing the ground floor. There, rooms were located on both sides of a wide central hallway. Two staircases, located far from one another, led from the ground to the top floor. Like the other three large Sarajevo caravanserais, the Morića Han had its own waterworks as well as a fountain with a cistern situated adjacent to the structure. In addition to the main entrance, it also had another side entrance (Fig. 3.7).[80]

Even the Jewish community of Sarajevo that had settled there since the mid-sixteenth century lived collectively in a separate building, which adhered to a caravaserai typology.[81] A document from 1728–29 states that in 1581 Siavush Pasha, the grand vizier, ordered the construction of a separate large caravanserai for Jews living in Sarajevo.[82] This building was a part of Siavush Pasha's waqf, and residents of this *daira* were contributing to it by paying annual rent.[83] The building was constructed around a courtyard, but had only one level, and it was surrounded with a high wall.[84]

Rodriga certainly visited Sarajevo, which was a major commercial center of the region, on his business trips. He lived in Neretva, a key Ottoman export port on the Adriatic with a customhouse, warehouses, and boat docks. He probably also visited Mostar, located on the road from Dubrovnik to Sarajevo, where sanjak beys often temporary resided.[85] There, Karagöz Mehmed Bey, a significant fief holder, built a caravanserai before 1570.

While Donatella Calabi has already noticed similarities between the eldest courtyard of the lazaretto in Split and the typology of the *fondaco*,[86] in my opinion Rodriga's project used the model of the Ottoman courtyard caravanserai in Bosnia for the construction of the

FIGURE 3.6
Model, Tašlihan in Sarajevo
MUZEJ GRADA SARAJEVA, A. SULEJMANAGIĆ

lazaretto in Split, as it was the type of building he was more familiar with and was most functionally compatible with the intended purpose.

Although the building plot was restricted, Rodriga's project in Split emulated the quadrangular plan of the Bosnian caravanserai, with a central courtyard surrounded by buildings. Since the goods were delivered to Split with caravans that were sometimes composed of a great number of people and animals, the central spacious caravanserai courtyard where goods were loaded and unloaded was an essential feature for the *scala*, together with the front door that needed to be so wide and high so that a loaded horse could pass through it.[87] The horse stables in many caravanserais were located on
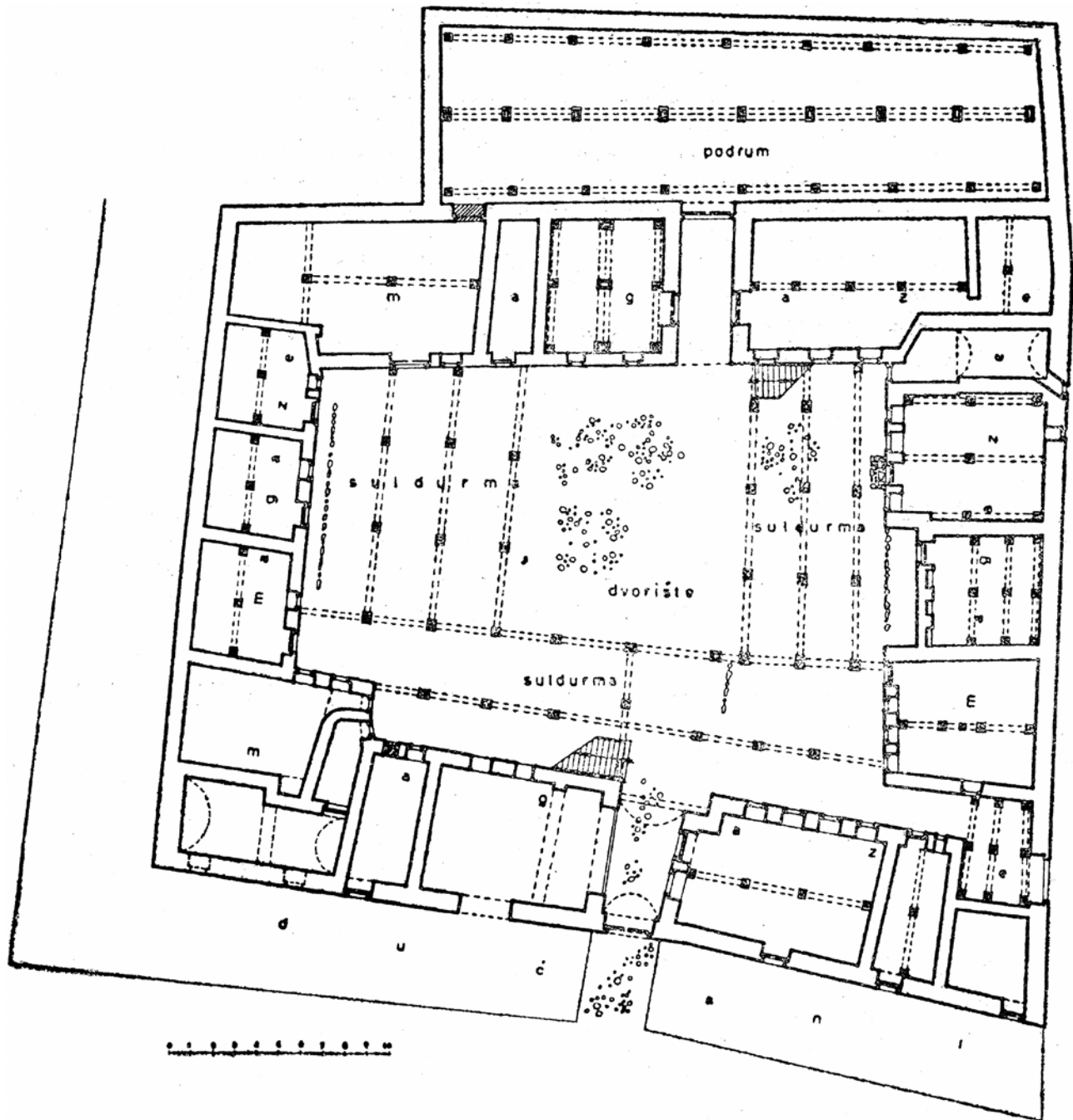
FIGURE 3.7   Plan, Morića Han in Sarajevo
H. KREŠEVLJAKOVIĆ, *HANOVI I KARAVANSARAJI*, 1957, AKADEMIJA NAUKA I UMJETNOSTI BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

one side of the courtyard. Considering that the stable was built on the entrance side of the second, subsequent courtyard in Split, which was formed on the model of the first one, it is to be assumed that the stable was in a similar position in the original courtyard. The premises of the caravanserai governor were usually located either above or opposite the entrance in order to control the entry and exit of the merchants. Similarly, the apartment of the custodian of the *scala* was located next to its entrance. Just as in a typical courtyard caravanserai, there was water fountain in the courtyard of the Split lazaretto too.

On the ground floor of the caravanserais there were usually warehouses, shops, or workshops, while on the upper floors were rooms for the accommodation of merchants and travelers. The same vertical allocation of spaces was applied in the *scala* in Split, and not only in the first courtyard but throughout the entire complex of the lazaretto. Also, as in the caravanserais, in Split the ground-floor rooms were illuminated by openings toward the inner courtyard, but in order to maximize security and control movement, all openings in Split, even the ones of the rooms on upper floor, were limited to the central courtyard. It is evident, however, that the Rodriga-backed project did not imitate all the architectural features of the Ottoman courtyard caravanserai closely but reproduced those characteristics that seemed most important to him. A series of adjustments were made to the typical design of the caravanserai building, but the most prominent one is the lack of a row of arcades on two levels in front of the buildings in the courtyard.

It should be noted that while the *scala* successfully welcomed caravans of merchants, stored their goods, and shipped them to Venice, it was not significantly adapted for the function of quarantine and disinfection of goods by strictly separating those who were suspected of being infectious from those who had already undergone quarantine and were able to move freely. Thus, already three years after the opening of the *scala*, by multiplying its original form with the construction of a new quadrangle the problem was solved, allowing "the Spalato area [to] become a funnel conducting vast riches from the Levant directly and exclusively to Venice, diverting the traffic away from Ragusa."[88]

The Rodriga project successfully appropriated the Ottoman architectonic model of the caravanserai and exploited it in the very heartland of the Venetian province of Dalmatia. Thus, as the engine behind it, Rodriga proved to be an entrepreneur with a unique vision and personal ambitions, who as a member of the Jewish ethnic group effectively annulled the frontiers between Cristian "West" and Muslim "East." Commercially and culturally, he connected two worlds, though he ultimately belonged to neither.

One can notice parallels between Rodriga's initiative to develop a new trading route and the contemporary activities of high-ranking Ottoman officials who, during the fifteenth and the especially sixteenth century, almost completely changed the Bosnian landscape. These entrepreneurs invested in the infrastructure of trade, created new towns like Sarajevo and Rudo, and built roads, bridges, and caravanserais. Within the context of Venetian historiography, Rodriga's initiative is remarkable, yet it is fully in accordance with the numerous contemporary initiatives of provincial governors and prominent individuals in Bosnia where Rodriga spent most of his life. Thus, following Rodriga's activities as merchant, go-between, and community leader on both sides of the frontier, one acquires an image of the Renaissance Adriatic, its shores and hinterland, as a space of cultural interactions and fluid borders.

Notes

1   Krešimir Kužić, "Njemački hodočasnici 15. i 16. stoljeća o Zadru," *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 50 (2008): 69.

2   Salvatore Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo. Cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Milano: Mondadori, 1993), 16–21, 67; Maria Pia Pedani, "Ottoman Merchants in the Adriatic: Trade and smuggling," *Acta Histriae* 16, nos. 1–2 (2008): 158–62.

3   Grga Novak, "Ratovi i bitke na Jadranskom moru," in *Pomorski zbornik—povodom 20-godišnjice Dana mornarice i pomorstva Jugoslavije*, eds. G. Novak and V. Maštrović (Zadar: Institut za historijske i ekonomske nauke, 1962–63), 1: 195.

4   Luka Dančević, "Maritimno-političke prilike na Jadranu početkom XVI. st.," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 10 (1977): 183.

5   Tomislav Raukar, "Venecija i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije u XV i XVI stoljeću," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): 209.

6   Benjamin Ravid, "An Autobiographical Memorandum by Daniel Rodriga, Inventore of the Scala of Spalato," in *The Mediterranean and the Jews: Banking, Finance and International Trade (XVI to XVIII Centuries)*, eds. A. Toaff and S. Swarzfuchs (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1989), 189–213; Viktor Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez i osnivanje splitske skele u XVI stoljeću," *Starine JAZU* 52 (1962): 185–248; Duško Kečkemet, *Židovi u povijesti Splita* (Dugi Rat, Poljica: Židovska općina, 2010), 31–42; Maren Frejdenberg, *Židovi na Balkanu na isteku srednjeg vijeka* (Zagreb: Dora Krupićeva, 2000), 96–106.

7   Renzo Paci, *La "scala" di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento* (Venezia: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1971), 49; "Gli Ebrei e la 'scala' di Spalato alla fine del Cinquecento," in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia: secoli XIV–XVIII: Atti del convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5–10 giugno 1983* (Milano: Edizioni Comunità, 1987), 829–34.

8   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 186.

9   "One of the grand vizier's favored relatives [...] his paternal cousin" Mustafa Bey would be appointed the governor of Buda, the former capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, by Sultan Suleiman. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators," in *Dalmatia and Mediterranean: Portable Archeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 329.

10 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 188–89, 194.

11 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 196–97; Elma Korić, "Uloga Ferhad-bega Sokolovića u utvrđivanju granica između Osmanskog carstva i Mletačke republike nakon završetka Kiparskog rata 1573. godine," *Anali Gazi Husrev-Begove biblioteke* 33 (2012): 139.

12 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 191; Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), 146; Paci, *La "scala" di Spalato*, 50.

13 The year mentioned in documents is 1566, but Benjamin Ravid attributes this year to a slip of the pen and corrects it to 1576. Ravid, "An Autobiographical Memorandum," 193.

14 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 187.

15 Benjamin Ravid, "A Tale of Three Cities and Their Raison d'Etat: Ancona, Venice, Livorno, and the Competition for Jewish Merchants in the Sixteenth Century," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, no. 2 (1991): 148.

16 Ravid, "A Tale of Three Cities," 148; Maurice Aymard, "Le commerce dans la mer Adriatique au XVI siecle," in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia: secoli XIV–XVIII: Atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello Stato Veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5–10 Giugno 1983*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milano: Edizioni Comunità, 1987), 704–5.

17 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 187–89; Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 204; Maria Pia Pedani and Alessio Bombaci, eds., *Inventory of the Lettere e Scritture Turchesche in the Venetian State Archives* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 54: 237; 3: 11–12.

18 Pedani and Bombaci, *Inventory of the Lettere*, 57: Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha writes on August 7, 1574 to Doge Alvise I Mocenigo that he ordered all maritime merchants to go to Venice instead of to Ancona and other Ottoman-hostile places. However, merchants complained to him that in Venice, in addition to paying higher taxes, they also suffered from mobbing, while in Ancona they were well received, and they paid the usual amount of duties. Therefore, the grand vizir invites the Venetians to reintroduce the old taxes, and he ordered corsairs attacking Venetian subjects in the waters near Corfu and elsewhere to be punished.

19 Walter Panciera, "Building a Boundary: The First Venetian-Ottoman Border in Dalmatia 1573–1576," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 45 (2013): 32.; "Tagliare i confini: la linea di frontiera Soranzo-Ferhat in Dalmazia (1576)," in *Studi storici dedicati a Orazio Cancila*, eds. A. Giuffrida, F. D'Avenia and D. Palermo (Palermo: Associazione Mediterranea, 2011), 270–72; Maria Pia Pedani, *Venezia porta d'Oriente* (Bologna: Il mulino, 2010), 170.

20 Sergio Anselmi, "Venezia e i Balcani: La 'Scala' di Spalato tra Cinque e Seicento," *Studi Storici* 13, no. 2 (1972): 410–11.

21 Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 221, 226. It seems improbable that Rodriga, who interacted personally with Sokollu family members and other important Bosnian state officials, did not receive word from the Ottomans that guarantees that a new trade route passing through their territory could be established before presenting his elaborate project to the Venetian authorities; also taking into account that for the realization of a new trade infrastructure, it was necessary for Ottomans to accomplish extensive work, like cutting down forests and building bridges, roads, and caravanserais.

Although no concrete involvement of Istanbul in Rodriga's venture has been documented, the Venetian modus operandi some fifteen years later, at the moment when Venice became the main driving force behind

the new trade route project, indicates the possibility of analogous behavior. It appears that the Venetian government was convinced that no one in the Ottoman capital had been informed of the project to divert trade through Split a few years before its realization. Out of fear of adverse reactions, the Venetian government preferred to keep the extent of their involvement in the project of *scala* a secret and sent its own confidants disguised as merchants in Bosnia to negotiate necessary affairs. Vera Costantini, "Fin dentro il paese turchesco: Stabilimento della scala di Spalato e potenziamento delle reti mercantili e diplomatiche veneziane nell'entroterra bosniaco," *Studi veneziani* 67 (2013): 275.

22   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 206.

23   Ravid, "An Autobiographical Memorandum," 194; Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 226; Cvito Fisković, "Splitski lazaret," in *Četiri priloga historiji grada Splita XVII i XVIII stoljeća* (Split: Muzej grada Splita, 1953), 12.

24   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 220.

25   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 238.

26   Ravid, "An Autobiographical Memorandum,"196, 209; Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1962), 227; Renzo Paci puts Rodriga in Dubrovnik immediately after his departure from Split, in 1583, see Paci, *La "scala" di Spalato*, 53.

27   Ravid, "An Autobiographical Memorandum," 201; Viktor Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez i osnivanje splitske skele u XVI stoljeću," *Starine JAZU* 53 (1966): 363–66.

28   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1966), 369, 371.

29   On the Cetina River, near the settlement called Han, there was a bridge with fifteen pillars, probably constructed as a result of this endeavor; see Arsen Duplančić, "Stari mostovi u Blatu na Cetini," *Omiški ljetopis* 3 (2004): 195.

30   Paci, *La "scala" di Spalato*, 57.

31   Morpurgo, "Daniel Rodriguez" (1966), 363–65, 383; Grga Novak, *Povijest Splita II* (Split: Škuna, 2005), 93–94.

32   Snježana Perojević conducted a meticulous reconstruction of the different phases of the construction of the lazaretto and each of its buildings in Snježana Perojević, "Izgradnja lazareta u Splitu," *Prostor* 10 (2002): 125.

33   Duško Kečkemet, "Prilozi opisu i povijesti splitskog lazareta," in *Kulturna i umjetnička baština u Dalmaciji I: Izabrani radovi* (Split: Marjan tisak, 2004), 369.

34   Perojević, "Izgradnja lazareta," 125.

35   Perojević, "Izgradnja lazareta," 126.

36   Perojević, "Izgradnja lazareta," 126.

37   About engineers working for the Venetian Republic in Dalmatia, see Darka Bilić, *Inženjeri u službi Mletačke Republike. Inženjeri i civilna arhitektura u 18. stoljeću u mletačkoj Dalmaciji i Albaniji* (Split: Književni krug, 2013).

38   Grga Novak, ed., *Commissiones et Relationes Venetae 1591–1600, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1966), 5: 302.

39   Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 158.

40   Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 162.

41   Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, ed., *Rotte mediterranee e baluardi di sanità* (Ginevra and Milano: Skira, 2004); Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Hygiene and Commerce: The Example of Dalmatian Lazarettos from the Fourteenth until the Sixteenth Century," *Ekonomska i eko-historija/Economic- and Ecohistory* 4 (2008): 115–33.; Perojević, "Izgradnja lazareta,"120–21. For the contemporary situation in the Ottoman Empire, see Nukhet Varlik, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern World the Ottoman Experience, 1347–1600* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

42   Zlata Blažina Tomić, *Kacamorti i kuga. Utemeljenje i razvoj zdravstvene službe u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: HAZU, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2007), 232.

43   Antun Baće and Ivan Viđen, "Lazareti na Pločama od pada Dubrovačke Republike do danas (1808.–2013.)," *Prostor* 21, no. 2 (2013): 328.

44   Paolo Morachiello, "Howard e i Lazzaretti da Marseiglia a Venezia: Gli spazi della prevenzione," in *Venezia e la Peste: 1348–1797* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1980), 158–59.

45   Paolo Morachiello, "Lazzaretti e Contumacie," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima. Il Mare*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), 820; Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini, "Venezia e l'invezione del Lazzaretto," in *Rotte mediterranee e baluardi di sanità*, ed. Nelli-Elena Vanzan Marchini (Ginevra and Milano: Skira, 2004), 18–19.

46   Francesca Malagnini, *Il Lazzaretto Vecchio di Venezia. Le scritture epigrafiche* (Venezia: Marcianum Press, 2018), 21, 23.

47   John Howard, *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* (London: J. Johnson, C. Dilly, and T. Cadell, 1791), pl. 12.

48   Morachiello, "Lazzaretti e Contumacie," 820, 823; Vanzan Marchini, "Venezia e l'invezione del lazzaretto," 27, 200; Gabriele Mazzucco, "Una grangia del monastero di San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia: L'isola della Vigna Murata poi Lazzaretto Nuovo," in *Venezia, Isola del Lazzaretto Nuovo*, ed. Gerolamo Fazzini (Venezia: Archeoclub d'Italia, 2004), 22.

49   Morachiello, "Lazzaretti e Contumacie," 824; See the detail of the 1552 drawing of the Venetian lagoon by Domenico Gallo in Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Savi ed esecutori alle acque, serie Lidi, dis. 3.

50   Morachiello, "Lazzaretti e Contumacie," 823; Paolo Morachiello, "Lazzaretti dello 'Stato da Terra,'" in *Venezia e la Peste: 1348–1797* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1980), 172–75.

51   Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 41; Ennio Concina, *Fondaci: Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1997), 21–26.

52   Donatella Calabi, "Magazini, Fondaci, Dogane," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima. Il Mare*, eds. Alberto Teneti and Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991),790–91; Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 120–25; Concina, *Fondaci*, 21–65.

53   Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 272–73.

54   Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 260; Howard, *Venice and the East*, 123.

55   Howard, *Venice and the East*, 121.

56   Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 353–54.

57   Howard, *Venice and the East*, 126, 128; Concina, *Fondaci*, 117, 120–22, 146–52.

58   Howard, *Venice and the East*, 152–81; The name *fondaco* was also used in Venice to describe a building in which certain goods were stored and which acted as a venue for specialized goods such as flour. However, in this study the focus is on structures that offered lodging for merchants along with storage of the goods.

59   Massimo Costantini, "Le strutture dell'ospitalità," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima. V. Il Rinascimento*, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), 902; Donatella Calabi, "Gli stranieri e la città," in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima.*

V. Il Rinascimento, eds. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991), 925.

60   Calabi, "Magazini, Fondaci, Dogane," 793–94.

61   Donatella Calabi, "Gli stranieri nella capitale della Repubblica Veneta nella prima età moderna," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée* 111, no. 2 (1999): 727–28.

62   Calabi, "Gli stranieri e la città," 933–34; Kafadar, "A Death in Venice," 202.

63   Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 36.

64   Calabi, "Gli stranieri nella capitale," 728.

65   Calabi, "Gli stranieri nella capitale," 728.

66   Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 256, 359.

67   Constable, *Housing the Stranger*, 251, 260–61; Concina, *Fondaci*, 28; Deborah Howard, "Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence," *Architectural History* 34, no. 1991 (1991): 68.

68   Concina, *Fondaci*, 39–40; For Doğan Kuban Ottoman hans and caranserais: "[…] *exhibited, throughout the whole of history, a monotonous typology*"; Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010), 156.

69   Concina, *Fondaci*, 39; Predrag Matković, "Dva talijanska putopisa po Balkanskom poluotoku iz XVI vieka," *Starine JAZU* 10 (1878): 204.

70   Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean," 338–39.

71   Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Knjiga VII (Sarajevo: Naučno društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, 1957).

72   Adem Handžić, "O značaju putova za razvitak naselja u Bosni u XVI i XVII stoljeću," *Prilozi Instituta za istoriju* 13, no. 13 (1977): 73–78.

73   Alija Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 3–4 (1953): 235; "Stari trgovački putevi u Donjem Polimlju," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 22–23 (1972): 163–89.; Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 29.

74   Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 105.

75   Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture," 271; Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 20–21; Behija Zlatar, "Sarajevo kao trgovački centar bosanskog sandžaka u XVI vijeku," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 38 (1988): 237.

76   Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 24.

77   Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Naši bezisteni," *Naše Starine* 2 (1954): 235–36.

78   Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 21–24.

79   Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 22–23.

80   While caravanserais served primarily for lodging and trade, they also became places where coffee was served when its consumption spread in the second half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, the first coffee house in Sarajevo was in the Morića Han, opened in 1592; Husref Redžić, "Revitalizacija Morića Hana—Morića Han kroz istoriju," in *Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983), 287.

81   There were different names for this building: *daira, Čifuthana, Velika avlija, Kortiž*; see Alija Bejtić, "Sijavuš-pašina daira u Sarajevu," *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva* 2 (1966): 61, 64.

82   Bejtić, "Sijavuš-pašina daira u Sarajevu," 66–67; Moritz Levy, *Sefardi u Bosni: Prilog historiji Jevreja na Balkanskom poluotoku* (Sarajevo: Bosanska Biblioteka, 1997), 11–16.

83   Bejtić, "Sijavuš-pašina Daira," 66.

84   Bejtić, "Sijavuš-pašina Daira," 78–79.

85   Kreševljaković, *Hanovi i karavansaraji*, 144–45.

86   Donatella Calabi, "Città e territorio nel Dominio da mar," in *Storia di Venezia: dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima: Dal Rinascimento al Barocco* (1994) accessed September 9, 2020, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/citta-e-territorio-nel-dominio-da-mar_%28Storia-di-Venezia%29/.

87   For the features of Ottoman caravaserai, see Lidija Kumbaradži-Bogoeviḱ, *Üsküp'te Osmanlı mimarî eserleri* (İstanbul: Mas Matbaacılık. 2008), 270.

88   Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London: Collins, 1972), 1: 286–88.

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The Villa in Renaissance Dubrovnik

"Where Art Has Tamed Wild Nature"

Joško Belamarić

Taking best advantage of its position on the narrow coast of the Balkan Phoenicia, known as Dalmatia, at the place where the impenetrable mountain range opens up into the hinterland, Dubrovnik in the late Middle Ages rapidly became the most important port of the Eastern Adriatic—as a mercantile and diplomatic intermediary between the Balkan subcontinent and the Mediterranean. It has not been fully explained how exactly Dubrovnik, among all the medieval Dalmatian embryonic republics, managed to attain the attributes of a sovereignty, transform into a mainland state with a coastal zone and archipelago, and then assume, across the wider region, a commercial and cultural role that was in complete disproportion to its size. Over the course of six centuries, it gradually honed its social, political, cultural, and moral identity and integrity, never exceeding 6,000 inhabitants within the town and 30,000 within the entire territory. We may well ask why the Ottoman Empire spared this gilded miniature, when it so easily trampled over and crumpled up the Balkans, which was its hinterland. The unexpected power of Dubrovnik derived from an ecosystem that included its possessions, the ramified network of its trading colonies and diplomatic missions, the caravan routes it had taken over, the capital it had projected everywhere, and its exceptional naval capacities. Ultimately, the whole system, carefully built up over centuries, was useful and necessary for everyone as a link between the East and West.

1 The Durability of Stylistic Forms and Typological Patterns of Collective Social Aesthetics

When we speak of old Dubrovnik today, looking at it from the air and from the ground level, we can understand why Filippo de Diversi, a humanist from Lucca, *laudator temporis acti* of Dubrovnik at the dawn of the modern age, wrote in 1440 that the houses in the city and the villas outside looked as "if they were all founded and built of the same material, by the same builder, almost at the same time."[1] This coherence of the city's texture was also noted at the end of the fifteenth century by the canon of Milan Pietro Casola: "The appearance of their houses is beautiful and one is right next to the other, so much that they cannot be separated."[2] The uniformity of the city fabric privileged the beauty of the whole, symbolizing the importance of the community, its peace, and its harmony. In this equation—the city equals the house and the house equals the city—we can hear an echo of the ancient recommendations of Plato or Leon Battista Alberti, a contemporary of Diversi, who famously stated in *De re aedifictaoria* (*c.*1450): "E se è vero il detto dei filosofi, che la città è come una grande casa, e la casa a sua volta una piccola città, non si avrà torto sostenendo che le membra di una casa sono esse stesse piccole abitazioni." [If what the philosophers say is true, that the city is like a big house and the house in turn is a small city, one is not wrong in saying that the parts of a house are themselves small dwellings] (Fig. 4.1).[3]

Although perhaps it did not leave any anthological buildings behind, it achieved an aesthetic order of incomparable homogeneity within the town and its entire territory. Countless times when building their homes, patrons demanded that the projects follow the already existing models in terms of façade articulation and the stone masonry details. Such an approach produced a subtle coordinating tissue that connected different buildings by means of similar architectural elements, which explains the durability of stylistic forms and typological patterns of what amounts to a *collective social aesthetic*.[4] Such a persistent repetition of patterns and motifs is perhaps nothing other than the most natural reaction to the disasters, earthquakes and fires, and plagues and famine that so greatly characterized the history of Dubrovnik, often to such an extent as to lead to

FIGURE 4.1   Dubrovnik seen from Mount Srđ
PHOTOGRAPH BY JOŠKO BELAMARIĆ

the idea of packing up the civic palladium and moving *tutti quanti* to Gruž, the Elafiti Islands, or Apulia. When the Dominican historian Serafino Razzi said that the city was like some new Noah's Ark—"which was placed as if in a harbor of salvation, full of different nations who were otherwise enemies, different in language, attire and faith"—he describes to us the subconscious thinking that this stone ship of a city could be anchored in some other port tomorrow.[5]

Due to its industrial needs and residential construction, Dubrovnik had already expanded beyond the walls westwards and eastwards in the medieval and early modern periods. Later on, and especially after the Great Earthquake in 1667, it gradually took the shape of a kind of garden city, while during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it merged with a former suburb in Gruž, located to the west of the town, where—in the larger, deeper, and safer bay—the new main city port was established (Fig. 4.2). The image of the city profoundly changed during the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries as Dubrovnik managed to get out of its golden medieval cage. In a

picture of Dubrovnik before the Great Earthquake, painted by an unknown painter, we see the city in the right half of the picture and the space that stretches away from it toward the west on the right hand side.[6] The surrounding space, including Gruž and the whole curve of Rijeka Dubrovačka, is contracted and presented with idealized diagrammatic exactitude. This image of Dubrovnik, garlanded with its manicured gardens, must have been much more than a depiction of a real space; rather, the representation of an idea, of its own social and cultural identity located in a landscape of harsh karst, which was neat and orderly and tamed and perfected by the persistence of human labor. The strength of historical Dubrovnik, however small the town may have been, lay in the fact that it managed to mark out the symbolic image of its order over the whole breadth of its territory, perfecting the stern stone landscape with tenacious toil generation after generation. At the same time, not a single detail of its urban landscape stands out as assuming; on the contrary, even what ought to have been monumental ended up being shaped with restraint.
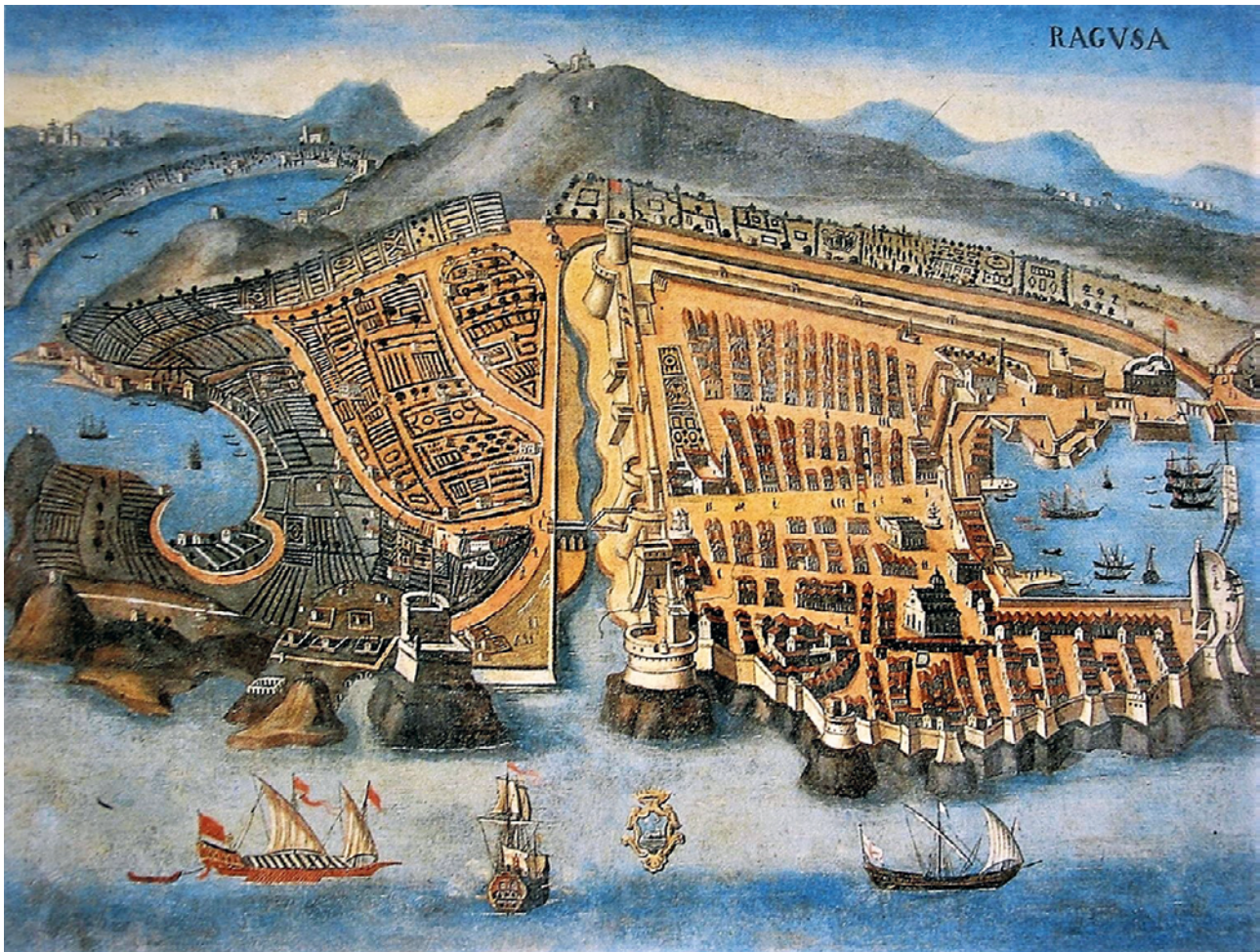
FIGURE 4.2   Giovanni Battista Fabbri, idealized representation of the city and its planned territory

2   *Palazzi di Delizie*

The finest examples of the achievements of Dubrovnik architecture and urban design are found in the Renaissance villas. These specific versions we can find them elsewhere in Dalmatia as well, where most of the villa-cum-farm complexes were there to protect the working economy. It is characteristic of most of them that the owners on the whole worked directly or collaborated on the designs. They were mostly created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at a time when the land outside the immediate city area ceased to be a space of constant conflicts and perils, when a system of political and diplomatic measures had been able to guarantee peace and safety. The development spread to previously unprotected areas. But as Nada Grujić puts it "neither historical nor economic reasons can ultimately explain the vigour of villa development achieved in the 15th and 16th centuries [...] The villas, with their dominant position, architecture and gardens, rose above mere economic function. Cultivation of the soil and personal work on it acquired an elevated moral sense, and the inhabitants of the city though the rural space and life in it replete with novel values, entirely idyllic."[7] Although from literary (and soon also from archaeological and architectural) inputs the Renaissance villa was imagined as a country house, it was not just a *locus amoenus*, a retreat from the bustle of the city, located in an idyllic landscape (Fig. 4.3). It is hard to distinguish the aesthetic and the ethical components that it mirrors, just as it is impossible to imagine it without its practical functions.[8]

In 1440 Filippo de Diversi, whom we mentioned earlier, best perceived the uniform size and quality of

FIGURE 4.3   Villa Sorkočević in Komolac—Rijeka Dubrovačka, *c*.1860
                 STATE ARCHIVES IN DUBROVNIK

Dubrovnik's Renaissance villas: "Outside the town there are some extraordinary houses of exceptional beauty and great value. They are quite impressive, and would be the pride and ornament of any prosperous Italian town, particularly in Tuscany, were they to be built there."[9]

Most of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century villas in Dubrovnik were built on a reduced scale and, perhaps, with more significant participation by the mason guided by the owners wishes than by the architect. In particular, it is also important to point out that changes of styles did not necessarily imply any essential changes in the basic architectural and spatial schemes of the Dubrovnik villas. Indeed, some became the model for the development of whole settlements (Lopud and Cavtat in the sixteenth century) or the residences of some social

categories (the captains' houses on Pelješac in the eighteenth century).[10]

There were 126 villas in the immediate city space of Dubrovnik. A large number shared the common archetypal type of an L-shaped ground plan placed together with the gardens within a strictly perpendicular layout. This is created by the two-story country house, with a simple cubic form, onto which abuts a wing with a terrace, under which there is perhaps a boathouse, a water cistern, an olive mill, and various storerooms. The clear and simple connectedness of all the parts, collected around the villa with its terraces and loggias, include: gardens with walks under pergolas with tree-shaded alleys, slender pillars covered with grapevines or fragrant vegetation, and fountain and chapels, and those by

FIGURE 4.4   Villa of Miho Junijev Bona in the late nineteenth century
STATE ARCHIVES IN DUBROVNIK

the sea with fish ponds and boathouses for small boats. On the terrace there would often be a small chapel and pavilion. Inside the house the central *salone* on the ground floor was surrounded by four rooms, as is true of many other Dalmatian Renaissance and Baroque houses and palaces. The scheme is so familiar as to be summarized by the well-known Venetian saying: *Quattro stanze un salon/Ze la casa d'un Schiavon* (Fig. 4.4).[11]

The basic characteristic of the fifteenth-century villa is its functional and typological polymorphism. There might have been various motivations for their construction, but primarily the villas were *luogo di retiro, luogo di delizia*; *ville di diporto*. In a text written in 1458, according to the current separation of the concepts of *otium* and *negotium*, Benedikt Cotrugli distinguished residential from economic purposes. He speaks of two kinds of villas: "You keep one for use and rent to feed your family. Not important that it is distant from the city, for you have to pay attention only to the usefulness." Such villas would "be useful in the age of plague and corrupted air, and the further off, the more suitable they are for this second purpose." A second villa "can be used for entertainment and for the refreshment of yourself and your family, and yet visit it not too much, for frequent departures for the country life deter people from business."[12]

Thinking over the psychological motivation of the construction, development, and maintenance of these summer houses, over the course of several centuries, knowing some of the conditions at the end of the republic, a person might have to take into consideration, perhaps, the acerbic words of the Dubrovnik Enlightenment thinker Tomo Bassegli: "Every little city should appear
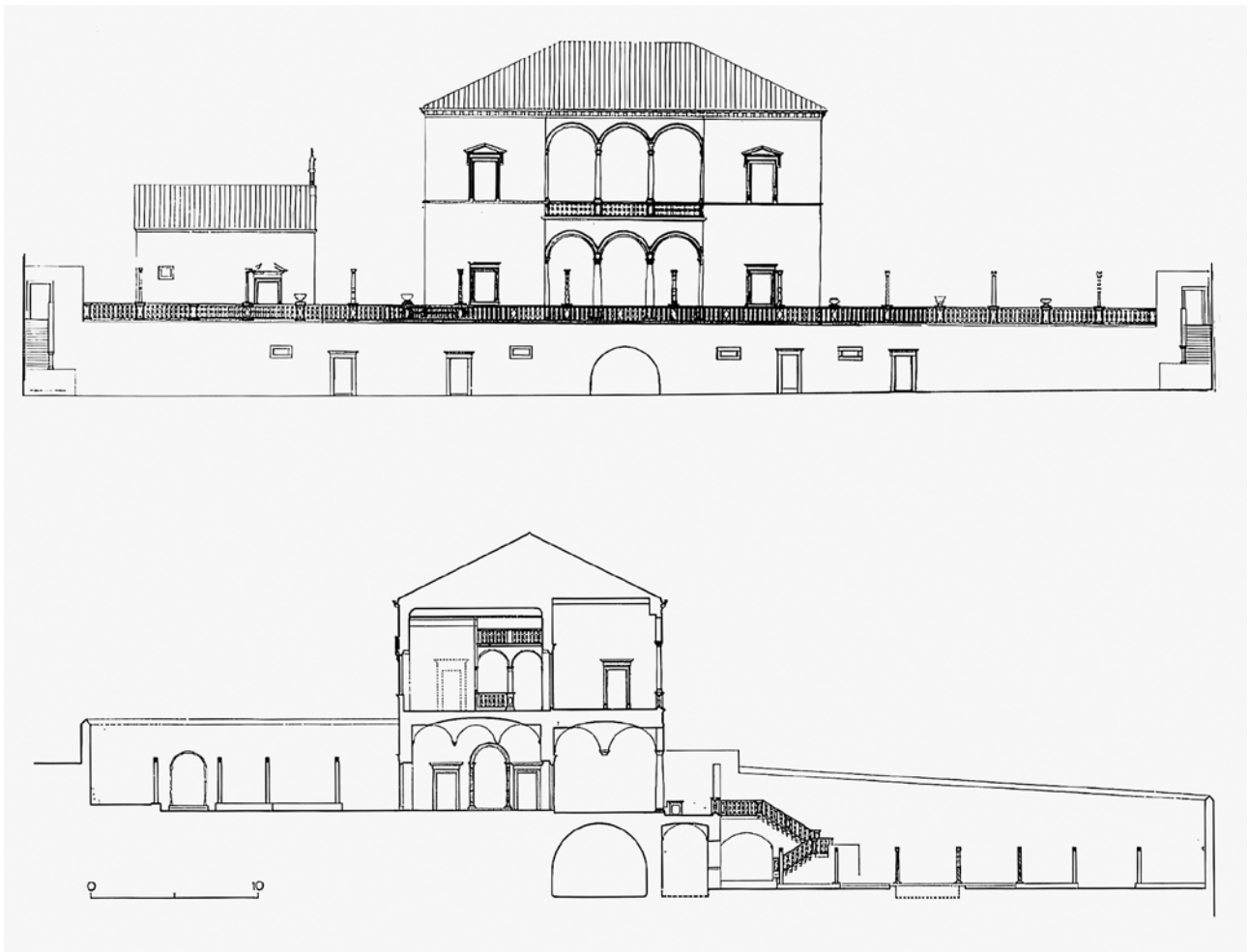
FIGURE 4.5   Villa of Vice Skočibuha by "Tri crkve" at Boninovo. Façade and longitudinal section

as a monastery in which a man is restricted by a small number of ideas, in a little company of persons that have distanced themselves and separated from the whole world and where, according, all passions of little and evil spirits bubble and splutter dreadfully, and a man with an upright heart and soul in his place can be saved only if he takes refuge with the few good souls, or in his own cell."[13]

The psychological and ideological motives that underlie the building of such villas, and their programs, were defined in Roman times, 2,000 years ago.[14] But life in the corset of the walls of the medieval city lent an additional impetus to their being built in such numbers. Apart from that, when a comprehensive search for ancient roots was launched in the Quattrocento, the villa in Dubrovnik became, from that angle too, an attractive objective of identification. Naturally, they had

their fill of looking at those around Florence, but they also created their own type, extracting it from the city itself and from the houses that they built there with the same artisans.

Few of them step away from the standard typology of Dubrovnik villa architecture. One specific example is the country house—residential villa of Vice Skočibuha by Tri crkve [three churches] at Boninovo (Fig. 4.5). Its volume is placed freely in the space, on an artificially built terrace. It is symmetrically articulated on the façade (with two loggias in the center) and at the rear and side elevations. Its volume is placed freely in the space, on an artificially built platform, "similar to Lorenzo il Magnifico's Poggio a Caiano, which accentuated its grandeur and contributed to its high visibility. Moreover, elevated this way as if on a stage, the villa took on a sort

FIGURE 4.6   Summer Residence of Vice and Toma Skočibuha in Suđurađ on the island of Šipan, 1563–88
PHOTOGRAPH BY K. TADIĆ

of performative role; its *performance* in this case played with notions of power and identity."[15] Although he never completed it, for a full fourteen years the villa was in the process of being built by Vice Skočibuha, one of the principal figures of the Dubrovnik mercantile marine, whose life deserves a whole novel to itself; immortalized on the famed altarpiece *Descent of the Holy Ghost* that he commissioned from Santi di Tito, who painted him in costly garments, kneeling in prayer at the bottom of the picture. Skočibuha had shares in seventeen sailing ships. In the city he had shares in a cloth factory; in Sofia and Naples he had commercial firms, trading in domestic and foreign goods via Ancona and Naples as far as Spain and Istanbul, and to ports still more distant. He spent his wealth with style and deliberation, appropriate as the most illustrious representative of a new class of man, the first Dubrovnik modern capitalist.[16]

Vice Skočibuha started building an equally grand complex on the island of Šipan, on the eastern side of the first family house with a garden and out-buildings, on the site of the former family shipyard (Fig. 4.6). Contemporary historian Serafino Razzi (*Storia di Raugia*) said with full justice that his grounds were "deliciosi giardini."[17] Both Skočibuha complexes tell of the time when the Dubrovnik Republic fleet was for a moment the leading in the Mediterranean, which enabled Fernand Braudel to conclude: "The Tyrrhenian Sea would have been practically a Dubrovnik lake had it not been for the men of Marseilles"; or as was averred by one witness of the times, Palladio Fusco (1450–1520), "there is no godforsaken part of Europe inaccessible to newcomers where you won't come upon Dubrovnik men doing deals."[18] They had sown colonies on all four quarters of the compass—as far as Goa in India.

FIGURE 4.7   Rijeka Dubrovačka (Ombla) in the area of Rožat and Komolac (at the beginning of the twentieth century)

However, what makes our summer houses' architecture outstanding is certainly the Dubrovnik villas "founded on the water" (according to an expression of the poet Dinko Ranjina); they were built along the coast where they were not exposed to the surges of the restless sea, in the bays of Gruž, Zaton, Župa, or on the banks of Rijeka dubrovačka. These *Palazzi di delizie* saw their Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque façades reflected on the surface of the water. Parallels to them are to be found, even if in somewhat later times, only on the banks of some of the canals in the surroundings of Milan and on the shores of Lago di Como, Lago di Garda, and Lago Maggiore, or the Brenta, even if, because of the changing water levels these villas here were built on high bases and are today rather distant from the water. We should also not lose sight of another interesting observation by Nada Grujić (Fig. 4.7):

"There are good reasons for mentioning in connection with the Dubrovnik villas those on the shores of the Bosphorus known as *yali*. The oldest still in existence,

made of wood, from the 17th century, show that the tradition of such residences was maintained down to our century. Yalis with articulated facades, with boathouses, pavilions, fountains and verdant gardens show that architecture has never been so fused with water as it was on the shores of the Bosphorus. A comparison with these buildings, which today seem further off to us than in fact they were at the time of the building of the Dubrovnik villas, entails a consideration of their role in the shaping of the landscape as well. Depictions of the shore of the Bosphorus from the 18th century call remarkably to mind some of the now lost but once upon a time dominant features of the Dubrovnik coastal landscape: of Gruž, Rijeka dubrovačka, Zaton."[19]

But, let us listen to the 1579 description by the mathematician and writer Nikola Nalješković (Nicolò di Nale) of his own villa:

"visiting it at various seasons and carrying out many of the works with his own hand, it is very pleasant to pass

the time here. I do not wonder, then, at the great Cyrus who with his own hands planted and tended his gorgeous gardens, for I do not think that any other pastime can be compared with this. Even if my garden be far too modest to bear comparison in lavishness with Cyrus's (which I personally neither wish nor intend to attain, but acquiesce to what becomes my modest rank), it still perhaps excels Cyrus's for the vistas opening on the surroundings and the lovely views that make it pleasant. For, when standing inside the house, I turn my eyes to the east, I can see the coastline adorned with lavish palaces all the way down to ancient Epidaurum—the birthplace of my dear home-land. When I turn to the west I set my eyes upon the fertile plains of Župa. Then I remember that the fortified castle of Burno once stood in that very place, ennobled—as Pliny testifies—by the battles engaged in there by the Romans, and now full of vineyards and adorned with whitish houses."[20]

Of course, Nalješković refers to *Oeconomicus* (4.20–25), in which Xenophon had described how the Persian prince Cyrus the Younger told his Spartan visitor Lysander that he had planted his paradise (enclosed garden = pairidaeza) himself.[21] Xenophon's description found its way into Cicero (*De senectute*) and Cato (*De Agricultura*), and a string of other writers, all the way down to the Renaissance period, when Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* became a new archetype for discussions of agriculture. The story of Emperor Cyrus was retold by Michelangelo Tanaglia in the first book of his treatise *De Agricoltura* (book 1, lines 213–28)[22] in the 1480s to support his argument for the nobility of gardening, just as Bartolomeo Taegio, one of the agricultural authorities of the epoch, would do more than a century later in *La Villa* in 1559.[23] In his dialogue Taegio suggestively proves—also founding his ideas on Xenophon—that country life is nobler than city life because noble men of the past embraced it. He sums up a wider range of classical literary references to the theme, listing some dozen names of kings and generals (Manius Curius Dentatus, M. Atilius Serranus, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Marcus Atilius Regulus, Aulus Atilius Calatinus, and Scipio Africanus) who were wont to retire to the quiet of their own fields or garden, working in the sweat of their brow, and briefly returning to play a part in public matters when the fatherland required it of them. The noble gardener King Cyrus became a formidable example and

attractive type for patrons who were becoming increasingly fond of the country life.[24] Niccolò Gozze also invoked this list of celebrated kings and generals who turned their backs on the city and dedicated themselves to farming, also mentioning Emperor Diocletian, who retired to his Dalmatian villa ("desiderando di viver à se stesso").[25] There was, probably, a direct prototype for his description. In the sixth day of his *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura*, Agostino Gallo explains how one makes gardens for beauty and utility and reminds us to think of Cyrus and Diocletian "who cultivated and arranged their gardens with their own hands."[26]

3   The Harshness of the Landscape Tamed with Work and Virtue as if in Defiance of Nature

On most of these villas and their gardens created in this rocky and narrow plot of land, it would be possible to place the 1502 inscription from the villa of Đivo Gučetić—Gozze in Trsteno (Fig. 4.8):

"DOMVS + IO. GOT.//VICINIS LAVDOR SED AQVIS ET SOSPITE CELO/PLVS PLACEO ET CVLTV SPLENDIDIORIS HERI/HAEC TIBI SVNT HOMINVM VESTIGIA CERTA VIATOR/ARS VBI NATVRAM PERFECIT APTA RVDEM//MDII

(The home of Giovanni Gozze. I am proud of my neighbors but even more of the springs, healthy climate, and an honorable past. Traveler, here you can find obvious traces of man, where art has tamed the wild nature. 1502.)"

It was already a bold decision in 1494 to build a villa in Trsteno, for Primorje (Terrenove) was still an insecure area, although it had become a possession of the republic a century earlier in 1399. The building of the house itself was preceded by imparting structure to the lot. Gozze's land was retained by 460 terraces with olives and fruit trees.[27] In the first phase of the development of the villa, an axis that determined the course of the aqueduct was established perpendicularly onto the main promenade. It went through the middle of the house and ended in the pavilion. All of this was in line with the ideas in Italy that motivated the erection of the big villas at the end of the fifteenth century—which enhanced the economy

FIGURE 4.8   Trsteno, villa Gučetić—Gozze (*c*.1900)

at the level of the *fattoria nobile*. Cultivating unfertile or untilled lands would soon be elevated to the level of the concept of *Santa Agricoltura*; it would launch the ethical and humanist concept of the Veneto sixteenth-century villas.[28]

Nicolò Vito di Gozze, in his treatise *Governo della Famiglia*, "promulgated the doctrine of the 'economica' as a tool of social control, becoming a guide for the *economia nobiliare*, the economy of the patrician class."[29] Referring once again to Xenophon, he notes: "chi vuole governar ben la Città, convien che prima ben governi la propria casa."[30] A family palace became a tangible symbol of its nobility.[31] A house is a form that itself forms.

The hexameters in the inscription do not specifically speak of the beauty of the place itself, but it is implicit, as is the circumstance that Trsteno had a spring of fresh water that prompted the building of the villa and determined its position. Standing some fifty meters over the sea, the Gučetić villa dominated a wide space of the surrounding landscape with magnificent views over the sea and the Elafiti Islands. The constatation in the inscription, "art has pleasingly perfected savage nature," is a topos that, if I am not wrong, has not previously been understood in its rhetorical and poetic autonomy.

Perhaps one should hear in it the echo of a sentence of Petrarch from a letter to a friend, Francesco Nelli in 1352, in which there is "an arresting description of the poet's beloved residence in the Vaucluse": "Here I have acquired two small gardens perfectly suited to my skills and taste […] the evenings I spend in the meadows or in my less cultivated garden at the source where my efforts have conquered nature [(*ibi*) *artificium michi naturam vincit*] and cleared a spot under the high cliff in the midst of the waters, narrow indeed but very inspiring, in which even a sluggish mind can rise to the noblest thoughts."[32] An indirect source here could be an assertion in Aristotle's *Physics*: "generally art partly completes what nature cannot bring to a finish, and partly imitates her."[33]

Many foreign travelers and domestic writers noticed the incredible contrast between the harsh karstic inland and the opulent city that flickered in its reflection on the turquoise mirror of the sea, reposed in the midst of gardens of Egyptian fertility, shaped on the fertile soil that the Ragusan galleons (*argosies*) brought from Apulia and elsewhere. The impression that these villas excited was on the whole accompanied with excitement.

There is in fact a kaleidoscope of literary descriptions. In his Latin encomium on Dubrovnik, the humanist

Michael Tarchaniota Marullus wrote that in the Dubrovnik area he was "enraptured by the harsh strength of the place overcome by labour and the rock subdued by the progressive work of men."[34] The Venetian *sindici* Giovanni Battista Giustiniano and Anzolo Diedo, who made a stop in Dubrovnik during their visit to Dalmatia in 1553, observed that in Gruž "there were several luxuriously built houses, all of them graced with fountains, gardens and wonderful porches, which are the more to be praised for being located on dry and infertile soil, since the whole of this mountainous region is so stern and rocky that the fertile soil that there is here is brought from other places and distant regions like Apulia, where the Dubrovnik ships on their return passages loaded into cargo hold good soil and carry it to these estates of theirs."[35]

A Venetian diplomat and travel writer, Benedetto Ramberti, pointed out that the Dubrovnik people "deserved particular praise, for only with their work and virtue alone they had cleared the way to every comfort and convenience as if in defiance of nature, since they lived in such an uncommonly harsh and cramped region."[36] We can read something similar in the letter of Lodovico Beccadelli, archbishop of Dubrovnik (whom Pope Giulio III removed, sending him in 1555 to *un solitario lido, un nudo scoglio*), to his sister Suor Lucia Mammolina, where Beccadelli said of himself: "Sono fuora d'Italia et lontanissimo dalli miei in paesi asprissimi, et circondato da Turchi […] et ho quasi fatto una metamorfose d'Italiano in Schiavone, per non dir Turco, nella vicinanza de quali sono stato presso a cinq' anni."[37]

There can be no description of Dubrovnik that does not accentuate the harshness of the landscape where, between the two wastes, the stone of Herzegovina to the rear and the sea to the front, a city wreathed with gardens was given shape. It is not just the landscape around the city that is described but the city itself. The whole of Dubrovnik is a challenge to nature. Just as Venice in its mythogenesis insisted on its frugal beginnings, literally out of fishermen's shacks, developing into a glittering marble mirage in the northern Adriatic marshes, Dubrovnik insisted on the image of the wooden city, in the craggy landscape in which everything had to be recreated by the human hand.[38]

The topos of perfecting nature might be close to all of those practical efforts the Venetian patricians put into improving their estates, irrigating the marshes, putting roads and bridges to rights, and expanding agriculture to previously uncultivable areas. Still, in spite of the formulations of Alviso Cornaro, a Paduan humanist of the first Cinquecento, who, using Cato's principles, elevated farming to the level of art, with ethical characteristics as well,[39] in Dubrovnik it was more about the symbolic and moral aspect that was supposed to prove that the whole city was a successful challenge to unrelenting nature.

Here, *loca amoena* are described to us as favored forms of the earthly paradise and scenes of a landscape of eternal spring. Rijeka dubrovačka in particular was the place of all places—*locus ille locorum*; all the fragments of the humanized landscape, the rich scales of colors, sounds, and fragrances but with the passe-partout of the stern Balkan stone and rocky ground.

However much these villas were typologically similar, their spatial context was essentially different. In the area of ancient Epidaurum, the mythical origin of medieval Dubrovnik, which the republic acquired by purchase between 1419 and 1426 (which could be ratified only in 1454 after warfare with the feudalists of Zahumlje), a settlement of Renaissance villas was planned and created. It was deliberately renovated on the site of the vanished city of antiquity (razed in the seventh century), from which the pedigree of Dubrovnik derives.[40] To this purpose the republic, after having reacquired it, divided the area of the ancient Epidaurum into twenty-five plots, distributing them among the aristocratic families of Dubrovnik on the model of the ancient parceling applied, for example, in 1296 on the northern suburb of Dubrovnik—Prijeko—and, after 1370, on the western quarters of Ston. Yet, while in the older examples rows of houses were erected on such plots, this time noble villas appeared inside high curtain walls; this—according to the typology of Renaissance residential architecture—was to animate "that way of life which from the point of view of the 15th and 16th centuries seemed closest to the antique."[41]

4 *Otium et Industria*

Equally uncommon is the case of the planned garden suburb in the areas of Pile and Kono to the west of the city: the well-planned grid of streets made it possible to create insulae where, from the fifteenth century until the interwar period of the twentieth century, around 100

suburban summer residences, villas, and houses were built with the landscape design that has most often been based on the specific experience of Dubrovnik's Renaissance gardens. All this in connection with an important industrial zone that was created for weaving and dyeing homespun fabric, for glassworks and soap manufactories, and for foundries for guns and bells, especially after the building of the aqueduct in 1437 that brought both drinking and industrial water from the springs below Šumet to just above the city (a length of about twelve km).[42] After the Great Earthquake of 1667, many of these villas became home to the patricians who had fled from the flattened city.[43]

A similar promiscuity of the mixed functions—so far almost unobserved in the literature about Dubrovnik Renaissance villas—of leisure and industry in the same space existed in Gruž, the main Dubrovnik port (from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century). The French writer, draftsman, and adventurer Charles Yriarte observed something that should today be reconsidered:

"It is obvious that Dubrovnik, once so important for its trade, which played such an important role that at one time it managed to arouse the envy of Venice, should have been put up in Gruž, instead of being squeezed in between the sea and the rocky mountains that surround it and being condemned to eternally remaining in the same borders. The first Dubrovnik people chose this almost inaccessible spot out of caution; later, when successive catastrophes forced the inhabitants to renovate their city, they were already so tied to their homes that they did not wish to abandon the original position, although just a few steps off they had an ideal spot on which to build a city that could flourish."[44]

Of course, the first question—never to date properly posed—was how Dubrovnik did come into being on that narrow stony cliff, hardly clinging onto the coast, instead of the spacious and protected Bay of Gruž (Fig. 4.9).[45]

The first documents of any great length from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mention the building of boats and agrarian estates with houses, towers, and churches in Gruž. Particularly after 1525, when the Dubrovnik government passed a decision to build a big shipyard in Gruž port, we can follow the growth of the whole bay into a huge shipbuilding area, with as many as twelve or thirteen yards in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries (Fig. 4.10). At the peak period of the Dubrovnik merchant marine in the middle of the sixteenth century, as many as 1,000 joiners and carpenters worked as the *chaloffati* who did the ships' interiors.[46] Up to that fatal year of 1667, from the slipways of the Gruž shipyards some 600 large and 300 small vessels were launched, plying all the way to the Indian Ocean and America, as well as to the Black Sea and Gibraltar.[47] Between 1539 and 1544 the Dubrovnik Republic had 132 ships (with a total burden of 15,200 carts) and 3,000 mariners on them; from 1570 to 1585 as many as 182 ships (with a total burden of 36,500 carts) and 5,500 sailors. At that time, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the city had some fifty to sixty consuls around the Mediterranean.[48]

A brilliant description, in which the launching of a new galley into the sea acquires an almost religious connotation, is given by Serafino Razzi:

"In Gruž on the whole they build ships, because of the convenience of the location, and because it is easy to set sail from the beach, to launch them into the sea when they are completed, for the sea is deep and the shore inclined. In Gruž, however, as soon as they are blessed [...] as soon as the ropes that hold them are undone, like young brides, heavy and solemn, alone, to the sound of trumpets and drums, they go to meet the sea, their affianced. But let no one think that in Gruž, just because ships are made there, there is abundance of forests or trees. For the Dubrovnik area close to the shore is almost entirely stony, devoid of trees and forest. But the material for the building is brought in mostly from the holy mountain of Gargano or Sant'Angelo, from Apulia. There are felled the great old oaks (for the Dubrovnik people build their powerful, long-lasting fleets from this wood on the whole), and they are cut into pieces and huge planks, and then transported by sea. And from Rijeka too they bring material, mainly for spars and masts."[49]

The bigger ships had to be built in the state shipyard in Gruž. In 1587 Miho Pracat, one of the most meritorious citizens in the history of Dubrovnik, obtained permission from the government to build his new ship in Lopud by his summer palace. He planned to break up his old ship that he had for forty years and use some of the timbers and the iron for a new vessel. In a petition he wrote that it would be much easier at Lopud than at

FIGURE 4.9   The Bay of Gruž in 1873. In the foreground on the right side are the villas of Paladin Gundulić, Marin Bunić, and Junije Bunić; on the left, the villa of Petar Sorkočević
STATE ARCHIVE DUBROVNIK: ALBUM MARTECCHINI

Gruž, "from the yard of which they steal wood and other things, and that at Lopud he would be able himself constantly to supervise the works." He was ready to pay the same tax as if the ship were being built in Gruž (i.e., more than in other yards).[50] In front of the façade of the already mentioned great complex that the Skočibuha family built in the harbor of Suđurađ on Šipan Island there was also a shipyard. Although the Dubrovnik government wanted ships to be built only in the state shipyard in Gruž, the *Santa Caterina*, which was built from 1555 to 1557 by Tomo Stjepović-Skočibuha, was constructed at Šipan because the yard in Gruž was too busy

and also because "the ship of the said patron could not because of its length be built in the shipyard in Gruž."[51]

It is important to make it clear: this working class milieu did not stop the gentry from building some twenty summer palaces and villas around the port.[52] (This is the same kind of cheek by jowl functioning of leisure and industry that we have already noted at Pile.) Of these Gruž summer residences, at the time they were built it was possible to hear not only the chirping of birds and the buzzing of cicadas but also the hubbub from the crescent of shipyards around the bay, with huge amounts of wood in sea and on land. From the terraces

FIGURE 4.10   Angelo degli Oddi, Porto di S. Croce (Gruž), 1584

of the villas, the work in them could be watched, and not only for the sake of controlling the building of ships. From the terraces of these villas, all the hopes of the old and the new Dubrovnik *casate* (households, clans) could soar into the air, those who had sown their capital in plowing the seas.

The number of Dubrovnik villas has been treated monographically. Their architectural typology has been explained. But not so many thoughts have been said in detail about the spatial and urban context where they were an important factor. Today, when luxurious new villas are going up, often without any clear connection with nature, we find it hard to understand the extent to which the whole of this idealized and artistically formed landscape of Renaissance villas consciously epitomized the social, cultural, and moral identity and integrity of the little state of Dubrovnik. The paradigm of the villa was its greatest achievement.

Notes

1   Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*. [Situs aedificiorum politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum civitatis Ragusii], ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004), 143; Igor Fisković, "Djelo Filipa de Diversisa kao izvor poznavanja umjetnosti i kulture Dubrovnika," in *Reljef renesansnog Dubrovnika*, ed. Igor Fisković (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 1993), 19–53.

2   Pietro Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, trans. M. Margaret Newett (Manchester: University Press, 1907), 176.

3   Leon B. Alberti, *L'Architettura*, trans. Giovanni Orlandi (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1989), 36 (*De re aedificatoria* [1452], I, 9); and the same in A. Palladio, *I Quatro Libri dell Architettura*, Venice 1570, Lib. II, *c.*12, 46: "Città non sia altro che una certa casa grande, e per lo contrario la casa una città

picciola." This topos may turn out to be the opposite, testifying to the process of the disaggregation of the urban fabric. The late antique historian Olympiodorus of Thebes, in a line of poetry describing Rome (fr. 43), exclaims: "One house is the city, the city hides a myriad cities," Barry Baldwin, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *L'antiquité classique* 49 (1980): 216.

4 There could hardly be a better example than Dubrovnik to illustrate Plutarch's famous passage that was the guiding idea of Renaissance considerations and theoretical recommendations on how to preserve the identity of a city undergoing constant metamorphosis: "A city, like a living thing, is a united and continuous whole. It does not cease to be itself as it changes in growing older, nor does it become one thing after another with the lapse of time, but is always at one with its former self in feeling and identity"; Plutarch, Moralia, trans. P.H. Lacy and B. Einarson (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1959), 7:241.

5 Serafino Razzi, *Povijest Dubrovnika*, ed. Stjepan Krasić (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 2011), 130. Dubrovnik constantly presented itself to the world as an island city, which collected fugitives from the shattered cities of the Adriatic. Every local census brought out the markedly composite origins of the Dubrovnik gentry. These clans, even with the characteristic pretensions of the time, i.e., having bombastic names, remembered the various paths by which, each in their own time, they had come into the city—from Epidaurus, Rome, Hum, Kotor, Albania, the Dalmatian hinterland, Zadar, Tuscany, Fermo, Taranto, and Germany. The typological and stylistic coherence of the architecture of the city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which has already been mentioned, worked as one more kind of glue, propagating an image of social peace and harmony.

6 The painting was long ascribed to Giovanni Battista Fabbri until after a recent restoration it was ascertained that this Bolognese painter had only restored, or partially overpainted, the work in 1736.

7 Nada Grujić, "Les villas ragusaines," in *La Renaissance en Croatie*, eds. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg and Miljenko Jurković (Zagreb and Paris: Galerija Klovićevi dvori; Musée national de la Renaissance Ecouen, 2004), 111–33; "À la recherche de l'Arcadie ragusaine," in *Textes au corps. Promenades et musardises sur les terres de Marie Madeleine Fontaine*, eds. Didier Kahn, Elsa Kammerer, Anne-Hélène Klinger-Dollé, Marine Molins and Anne-Pascale Pouey-Mounou (Genève: Droz, 2015), 215–25.

8 Ludwig Heydenreich, "La villa: Genesi e sviluppi fino al Palladio," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio'* 11 (1969): 11–12; Amanda Lillie, "The Humanist Villa Revisited," in *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy*, ed. Alison Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 194.

9 Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, 44.

10 Nada Grujić, *Ladanjska arhitektura dubrovačkog područja* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1991), 173, 177, 228.

11 Cvito Fisković, *Kultura dubrovačkog ladanja* (Split: Historijski institut JAZU, 1966), 17; Grujić, *Ladanjska arhitektura*, 78–80; Joško Belamarić, "Renaissance Villas on the Dalmatian Coast," in *Quattrocento Adriatico: Fifteenth-Century Art of the Adriatic Rim, Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Villa Spelman*, ed. Charles Dempsey (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1994), 103–22.

12 Benedikt Kotrulj, *Libro del arte dela mercatura— Knjiga o vještini trgovanja*, ed. Zdenka Janeković Römer (Zagreb and Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2009), 292, 471. More about Kotruljević, a celebrated Dubrovnik Renaissance businessman, state official, and diplomat, who, in the middle of the fifteenth century described the home and household of the traders of his time, can be found in the chapter "The House of the Perfect Merchant According to Benedikt Kotruljević" in Nada Grujić, *Kuća u Gradu* (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska, 2013), 147–57.

13 An essay entitled "Remarques sur les petites villes et sur les petits (sic) États" in the Basiljević-Bassegli family archives, kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik. The theme is summed up in an epigraph over the entrance to the Saraka Garden in Ploče, to the east of the historical core: ESTE PROCVL LIVOR, LITES: AMBITIO, CVRAE; / ANTRA, HORTOS, SCOPVLOS PAX COLIT ATQ. QVIES. [Hence envy, dissension, vanity and care / peace, as well as quiet, tends caves, cliffs and gardens.]. For more on the envy that existed in the city and was a motive for going to a country villa, see Nicolò Gozze "[...] fugendo l'invidia pessima de' mortali [...]" (Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro, Ms 834: Nicolò Vito di Gozze, *Li discorsi della immortalità e felicità humana.*). According to Nadja Aksamija, "Between Humanism and the Counter-Reformation: Villa and Villeggiatura in Renaissance Ragusa" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2004), 173.

14 James S. Ackermann, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

1990), 9–34. For the ideological values and goals of the Venetian Renaissance villas, see Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Muller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, trans. Tim Spence and David Craven (New Jersey and London: Humanities Press, 1992).

15   There can be little doubt that this aspect of the design reflects the owner's familiarity with Alberti's writing *De re aedificatoria* about the platform (*area*) of the villa. Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 64. See also Nada Grujić, "Ljetnikovac Vice Stjepovića-Skočibuhe kod Tri crkve u Dubrovniku—ishodište arhitektonskog tipa," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 12–13 (1989): 215–27.

16   Jorjo Tadić, *Dubrovački portreti* (Dubrovnik: Srpska književna zadruga, 1948), 198–233; Gianluca Masi, "Scoccibucca (Skocibuha) and Faccenda (Facenda), Two Families of Shipowners and Merchants in Ragusa (Dubrovnik) between 16th and 17th Century," in *L'Italia e la frontiera orientale dell'Europa, 1204–1669—Italy and Europe's Eastern Border, 1204–1669*, eds. Iulian Miha Damian, Ioan Aurel Pop, Mihailo St. Popović and Alexandru Simon (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang Verlag, 2012), 259–82.

17   Serafino Razzi, *La storia di Ragusia* (Dubrovnik: Tipografia Serbo-Ragusea, 1903), 230.

18   Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika* (*De situ orae Illyrici*), trans. Bruna Kuntić Makvić (Zagreb: Latina et Graeca, 1990), 104–5.

19   Grujić, *Ladanjska arhitektura*, 63–64.

20   Nicolò di Nale, *Dialogo sopra la sfera del mondo di M. Nicolò di Nale* (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1579), 4–6; see also Cvito Fisković, *Baština starih hrvatskih pisaca* (Split: Čakavski sabor, 1978), 370.

21   Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 13, footnote 1. For a recent translation of and commentary on Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, see Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Xenophon Oeconomicus: A Social and Historical Commentary with a New English Translation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

22   Michelangelo Tanàglia, *De agricultura*, ed. Aurelio Roncaglia (Bologna: Libreria Palmaverde, 1953).

23   Bartolomeo Taegio, *La Villa*, ed. and trans. Thomas Edward Beck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

24   In Vicenza, around 1470, Bartolomeo Pagello defended himself from attacks that he was neglecting civic duties because of his love for farming ("opprobrio nobis duci, quia rusticamur atque agros colimus"), invoking the tradition of the ancients and authorities like Hesiod, Virgil, Cato, and Varro, and the models of princes like Attalus and Diocletian, who loved the rustic life. See Gian Maria Varanini, "Cittadini e 'ville' nella campagna veneta tre-quattrocentesca," in *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta. Da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa*, eds. Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 39–53, and 33–34 for the ideals of rustic life.

25   "Cincinati, Dentati, Achali, Colatini, Pisoni, Fabij, Lentuli, Ciceroni, e molti altri appresso i Romani, et li Rè di Asya […] e quell gran Cyro Rè di Persia il quale con le mani sue proprie piantava li Alberi […] delli Romani quanti Nobili senatori sono stati, che attessero alla Agricoltura, li quali, quando il bisogno vedevano della Republica, si mettevano servire, e giovar alla Patria, e poi doppò le speditioni tornavano alla pristine Agricoltura come nel porto della consolatione, e di piacere tanto diletto di quella prendevan"; Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome, Ms. Urb. Lat. 500, 68v–69r. According to Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 172, footnote 49, and 177.

26   Agostino Gallo, *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1565). For more, see Christopher J. Pastore, "Expanding Antiquity: Andrea Navagero and Villa Culture in the Cinquecento Veneto" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003).

27   An excellent illustration of such views is given by Poggio a Caiano, a Medici villa, one of the most important architectural and cultural productions of the early modern period in Europe. It is important to point out that Lorenzo de' Medici, before putting up the main building, had Le Cascine built, which is a real model of an exemplary agricultural complex, with a dairy farm and a cheese factory, just two kilometers away from the villa. See Howard Burns, *La villa italiana del Rinascimento* (Treviso: Colla 2012), 43–46.

28   Nada Grujić, "Dubrovačka ladanjska arhitektura 15. stoljeća u Gučetićev ljetnikovac u Trstenom," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti* u *Dalmaciji* 34 (1994): 141–67. On the economic background and political and ideological basis for the Venetian *Vileggiatura* turned into *Santa Agricoltura*, see Bentmann and Müller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, 6–26 and passim.

29   Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 45.

30   Nicolò Vito di Gozze, *Dello Stato delle Republiche secondo la Mente di Aristotele* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1591), 60.

31 In the same place, for Gozze's idea of the proper education—a properly Spartan one—of *figliuoli* see: "[…] e come i fanciulli erano in età di quattordici anni, non volea [Licurgo Lacedemone], che stessero nella Città; ma mandati in villa, accioché i primi anni in fatica, e esercitio rusticale si consummassero […] esercitati in queste scienze dell'animo; si ancora in quelle discipline, che rendono, e sono possenti da se render 'il nostro corpo obediente all'animo, per fare e l'huomo perfetto, e la casa perfetta, e la Republica altresi;" Gozze, *Governo della Famiglia*, 97–98. According to Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 47–52.

Gozze's *padre* is equal to the Cato's *paterfamilias*. Cf. Cato:

"In his youth the *paterfamilias* should devote his attention to planting. He should think a long time about building, but planting is a thing not to be thought about but done. When you reach the age of thirty-six you should build, if you have your land planted. In building, you should see that the structure does not lag behind the farm or the farm behind the structure. It is well for the paterfamilias to order a well-planned villa rustica and storage room and plenty of vats for oil and wine, so it may be pleasant to expect esteem; it will be for his advantage, and virtue and glory." (Cato, *On agriculture*. 3.1–3.2.1, trans. W.D. Hooper and Harrison Boyd Ash, revisions by Harrison Boyd Ash (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954)).

32 *Sub hac ergo meridies exigitur, mane in collibus, vesper in pratis vel ad fontem asperiore in ortulo, ubi naturam michi vincente artificio, locus est alta sub rupe ac mediis in undis, angustus quidem sed plenus stimulis ardentibus, quibus piger licet animus in altissimas curas possit assurgere.* (Francesco Petrarca, *Epistole familiares*, Lib. XIII, 8.) See William Tronzo, *Petrarch's Two Gardens* (New York: Italica Press, 2014), 4.

33 Aristotle, *Physics* II, 8, 199a16 (Trans. by R.P. Hardie and R.K. Gaye, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930): "ὅλως δὲ ἡ τέχνη τὰ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖ ἃ ἡ φύσις ἀδυνατεῖ ἀπεργάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ μιμεῖται." Daniele Barbaro's *Vitruvian Commentary* (1576), in the dedication of the second edition to Ippolito d'Este, goes further: "nelle guali (opere in Roma, et a Tivoli) la natura conviene confessare di essere stata superata dall'arte, et dalla splendidezza dell'animo (umano) [In the presence of these creations in Rome and Tivoli. Nature must confess to having been surpassed by the art and brilliance of the human spirit

of invention]," as cited in Bentmann and Muller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, 75–76, who conclude:

"This sentence contained the essential idea of the villa as *paradiso artifiziato*, as expressed not only in the 'd'Este,' the Cardinal's villa in Tivoli, but also in the haute bourgeois 'Priuli' in Treville and in the Venetian Prelate's 'Barbaro' villa in Maser. Barbaro's judgment of the quality of the 'Villa d'Este,' based as it was on the authority of Latin aesthetics, could be transferred without difficulty from the real landscape art of Ippolito's Tiburtine villa to the illusionary paintings of nature in the Villa Maser. They put nature to 'shame,' as did the fountains, the serene architecture, the landscaped terrain, and the botanical elements of the Ligorio in Tivoli."

34 Cvito Fisković, *Sorkočevićev ljetnikovac na Lapadu* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1982), 44–48.

35 Fisković, *Baština starih hrvatskih pisaca*, 197.

36 Benedetto Ramberti, *Delle cose de Turchi. Libri tre* (Venice 1591), 4r.

37 The letter is from January 3, 1558 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, MS Pal. 1010, 209r–209v.), as cited in Aksamija, "Between Humanism," 143–44, footnote 163. For the same constatation, in a letter from December 29, 1560 to Paolo Sadoleto, see Žarko Muljačić, "Novi podaci o dubrovačkom nadbiskupu Ludovicu Beccadelliju," *Anali* 39 (Dubrovnik 2001): 232, footnote 54.

38 Danko Zelić, "O crtežu *Prospetto della Città di Ragusa nel Secolo XII*. kao 'izvoru' za najstariju povijest Dubrovnika," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 36 (2012): 27–34.

39 Michelangelo Muraro, *Civiltà delle ville venete* (Udine: Magnus, 1986), 16.

40 Zdenka Janeković-Römer, "Stjecanje Konavala. Antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije," in *Konavle u prošlosti sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Cavtatu 1996. godine*, sv. 1, ed. Vladimir Stipetić (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1998), 31–45. The return to Epidarum as the point of origin of the state pedigree of Dubrovnik was accompanied in the early Renaissance period by strong mythological considerations. In his unfinished poem *De Epidauro*, which includes an exquisite description of classical ruins set within the framework of a romantically wild landscape, personified Epidaurum states her grievance to the Thunderer for the imminent ruin of the city, but Jupiter offers consolation by promising that he will resurrect her in a yet more beautiful form as the

new Dubrovnik, which Crijević calls "the colony of the Quirites." Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus), *Ode in Rhacusam*, in *Hrvatski latinisti (Croatia auctores quae scripserunt)* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska—Zora, 1969), 1:385.

41 Nada Grujić, "Cavtat rinascimentale—rievocazione dell'Epidauro antica," in *Homo adriaticus, Identità culturale e autocoscienza attraverso i secoli*, eds. Nadia Falaschini, Sante Graciotti and Sergio Sconocchia (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 1998), 251–65; see also Lukša Beritić, "Utvrđenja i regulacioni plan Cavtata," *Anali Historijskog Instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 12 (1970): 191–204.

42 Joško Belamarić, "The Beginnings of Modern Dubrovnik. Town Planning and Architectural Aspects of the First Industry in Dubrovnik in the 15th Century," in *Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence: Croatia and Mediterranean*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 268–309.

43 Bruno Šišić, *Gardens of the Historical Suburb of Dubrovnik: From Pile to Boninovo* (Dubrovnik: HAZU, 2003), 42–47.

44 Charles Yriarte, *Les bords de l'Adriatique et le Monténégro : Venise, l'Istrie, le Quarnero, la Dalmatie, le Monténégro et la rive italienne* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1878), 291.

45 Philippe Du Fresne-Canaye (who embarked in 1572 from Venice to Constantinople on a Ragusan fast five-sails *caramoussal*) was like minded, thinking that "it would have been much better if the city had been built in Gruž rather than among the stones in the place where it does lie, almost in despite of nature"; Philippe Du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyage du Lévant* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 16–17.

46 Jorjo Tadić, "Organizacija dubrovačkog pomorstva u 16. veku," *Istorijski časopis* 1–2 (1948): 54–104; Josip Luetić, *Mornarica Dubrovačke Republike* (Dubrovnik: Pomorski muzej JAZU, 1962).

47 For Ragusan *argosies*, see Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1973), 381.

48 "The most numerous and probably the most capable experts and masters for galleons in this Mediterranean Sea are from Dubrovnik," wrote Bartolomeo Crescentio in *Nautica Mediterranea* (Rome, 1602). One of the relatives of Vice Skočibuha, Nikola Sagrojević—Nicolò Sagri, in the work *Disquisitions on the change of ebb and flow of the Western oceanic sea* (*Ragionamenti sopra la varietà de i flussi et riflussi del Mare Oceano Occidentale*, Venice, 1574) wrote that the Dubrovnik ships were the strongest in the world, built of the best timbers, and that for ten years they would need no repairs to the hull. For a more comprehensive discussion, see Tadić, "Organizacija dubrovačkog"; Bariša Krekić, "Ragusa (Dubrovnik) e il mare: Aspetti e problemi (XIV–XVI secolo)," in *Ragusa e il Mediterraneo: Ruolo e funzioni di una repubblica marinara tra Medioevo ed età Moderna*, ed. Antonio di Vittorio (Bari: Cacucci Editore, 1990), 131–51; Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, "Od barkuzija do galijuna: Nekoliko crtica o ulozi pomorstva u usponu dubrovačkoga građanstva u kasnome srednjem i ranome novom vijeku," *Povijesni prilozi* 47 (2014): 143–83.

49 Razzi, *Povijest Dubrovnika*, 174. Bartolomeo Crescentio also writes about Dubrovnik's shipbuilding: "La materia delle Galee si trova in moltissimi boschi intorno a' lidi d' Italia di quella de' Galeoni et Navi, stimano piu perfetta i naviganti Ragusei quella, che si taglia nel monte Sant' Angelo di Puglia"; Bartolomeo Crescenzio, *Nautica mediterranea: Nella quale si mostra la fabrica delle galee galeazze, e galeoni con tutti lor armamenti, uficii et ordini et il modo di far vogar una galea a tutti transiti del mar con solo vinti remier* (Roma: appresso Bonfadino, 1607), 4.

50 Jorjo Tadić, *Miho Pracatović-Pracat: Prilog istoriji dubrovačkog pomorstva* (Dubrovnik, 1933).

51 Pešorda Vardić, "Od barkuzija do galijuna," 170.

52 Cvito Fisković, "Pravilnik bratovštine, dokumenti o gradnji i ostaci brodogradilišta u Gružu," in *Beritićev zbornik*, ed. Vjekoslav Cvitanović (Dubrovnik: Društvo prijatelja dubrovačke starine, 1960), 117–47. The reasons for the concentration of the shipbuilding industry that brought together the many artisan trades in Gruž are many and potent, and two among them—the row and the stench—should not be lost sight of. These aspects, with respect to the activity of the Arsenal in Venice, can be seen in Jo Wheeler, "Stench in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, eds. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Ashgate 2007), 28–29: "Surprisingly, the thirty or so trades massed in the Arsenal, the dockyards and the largest industrial complex in Europe at the time were not associated with stench (despite Dante's description of the heat and noise there in the Inferno). This silence is difficult to explain, but it seems highly significant that the Arsenal was located outside the 'guts' [*viscere*] of the city."

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Visualizing Illyrianism in Urban VIII's Rome

Daniel Premerl

Recent research has done much to highlight the pivotal role played by the early modern humanists in the development of nationalist discourse.[1] When humanists wrote national histories, in Luka Špoljarić's words,

"they created national myths of origin, praised their respective national characters, cataloged their national heroes and saints, delineated their national territories, and so forth. The goal was, of course, to assert the superiority of their nation over others. The Italian humanists were the ones who started this trend. Biondo Flavio's (1392–1463) *Italia Illustrata* (Italy illuminated), a work that soon became the model of national history writing, sang praises of the geography, famous men, and history of Italy, 'the foremost of the provinces of the world.' Before long, such claims instigated manifold responses across Europe: the French upheld Paris and its university as the true center of European learning; Germans turned to Tacitus to stress their purity and uncorrupted morals; and Hungarians celebrated Attila the Hun and his military exploits. When Croatian humanists entered this international fray, they boasted of their ancient Dalmatian or Illyrian roots."[2]

Indeed, Croatian humanists, though slavophone, considered their nation to be indigenous to the region, the descendants of ancient Illyrians. For this reason, in their Latin texts they often referred to both the historical and contemporary population of their kingdoms—the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia—as *Illyrici*, the Illyrians. Accordingly, they called their homeland, at this time divided between various political powers (the Republic of Venice, the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy, and the Republic of Dubrovnik), *Illyria* or *Illyricum*, reviving in this way the ancient Roman administrative term for the region (which included the territory that stretched north to the Danube and roughly corresponded with modern Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, northern

Albania, northern Serbia, and western Hungary), and thus seeking to anchor their history and identity deep in the ancient world.[3] In addition to this narrow vision of their homeland, an Illyria *sensu stricto*, some Croatian humanists also presented Illyria as an integral part of the wider Slavic world, a nation that included the Orthodox Southern Slavs, like the Serbs and Bulgarians, as well as the Czechs, Poles, and Russians in the north. In this way, this small group of intellectuals from a narrow strip of land at the frontier of Catholic Europe sought to provide their community with prestige and historical legitimacy and promote the cause of their nation, which faced with an existential threat from the Ottoman expansion.

Illyrianism, the nationalist discourse of Croatian humanists, appeared first in the mid-fifteenth century just as the Croatian-Dalmatian branch of the European Republic of Letters began to emerge.[4] However, the most well-developed and influential texts that promoted the Illyrian ideology date to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: a chorography, the *Oratio de origine successibusque Slavorum* (1532) by Vinko Pribojević of Hvar, and a history, *Il Regno degli Slavi* (1601) by Mauro Orbini of Dubrovnik. In these works the two authors described and glorified the history of the Illyrian nation, presenting it as an integral part of the wider Slavic world tied together by the same language. This allowed the two humanists not only to appropriate famous historical figures of ancient Illyria as their national heroes, like St. Jerome of Stridon, St. (Pope) Caius, or Roman Emperor Diocletian, but also Emperor Constantine (born in the province of Dacia *Mediterranea*, i.e., modern Serbia), King Vukašin of Serbia, and King Sigismund I the Old of Poland and Lithuania.[5] By presenting the Illyrian nation as part of the wider Slavic world and highlighting such heroes, the Croatian humanists tried to bolster the prestige and service record of their nation in the wars against the Ottomans. It was then that this utopian Pan-Slavic Illyrianism eventually appealed to the Eastern policy makers of the papal curia.

FIGURE 5.1   Giovanni Guerra and his workshop, *Saint Jerome Explains Difficult Passages in the Holy Scriptures*, Giovanni Guerra and workshop, 1589–90, Church of San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome

The Illyrian discourse permeated a significant number of works of Croatian historiography and literature, but only a few works of art. The most important were created in Italy in two Illyrian institutions: the fresco cycle in the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome (executed in 1590 under the patronage of Pope Sixtus V)[6] and the fresco cycle in the Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna (executed in 1700 under the patronage of a bishop of Zagreb).[7] The frescoes in the Illyrian church in Rome are particularly important to highlight here. Three large wall paintings, each on one wall of the presbytery, depicted three scenes from the life of St. Jerome: his ordination in Antioch, his discussion on the Scriptures in Bethlehem (with men wearing turbans), and his disputation with St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Basil the Great, the Cappadocian Fathers (Fig. 5.1). The very selection of these Eastern episodes from St. Jerome's life implied

the theological complementariness and reciprocity of both Christian traditions, Eastern and Western, and sent a message stressing the unity of the Church to the Illyrian priests. Another cycle of frescoes in the same church occupied three lunettes. The lunette of the presbytery depicts the Dalmatian Popes Caius and John IV, who symbolize the sacredness of the Illyrian soil; one of the transept lunettes depicts Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the ninth-century Greek missionaries to the Slavs, and the other transept lunette depicts Sts. Domnius and Rainerius, the archbishops of Salona-Split who held the title of *primas Dalmatiae totiusque Croatiae*.

This essay focuses on Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, a prominent Illyrian prelate in Urban VIII's Rome, a man who, thirty years after they were completed, celebrated masses under the frescoes in St. Jerome as the president of the Illyrian congregation of the church. What is

particularly interesting about Mrnavić is that although he was a prolific author whose works built on the tradition of Croatian Illyrianism developed by Pribojević and Orbini, he also made significant efforts to promote Illyrianism visually. This essay analyzes the meaning of the artworks he commissioned and traces Illyrianism's performative power, uncovering Mrnavić's role in the promotion of the cult of St. Caius, both in Rome and in distant Zagreb.

1 Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and His Coat of Arms

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580–1637) was born in Šibenik in then Venetian Dalmatia into a humble Catholic family whose father was an immigrant from Ottoman Bosnia.[8] After he graduated from the Jesuits' Collegio Romano in Rome, he became a diocesan priest in his native city of Šibenik. It is here that Pope Urban VIII unsuccessfully sought to appoint him bishop, ultimately bowing to the Venetian authorities' strong objections to Mrnavić because he was, as they put it, a *Morlacco* and an *allievo della setta dei Gesuiti*. Subsequently, the pope sent him to Zagreb, the Croatian political center in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom under Habsburg rule, where he became a canon. The climax of Mrnavić's career came in 1631 when he was appointed bishop of Bosnia (a titular see at that time).

However, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić spent much of his time in Rome. He was the five-time president of the Congregation of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome in various periods between 1615 and 1635,[9] and from 1622 he worked for the Holy See's *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* as an adviser for Illyrian holy books. On behalf of the Holy See, Mrnavić also traveled through Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary, and Poland, including Ottoman Bosnia and other Ottoman parts of the region. In addition to serving the Church as a priest and an adviser, he wrote tirelessly: his works include historiography, hagiography, and fiction, most of it with subject matters related to the history of *Illyria* or *Illyricum* from antiquity onwards.

Mrnavić's Illyrianism was the Illyrianism of Catholic Reform.[10] During that period, the Holy See was occupied with translating holy books for Illyria—*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* engaged Croatian priests for that task; Mrnavić was one of them. They had to choose a language variety that would be appropriate for as many South Slavs as possible, including the Orthodox and Muslims.

Language was seen as an important tool for the desired unification of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Also, the example of the Croatian liturgy in the vernacular, which was an exception to the rule in the Catholic Church, was seen as an example that might be helpful in attracting the Orthodox to the Catholic Church.

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić enjoyed a considerable reputation in Rome during the 1620s and 1630s. He published eleven books in nine years, with original title pages and frontispieces, under the aegis of notable dignitaries and printed by reputable printers. On the one hand, this sustained activity earned him inclusion in Leone Allacci's *Apes Urbanae sive De viris illustribus* (1633), a biographical lexicon of authors resident in Rome in Urban VIII's time.[11] On the other hand, from an art-historical point of view, a testimony to his growing reputation comes from his involvement in the creation of two works of art commissioned by his acquaintances, who were powerful and enterprising cardinals during that time. Thus, in 1628 Mrnavić was invited by Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (who was expected to succeed Pope Urban VIII) to his newly built villa in Castel Fusano near Ostia to write epigraphs for marble plaques distributed all over the building. Additionally, Mrnavić was also responsible for the iconography of the Sacchetti villa's gallery of maps (made by Pietro da Cortona and his assistants).[12] As another example, in 1635 Mrnavić inspired the vice-chancellor of the Holy See and the pope's nephew Cardinal Francesco Barberini to present the Zagreb cathedral with the silver and gilt reliquary bust of its patron, St. Stephen, the King of Hungary (Fig. 5.2). This highly accomplished work of Roman Baroque metal sculpture, made by papal silversmith Francesco Spagna, was based on models attributed to Alessandro Algardi (the head) and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (the plinth).[13] In addition to the distinguished artists involved, the mere size of the reliquary, measuring over one meter in height and eloquently signaling the cost of the material used for it, demonstrates the high esteem in which Francesco Barberini held Mrnavić.

In my opinion, Mrnavić owed some of his reputation to his self-promotion skills. For example, he fashioned his identity as a Bosnian noble on the basis of his self-constructed genealogy, according to which he stemmed from the medieval Bosnian family Mrnjavčić, whose famous descendant happened to be the fourteenth-century king of Serbia, Vukašin Mrnjavčić.[14] The inspiration was certainly his father's Bosnian origin, but a blending of his own Dalmatian family with a medieval

FIGURE 5.2   Silversmith Francesco Spagna (model for the head attributed to Allessandro Algardi; model for the plith attributed to Gian Lorenzo Bernini), *Reliquary Bust of St Stephen the King*, h. 113 cm, silver, copper, gilt, precious stones, 1635, Zagreb Cathedral's Treasury, Croatia
PHOTOGRAPH: INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB, PAOLO MOFARDIN

Bosnian one, whose descendant was king of Serbia, had symbolic potential, as this geography of genealogy covered considerable territory, with Bosnia at its core. Indeed, Mrnavić saw Bosnia as the lynchpin of a possible post-Ottoman state in the region, as documented in one of his reports written for the Holy See.[15] In this report he also praises Bosnia by recounting the story of the Vatican painting *Saints Peter and Paul and the Baptism of Constantine* (accompanied by an Illyrian inscription), which, according to him, was donated to the Vatican basilica by the last Bosnian queen.[16] At the time, the painting was thought to date from Constantine's reign, which greatly added to its significance, though modern scholarship considers it a late thirteenth-century donation from the Serbian Queen Helen of Anjou.[17] In fact, the mere mention of that icon shows Mrnavić's awareness of the power of images and their discursive potential in claiming legitimacy for Illyricum.

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić used every opportunity to give his Bosnian noble identity a visual dimension, and his main devices—acting like so many "shop windows"—were the title pages and frontispieces of his books. There, he would regularly add to his surname the adjective *Bosnensis* (in books in Latin) or *Bošnjanin* (in books in Croatian). What is more, he would often display his coat of arms, which has a curious shape and iconology.[18] Mrnavić's coat of arms (see figs. 5.3–5 and 5.8) is filled with a thick cross bearing a crowned, crucified-like eagle; the cross is surrounded by four smaller fire steels or fire strikers (Germ., *Feuerstahl*; Cro. *kresivo* or *ognjilo*; Serb. *ocilo*), one in each quadrant. After he became the bishop of Bosnia, his coat of arms received an addition in the upper part of the cross—a crescent and a star placed one upon the other. Mrnavić adopted his coat of arms from (what was believed to be) King Vukašin's coat of arms, reproduced for the first time in the history book *Il Regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601) by Mauro Orbini, the Ragusan Benedictine monk. The crescent-and-star motif is also derived from Orbini's book, where it features in the center of the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia.[19] Both coats of arms from Orbini's book were recent inventions that came down from the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial*, which was made in 1595 as an alleged mid-fourteenth-century original for the Korjenić-Neorić family from Slano (Republic of Ragusa; Dubrovnik).[20] This family belonged to local clans who were the descendants of Bosnian small nobility who

left the Kingdom of Bosnia following its defeat by the Ottomans to settle in the Republic of Ragusa. There they achieved wealth in the naval business, while also working for the Spanish and Neapolitan courts. However, not being eligible to obtain nobility status in the Republic of Ragusa, they turned to the Spanish court and commissioned the *Armorial* in order to prove their links with medieval Balkan elites (and indeed, it was accepted as a proof). Subsequently, the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* became an influential reservoir of South Slavic heraldic designs—in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the cross and fire steels composition (the coat of arms of Serbia in the *Armorial*) became the coat of arms of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, the center of the Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy, before it became the coat of arms—or its constituent parts—of modern Serbian states.[21] In contrast, the crescent-and-star motif was to become the visual symbol of the 1830s Croatian National Revival, also known as the Illyrian movement; the motif ended up on the coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia in 1990 as one of five small shields crowning the main shield.[22]

On the one hand, the cross and fire steels composition can be interpreted as a Byzantinizing form, since it resembles the emblem of the Palaiologos dynasty (the so-called tetragrammic cross with four stylized Greek letters beta, used since the thirteenth century). Likewise, the fire-steel motif is an ornament of late Roman and Byzantine origin. On the other hand, the crescent-and-star motif from the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia is more universal, as it can be found in twelfth-century Croatia as well as in twelfth-century Byzantium and fourteenth-century Poland (*leliwa*). Finally, the motif—albeit with a different orientation—was to become the symbol of the Ottoman Empire, and subsequently of Turkey (before it became the symbol on the flag of several Muslim states).

Mrnavić exhibited his coat of arms in five of his books. The title page of *Osmanšćica* (Rome, 1631; see fig. 5.3) can be singled out here (it is a history drama in Croatian which narrates the Ottoman defeat by the Polish army at the 1621 battle of Hochim and its aftermath that led to a conspiracy in Constantinople in which sultan Osman II would be murdered by his janissaries).[23] The coat of arms' shield is composed of segments of two ellipses and set within an elaborately designed early Baroque cartouche, which is framed by the oval inscribed in the

rectangle. The cartouche is topped by a putto in a care-
less position inside the crown.

Other examples of Mrnavić's Illyrianism made visual
are two portrait engravings in his book *Indicia vetustatis
et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae* (Rome,
1632). The first one depicts the oval portrait of King
Vukašin framed by an aedicule and is reminiscent of
portraits from Renaissance illustrated books on famous
men from the past (Fig. 5.4).[24] The other portrait depicts
Mrnavić's bust inside an oval frame; the sitter, bishop of
Bosnia at the time, is depicted as a focused and deter-
mined bearded man dressed in simple clothes as if a
monk rather than a high-ranking ecclesiastic (Fig. 5.5).
Both portraits are provided with Mrnavić's coat of arms.
These images are rare examples of Illyrian iconography
in Roman seventeenth-century art.

With its Byzantinesque cross with fire steels framed by
a Baroque shield and cartouche, Mrnavić's coat of arms

had a very distinctive form and would have been striking
in the eyes of the ecclesiastical high society of Rome.

2   Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and the Making of Two Illyrian Churches in Rome

In 1630, when Mrnavić was presiding over the Congre-
gation of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome,[25] a marble
plaque was put above the inner door of the congrega-
tion's church (Fig. 5.6).

The inscription on the plaque, undoubtedly authored
by Mrnavić, reads:

"To Pope Urban VIII, who has with fatherly love embraced
the Illyrian nation which has been already gathering in
faith for two hundred years in this temple which Sixtus V
later built from its foundations. He [Urban VIII] brought
peace to the said Congregation, built from foundations
the church of Saint Caius Illyrian pope and martyr,
decorated the baptistery of Saint Constantine, Illyrian
Emperor, purified the Illyrian books of sacred myster-
ies, brought back the alumni to the Illyrian College in
Loreto and endowed them with immortal beneficences.
The Illyrian nation gratefully erects this monument to
its protector Alessandro Cesarini, the cardinal and the
deacon of the Holy Roman Church in the year of our
Lord 1630."[26]

What is curious in this list of Urban VIII's beneficences
to the Illyrian nation is the mention of two *fabbriche*:
the building of the little-known Church of St. Caius and
the renovation of the well-known Lateran baptistery.
As far as it is known, these campaigns have not been
recorded in contemporary sources as having been linked
to the Illyrian nation (unlike the other deeds for which
Urban VIII is thanked in the inscription). However, the
author of the inscription perceived these projects in this
manner and intended for the beholder to understand
them as such.

2.1   *The Church of St. Caius the Illyrian Pope and Martyr*

According to extant documentation, in 1631 Urban VIII
commissioned the building of the Church of St. Caius
in Rome in Via Porta Pia (now Via XX Settembre) in
the vicinity of the Church of St. Susanna.[27] In 1880 the

FIGURE 5.4   Unidentified master, Portrait of King Vukašin from *Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae*, Rome, 1632
RESEARCH LIBRARY ZADAR, CROATIA

FIGURE 5.5   Unidentified master, portrait of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić from *Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae*, unidentified master, Rome, 1632
RESEARCH LIBRARY ZADAR, CROATIA

Church of St. Caius was demolished due to the construction of the Ministry of War. In the literature on the church a curious assertion has been repeated, without citing a source, that the pope commissioned this building at the behest of Dalmatian nobles. As we will see, this story can be traced back to around 1700, but a somewhat different prototype originated in 1628.

The church was designed by Vincenzo della Greca and built at the expense of the Camera Apostolica.[28] The inscription above the portal specified that Urban VIII erected the church on the spot of Pope Caius's house, which had subsequently been consecrated as a church before falling into ruin. Pope Urban VIII thus erected it anew, bringing the relics of St. Caius to this space and reviving its *Titulus* and *Statio* in 1631. The main altarpiece depicted Pope Caius baptizing St. Susanna, painted by Giovanni Battista Speranza. As far as it is known, the

paintings ornamenting the two side altars and other images in the church did not refer to St. Caius.[29]

The façade of St. Caius was represented on the pope's 1635 annual medal designed by Gaspare Mola, which commemorated the twelfth year of his pontificate.[30] It was also represented in the fresco cycle in the *Galleria grande di Urbano VIII* in the Palazzo Quirinale, which commemorated the *nuove fabbriche* and restoration campaigns commissioned by the pope (executed by Simone Lagi and Marco Tullio Montagna in 1634–35) (Fig. 5.7).[31] Finally, it is also present in another cycle of wall paintings in the Vatican palace depicting twenty-three *medaglioni*, which celebrated events of the Barberini pontificate (also executed by Lagi and Montagna in 1637–38).[32]

FIGURE 5.6   Marble plaque, 1630, Church of San Girolamo dei Croati, Rome
PHOTOGRAPH BY DANKO ŠOUREK

St. Caius served as the twenty-ninth pope, from 283 to 296 according to the oldest source that mentions him, *Catalogus Liberianus* (354).[33] Other biographical information on his life come from later sources, the most significant one bring the *Passio Susannae* (circa 450–500), the legend of the beautiful Roman Christian girl whom Emperor Diocletian wanted to marry to his stepson Maximian.[34] Susanna lived with her father Gabinius and was close to his brother, Bishop Caius: the two pious brothers were her advisers and consolation. They were also relatives of Emperor Diocletian and were living in neighboring houses in Rome. One day the emperor sent Claudius, a cousin of Gabinius, to ask for Susanna's hand in marriage for his stepson Maximian, but as a result, Claudius converted to Christianity, together with his wife Praepedigna and their sons Alexander and Cutia.

Then the emperor sent Claudius's brother Maximus with the same mission, but he also became a Christian. They were all baptized by Susanna's uncle, Caius. When the emperor became aware of this, he ordered the execution of Maximus and Claudius and his family. Then the emperor asked his wife Serena to intercede with Susanna, but to no avail. Suddenly, Maximian came to Susanna's house with the intention of raping her, but an angel appeared and protected her. Thereupon the emperor sent an agent to her house to force her to sacrifice to Jupiter, but she refused. Then the emperor ordered that she be executed in her home. Serena recovered the body and buried it in the catacombs. After Susanna's death, Pope Caius regularly visited her home to celebrate mass there. The place became a church and was called *ad duas domus* (as Gabinius's house was adjacent to

FIGURE 5.7   Simone Lagi and Marco Tullio Montagna, *Church of St. Caius in Rome*, 1634–35, Palazzo
               Quirinale, Rome

Caius's). In 499, the Roman synod confirmed a *Statio* on the site of this church, which was called *Titulus Caii*. A century later it was renamed *Titulus Sanctae Susannae*, also called *ad duas domus*.

The older version of the *Liber pontificalis* (sixth century) mentions that Pope Caius was *ut natione Dalmata, ex genere Diocletiani imperatoris*. It is held that this information on the pope's Dalmatian origin is derived from *Passio Susannae* and was based on the fact that members of her family were relatives of Diocletian (who was known to have been born in Salona in Dalmatia). The later version of the *Liber pontificalis* (seventh century) repeats the information about the pope's Dalmatian origin (and introduces the aforementioned characters of his family). In addition, in this version Pope Caius and his brother Gabinius are mentioned as martyrs, too. As a saint, Pope Caius was given a feast day in the Roman calendar, though there is no information about his cult in Rome or in Dalmatia. He eventually lapsed into oblivion.

However, the memory of St. Caius was revived in the patriotic and historiographic prose of the Croatian Renaissance. In Juraj Šižgorić's *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* (1487, manuscript) there is a chapter entitled "On very few famous Illyrians" (*De paucis Illyriorum nominibus*)—in it the author agrees with Pliny the Elder who held that among the Illyrians there had been very few illustrious men. However, Šižgorić proudly presented three of them: Emperor Diocletian, Pope Caius, and St. Jerome.[35] Vinko Pribojević, in his *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (Venice, 1532), significantly raised the number of famous Illyrians (the now longer list included Alexander the Great and Aristotle, among others).[36] Writing of Pope Caius, Pribojević narrated the story of the pope's family (Susanna, Gabinius, and so on) and presented Caius as the martyr. Adding to the list of Illyrian *viris illustribus*, Pribojević also inserted another Dalmatian pope next to Caius, Pope John IV (640–42). Subsequently, this pair of Dalmatian popes would become a recurring motif in Croatian literature of that genre[37] and would also enter Croatian early modern political iconography.[38] They were symbols of the sacred Illyrian soil that was endangered at the time by the Ottoman expansion. Pribojević's narrative about the Dalmatian pope, Caius the martyr, his niece Susanna, and their saintly family was then incorporated almost word for word into Mauro Orbini's *Il regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601),

the same book from which Mrnavić borrowed his coat of arms.[39]

Along with this Croatian memory of Caius, the Renaissance popes also made efforts in the same direction. Pope Sixtus V, for example, commissioned the campaign to recover his relics in 1588. Likewise under his patronage, as already been mentioned, Caius would appear in iconography as the new Illyrian patron saint. He was depicted as such for the first time, together with Pope John IV, in the lunette of the presbytery in the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome (attributed to Avanzino Nucci; 1589–90).[40] Pope Gregory XV also procured further relics of Pope Caius in 1622.

In 1628 Mrnavić wrote about Pope Caius in his book *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* (Rome, 1628). In his narrative, Mrnavić merged the story of the *Passio Susannae* with his knowledge of Emperor Diocletian and his birthplace Salona as well as the place where he died, the palace from which the city of Split arose. The book is dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti, who was the cardinal priest of the Church of St. Susanna at the time. In the book Mrnavić made genealogical links between the Sacchetti family and the Aurelia Valeria family from Dalmatian Salona. Moreover, in the laudatory introductory poem Mrnavić praises a certain descendant of Giulio Sacchetti—Andrea Sacchhetti—who had happened to be a fifteenth-century bishop of Nagyvárad in the then Kingdom of Hungary before that region fell to the Ottomans (Lat. Varadinum, present-day Oradea in Romania). These were all strategies to involve the Sacchetis in the Eastern question, as well as to subtly propagate the Illyrian cause.

Unlike other saints from her legendary family, Susanna was a popular Roman saint (and there is a major and well-known Roman church dedicated to her), and so the Dalmatian Mrnavić instead emphasized Pope Caius's importance within this saintly family. This emphasis is clearly visible in the composition of the book's frontispiece (see fig. 5.8; *disegno* by Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro; incised by Orazio Brunetti),[41] which has a monstrance-like shape: St. Caius is depicted in the central oval medallion encircled by nine smaller medallions depicting other members of his holy family; the lower part of the monstrance-shape is occupied by the round Barberini coat of arms, below it there is a significantly smaller image of Mrnavić's coat of arms, while the very bottom of the monstrance-shape is filled

FIGURE 5.8   Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro (incised by Orazio Brunetti), Frontispiece of *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas*, Rome, 1628 Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb
PHOTOGRAPH: INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB, PAOLO MOFARDIN

with a curved horizontal cartouche with an inscription that reads: *VRBANO SVMMO VNIVERSALIS ECCLIAE PONTIFICI / ANTIQVITATIS ECCLIACAE VNICO RESTITVTORI / IOANNES TOMCVS MARNAVITIVS HVMILITER OFFERT* [To Urban, the supreme pontiff of the Universal Church, the unparalleled restorer of the antiquity of the Church, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić humbly presents]. The monstrance-like shape also has four cartouches with inscriptions—three inscriptions communicate some general thoughts on the sainthood, while one is more specific. It reads: *Non fecit taliter omni nationi, Psal 147* [He has not done so with any other nation (Ps. 147:20)]. Thus, Mrnavić is suggesting a comparison between the Illyrian nation and the chosen people, the Israelites (Fig. 5.8).

But there is yet another strand to the St. Caius story. In the same year, 1628, a curious *avviso* was published in Rome entitled *Relatione della conquista fatta della galera capitana d'Alessandria, nel porto di Metellino, per opera del capitano Marco Iakimoski, schiavo in detta galera. Con liberatione di 220 schiavi christiani.*[42] In it, its author in passing reveals that he was aware of the pope's plan to build the Church of St. Caius three years prior to its construction. The *avviso* was written by Marko Tomko Mrnavić,[43] the little-known nephew of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, who in the first sentence says he was requested by his uncle to write this story (*per obbedire al mio Zio*). Indeed, given the anonymity of Marko Tomko Mrnavić on the one hand and the reputation of his uncle on the other hand, but above all, given the proselytizing and Pan-Slavic meaning of the text, the *avviso* can be safely attributed to Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. The *avviso* narrates the story of the heroic rebellion of Christian slave oarsmen who, on November 12, 1627, captured a big Ottoman vessel in the Aegean port of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos and made a successful escape to Sicily, where they were warmly received and rewarded by the viceroy. The leader of the Christian slaves was a Pole, Marek Jakimowski,[44] while the slaves were predominantly Russian (except for three Greeks, two Englishmen, and one Italian).[45] Then, the heroes wanted to come to Rome: Jakimowski chose a delegation of his thirty principal partners and they arrived in Rome on February 16, 1628. In Rome they presented the pope and the Holy See, in a sign of the gratitude to God, with the principal banner of the galley and its gilded light (*fanale*). Then they hung many other banners in the churches of Rome,

particularly in the Church of St. Stanislaus of the Poles, in the Church of St. Susanna—with an agreement that the banner would be kept in the Church of St. Caius after its completion—and finally in the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians (at whose hospice they were accommodated at the cost of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who also gave them confession and Eucharist).[46] In addition, they presented trophy-banners to Cardinal Torres, protector of Poland, and also to *Signori* Carlo and Tadeo Barberini. The pope made Jakimowski a knight, and the ceremony was performed by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who also gave him religious gifts (*regararlo di molte cose diuote*). Costanza Barberini and Anna Colonna donated to the wives of the heroes. Then they visited nine pilgrimage churches in Rome and at the end were all invited to a meal by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the monastery of Santo Stefano Rotondo.

The story was then retold in a reduced form in the book *Sancti Caii Papae et Martyris Acta* (Rome, 1628) by the Oratorian Father Cesare Becilli in its last chapter, entitled *Vexilla sanctis Caio, Hieronymo, Stanislao, universae Slavorum gentis patronis, oblata* (The banners presented to the saints Caius, Jerome, and Stanislaus, patrons of the whole Slavic nation).[47] Cesare Becilli omits the detail that the crew was predominantly Russian but keeps the character of the Polish leader Marek Jakimowski. The author points out: "You see, the people who use the Slavic language (as the men of which I am talking about here) or inhabit the regions to which the Slavs spread during their migration worship the holy Dalmatians as their own countrymen." And then follows a description of the flag in the Church of St. Jerome, otherwise absent from the original text:

"This they themselves professed on the banner in St Jerome's. Thus while one part of the banner reads:

During the reign of Urban Mehmed the tyrant
grows weaker and vanishes as Moon fleeing from the Sun.

The other part has the following:

This holy trophy the pious Goth of Tiras, having broken free from

Mehmed's shackles, presents to his national saints."[48]

Some seventy years later the story turns up again in Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza's *Eorteorlogio overo le Sacre stazioni*

romane e feste mobili (1702) and *La gerarchia cardinal-izia* (1703), who even cites Cesare Becilli as his source, although, as we shall see, Piazza's version of the story has some significant and far-reaching modifications: namely, that the representatives of the self-liberated slaves in Rome were Dalmatian nobles (Marek Jakimowski is not mentioned). In addition, the Dalmatian nobles, having presented the three banners to the three churches, went on to look for remains of the ancient church of St. Caius; Pope Urban, having seen their pious curiosity, himself ordered the search for that ancient site upon which he would build the church anew and translate the banner the Dalmatian nobles had temporarily left in the Church of St. Susanna.[49] Ultimately, this story was transferred into Gaetano Moroni's *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* (1841),[50] which, although never cited in this context, seems to have been the source for the assertion that the Church of St. Caius was commissioned by Pope Urban VIII at the behest of Dalmatian nobles.[51]

Regarding the prototype story from 1628, written by Marko Tomko Mrnavić at Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's suggestion, it can be safely assumed that some of the events actually happened.[52] However, many parts seem to have been arranged by Mrnavić. In fact, the plot resembles a piece of propaganda literature: the Russian slaves, led by a Polish slave, liberated themselves from Ottoman slavery and came to Rome to present the pope with the Ottoman trophy-banner, while other trophy-banners they brought with them they presented in honor of the saints Stanislaus, Caius, and Jerome, that is to say, one Polish saint and two Illyrian saints. The inclusion of Caius within this cluster of saints is particularly interesting, as it is unlikely that anyone would have wished to make a vow to St. Caius in 1628, given that prior to 1631 there was not a single altar dedicated to him in either Dalmatia or Rome, and he seems to have been virtually unknown. Moreover, the delegation of self-liberated slaves who came to Rome was accommodated at the Hospice of the Illyrian Congregation of St. Jerome, adjacent to the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians (and not at the Polish hospice in Rome). The role of the Orthodox Russians in the story seems particularly uncertain.

It is possible to recognize in this story the Pan-Slavic trends of the Holy See's Eastern policy at that time, in which a pivotal role was assigned to Croatian clergy and to the Croatian language. All this was based on the belief that Dalmatia was the cradle of all Slavs and consequently that the Croatian language was the most beautiful of all Slavic languages, their purest prototype. The idea behind the Catholic Pan-Slavism was to engage Russia and Poland in the liberation war against the Ottomans; and the wished-for outcome of such a great campaign, the eventual union of the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. The father of this Pan-Slavism was Vinko Pribojević, who spent some time in Poland and who, in his work, transferred from Polish literature the story of three brothers from Croatia, Czech, Lech, and Rus, who became the forefathers of the Czechs, Poles, and Russians; he also praised the Polish king, as well as the Russian city of Novgorod, whose citizens speak a language that is, as he put it, so similar to Dalmatian. Pan-Slavism became a tool of the papal Eastern policy, especially during the pontificate of Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini) from 1592 to 1605. It is interesting to note in this context that the bishop of Hvar, Petar Cedulin, wrote a letter of congratulation to the newly elected Pope Clement VIII in which he calls for the pope to liberate from Ottoman rule "thirteen kingdoms and provinces of the Illyrian language," by which he meant also Russia and Poland.[53] Dating from this period is another curious letter addressed to the Holy See in which an unsigned author asks that the Hospice of the Illyrian Congregation of St. Jerome be changed into a college for Slavs, that is to say, for all Slavs who speak the Illyrian language, which also included the Russians and the Poles.[54]

That an erudite "restaged" the actual event can also be sensed from the insistence that the standard-trophy destined for the Church of St. Caius should be temporarily left in the Church of St. Susanna; it is not probable that Marek Jakimowski and his companions were aware of the ancient connection between the two saints, their houses, and *tituli*, as only a well-informed humanist would have been. Mrnavić's motivation for launching the story was obviously to stage a pro- and Pan-Slavic show for Pope Urban VIII. Indeed it is most probable that he used this story to seed the idea for the Church of St. Caius in the pope's mind. Whatever the case may be, in 1628 Ivan Tomko Mrnavić had put St. Caius into circulation, three years before the pope commissioned the building of that church.

The reinvention of St. Caius in post-Tridentine Rome was transferred to yet another place linked with Mrnavić:

namely, to Zagreb, the Croatian political center where he was also canon of the cathedral chapter at that time.[55] In the Zagreb Cathedral Treasury there is a small gilded and silver-plated copper reliquary bust of St. Caius, stylistically attributable to a Roman workshop and dateable to Mrnavić's time, and very likely brought to Zagreb by him (Fig. 5.9). His ideas fell on fertile soil in Zagreb: he is frequently cited in the first published Croatian history book written by the Zagreb canon and historian, Juraj Rattkay, *Memoria regum et banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae* (Vienna, 1652). Moreover, St. Caius appears on the frontispiece of this book (see fig. 5.10),[56] which in its composition and iconography is reminiscent of the frontispiece of *Unica gentis* (see fig. 5.8). However, here the big central oval medallion depicts St. Paul the Apostle who,

as the inscription says, "passed through the whole of Illyricum,"[57] while the upper register of framing medallions depicts the three highest-ranking saintly prelates who sanctified Illyrian soil: Caius in the middle, flanked by Jerome and Constantine (Cyrill). St. Caius was reused in the iconography of the Zagreb bishopric again in the seventeenth century on the metal cover of the famous Zagreb Missal and finally in the largest commission of that sort, on the wall paintings in the refectory of the Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna (painted by Gioacchino Pizzoli in 1700). In these cases, Caius *Dalmata* also had a political message, which reflected Zagreb's stand on the affiliation of the territory of Dalmatia, ruled by the Venetian Republic at the time. In modern times, St. Caius disappeared from the iconography of the Zagreb bishopric. By contrast, in Dalmatia his cult appeared in the early eighteenth century, only to be boosted in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, developing a local ecclesiastical, rather than nationalistic, hue.[58]

2.2   *The Baptistery of St. Constantine, Illyrian Emperor*

In 1624, Urban VIII commissioned the restoration of the Lateran baptistery.[59] The architectural work was completed by 1635, while the embellishment of the interior, with wall paintings in the ambulatory, lasted from 1639 to 1649 and was executed under the supervision of Andrea Sacchi. By undertaking the restoration, the pope sought to reinforce the Constantinian legend, according to which the Lateran baptistery lies on the very spot of the imperial palace where Pope Sylvester baptized the emperor. However, according to Constantine's biographer Eusebius of Caesarea—who is considered more reliable by modern scholars—the emperor was baptized near Nicomedia (present-day İzmir in Turkey), at the place of his death. Constantine's baptism in Rome at the hands of a pope was an important identity myth for the papacy and the papal states, as was the *Donation of Constantine*, since both stories emphasized Constantine's links with the Church of Rome and his impact in the West. Thus, Urban VIII's restoration campaign of the Lateran baptistery can also be understood in the context of his strategy of reactivating early Christian connotations in Rome, as well as a theatrical statement of the sacrament of baptism, a core element of Counter-Reformation propaganda. The restored Lateran baptistery's interior appears on the pope's 1637

FIGURE 5.10 Juraj Šubarić, Frontispiece of *Memoria regum et banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae*, Vienna, 1652
NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY IN ZAGREB, CROATIA

FIGURE 5.11   Gaspare Mola, *Constantine's Baptistery*, reverse
of Urban VIII's 1637 annual medal, Gaspare Mola,
Staatliche Münzsammlung München
PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLAI KÄSTNER

annual medal, which commemorates the fifteenth year of his pontificate and was designed by Gaspare Mola (Fig. 5.11). Mola's medal image of the baptistery was in turn enlarged as part of a cycle of wall paintings in the Vatican palace, consisting of twenty-three painted *medaglioni* that celebrated events of the Barberini pontificate, made by Lagi and Montagna in 1637.[60]

As mentioned above, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić included this papal restoration of the Lateran baptistery—which he named *Baptistery of Saint Constantine, Illyrian Emperor* in the 1630 marble plaque (see fig. 5.6)—on the basis of the belief that Constantine was one of the most famous Illyrians (he was born in Naissus, present-day Niš in Serbia).[61] Emperor Constantine had first appeared glorified as a Slav, albeit modestly, in Vinko Pribojević's *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (1532). After naming twenty-seven Roman emperors of Slavic origin (*ex Slauis*), Pribojević added that Emperor Constantine had not been completely without Slavic blood, since his grandfather, Emperor Claudius, was a Dalmatian.[62] This claim was also appropriated by Mauro Orbini in *Il regno degli Slavi* (1601), who argued that Claudius was a Dalmatian, that is to say a Slav, as well as Emperor Constantine's great grandfather.[63] However, Tomko Mrnavić wrote an eighty-pages *Life of St. Constantine*—it

is the longest chapter in his book *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas* (The abundance of Illyrian royal sanctity), published by the Vatican print house in 1630 and dedicated to Ferdinand III the Habsburg and Cardinal Francesco Barberini (Fig. 5.12).[64] The book otherwise is comprised of twenty-two hagiographies of Illyrian saints of royal blood, including Byzantine and Hungarian saints as well as one Serbian and one Croatian saint.[65] A notable word in Mrnavić's *Life of St. Constantine*, as it appears on the 1630 plaque, is *Sanctus*. Mrnavić must have been aware of the fact that Constantine was not a saint in the Catholic Church, in contrast to the Orthodox Church. However, he treated the emperor as a saint so as to aggrandize the status of the Illyrian nation, and perhaps also for the sake of a rapprochement with the Orthodox South Slavs. However, *St. Constantine the Illyrian*, unlike St. Caius, did not have an iconographic afterlife. In Croatian lands, Constantine was occasionally depicted on the altarpieces but only as an accompanying figure to his mother St. Helen.

The Constantine chapter in the *Regiae sanctitatis* is not the only place in the book where the emperor is mentioned; he also appears in the dedicatory chapter to Ferdinand III Habsburg, where Ferdinand is referred to as the king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. There, Mrnavić praises the Habsburg king, arguing that his dynasty stems from Constantine the Great. According to Mrnavić, the Habsburgs were also the legitimate heirs to both the apostolic kings of Hungary and the rulers of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Thrace, and Macedonia, all of whom were direct successors of Emperor Constantine.[66] These genealogies were not innocent. Mrnavić's book was intended to inspire the Habsburgs to conquer and rule Illyria. The frontispiece of *Regiae sanctitatis* exhibits military iconography alongside a portrait of the young Ferdinand III in the upper medallion (see fig. 5.12).

Similarly noticeable in the frontispiece of *Regiae sanctitatis* is a coat of arms at the bottom, another curious creation of Mrnavić. The coat of arms is divided into four "squares": Arpad stripes referring to the Kingdom of Hungary, at top left; the coat of arms of Dalmatia, at top right; the coat of arms of Croatia, at bottom left; and a unique combination of the double cross, which refers to Hungary, and the coat of arms of Slavonia, at bottom right. In the center of this composite coat of arms is a small coat of arms of Austria.

FIGURE 5.12
Unidentified master, Title page of *Regiae Sanctitatis Illyricanae Foecunditas*, Rome, 1630
NATIONAL AND UNIVERSITY LIBRARY IN ZAGREB, CROATIA

It is interesting to note that the Illyrian coats of arms dominates this arrangement of Illyrian and Hungarian heraldry.

With the 1630 marble plaque (see fig. 5.6) above the entrance door of the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians, Mrnavić wanted to represent the two papal building campaigns in the Illyrian key in order to promote the Illyrian cause. As far as the building of the Church of St. Caius in Rome, this Illyrian key may have well been present in the pope's mind also. As we have seen, three years prior to the building of the church Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, who was close to the pope, wrote about Pope Caius as a famous Illyrian and included a frontispiece imbued with the Illyrian iconography, dedicated the work to the pope (see fig. 5.8), and caused the *avviso* be written by his nephew, in which St. Caius was envisaged as a Pan-Slavic saint. It is therefore quite likely Mrnavić encouraged the pope to build the little Church of St. Caius in Rome. However, with respect to the Lateran baptistery it is unlikely that its Illyrian connotation

triggered its renovation by the pope. The Lateran baptistery itself had been imbued with enough significant connotations for the pope, which easily justified its renovation. However, Mrnavić seized the opportunity to rename it boldly as the Baptistery of St. Constantine the Illyrian Emperor to promote the Illyrian cause further and to increase the potential Catholicization of the Illyrian territory symbolically.

Pope Caius and Emperor Constantine being portrayed as great Illyrians were figments of Croatian Renaissance literature and historiography, and we can imagine Ivan Tomko Mrnavić proudly witnessing these churches being built or renovated in Rome by order of the Supreme Pontiff—proud enough to advertise them in marble. Ultimately, the visual formulations of Illyrianism conceived in Urban VIII's Rome by Mrnavić—the books and frontispieces, the churches, and coat of arms—testify to an effort to mobilize and merge Western and Eastern Christian traditions, at a particular moment when Croatian nationalism and papal Eastern policy converged.

Notes

1 Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

2 Luka Špoljarić, "Nicholas of Modruš and His *De Bellis Gothorum*: Politics and National History in the Fifteenth-Century Adriatic," *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2019): 460.

3 Illyricum was an ancient Roman name for the province that comprised the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland (*Dalmatia*) and the territory that stretched north of it to the Danube (*Pannonia*). The territory roughly corresponds with modern Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, northern Albania, northern Serbia, and western Hungary. After Diocletian's administrative reforms, Illyricum came to comprise the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, except for Thrace. When South Slavs came to that area between the seventh and ninth centuries, they formed their states (such as Croatia, Dioclea, Serbia, and so on) and the name Illyricum went out of use.

4 For Croatian early modern Illyrianism, see Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrianism before Illyrianism] (Zagreb: Golden marketing—Tehnička knjiga, 2008), 214–38. Cf. also John V.A. Fine, *When Ethnicity did not Matter in the Balkans* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009).

5 For the Illyrian topoi and the place of Pope Caius and Emperor Constantine within the Illyrian topological scheme, see Blažević, *Ilirizam*, 88–113; "How to Revive Illiricum? Political Institution of the Illyrian Emperors in Early Modern Illyrism," in *Welche Antike? Konkurrierende Rezeptionen des Altertums im Barock*, ed. Ulrich Heinen, 1:431–44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

6 Milan Ivanišević, "Hrvatska crkva svetoga Jeronima u Rimu" [Croatian Church of St. Jerome in Rome], in *U križu je spas—Zbornik u čast nadbiskupa-metropolita mons. Ante Jurića*, eds. Marin Škarica and Ante Mateljan (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1997), 407–45; Jasenka Gudelj, "San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma: Gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino," in *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450–1650*, eds. Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda (Roma: Campisano, 2015), 297–325; Daniel Premerl, "Nacionalni sveci u ranom novom vijeku—ikonografija identiteta" [National saints in the early modern period—Iconography of identity], forthcoming.

7 Daniel Premerl, *Bolonjske slike hrvatske povijesti—Politička ikonografija zidnih slika u Ilirsko-ugarskom kolegiju u Bolonji* [Bolognese images of Croatian history—Political iconography of wall paintings in the Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna] (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2014).

8 Mrnavić's biography in this essay, unless otherwise noted, is based upon Tamara Tvrtković, *Između znanosti i bajke—Ivan Tomko Mrnavić* [Between scholarship and fairy tale—Ivan Tomko Mrnavić] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Šibenik: Gradska knjižnica Juraj Šižgorić, 2008), 12–44.

9 Tomko Mrnavić was president in 1615–16, 1624, 1626–27, 1630–32, and 1635. Josip Burić, *Iz prošlosti hrvatske kolonije u Rimu* [From the history of the Croatian colony in Rome] (Rim: Knjižnica Novog života, 1966), 74.

10 For Mrnavić's Illyrianism, defined as a fusion of "curial" and the Habsburg "imperial" Illyrianism, see Blažević, *Ilirizam*, 214–38.

11 Leo Allatius [Leone Allacci], *Apes Urbanae sive De viris illustribus* (Roma: Lodovico Grignani, 1633), 166. Leone Allacci was a Greek-born Roman theologian and scholar. His biography was written by Stjepan Gradić (Stefano Gradi), the well-known Ragusan in the Vatican. For more on Allacci, see Domenico Musti, "Allacci, Leone," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2 (Roma: Treccani, 1960), available online.

12 Francesco Petrucci holds that Mrnavić was not responsible for the models for maps of different regions of the world that were duplicated by Pietro da Cortona and his assistants on the walls of the gallery (as was held by previous researchers); rather, he was responsible for the iconography and texts that accompany the maps:

"Per quanto riguarda invece le carte geografiche, esse furono dipinte sotto la supervisione di Johannes Tomco Marnavič, che le illustrò nel suo fascicolo *Villa Sacchetta Ostiensis cosmograficis tabulis et notis …* (1630). Il Tomco ebbe l'8 febbraio 1629 un compenso di 26 scudi per aver pagato due calligrafi che avevano posto le iscrizioni nella galleria, dovendo 'sodisfare dua servitori che hanno scritto nella Galleria del sudetto Casale'; una somma abastanza alta, che potrebbe comprendere anche una consulenza generale nel programma iconografico, ma non un'assistenza cartografica come ritiene la Zirpolo"; Francesco Petrucci, "I cicli decorativi di Castel Fusano: La nascita della pittura barocca in casa Sacchetti," (in Carla Benocci, *Pietro da Cortona e la villa di Castel Fusano dai Sacchetti ai Chigi* (Roma: Artemide, 2012), 103, 73–124.) In addition, Carla Benocci concludes

that Pietro da Cortona was not the architect of the Villa Sacchetti (as was held by previous researchers); he was only responsible for the villa's wall paintings. Carla Benocci, *Pietro da Cortona e la villa di Castel Fusano dai Sacchetti ai Chigi* (Roma: Artemide, 2012), 41–72, 175–77, 182–84.

Lilian Zirpolo describes the gallery as follows:

"On the north-eastern wall are the then four known continents—America, Africa, Europe, and Asia—hence the four corners of the world. Below each are corresponding river gods in grisaille—Marañon, Nile, Danube, and Euphrates, respectively. On the opposite wall, between the windows, are maps of the seventeenth-century world powers, also with grisaille figures representing their corresponding rivers—Spain/Tagus, France/Rhone, Italy/Po, and Germany/Rhine. Below the *Triumph of Ceres*, on the north-western wall, are Great Britain and the Thames and the Agro Romano with the Tiber. On the south-eastern wall, below *Bacchus*, are maps of the Agro Fiorentino with the Arno and Sicily with Fonte Aretusa. Monochromatic medallions on the window soffits feature mythological scenes and related symbolic references. Finally, six of the seven wonders of the ancient world are displayed below the windows (the Egyptian pyramids were ommited) and two *vedute*—a landscape with a castle and a coastal view—are featured above the side entrances to the gallery"; Lilian H. Zirpolo, *Ave Papa Ave Papabile: The Sacchetti Family, Their Art Patronage, and Political Aspirations*" (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 79–81, 93.

See also Lilian H. Zirpolo, "The Villa Sacchetti at Castelfusano: Pietro da Cortona's Earliest Architectural Commission," *Architectura*, no. 1 (1996): 171–76; Ioannes Tomcus Marnavitius [Ivan Tomko Mrnavić], *Villa Sacchetta Ostiensis cosmographicis tabulis et notis per Joannem Tomcum Marnavitium illustrata* (…) (Roma: Lodovico Grignani, 1630).

13 Daniel Premerl, "Artwork by Papal Silversmith Francesco Spagna for Zagreb Cathedral: Reliquary Bust of St Stephen the King," in *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković*, eds. Miljenko Jurković and Predrag Marković (Zagreb, Motovun: University of Zagreb—IRCLAMA and Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2015), 341–47. For a more extensive version of the aforementioned article (with the same conclusions), see Daniel Premerl, "Szent István király zágrábi ereklyetartó mellszobra," in *István, a szent király*, eds. Terézia Kerny and

András Smohay (Székesfehérvár: Székesfehérvári egyházmegyei múzeum, 2013), 47–63, 293, 502. See also Danko Šourek, "*Ad imitationem angelicae, apostolicaeque coronae Ungaricae*. Prilog ikonografiji krune na prikazima svetih kraljeva u zagrebačkoj katedrali," [A contribution to the iconography of the crown on the images of the holy kings in Zagreb Cathedral], *Peristil*, no. 54 (2011): 177–86.

14 Mrnavić wrote extensively on his genealogy in Ioannes Tomcus Marnavitius [Ivan Tomko Mrnavić], *Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae* (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1632). For incredible genealogies, see Roberto Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009).

15 "Il regno di Bosna nato dalla rouina di quello di Dalmazia, di cui longo tempo erasi mantenuta positione e prouintia, con mettersi in libertà sotto il dominio di proprij principi chiamati bani, quali per molti anni con autorità regia, et indenpedente lo ressero, e poi agrandito dalle cineri della monarchia Rasciana e Seruiana con aquisto di titoli et ornamenti regali, e finalmente depresso et estinto dalla tirannide turchesca; è paese situato nelle viscere dell'Illirico"; Karlo Horvat, "Tri doslije nepoznata rukopisa Ivana Tomka Marnavića, biskupa bosanskoga (1631.–1639.)," *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, no. 21 (1909), 354.

16 "E finalmente è cosa notabile a questo proposito, che se bene la chiesa romana tenga diverse pitture, et imagini di santi, offertigli da diversi regi e regni, nulla di meno di niuna altra si vede facio tanta stima, come di quella che dall'esterminato regno porto a Roma l'ultima regina Catharina, rapresentante le vere imagini SSti Pietro e Paulo, con il battesimo di Constantino, soprascritta con caratteri Illirici, espresisui del nome delli principi apostolici; poiche questa sola ordinariamente si tiene e riverisce sopra l'altare maggiore della basilica vaticana, non per altro forse, che per testimonianza, che questo regno, piu propriamente d'ogni altro è proprieta patrimoniale della sede apostolica"; Horvat, "Tri doslije nepoznata rukopisa," 359.

17 Rosa D'Amico, "Icona dei santi Pietro e Paolo," in *Il Trecento adriatico. Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente*, eds. Francesca Flores d'Arcais and Giovanni Gentili (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2002), 116–17.

18 For a more extensive discussion on Mrnavić's coat of arms, see Daniel Premerl, "Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and His

Coat of Arms: Self-Presentation of an Illyrian Noble," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 42 (2018), 109–24.

19   Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro: Girolamo Concordia, 1601), 274, 344; and for the modern reprint, see Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, eds. Sima Ćirković and Peter Rehder and introduction by Sima Ćirković (München: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1985).

20   Stjepan Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja: Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik iz 1595.* [Ideology of heraldry: Korjenić-Neorić armorial from 1595] (Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica; Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti—Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2015).

21   Dragomir M. Acović, *Heraldika i Srbi* [Heraldry and Serbs] (Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008), 98–110.

22   Ivo Banac, *Grbovi—biljezi identiteta* [Coats of arms—Tokens of identity] (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1991), 52–54; Dubravka Peić Čaldarović and Nikša Stančić, *Povijest hrvatskoga grba* [History of Croatian coat of arms] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2011), 152–62, 201–10; Mate Božić and Stjepan Ćosić, "Nastanak hrvatskih grbova" [Origin of Croatian coats of arms], *Gordogan*, nos. 35–36 (2017): 36, note 81.

23   The same plot is used by Ivan Gundulić in his epic *Osman*. Dunja Fališevac, "Osmanšćica," in *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija* [Encyclopaedia of Croatian literature], ed. Velimir Visković (Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2011), 3: 273.

24   For illustrated books from the Renaissance on famous men from the past, see Francis Haskell, *History and Its Images* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 26–79; Milan Pelc, *Illustrium imagines: Das Porträtbuch der Renaissance* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002).

25   For the history of the Confraternity, the Hospice, and the Chapter of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome, see Burić, *Iz prošlosti*; Giorgio Kokša, *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni* (Roma: Marietti, 1971). For the architecture and the arts of the complex, see note 6.

26   "Urbano Octavo Pontifici Maximo / quod patris affectu complexus nationem Illyricam / a CC annis in hoc templo postea a Sixto V / a fundamentis extructo congregatam / eidem congregationi tranquillitate reddita / domo Sancti Caii Papae et martyri Illyrici a fundam excitata / baptisterio sancti Constantini Imperatoris Illyrici illustrato / sacrorum misteriorum libris Illyricis

purgatis / alumnis Illyriorum Lauretano Collegio restitutis / immortalibus beneficiis affecerit / Alexandro Sacrae Romanae Ecclesiae Diacono Cardinali Caesarino protectore eadem natio grati animi hoc monumentum ponit / Anno Domini MDCXXX." I am grateful to Zrinka Blažević for the transcription and the translation.

      In the nineteenth century the plaque was removed from its original position to the room adjacent to the sacristy of the church. It has been reproduced and translated into Croatian in Juraj Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod sv. Jeronima u Rimu* [Croatian College of St. Jerome in Rome] (Rim: Tiskara Papinskog sveučilišta Gregoriane, 1953), 28–30. The original position of the plaque is confirmed by the description in *Descrizione di Roma moderna* (Roma: Libreria di Michelangelo e Pier Vincenzo Rossi, 1697), 477 ("[…] la quale havendo anco ricevuto molti beneficij dal Pontefice Urbano VIII. volle eternarne la memoria con l'iscrizzione collocata sopra la porta interiore").

27   Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Roma: Tipografia vaticana, 1891), 819; Giovanni Biasiotti, "L'antica chiesa di S. Caio in Via XX settembre," in *Atti del Primo congresso nazionale di studi romani*, edited by Carlo Galassi Paluzzi (Roma: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1929), 1:828–33; Oskar Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII* (Wien, Augsburg, Köln: Dr. Beno Filser Verlag, 1928), 1:30–35.

28   For Vincenzo Della Greca, see Tiziana Acciai, "Della Greca, Vincenzo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 37 (Rome: Treccani, 1989), available online.

29   Biasiotti, "L'antica chiesa," 829.

30   Lucia Simonato, *'Impronta di Sua Santità'—Urbano VIII e le medaglie* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2008), 292–94, 430–31.

31   Laura Laureati, "'18. Sala dei Bussolanti' and '18.1 Veduta della chiesa di San Caio,'" in *Il patrimonio artistico del Quirinale: Pittura antica—La decorazione murale*, eds. Laura Laureati and Ludovica Trezzani (Milan: Electa, 1993), 176–77, 179.

32   Lucia Simonato, "Medaglioni dipinti in Vaticano: Un episodio di fortuna visiva della medaglistica barberiniana," in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del seicento*, eds. Lorenza Mochi Onori et al. (Roma: De Luca editori d'arte, 2007), 231–48.

33   Francesco Scorza Barcellona, "Caio, santo," in *Enciclopedia dei Papi* (Roma: Treccani, 2000), available online; Milan Ivanišević, "Prvi papa iz Dalmacije" [The first

pope from Dalmatia], in *Salonitansko-splitska crkva u prvom tisućljeću kršćanske povijesti*, eds. J. Dukić et al. (Split: Crkva u svijetu—Splitsko-makarska nadbiskupija, 2008), 169–96.

34   Michael Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 270–86.

35   Juraj Šižgorić [Georgius Sisgoreus], *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku/De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1981), 22–23. The book contains the original Latin text and its Croatian translation by Veljko Gortan.

36   Pribojević wrote it as a speech he gave in his native Hvar in 1525. For the printed edition, see Vincentius Priboevius [Vinko Pribojević], *De origine svccessibvsque Slavorvm* (Venetia: Ioannes Antonius et fratres de Sabio, 1532). For the printed edition in Italian, see Vincenzo Pribevo [sic], *Della origine et successi de gli Slavi* (Venezia: Aldo Manuzio il Giovane, 1595). Croatian editions that contain the original Latin text and its Croatian translation appeared in 1951, 1991, and 1997. I used Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena/De origine successibusque Slavorum*, trans. Veljko Gortan, introduction by Grga Novak (Split: Književni krug, 1991), 74–75, 135–36. On Vinko Pribojević and his work, see Domagoj Madunić, "Strategies of Distinction in the Work of Vinko Pribojević," in *Whose Love of Which Country?: Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, eds. Bálazs Trencsény and Márton Zászkaliczky (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 177–202.

37   Blažević, *Ilirizam*, 110. This pair of Dalmatian popes was mentioned in the thirteenth-century *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon.

38   Daniel Premerl, *Bolonjske slike*, 65–71.

39   Orbini, *Il Regno*, 176–77.

40   Ivanišević, "Hrvatska crkva," 435–36; Premerl, *Bolonjske slike*, 66–68; Gudelj, "San Girolamo," 310–13.

41   For a more detailed discussion on the engraving, see Premerl, "Ivan Tomko," 112–14.

42   Bronislaw Bilinski, "Memorabile impresa di Marco Jakimowski—220 schiavi cristiani liberati e portati a Roma nel 1628," *Strenna dei Romanisti*, no. 41 (1980), 77–91.

43   Marko Tomko Mrnavić was Marko Tomko Scocci (Scozzi, Scocius, Skočić), a priest and since 1630 the canon of the Šibenik cathedral chapter. When Ivan Tomko Mrnavić obtained the canonicate in Zagreb he renounced his Šibenik canonicate in favor of his nephew Marko, which was conferred by Pope Urban VIII. Marko Tomko Scocci was the firstborn son of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's sister Margarita and her husband Šanto Scocci (Santo Scozzi; Sanctus Scocius; Svetoje Skočić); they married on February 11, 1609. Marko Tomko Scocci published two odes in Latin in honor of his uncle—again under the name Marko Tomko Mrnavić—at the beginning of his uncle's book *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas* (Rome, 1630). Also, he accompanied his uncle during the Apostolic visitation of the Pauline monasteries in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland (1633). The last few things known about Marko Scocci is that in his uncle's will he was bequeathed a clock with an image of the Crucifix in ebony (1636). Antonio Giuseppe Fosco, *Vita di Giovanni Tonco-Marnavić* (Sebenico: Tipografia della Curia vescovile, 1890), 11, 32, 47; Iva Kurelac and Tamara Tvrtković, "Biskup o Biskupu—kritika Foscove analize i transkripcije oporuke Ivana Tomka Mrnavića" [Bishop on bishop: Critical review of Fosco's analysis and transcript of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's will], *Historijski zbornik* 64, no. 1 (2011): 43–44, 33; Kristijan Juran, "Trgovci, pomorci, obrtnici i medicinski djelatnici u Šibeniku od 1620. do 1630. godine" [Merchants, sailors, craftsmen and medical staff in Šibenik from 1620 to 1630], *Šibenik od prvog spomena—Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 950 godina od prvog spomena Šibenika*, ed. Iva Kurelac (Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika; Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2018), 295 (note 257). Cf. also Ferdo Šišić, "Kako je vizantinski car Justinijan postao Slaven (Ivan Tomko Mrnavić)" [How Byzantine Emperor Justinian became a Slav], *Nastavni vjesnik*, 9 (1901): 395–96, 406; Tvrtković, *Između znanosti*, 24–25, 31, 42.

44   "Trouauasi tra i Schiaui Christiani ferrati sopra la Galera, Marco Iakimoski, suddito del Rè di Polonia, natiuo de Baro, Terra della Podolia, antico nido di Gethi, ouero Gotthi, chiamati di già Tirogethi, dal fume Tiras [...]. Questo, come persona ben nata, & educata ne gli essercitij militari, inanti fusse stato preso da Turchi, nell'vltime guerre di Polonia [...]"; Marco Tomco Marnauitio (Marko Tomko Mrnavić), *Relatione della conquista fatta della galera capitana d'Alessandria, nel porto di Metellino, per opera del capitano Marco Iakimoski, schiavo in detta galera. Con liberatione di 220 schiavi christiani* (Roma: Lodovico Grignani, 1628), without pagination (i.e., 3).

45 "[...] hauendo ciurmato la sua Galera Capitana con 220. Christiani, tre de quali erano Greci, doi Inglesi, & vn solo Italiano, il rimanente tutti Russi, ouero Mosconiti [...]." Marnauitio, *Relatione*, without pagination (i.e., 2).

46 "[...] a' 16. Di Febraro sono gionti il Capitano con cinque Donne, e trenta principali compagni, quì in Roma sopra il Bergantino, & il giorno seguente, in segno di gratitudine verso il Sig. Iddio, come anco per mostrare l'osseruanza, qualle portano alla Sede Apostolica, hanno presentato a' piedi di N. Signore lo Stendardo Reale della Capitana, di seta Bianca molto grande, e bello, ricamato con quattro meze Lune grandi, tutte piene di caratteri Arabi, con altri motti ricamati de' medemi caratteri; & in oltre il Fanale di detta Capitania, fatto d'ottone indorato, assai bello, e grande: hauendo anco appeso molte altre Bandiere per le Chiese di Roma, particolarmente a San Stanislao, Chiesa de' Signori Polacchi; vn'altro a Santa Susanna, con patto, che quando sia finita Chiesa, che N. Signore fà fabricare a San Gaio Papa, e Martire, sia conseruata in quella. Et in San Geronimo alla Ripetta, nel cui Hospitale della Natione Schiauona, vengono alloggiati, e spesa il liberalmente dalla molta benignità dell'illustrissimo Signo. Cardinale Barberino, essendosi tutti confessati, e communicati sin'hora"; Marnauitio, *Relatione*, without pagination (i.e., 5–6).

47 "Ad pedes Summi Pontificis admissi primariae triremis regium vexillum pulcherrime ornatum sibi obtulerunt, a quo et sacra munera et eleemonsynas plurimas recepe-runt. [...] Obtulerunt deinde vexillum aliud Sancti Hieronymi Illyricorum Ecclesiae, aliudque Ecclesiae Sancti Stanislai Polonorum, aliud demum in aede s. Susannae deposuerunt, ut ibidem conservetur donec Ecclesia s. Caii restituta fuerit. Qui enim Slavorum lingua utuntur, ut hi, de quibus loquimur, aut eas incolunt regiones ad quas pergentes Slavi propagati sunt, sanctos Dalmatos ut patrios colunt, quod ipsimet profesi sunt in vexillo apud sanctum Hieronymum. Cum enim ipsius altera in parte haec legantur: Urbano imperio semper Maometa tyrannis / languet, velut Luna Sole fugata perit. In altera conspiciuntur ista: Haec Gethatiro pius, Maometis compede fracto, / Numinibus patris sacra trophea dicat"; Cesare Becilli, *Sancti Caii Papae et Martyris Acta* (Roma: Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1628), 97–99. I am grateful to Luka Špoljarić for the translation.

48 Becilli, *Sancti Caii Papae et Martyris Acta*, 99. See previous footnote.

49 "Degna di singolar memoria è l'occasione che nacque ad Urbano VIII di ristorare da i fondamenti con erudita liberalità questa al presente vaga chiesa, nel modo, che hora si trova, e fù la seguente. Per una grazia segnalata, ricevuta da i Nobili della Dalmazia, di essere stati libe-rati dalle mani de Turchi, dai quali erano stati fatti cat-tivi, fuggendo dal Porto di Mitilene insieme con alcuni altri Cristiani, e dopo varj pericoli di tempeste di Mare, & insidie de i medesimi Turchi, giunti à salvamento in Sicilia, vollero riconoscere la loro Vita da i Santi loro Nazionali, onde portando seco li stendardi della loro fuggitiva Galera a Roma, e rese le grazie a San Pietro, che liberati gli haveva da i vincoli della servitù; Quelli appe-sero l'uno nella Chiesa di San Girolamo de Schiavoni, e l'altro in quella di San Stanislao de Polacchi; & il terzo in quella di Santa Susanna, non si trovando più la Chiesa antica di San Cajo, si risolsero essi perciò di ricorrere al Papa, e di esporgli il loro pio desiderio, & imbasciata; a quali prestando benigne orecchie, fece cercare conto minuto del sito di questa Chiesa, che già fù casa di San Cajo, e con Pontificia providenza, e liberalità la fabbricò in quei vestigi ruinosi medesimi, ove già anticamente fù fabbricata; nel mezzo di cui vedesi appeso il medesimo votivo Stendardo. Qui S. Cajo, come in Casa sua bat-tezzò molti Gentili, e vi fece diverse funzioni Pontificali. Fù dal medesimo Pontefice Urbano VIII. zelantissimo dell'antiche memorie Sacre di Roma, unita questa Chiesa à quella vicina detta dell'Incarnazione delle Barberine [...]"; Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eorteorlogio overo le Sacre stazioni romane e feste mobili* (Roma: Gaetano Zenobj, 1702), 221–22; *La gerarchia cardinalizia* (Roma: Stamparia del Bernabò, 1703), 533–34, 639.

50 Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni* (Venezia: Tipografia emiliana, 1841), 11:302.

51 Armellini, *Le chiese*, 819; Biasiotti, "L'antica chiesa."

52 Bilinski, "Memorabile impresa."

53 The letter has been published in Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* (Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1875), 2:83–84; See also Oscar Halecki, "The Renaissance Origin of Panslavism," *The Polish Review* 3, nos. 1–2 (1958): 9–13; Blažević, *Ilirizam*, 136–38; Slobodan Prosperov Novak, *Slaveni u renesansi* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2009), 799–800.

54 Burić, *Iz prošlosti*, 27.

55 Premerl, *Bolonjske slike*, 65–71.

56   Premerl, *Bolonjske slike*, 32–34; Milan Pelc, "*Georgius Subarich sculpsit Viennae*—bakrorezac Juraj Šubarić u Beču oko 1650. godine: djela i naručitelji" [Engraver Juraj Šubarić in Vienna around 1650: Works and patrons], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 39 (2015): 63–65.

57   The inscription is a quote from St. Peter Damian and it reads: *Sanctus Paulus apostolus. Respice Paulum totum pervagantem Illyricum. Petrus Damiani, Sermo de Sancti Petri et Pauli.*

58   Ivanišević, "Prvi papa," 169–96.

59   Data and interpretation of the restoration of the Lateran baptistery are based on Rolf Quednau, "Architettura e iconografia costantiniana a Roma fra rinascimento e moderno," in *Enciclopedia costantiniana* (Roma: Treccani, 2013), also available online; Kirsten Lee Bierbaum, *Die Ausstattung des Lateranbaptisteriums unter Urban VIII* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014).

60   Simonato, "Medaglioni dipinti," 241; Simonato, '*Impronta di Sua Santità*', 300–3, 436–37; Lee Bierbaum, *Die Ausstattung*, 106–9.

61   Blažević, "How to revive."

62   Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, 63, 123.

63   Orbini, *Il Regno*, 175. Cf. Nebojša Ozimić, "Tradizione, culto e teologie serbe," in *Costantino I*, eds. Alberto Melloni et al. (Roma: Treccani, 2013), 2:463–70.

64   Ioannes Tomcus Marnavitius [Ivan Tomko Mrnavić], *Regiae sanctitatis illyricanae foecunditas* (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1630), 69–149.

65   Illyrian saints: St. Irene, St. Tryphone, St. Cyrilla, St. Quirinus, St. Hadrianus, and St. Artemia. Byzantine saints: Constantine the Great, his mother Helen and daughter Constantia, Empress Lycinia, St. Metropanus, St. Placidia, St. Stephen, and Emperors Martianus, Glicerius, and Tiberius Constantinus. Hungarian saints: Stephen, Emeric, Ladislas, Elizabeth, and Margaret. Serbian saint: St. Sava. Croatian saint: St. Ivan the Hermit. St. Ivan the Hermit had an iconographic after-life in Zagreb in the second half of the seventeenth century. See Daniel Premerl and Iva Kurelac, "Sveti Ivan pustinjak u hrvatskoj historiografiji i ikonografiji 17. i 18. stoljeća" [St. John the Hermit in Croatian iconography and historiography of the 17th and 18th centuries], *Croatica christiana periodica*, no. 69 (2012): 11–31; Premerl, *Bolonjske slike*, 40–48.

66   Blažević, "How to revive," 442.

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Diogo Homem, Portolan chart of the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, (circa 1559), Wikimedia Commons

PART 2

*The Black Sea
from the Dardanelles to
the Sea of Azov*

∵

CHAPTER 6

"Vampire Trouble Is More Serious Than the Mighty Plague"

The Emergence and Later Adventures of a New Species of Evildoers

Cemal Kafadar

Just as I was putting the final touches on this essay and still tinkering with my opening, I read an engaging discussion of an incident that took place in a football match between Austria and North Macedonia during the 2021 European Cup.[1] My ears were perked, so to speak, since the incident was charged with the politics of *Blut und Boden* in a competition between two nation-states whose lands mark the two ends of that intricate puzzle of human and physical geography that constitutes the heartland of the "classical vampire." The Austrian player Marko Arnautović, whose last name includes one of the common words for "Albanian," namely "Arnaut," was heard uttering a racial slur against an Albanian-Macedonian player. The ensuing controversy was analyzed with profound historical insight by the two coauthors, who wrote:

"Does Marko Arnautović know what his last name means? Does he know when and why his family came to have it? Perhaps it does not matter: it would be a fool's errand to speculate on how the Arnautović family came by their surname. By using an anti-Albanian taunt without ironic intention, Arnautović signaled both the crass behavior for which he is already known, but also, in some sense, his complete disregard for the antiquity of ancestral notions of race. His name is entangled in, and mirrors, complex layers of Balkan history, a region where political boundaries have shifted repeatedly over the past two hundred years, and where people have often held multiple, hybrid identities, just as both men involved in this incident do. Arnautović's taunt makes race seem relevant; the complex family history that his name evokes, however, is itself a powerful symbol of the mutability of identity."[2]

There could not have been a better last-minute assist to this Ottomanist than was delivered by the duo of a Habsburg and a Balkan historian. For my purposes, however, the chronology needs to be pushed backward in time to an era before the emergence of national, political projects. When we consider the shifting of boundaries among empires that seemed stable for a few generations, the seismic shifts had started already in the seventeenth century. It is precisely that link between shifting boundaries and anxieties about the mutability of identities that constitutes the context for the emergence of vampire lore of the modern sort, namely the emergence of a new "species," defined by a pathological dependency on blood.

• • •

I did not have much of an interest in vampire literature or movies until I was smitten (or should I say bitten) by Evliya Çelebi (1611–84?), the Ottoman traveler, raconteur, boon companion, conversationalist, sometime musician, cartographer, and writer. Never quite seized by the ideas of a career or family, he journeyed for more than fifty years and wrote thousands of pages in a ten-volume book of travels, one of the longest first-person narratives ever written, not to mention his sack full of notes, which he tells us he kept carrying around. He repeatedly refers to himself with phrases like "traveler of the world and unique among men," or "traveler of the world and boon-companion to people," not neglecting to also wink at us—in a fantastic ethnolinguistic attempt to capture all the different names given to Satan in more than a hundred different languages—as one of the names of the devil for some nations is "boon-companion."[3]

This "wink" is one of the most endearing aspects of Evliya's pact with his listeners, or readers. It is almost (but not quite) impossible to know when he moves from eyewitness account, from "I saw with mine own eyes" (autopsy), to "that is what they say," or from his gaze to his wink, and he knows how to turn that challenge into a fun-filled game for those readers who want to play along,

even without the rules of the game being explicitly laid out.

Along the way, he tells us of many histories and fables, embroidered with his vivid imagination, his readiness to be transported to states of wonder (ḥayret), and his contagious readiness to capture—at one and the same time—the most mundane and the most fabulous aspects, manners, beliefs, and imaginary worlds of the lands and the peoples among whom he traveled. Marginalized if not fully neglected for a long time, and "discovered" in the nineteenth century, he has generally been read for entertainment value but often dismissed as a credulous, unreliable observer full of exaggeration, and not a "good source" for positivistic historians. Lately, however, he has been reincarnated as a great writer, whose work demands being read as both history and literature, observation and imagination, and gaze and wink. And those who have responded to that call have found Evliya exceedingly rewarding and inspirational.

On to vampires, then, with Evliya as our guide.

In the year 1666, Evliya was up in the mountains of Caucasia, in the lands of the Circassians and the Abkhazians, on a hill linked to the majestic Mount Elbrus.[4] Let us note that he was born and raised in Istanbul as the son of an Abkhazian slave woman and a wealthy master goldsmith, to whom she was gifted thanks to his services to the palace. Evliya's maternal uncle, Melek Ahmed Pasha (d. 1662), who became a servant in the palace, also through the Abkhazian slave network, was our traveler's patron and companion for many of his early journeys. In short, he had deep roots in those lands, which he was visiting for the first time at the age of fifty-five, but he must have heard many of its tales and legends already as a child. Here is his account of vampirism in the area:[5]

"While this wretched one was in that station, the vampires of the Circassian and the Abkhazian people, namely their witches and magicians engaged in a battle on the night of 20 Shevval in 1076 [April 25, 1666, which happens to be a Saturday night] it turned almost apocalyptic, with flashes of thunderbolts that filled the dark evening sky with steady fire. Then darkness receded as it turned into such a light-filled day that Circassian ladies could have done their fine needlework. We asked the Circassians, who said 'by God, this happens once a year, during the nights of *karakoncolos* [ordinarily associated

with the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany, December 24 and January 6, on the folk calendar], our Circassian *obur*s [vampires] and the Abkhazian ones fly into the sky and engage in a mighty battle; do go out and enjoy the spectacle without fear.' It turns out that 'obur' is the name they give to certain magic-wielding witches. Seventy or eighty of us went out with our weapons for a smooth spectacle.

We saw that from beyond the Obur Mountain Abkhazian magicians came flying over that mountain, seated on huge unrooted trees, and jars and vessels and cartwheels and oven sticks, and many other types of objects. Thereupon, from within the Hupesh Mountain[6] of our Circassians, several hundred of them flew off with hair blowin' in the wind, with teeth protruding like those of elephants, with streams of fire like ships' masts released into the sky from their eyes and noses and ears and mouths, with each one riding on the cadaver of a horse or an ox or a camel or fishing boats carved of wood, and wielding a snake or a dragon or some rope or the head of a horse or a camel. Abkhazian magicians and Circassian vampires, flying like this, attacked each other in the sky, and the witches of those two people engaged in such warfare that we were filled with awe from the shrieks and painful cries that deafened our ears [...] for a full six hours they maintained their fight [...] pieces of felt, mats, [and] wooden sticks started falling on us, thereafter corpses of men and horses and camels did, and then, broken pieces of jars and oven-cleaning brooms and woolen overcoats and sheepskin rugs and chalk. As these kept falling, our horses, who were out there, went into wailing and crying, and since large bursts of fire also came down from the sky, many of our horses freed themselves, and we barely contained them.

And then, seven Circassian vampires and seven Abkhazian witches wrapped themselves around each other, stuck their heads under the necks of the others, and fell down to earth. Some Circassians ran over and separated them from each other. Meanwhile, an Abkhazian vampire had drunk the blood of two Circassian vampires who were dead, but five of them were alive. Five of the seven Abkhazian witches lifted themselves up and went skyward again. Circassians burned the [other two] Abkhazian witches who had sucked the blood of the Circassian vampires.

Thus we watched the spectacle of the vampires of the two peoples until the crowing of the roosters. Such

battle and warfare took place in the high sky that it can be neither interpreted by word nor written down by pen. From the cries and shrieks, and the wailing, and the tempest of that night, as well as from the fear and the awe that we experienced, not a moment of the rest of sleep comforted our eyes. As all the witches dispersed and disappeared after the crowing of the roosters, a thunderous noise was heard and huge objects started to fall from the sky down to earth, into the woods, and upon the mountain.

Afterwards, at dawn, a few well-armed comrades and I went to the ground under the very sky of the battle. [We found] dead horses and donkeys and pigs and drums and barrels and kneading troughs, oven cloths with sticks, Sanglian elephants, human cadavers dug out of their graves, cups and pots and pans and mats, and snakes and centipedes and goats and sheep and bears; the grass that covered the soil had turned invisible due to hundreds of thousands of things of this sort. There were plenty of cadavers of dead slaves with chains on their feet and bloated cadavers of animals.

In short, this poor soul used to be skeptical of such tales, but this was witnessed by thousands of soldiers in our company who now remain in perplexity. Among them, there were many who had previously experienced this, but even the Circassian folks swore that for forty or fifty years they had not seen such an overcrowded battle of the vampires, 'five or ten of them perhaps fought each other on earth, with carts and pots, and occasionally took to the sky, but last night was a wondrous spectacle,' they said.

[...] Plague does not occur in these lands. Whether a man is ill or not, on the nights of *kara koncolos*, vampires suck the blood of the person they choose, ill or well, and kill that person. The vampire is thus released of his/her affliction [for the time being?], but the signs of vampire-hood remain in his/her eyes.

There are elderly Circassian men, with pedigree and of the habit of healers, who recognize witches and magicians. When there is a death, those of his/her household who survive the dead person pay money to these healers to go to the graves of vampires previously deceased, and if they find that the soil is messed with, namely that the vampire has gone out of his/her grave the previous night, people gather there, dig up the burial, and they see his/her eyes have turned into a blood-filled vessel; his/her face is all red for having drunk human blood.

They immediately take the corpse of the damned vampire and stick a hawthorn stake into his/her belly all the way to the ground; by the order of God Almighty the vampire's magic becomes annulled. And the man whose blood is sucked comes back to life by the order of God. If the poor dead has nobody to find a vampire-expert, that person whose blood is sucked remains dead. [...] Some are not satisfied with the stake and also burn the corpse [...] those corpses never decompose, by the wisdom of God.

When a vampire goes about his/her life, nobody knows about him/her, but when the hour strikes and s/he goes rabid, s/he finds a man or his son sleeping, or naked in some water, s/he embraces that man and sucks his blood from [below?] his ear and releases him. Day by day, that man becomes unwell and informs his relatives saying 'Yo! Help! a vampire has seized me and sucked blood out of my ear' [...] when he is confined for three days, the vampire manifests himself day by day and says 'I am the one who sucked the blood of so-and-so, here behind my ear is his/her blood [...] and I did it so that my body does not decompose when I am buried next to my vampire *ancestors* and so that *I can come back to life for a few more times* and so that I can do battle in the sky and so that *I live on.*' Everyone consents then to drive a hawthorn stick into his belly. And if one smears vampire blood on the face of the one whose blood is sucked, by the will of God Almighty, he is cured, and the vampire is burned. *These vampiric magicians are of another species* [or, lineage], [and] out of fear [of mixing with them], the Circassian folks do not readily intermarry with even the choicest of people. In sum, in this land of Circassia, there is no plague, but vampire trouble is more serious than the mighty plague. It is likely to happen in many of the lands of Muscovy and the Cossacks and Poland and Checchia, may God protect us [from that evil]. The lands of Rum, on the other hand, have the *kara koncolos*."[7]

This detailed account by Evliya comes at the beginning of an outpour of written reports—a deluge one might even call it—of cases associated with vampirism. Physicians and religious authorities in the eighteenth century started to focus on such reports as contagions of collective anxiety, "fanatisme épidémique" writes Dom Calmet, among peasant communities in the Balkans and East-Central Europe and to reflect on questions regarding their facticity or acceptability.[8] Rumors spread, incidents

were reported, records were kept, and debate ensued and occupied the public arena in several countries.

Why? Were there more cases all of a sudden to render the topic a grave matter of public interest? An intensification of anxieties about vampire trouble? Or, is it merely a matter of more sources on an age-old folk belief thanks to more writing, more circulation through printing, etc.? I will return to this question of why, and why then and there. First, let us chart some of the more germane facts concerning the history of vampire lore as we now know it.

These reports about incidents of vampirism and epidemics of collective anxieties first hailed from rural areas in a particular geography, the Balkans, South-Central and East-Central Europe, where the Habsburg and the Ottoman realms met. This vampire-scape extended to the northern rim of the Black Sea, controlled and contested between the Ottomans, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Muscovy with hegemonic claims. Before the age of nation-states, which established itself as the norm of the region in the nineteenth century, these were lands populated by intricate configurations, with ethnic, linguistic, confessional differences. They were ruled by or contested among Leviathans, with their core areas at some distance, who had to work with or against locally rooted entities, such as the Transylvanians or the Cossacks, who were ready to shift from vassals to rebels and vice versa.

There are trickles of some dubious reports toward the end of the sixteenth century that seem to anticipate the eventual deluge in the later decades of the 1600s. And it comes at a time that needs to be defined not only in terms of the century but also in the context of one of the momentous transformations in the history of evil and mischief, or in the history of our fears about evil and mischief: that is, "the decline of witches and the rise of vampires."[9] In terms of more conventional master narratives commonly used to define this period, early vampire lore could be situated within the framework of the age of the Baroque, or of the Counter-Reformation, or of the Thirty Years War and Westphalian Peace, or yet of the Scientific Revolution, in Western and Central Europe.

As for master narratives commonly used to characterize this period from an easterly perspective, this is the beginning of the "Ottoman decline," to allude to that conventional and sloppy category of historical periodization. "Decline" might be historicized for our purposes here as signs of a reversal of Ottoman fortunes in terms of what seemed like a formidable and steady imperial expansion and solid hold ("yoke" from the point of view of later nationalist historiographies) over Southeastern Europe from the Bosphorus to the Danube for a few generations. Noted at least at the time of "der lange Türkenkrieg" (1593–1606), the process culminated in the ill-fated 1683 siege of Vienna, followed by severe adversities for the Ottomans and the beginning of Ottoman losses of territory in South-Central and Southeastern Europe: after a decade and a half of back and forth in many parts of the Balkans, mostly amounting to losses and hasty retreat for the forces of the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman-held parts of Hungary and Transylvania were ceded in 1699; the Russians captured fortresses that gave them access to the Sea of Azov in 1696, which would return to the Ottomans in 1711, and then back to Russia after a couple of decades. Such a seesaw of exchanges of critical sites and borderlands were not scarce during the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century (Belgrade, for instance, or the Morea).[10] In other words, the lands infested by vampire epidemics kept changing hands, with communities falling on this or that side of redrawn imperial boundaries, and then back on this or that side, with mobility intensified through migration and flight from circumstances, before the efflorescence of national movements and the creation of nation-states in the nineteenth century.[11]

This is precisely the period when vampires became the new occupants of nightmares within the horror-scapes largely vacated by witches and werewolves. What makes early modern vampires distinct? This is related to another question: how ancient is vampire lore as we have it? I shall return to these questions, but distinct or not, ancient or not, there are many features of the phenomenon easily recognizable today as defining characteristics. They have become by now some of the most ubiquitous motifs and topoi in popular culture. Indeed, how did the macabre lore of "obscure Balkan peasantries" achieve such an iconic presence in modern global cultural production? My own interest as a historian started out with, and still is primarily related to, the beginning of this process in the early modern era, as witchcraft mania waned and epidemics of fear about vampirism waxed. But before I return to the seventeenth century, I would like to offer an overview of

FIGURE 6.1   German master attr., The Good Vlad/ Vlad Țepeș
KUNSTHISTORISCHE MUSEUM, WIEN,
GEMÄLDEGALERIE, INV. NR. 8285

FIGURE 6.2   Master of Velenje tableaux, The Bad Vlad/ Christ
before Pontius Pilate, mid-fifteenth century
LJUBLJANA, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SLOVENIA

the literary evolution of the relevant set of beliefs and motifs in order to underline the intimate link as well as vast distance between the early phase of the phenomenon and its late-twentieth-/early-twenty-first-century versions that now seem to enjoy a hegemonic hold over our imaginations.

Given our currently popular notions regarding vampirism, Vlad Dracul(a) (1431–76) is the most recognizable icon of the phenomenon, the ultimate vampire, *the* Count, whose "life story" brings together all of the core elements of vampire belief for modern readers and audiences. It has been noted by several historians, however, that there is nothing whatsoever in Vlad's historical career or contemporaneous image about bloodsucking or any ritualistic use of blood. Although he was known for the ghastly practice of impaling his enemies, or even whole peasant communities who happened to fall on the

wrong side of his wrath, and acquired "the Impaler" as a nickname already in his lifetime, none of this notoriety touched on motifs that could be associated with vampirism. Even his depictions as a cruel tyrant in paintings and engravings executed for Catholic rulers (Hungarian and, later, Habsburg) never imply anything of that sort, although they go to the extremes of representing him—an Orthodox Christian king who was not ready to accept subjugation to Catholic (or Muslim, of course) imperial powers—as an anti-Christ or as Pontius Pilates (Figs. 6.1 and 6.2).[12]

The case of Erzsébet Báthory (1560–1614) is more relevant perhaps. Assisted by her servants, this Hungarian

aristocrat was alleged to have tortured and murdered hundreds of young peasant girls. The record of the 1611 trial is full of gruesome details, which led to the execution of the servants, while Lady Báthory was confined to a castle for the rest of her life. Whether she committed those wicked acts, specifically whether she would indeed bathe in the blood of her victims in order to maintain her youthfulness, is a matter of dispute among historians, but the accusations themselves are more important from our point of view since they bring us a step closer to the set of beliefs that is our concern here. Still, this was only one of many disparate allegations in a spine-chilling catalog of wickedness; moreover, reference to a cult of blood does not necessarily imply vampirism in and of itself.[13]

Various elements of the lore may draw from the deepest substrata of beliefs about blood and bloodsucking among different peoples, but the general consensus is that *as we have it*, vampirism is the coming together in the early modern era of these various elements, some of them ancient indeed. Thus, vampires seem to be related to various types of "undead," such as the Wiedergänger, the Nachzehrer, or to various types of form changers, such as werewolves. Yet, they had certain peculiarities that distinguished them, beginning with the matter of blood, but not simply through the manipulation of the motif of a generic bloodsucker as an evil or tyrannical force, which is ancient. Indeed, several distinct older motifs came together within the concoction of the full-fledged vampire character of the early modern and modern times.[14]

While reports about cases and outbreaks multiplied from the late seventeenth century onwards, a scientific discourse emerged, mostly in Latin and in German at the time, to consider and, often, reject the possibility of vampirism from medical and legal perspectives.[15] This literature of the Enlightenment era could be seen also as a sequel to the scientific arguments against (the possibility of) witchcraft. Religious authorities, too, had to take into account and consider the appropriateness of these beliefs from the point of view of their respective orthodoxies. The geography of the lore broadened as cases of vampirism and outbreaks of vampire frenzy were reported increasingly from the southern Balkans (Greece and Bulgaria) as well as all the way to New England.[16]

Good readers will immediately think of the turn of the nineteenth century as the time when vampire lore was being worked into modern European literature, where it would flourish and turn into a universally recognized phenomenon by the end of the millennium. Goethe was evidently well versed in the gruesome reports and scientific discourse by the time he wrote "Die Braut von Corinth" (1797) about a revenant whose characteristics are portrayed within the framework of the early modern script of vampire lore. But for the enthusiastic and enduring reception of vampires in Romantic/Gothic literature, the opening salvo is undoubtedly Lord Byron's celebrated poem, "The Giaour," (an Ottoman slur meaning "the infidel"), published in 1813, a couple of years after the young poet's inspirational tour of the Mediterranean, including the Balkans. It included the lines:

"But first on earth as vampire sent;
Thy corpse shall from its tomb be rent;
Then ghastly haunt thy native place;
And suck the blood of all thy race."

Beyond incorporation into Romantic literature, vampire lore was now articulated also within the discursive framework of modern identitarian politics, with references to patria and race.

Three years later, in 1816, a certain Dr. Polidori entered Lord Byron's service, just before the summer when Byron famously rented a villa by Lake Geneva, where this pair were joined by Mary Shelley and Percy Shelley. While the brilliant lady wrote her celebrated *Frankenstein* during that residence, the doctor would pen a tale, *Vampyr*, as part of a competitive ghost-story writing game they all became invested in. Polidori's *Vampyr*, published under the name of Lord Byron by some mistake or through the manipulation of the publisher, achieved a good circulation at first, with translations and editions in different European languages, but ultimately it did not gain much recognition. Still, it contributed to several reworkings of the theme during the course of the nineteenth century, while it also initiated the aristocrat as vampire, culminating in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* in 1897, precisely a century after Goethe's "Die Braut von Corinth."[17]

Stoker's intervention in vampire literature turned out to be pivotal in combining the figure of Vlad Dracul with the Ur-vampyr and setting his story in Transylvania, thereby creating the most durable synthesis of diverse

elements derived from folkloric accounts and literary narratives, which now strikes most people as the most obvious thing about the history of vampirism.[18] Stoker did not overlook Vlad's relationship to his Ottoman suzerains but alluded to it with a few touches, which signified, from the Count's point of view, as represented in the book, one of several historical burdens he had to bear. On the other hand, slightly less than a century later the so-called *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992) by Francis Ford Coppola opens with a dramatic shot of the fall of the cross atop the Hagia Sophia, it being smashed into pieces on the ground, and its replacement with a crescent. Coppola then offers a brilliantly shot but simplistic and didactic history lesson that guides the viewer, with the help of maps, from the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and northwards to Romania and to Vlad's resistance. This framing device reduces the whole story to a crude juxtaposition between empire and vampire—very different from Bram Stoker's own work.[19] Perhaps this, too, should be read as a sign of Stoker's huge success, as his novel now lends itself to many divergent renderings and accretions, and collectivization around an "author," almost like the popular tales of the medieval era. It is also worth noting that elaborations of the vampire theme were productive in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Russian literature, from Aleksander Tolstoy to Tsvetaeva, which had its own considerable radius of influence among readers of (what we have eventually come to call) world literature.[20]

During the twentieth century, literary and cinematic representations of vampire lore kept growing in conversation with one another and turned into one of the most productive and lucrative entertainment cottage industries toward the turn of the new millennium. From the 1980s onwards, the progression of the curve indicating rising numbers of translations of Bram Stoker's novel into different languages, as well as movies and television series with relevant themes, is exponential. Even the impressive and informative archaeological finds of vampire burials of the more recent past are now incorporated into the entertainment industry. Professor Balabanov, for instance, who discovered several nailed-down eighteenth-century skeletons in the eastern Bulgarian town of Debelt in 2004, is hailed as the Bulgarian Indiana Jones. The media is eager to pronounce some dubious skeletal

FIGURE 6.3   "Vampire skeleton" from Mytilene, Greece
HECTOR WILLIAMS IN *ARCHAEOLOGY ARCHIVE*

finds in different parts of the greater Mediterranean and Balkan space as "vampires" (Fig. 6.3).[21] In short, the macabre lore of Balkan peasant communities, that is, vampirism, turned into one of the most fecund metaphors of our time. Like objects, lore weaves its own networked fibers of portability and seeps into different webs of meaning and into different object-worlds, with new connotations, new interpretations, and new uses. Articulating beliefs, tales, emotions, and practices, lore touches the spiritual and material worlds of communities with unintended consequences. Namely, it is not devoid of materiality, or of a material dimension, if one thinks of staked cadavers or stones found stuck in the

mouths of skeletal remains, of garlic and hawthorn, and mirrors, even of the Halloween paraphernalia of our own times. The vampire is, from our early-twenty-first-century point of view, with the explosive proliferation of the media and vertiginous circulation of images and words through them, probably the biggest cultural export of the Balkans.[22]

This is not a cute or yet another weird fact about a part of the world that is too easily deemed weird.[23] It may be difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff, given the silly yet aggressive commodification of related motifs during the last few decades, but vampire talk is serious talk, and a profound one, touching universal human concerns at the deepest level. The intensely tangled and wrought conversation among peasants and literati, victims and doctors, and westerners and easterners, about death, blood, and evil through some newly configured conceptions of the undead, was immensely successful in making its way into our lives and minds because it enabled the creation of an endlessly fertile discursive field to articulate and negotiate a number of universal themes, such as: evil versus love; timelessness versus transience; passion versus reason/civilization; paganism versus church; political or financial oppression denying people a livelihood; the resilience of the repressed; the vulnerability of or attraction to the alien, the marginal, or the grotesque; undying love beyond all registers of normativity; complexities of gender; bizarre and violent aspects of eroticism; infections and epidemics; and, moral and political dilemmas of (contemporary) eating practices. Students of *True Blood*, a successful TV series from the first decade of this century, have found the figure of the vampire performing the labor of deliberating the limits of notions like humanity, citizenship, naturalness, artificiality, consent, scientific and technological progress, and more.[24] The malleability of the motif, without being adulterated into a clunky cliché, is such that Nina Auerbach's brilliant formulation regarding the evolution of vampire tales in the last two centuries has reached the status of a truism: "every age embraces the vampire it needs."[25]

However, none of its uses ever venture too far from or abandon the capacious sphere of pregnant anxieties about blood, ancestry, purity, identity, normativities related to belonging to family, community and place, and from disquietude about one's own dead and one's own performance of filial duties. It was the latter above all that seems to have shaped and dominated the fears and concerns of peasant communities regarding the return of their dead, especially those who did not die "naturally" and/or were not bid farewell properly.[26]

If there is one way to reach an abstraction, or generalization, from this tall list, it is that they constitute ways of negotiating our concern with and anxiety or perplexity about liminality, a sense of having come to the precipice of the unknowable, and the state of being betwixt and between, as "written into" our essence, our blood. It is in that respect that vampire lore has retained its central identifying characteristic from the early modern to the postmodern era, from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century.

Is there, can there be, a better metaphor for being neither here nor there, neither this nor that, than being undead? Dead or alive makes sense; neither dead nor alive makes trouble. Religious, medical, and legal systems of thinking about humans (and all animals, for that matter) can be said to have that requirement for certainty at their core: every human, at a given moment, needs to be characterized as either living or dead. The scientific means of determining death are fraught with their own uncertainties, but the need to determine it is persistent and universal. The late-twentieth-century move from heart death to brain death as the criterion may well be the most obvious and dramatic transformation in that regard, with vigorous debate compounded by the demand for organ transplants, but the ancient and early modern physicians, not to mention lay folk without any access to science, did entertain their own hesitations on that moment of the ultimate crossing.[27]

Whatever the means and criteria of ascertaining it, the fact of death opens a horizon to the big unknowable yonder in the minds of the living. First, the dead need to be put to rest so that "we" can go on living. Vampires, however, and revenants of various sorts, are "*restless dead*" because we have not been able to put them to rest properly. Or, their own "unnatural" consumption (such as a suicide or violent accident) might imply that their death cannot be tamed according to established rituals, which keeps the gate between the two worlds ajar for them to return and make claims on us.

Angst about death and burial (or other means of taking the corpse outside the world of the living) may be universal, "*humanitas* in Latin comes first and properly

from *humando*, burying," writes Vico.[28] Vampire lore, however, is distinctly historical. The world is full of all sorts of ghostly or fiendish beings, revenants, blood-suckers, succubi, incubi, Nachzehrer, Wiedergänger, werewolves, zombies, etc., according to widespread beliefs of many different communities across the globe since ancient times, but the vampire is a particular type and distinct from all of the others in the synthesis con-cocted in the early modern era out of disparate bodies of lore. Gabor Klaniczay has brilliantly delineated "the historically-unified concept of the vampire that emerged in early-modern Central and Balkan Europe," which syn-thesized "various traits from five different sets of magical beliefs: the revenants, the Alp-like nightly pressing spir-its, the bloodsucking Strix of Antiquity, those witches from Slavic and Balkan territories who were said to per-sist in harmful activities after their deaths, and finally the werewolf."[29]

It may also be important to point out an element that was *left out* of the synthesis. That is, vampire lore does not have much of anything to do with the rural epic of night battles between witches and benandanti or werewolves that are shaped around communal anxiet-ies concerning the protection of harvests and livestock. There are echoes of and overlaps with motifs related to the sabbath, as Evliya's account of the fierce spectacle in the Caucasus amply illustrates, but the deep agrar-ian bread-and-butter core of the battle is missing here. The difference does not escape Ginzburg's sharp eyes: "it is not proven that among the Circassians, the issue of the battle between witches was the abundance of the harvest."[30] We could add that it is not proven to be a sig-nificant part of any recorded case of vampire trouble. In some early accounts from the Balkans, farm animals are occasionally mentioned among the victims of blood-sucking, but this does not constitute an essential and persistent component of the fears of the peasantry. In other words, Evliya's account may be full of the clichés of the sabbath, and generic magic-wielding witches may well cast a long shadow over his *obur*s, but we should recognize that ultimately they represent *a new and dif-ferent phenomenon.*

Finally, independent of the synthesis, there is a dis-tinctive and innovative aspect of vampires, and this is clearly articulated already in Evliya's text and eventu-ally elaborated into an increasingly rigorous "biology" of these "critters." Namely, as the lore would have it,

vampires are transformed from humans, but once the transfusion of blood takes place, they turn into a species-being with their own means of procreation, communal life, and terms of coming into existence and expiration (analogous to birth and death). To diagnose the pecu-liarities of that species and to hunt them down, one needs specialists of vampire "biology"—from Evliya's physician-healers to Bulgarian *vampirdzhiya* and the Romani *dhampir* (hybrid offspring of a vampire and a human) all the way to Stoker's van Helsing and Buffy the Vampire Slayer.[31] They know how to recognize the bloodthirsty evil critters and how to exterminate them.

What resonated with the fearful kin and neighbors of the victims and with the fascinated audiences of the tales is what is most distinct about vampire lore: it had to do with blood and with evil, not with the blood of "the cyclical bloodiness of women's embodiment" that is associated with natality and fertility of and for humankind and nonhuman animals.[32] If any "natality" is involved, it is a matter of the birth not of babies but of new vampires, since they constitute a species that wants to perpetuate its kind. Evliya knew that this was a new sort of mischief, not to be confused with ghouls and ghosts, *kallikantzaroi* or demons, though there were elements of all these—but there was more. He in fact called them a *soy*, a polysemic word that means clan, race, or species.[33] Vampires had their own means of pro-creation, their own conditions of living and dying, and had a "genetic" inclination to multiply and keep their species within the great chain of being. Goethe's con-temporaries used an appropriate verb, *vampyrisiren*, to refer to "the endemic cycle of reproduction that the bite of the vampire generates."[34] There may be many reasons why the dead return and haunt the living, but for the vampire it is also a matter of keeping alive, so to speak, or remaining undead and reproducing—forever, if the supply is available and if not hunted down.

To the degree that the discursive and metaphorical work of the vampire constitutes ways of negotiating our anxiety or perplexity about liminality, about the state of being betwixt and between, as argued above, it would be expected to perform that function all the more effica-ciously in an age—our own age, that is—when belong-ing and heritage, identity and legacy, are readily tied to blood. If every generation "embraces its own vampire," they do so within conceptual frameworks concocted and forged by postmedieval societies in the last few

centuries with respect to ancestry, nation, race, purity, identity, and the like. Scientific, pseudoscientific, and popular understandings of blood, and myriad metaphorical uses of it, coagulate countless different registers of speaking about "us" and "them."

For vampires to do their work, both as evildoers and as metaphor, not only the time but also the place was right. Since the early modern era, the Balkans as a region has constituted a site of liminality from the point of view of Catholic (and eventually also Protestant) Europe—mostly Christian but ruled by Muslims and "mixed with" Muslims, and mostly a different kind of Christian, to boot.[35] More importantly, for the people of the Balkans, vampire lore nourished anxieties about purity and contamination, as well as belonging and community, and enabled a ferocious yet productive conversation about such matters—at a moment when the seemingly solid hegemonic spaces of the worlds of "Christian Europe" and the Ottoman Empire to its south and east were becoming unglued. Boundaries looked increasingly likely to be unstable and, from 1683 onwards, were in fact messily so. However, for nearly two centuries before that, the geography of the binary was clear and recognized as such. During his return journey in 1658 from his post as Swedish ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Claes Ralamb wrote, for instance, that he was leaving "Turkey" (not necessarily a secular designation in his time) and entering "Christendom" when he departed northwards from Buda.[36] Things were not as clearly fixed, however, as his facile reference to these two metageographical designations would imply. There was restlessness all across the borderland regions; in fact, Ralamb's visit had to do with Sweden's alliance with Transylvania, which was still an Ottoman vassal at that point.

The most sensational case of vampirism in the eighteenth century is striking in terms of underscoring the complex circumstances of blood and soil that arose after the erosion of the certainties of belonging. It is about a Serbian soldier who reportedly had been troubled by a vampire in Ottoman Serbia, had "eaten from the earth" of that vampire's grave to be cured, but without any success, and later himself serially vampirized folks in areas under Habsburg control. His case, perhaps the most widely known and debated one in the eighteenth century in Europe, was investigated by a team of officers and medics a few years after his burial (Fig. 6.4).[37]

FIGURE 6.4   Cover of the 1733 book on the most notorious case

The "visum et repertum" document by the Habsburg officer in charge offers the details that were considered relevant:

"After it had been reported that in the village of Medvegia the so-called vampires had killed some people by sucking their blood, I was, by high degree of a local Honorable Supreme Command, sent there to investigate the matter thoroughly along with officers detailed for that purpose and two subordinate medical officers, and therefore carried out and heard the present inquiry in the company of the captain of the Stallath Company of haiduks (a type of soldier), Gorschiz Hadnack, the Bairactar [Turkish: standard-bearer] and the oldest

haiduk of the village, as follows: who unanimously recounted that about five years ago a local haiduk by the name of Arnold Paole broke his neck in a fall from a hay-wagon. This man had during his lifetime often revealed that, near Gossowa in Turkish Serbia, he had been troubled by a vampire, wherefore he had eaten from the earth of the vampire's grave and had smeared himself with the vampire's blood, in order to be free from the vexation he had suffered. In 20 or 30 days after his death some people complained that they were being bothered by this same Arnold Paole; and in fact four people were killed by him."

To give a fuller account of the seventeenth-century context with regard to our problem, we should note that the era was also witness to a paradigmatic shift in the science of blood. William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood (now our standard scientific understanding of this process) is well known as an important step toward modern medicine. This seems to have enabled the imagining of other types of new research on blood, such as experimentation with transfusion, which must have struck some people as being as gory as vampirism.[38]

Harvey's new theory was certainly not unknown in the Ottoman world, as one of the earliest dissertations written on it was by Alexander Mavrocordato (1641–1709), whose family, of the Greek Phanariot elites in Istanbul, had sent him to the Greek School of Rome in 1657. From there he moved to the School of Padua, and later to the University of Bologna, where he received his doctoral degree in 1664 with a dissertation where he "accepted and extended Harvey's work [...] and demonstrated considerable originality" in the subjects of respiration and pulmonary circulation.[39] Upon his return to his hometown, he practiced medicine at first but was eventually appointed chief interpreter of the Sublime Porte, a position he held for more than two decades, interacting with Ottoman and European elites as well as representatives of vassal states like Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and Dubrovnik.

His network was one of several where new understandings of blood must have been discussed, along with questions regarding the possibilities of change of identity and even of species through transfusion and mixing of blood, for instance. All this would at some point come into conversation with the already deeply "traditional" understandings of blood, of particular relevance in Christian ritual and theology. One of Mavrocordato's multiple roles after his return to the Ottoman capital was his service as principal at the Great Academy of the Patriarchate in Phanar, for instance.[40] It is not directly about blood, but an awareness of and competition between different medical approaches (simply put, between Galenic and "chemical") in the "medical marketplace" of Istanbul and some other cities is well documented for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[41] The world of the peasants cannot have remained isolated from the fluid conversation between different medical notions and practices, some of it of interest and concern for religious officials of different confessions and inevitably a part of decisions made in front of vampire-struck communities.

We now need to add one more germane fact to close the story. To speak of "Balkan peasantries" in an undifferentiated manner occludes a very important distinction: the cases and outbreaks are witnessed almost exclusively among Christian populations. How could this popular phenomenon be received with such sharp divergence among communities that shared and creatively exchanged not only secular traditions, such as culinary or artisanal matters, but even holy sites and saintly figures to some degree? No matter what the explanation, the fact remains that the instances mentioned among Muslim villagers are rare and imply exceptionality. In one of the scarce reports that looks like it might indicate a case of vampirism, for instance, a delegation of Thracian peasants appears in front of the kadi of Edirne in 1701 to raise their concerns regarding "some signs of evil spirits" arising from a grave in their village cemetery. In asking for guidance, they seem aware of their Christian neighbors' means of dealing with such cases: namely, exhumation, observation and then stake through the navel, beheading, or burning. At least the jurist is aware of such procedures that are applied "in the province of Rumeli when such signs are observed in some unbeliever's grave" and mentions them one by one. The point of the peasant's plea is evidently to be allowed to perform an exhumation so that fears can be allayed by following the rest of the procedures if necessary.[42] None of the few similar cases speak explicitly about vampirism, although the language is suggestive. A juridical opinion by a Sheykhulislam from the end of the eighteenth

century goes over the same ground with slightly more elaborate reasoning: such procedures can be followed as once stipulated by Ebussuud, the iconic Sheykhulislam of the sixteenth century, even if this matter is not found in the "respected books of [theoretical] jurisprudence"; and they are to be followed with the justification that "harm to an individual can be tolerated if it is for the purpose of preventing harm to the public."[43]

The matter of exhumation underscores one of many relevant differences between Muslim and Christian tenets and rites regarding the dead. Survivors need to tame death, or rather their own encounters with the intransigence of their loss and with the mystery of further adventures of the departed, at least of their body, or ashes for that matter. Just as early Christians "slowly Christianized rituals of tame death" and regularized burial practices as well as protocols regarding graves and cemeteries, early Muslim communities faced similar quandaries and found their own taming and accommodating rituals.[44] Notwithstanding many shared aspects of the two religious traditions and their confessional variants, all of which experienced some changes and some variations over time but with basic structural continuities across the centuries, the differences are also remarkable. Some of these differences have to do with assumptions about the corporeal and spiritual aspects of the afterlife of the deceased as well as expectations about the integrity of the body at the event of resurrection, raising concerns about meddling with corpses in different ways and in varying degrees.[45] In other words, the vampire's mischief strains not only the ritual but also the ontological as well as the metaphysical régimes of established orthodoxies with regard to death. A vampire is a creature that not only disrupts the proper transition of the dead from the company of the living with finality but also complicates the script of their afterlife.[46]

The broadly cultivated, shared, and practiced Islamic orthodox position does not approve of exhumation, but things are never so neat as the orthodoxies would like to maintain. Signs of anxieties concerning disturbances in graves by a creature called *andık* are observed, for instance, among some Turkish communities whose beliefs and practices would be considered unorthodox, if not heretical, by the mainstream. A researcher of the phenomenon in western Anatolia circa 2010 was not let in on the secret of the community other than a few

hints, which strikes me as appropriate.[47] There must have been many other atypical communal customs, but the overall standardization of certain norms and practices was highly successful from the point of view of the state and institutional religion.

Likewise with the ontology of evil and the role of the Devil. While the shared ground in this respect is also extensive between Christianity and Islam in their established orthodoxies, there are critical differences that are of serious consequence in the way communities conjured and engaged with "supernatural" beings.[48]

It may have been too early for the vampires of the Ottoman Balkans to get onto the radar of a Muslim *çelebi*, even someone as insatiably curious and relatively well informed as Evliya, or perhaps he surgically removed vampire-craft from his world and ascribed it to a geography beyond it. For all we know, he may have heard the whole thing from his Abkhazian mother in Istanbul and then anticipated "seeing" it during his travels in the Caucasus.[49] In any case, he knew he was writing to an audience (presumably, cultivated Muslim readers in Istanbul?) that would not know of the phenomenon or of the word *obur* in this sense; thus, he felt he needed to gloss it. Ironically, the word is likely of Turkish origin, from the ancient Turkic root verb *op-*, and survives in Ottoman and modern Turkish only in the sense of a "glutton"—Hannibal Lecter comes to mind if one were to push the connection between gluttony and anthropophagy.[50] A convincing etymology of the word "vampire" derives it from Turkic *obur* through the Slavic *upyr*: namely, *obur > upyr > vampyr >* versions in different western European languages. If valid, this might also suggest the journey of the lore from the eastern to the western extensions of the Black Sea region through the north and into the Balkans.[51]

This takes me to the clincher in terms of the divergence of attitudes taken toward vampire lore among Christians and Muslims, broadly speaking. There is one modern Turkish-speaking community among whom the word "*obur*" and beliefs and practices associated with it in the sense of vampirism is well attested into the twentieth century: that is, the little-known Orthodox Christian Turks of (the post-Soviet state of) Moldova, known as the Gagauz, who may have bequeathed to the world the term that names one of the best-known global icons of modern popular culture.[52]

1   To Finish with the Undead

In an age when essentialisms, of an Orientalizing and racializing nature above all, are exposed and rejected for good reason, we find it exceedingly difficult to navigate the vast space between specific contextual studies ("beliefs and attitudes concerning the evil eye among the peasants of eastern Thrace in the mid-seventeenth century" type of study) and generalizing/universalizing approaches (which are traditionally framed in an essentializing manner: namely, "evil in Islam" or "magic according to Islam" type of works, now dated or worse). This is partly a matter of not minding the difference between generalization and essentialism, which has not been worked out, not even considered seriously, ever since Edward Said's critique of Orientalism has appropriately guided us out of the dark maze of essentializing discourses concerning Muslim and non-European cultures. However, it is at their own peril that historians avoid, for the sake of avoiding the possibility of taking an incorrect step, such philosophical questions as the difference between and among essentialization and generalization, or abstraction, universalization, and similar analytical operations. Escapist solutions offer refuge in the form of editorializing ("this is what the Orientalists say, and it is wrong") or mere fuzziness ("the whole matter is complex and ambiguous").

In her *Christian Materiality*, Caroline Walker Bynum ventures into this very territory that scholars, especially historians, have been avoiding of late. After delivering a magisterial tour of the paradoxical relationship to materiality that (she convincingly argues) characterized the religious landscape of Christians in Europe, Bynum takes on the challenge to compare it to those of their Muslim and Jewish neighbors in the greater Mediterranean space.[53] And while pointing to numerous parallels, she insists on profound differences. Among these, one particular motif stands out, to this reader at least: that of blood. However, while it remained singularly central in Christian belief, practice, and lore, it was not immune to change. And it was in the understanding of "blood" as thing and as metaphor that some of the most profound changes were taking place in the early modern era in western Eurasia, in the medical sciences as well as in cultural life in general. All this, at a time when political-civilizational boundaries that had seemed—for better or worse—largely fixed and stable for several generations were becoming unraveled, opening up new horizons but also conjuring heightened anxieties concerning the future of the intricate configurations among communities of different faiths, confessions, languages, and relationships to power. Purity and contamination of blood were intricately related to those matters, or so folks had come to think.

Notes

1   While working on a book on this topic, I accepted the generous invitation from my colleague Alina Payne to publish an early and naturally reduced version of a study that has been in the making for some time. I owe her huge gratitude for this opportunity, as well as her invitation to present an even earlier version, titled "Anxieties about Blood from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean," as an I Tatti Council Spring Lecture on April 7, 2016.

2   Alison Frank Johnson and Emily Greble, "Soccer and the Enduring Nonsense of Race," *Public Seminar*, week of July 1, 2021, available online at: https://publicseminar.org/essays/soccer-and-the-enduring-nonsense-of-race/ (accessed August 31, 2021).

3   For a biography, see Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden: Brill, 2004). The ten volumes ("books") of his *Book of Travels* have been published in transliteration and facsimile by Seyit Ali Kahraman et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007; the facsimiles of the manuscript were published by Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2013). For generous selections in English translation, see Robert Dankoff and Kim Sooyong, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (London: Eland Publishing, 2010).

4   At 5,642 meters, it is considered the highest peak in Europe, if the Caucasus is included in Europe. The peak, also known as "Mingi Taw" in Turkic, is today in the Russian republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (Turkish: Karaçay-Balkar), slightly to the north of the border with Georgia. It is not to be confused with the Alborz Mountains of northern Iran.

5   Book 7, ff.151b–52a [= Kahraman et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 7:279–80]. Evliya's account of the battle of vampires attracted my attention in 1988 when I was offering a seminar on his book of travels at Princeton University. Peter Brown, the great historian of late antiquity and much more, attended the seminar where we read selections from the text in its original Ottoman Turkish, including the

relevant account. He forwarded his own excellent translation of it (homework:) to Carlo Ginzburg, whom he knew to be working on a book on the witches' sabbath at that moment. See Carlo Ginzburg, *Storia notturna: Una decifrazione del sabba* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989), 141–42 and 157. Evliya's vampires have also been noted and discussed in Zeynep Aycibin, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Cadılar Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 24 (2008): 55–70; Marinos Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts, Vampires and Sorcerers: An Old Discussion Disinterred," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 30 (2013), 195–220; Murat Yaşar, "Evliya Çelebi in the Circassian Lands: Vampires, Tree Worshippers, and Pseudo Muslims," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 67 (2014): 75–96; Seçkin Sarpkaya and Mehmet Berk Yaltırık, *Türk Kültüründe Vampirler: Oburlar, Yalmavuzlar ve Diğerleri* (Ankara: Karakum, 2018). The translation and the italics are mine.

6   This might be Mount Ushba, which rises 4,710 meters in Georgia, just south of the same border today. In Georgian mythology, it is the home of Daal/Dali, goddess of hunting and *protector of wild herds*. E. Virsaladze, *Georgian Hunting Myths and Poetry*, trans. D.G. Hunt (Tblisi: Georgian National Academy of Sciences, 2017), 184. The transliterated text of Evliya gives "Habeş" mountain, but my reading of the diacritical markings on the manuscript is closer to "Hupesh" or "Hapesh." Could this be the result of metathesis?

7   Derived from Greek *kallikantzaros* (better known in the plural, *kallikantzaroi*). See Evangelos Avdikos, "Differentiating Worldview: Kalikantzaroi (Goblin)-Stories, Cyclical Time and Orthodox Christian Doctrine," *Western Folklore*, 74, no. 2 (2015): 185–211. The term is often rendered as goblins or demons in English. Also see Charles Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

8   Dom Augustin Calmet, *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits et sur les vampires ou les revenans de Hongrie, de Moravie, &c.* [Treatise on the apparitions of spirits and on vampires or revenants of Hungary, Moravia, et al.] 2 vols. (1751). He is citing *Le Glaneur*, a Dutch journal, see 2:54. Dom Calmet's treatise was deeply researched, widely read, and considered authoritative, though also charged with credulity by some readers, like Voltaire.

9   As coined by Gabor Klaniczay, "The Decline of Witches and the Rise of Vampires," in *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Singerman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 168–88.

10 For the fickleness of circumstances before 1683, see the detailed treatment in Kahraman Şakul, *II. Viyana Kuşatması: Yedi Başlı Ejderin Fendi* (Istanbul: Timaş, 2021); Thomas Bohn is attentive to the changes after the siege of Vienna in *Der Vampir: Ein Europaischer Mythos* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016). The mid-eighteenth century is well covered in Virginia Aksan, "Whose Territory and Whose Peasants? Ottoman Boundaries on the Danube in the 1760s," in *The Ottoman Balkans, 1750–1830*, ed. Fred Anscombe (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 2006), 61–86.

11 Mass emigrations, ethnic cleansings, population exchanges, cultural and educational policies of purification, and irredentist wars would follow as these "late" nations coveted not only independence but also homogeneity of "blood"—not unlike the nation-building that took place in Western Europe somewhat earlier.

12 Matei Cazacu, *L'histoire du Prince Dracula en Europe centrale et orientale (XVᵉ siècle)* (Geneva: Droz, 1988); and Matei Cazacu, Marie Nizet, and Stephen W. Reinert, *Dracula* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017).

13 László Kürti, "The Symbolic Construction of the Monstrous—the Elizabeth Bathory Story," *Narodna umjetnost: Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 1 (2009): 133–59. Even the titles of some of the works give an idea as to how she has been incorporated into contemporary vampire subculture; see, for instance, Tony Thorne, *Countess Dracula: The Life and Times of the Blood Countess, Elisabeth Báthory* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997). Although not nearly as popular a figure as Dracula for filmmakers, Elizabeth Báthory has been enjoying increasing limelight herself; see, for instance, the article posted in *The Lineup* by Catherine Phelan titled "10 Bloody Movies Based on the Countess Elizabeth Báthory" https://the-line-up.com/elizabeth-bathory-movies (accessed August 31, 2021); or, Mary Beth McAndrews' post "In the Name of Eternal Beauty: 10 Films about Countess Elizabeth Bathory," on the website Nightmare on Filmstreet, https://nofspodcast.com/in-the-name-of-eternal-beauty-10-films-about-countess-elizabeth-bathory (accessed August 31, 2021).

14 Klaniczay, "The Decline of Witches."

15 The most authoritative rejection of the vampire myth was formulated by Gerard van Swieten, physician and advisor to Maria Theresa, who commissioned him to

investigate the matter in Moravia in 1755. His *Abhandlung des Daseyns der Gespenster nebst einem Anhange vom Vampyrismus* was published in 1768 and closed the debate in the scientific community and among Enlightenment intellectuals for all practical purposes.

16 During his travels in the region between 1700 and 1702, de Tournefort recorded his own observations of a case in the Greek island of Mykonos. The case involved fears related to revenants called *vrykoulakas*, a word too readily translated as vampire. While the family resemblances between them is obvious, I am reluctant to equate the two. Greek cases are not precisely of the same type since they are not always, in fact not often, related to sucking blood and not necessarily contagious. *Vrykoulakas* seem to be products of a somewhat different concoction characterized by a mixture of a *kallikantzaroi* type of mischief, werewolf-like shape-changing, and restlessness after burial but without an essential association with blood. De Tournefort's hosts, for instance, complained of the *vrykoulakas* "beating people, breaking doors, windows and roofs, tearing clothes and, worst of all, emptying all the bottles and vessels around," Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Voyage d'un botaniste, I. L'archipel grec* (Paris: François Maspero, 1982), 139 ff. The processes of exhumation, identification of the undead, and elimination have better parallels.

For a fascinating field report from New England in the late nineteenth century, see George Stetson, "The Animistic Vampire in New England," *The American Anthropologist* 9 (1896): 1–13.

17 David Lorne Macdonald, *Poor Polidori: A Critical Biography of the Author of The Vampyre* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), see chapter 17 in particular.

18 Throughout the nineteenth century, the relatively older discourse on tyrants and exploitative regimes or social classes as bloodsuckers received traction. Perhaps the most oft-quoted passage is in Karl Marx's *Das Kapital*: "Capital is dead labor, which, vampire-like, lives only by sucking living labor, and lives the more, the more labor it sucks," Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* (1887), 1: chapter 10, section 1. In the same volume but in a separate discussion, Marx wrote about "Wallachian boyard" as one type of an exploitative overlord but not as a vampire, while his references to the vampire were clearly generic, standing for a metaphorical bloodsucker. Christopher Frayling's attempt, in his *Vampyres: Genesis and Resurrection: From Count Dracula to Vampirella* (London: Thames

& Hudson, 2016), to identify the exploitative overlord as Vlad Dracul is not convincing. Marx seems to have his contemporaries in mind, as he writes: "The code of the corvée, which the Russian General Kisseleff proclaimed in 1831, was of course dictated by the Boyards themselves," Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* (1887), 1: chapter 10, section 2.

19 It was around the same time as Coppola's film that Samuel Huntington was formulating his "clash of civilizations" thesis, which was first published in essay form in *Foreign Affairs* 72 (1993): 22–49. Compare the "clash of civilizations" or "Muslim empire leads to vampirism" approach to Vlad's nuanced narrative of history in Stoker's novel: "[…] it was the ground fought over for centuries by the Wallachian, the Saxon, and the Turk. Why, there is hardly a foot of soil in all this region that has not been enriched by the blood of men, patriots or invaders. In old days, there were stirring times, when the Austrian and the Hungarian came up in hordes, and the patriots went out to meet them." Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 21. In a longer narrative a few pages later, there is more emphasis by Vlad on his family's struggles against the Turks, but even then his discourse is fully cognizant of the complex layers of his identity: e.g., "What devil or what witch was ever so great as Attila, whose blood is in these veins?" Stoker, Dracula, 28–30.

20 Johannes Endres, "Vampires and the Orient in Goethe's 'Die Braut von Corinth,'" *The German Quarterly* 93 (2020): 204–20, https://doi.org/10.1111/gequ.12133; Marina Tsvetaeva, *Le gars* (Paris: des femmes—Antoinette Fouque, 1992) is a 1929 re-rendering in French of a poem she wrote originally in Russian in 1922, based on Afanassiev's collection of Russian folktales. Efim Etkind's preface to *Le gars* claims that Tsvetaeva was the first to treat the vampire as "an unfortunate victim of the Devil" who may be "repugnant and inspire horror," but love triumphs only by overcoming repugnance.

21 While findings like those of Professor Balabanov can be securely linked to fears of vampiric revenants, many other unusual findings are declared simply because of the popularity of the topic. See, for instance, cases like this one where the association with vampirism is tenuous, to say the least: "This Ancient 10-Year-Old Received a 'Vampire Burial' to Prevent Return from the Dead," https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/ancient-10-year-old-received-vampire-burial-prevent

-return-dead-180970550/ (accessed August 31, 2021). Also see the participants' comments in an internet discussion on the popular song "We Only Come Out at Night" by The Smashing Pumpkins with the lyrics: "We only come out at night/the days are much too bright." While many of them think of this as a reference to vampires, "clearly," many others look for other meanings but only after consideration of the vampire explanation since it is the first thing to come to mind: https://songmeanings.com/songs/view/446/ (accessed August 31, 2021).

22 To recognize the early modern phenomenon in its full geographic breadth, we may want to refer to "the Balkans-to-Black-Sea meso-region." On the concept of the meso-region and its application to this part of the world, see Stefan Troebst, "The Black Sea as Historical Meso-Region: Concepts in Cultural Studies and the Social Sciences," *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 2 (2019): 11–29; also see Owen Doonan, "The Black Sea World and the Question of Boundaries," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 19 (Spring 2018): 237–42. Not surprisingly, the strongest cases for considering the Black Sea as a region unto itself, and of the Balkans as *its* "extension" rather than the Black Sea as an "extension" of the Mediterranean (*pace* Braudel), have been made by a Romanian and a Turkish scholar: Georghe Ion Bratianu (dubbed "the obscure Braudel of the Black Sea") and Eyüp Özveren; see Bratianu, *La Mer Noire des origins a la conquête ottomane* (Munich: Societas Academica Dacoromana, 1969); Özveren, "A Framework for the Study of the Black Sea World, 1789–1915," *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 20 (1997): 77–113.

23 On various characterizations of the Balkans, see, Dušan I. Bjelić and Obran Savić, eds., *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

24 See essays in George A. Dunn and Rebecca Housel, *True Blood and Philosophy: We Wanna Think Bad Things with You* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2010).

25 Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 145.

26 Its life as a "folk belief" is perhaps not as robust as it once was, but it is not an altogether spent force either. Vampire beliefs of the traditional sort were attested in the late twentieth century in the Greek countryside and among Wallachian émigré communities in Scandinavia. An ethnographer who worked with the latter in Denmark and in Sweden writes perceptively that "vampires do not reign by terror alone or by mechanisms of rigid social control. They symbolize unity, and mutual benefits; they sanction relationships of cooperation and mutual help in the community, and ancestors have duties as well as the privileges of respect," Carl-Ulrik Schierup, "Why are Vampires Still Alive? Wallachian Immigrants in Scandinavia," *Ethnos* 51 (1986): 173–98. The immigrants are from among the Wallachian minority community of former Yugoslavia, in the Vojvodina province of today's Serbia. Slightly earlier, Juliet Du Boulay's fieldwork in the Greek countryside was conducted in 1971–73; "The Greek Vampire: A Study of Cyclic Symbolism in Marriage and Death," *Man*, new series 17 (1982): 219–38. One should not hasten to explain this away as the survival of traditions among backward Balkan people. For belief in and practices related to witchcraft in Mayenne in western France in the 1970s, see the groundbreaking work of Jeanne Favret-Saada, of which she gives an overview in Favret-Saada, "Being Affected," translated by Mylene Hangen and Matthew Carey, *Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2012): 435–45. Her critique of the ethnographer as participant observer and the methodological discussions it generated are of particular relevance for our concerns. The critical reception of her work has led to further research in the same region, which has revealed the vigor of such beliefs all the way into the twenty-first century, independent of the question of method. For a critique of her work, with mentions of some later work in the same region, see Gregor Dobler, "Fatal Words: Restudying Jeanne Favret-Saada," *Anthropology of this Century* 13 (2015): http://aotcpress.com/articles/fatal-words-restudying-jeanne-favretsaada/.

27 Thomas Schlich and Claudia Wiesemann, eds., *Hirntod: Zur Kulturgeschichte Der Todesfeststellung* (Frankfurt Am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001); Christian Krötzl, "Evidentissima signa mortis: Zu Tod und Todesfeststellung in mittelalterlichen Mirakelberichten," in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole: Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Gertrud Blaschitz, Helmut Hundsbichler, Gerhard Jaritz, and Elisabeth Vavra (Graz: Akademische Druck—und Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 765–73.

28 Cited in Robert Pogue Harrison, *The Dominion of the Dead* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), xi.

29   Klaniczay, "The Decline of Witches," 178.

30   Carlo Ginzburg and Bruce Lincoln, *Old Thiess, a Livonian Werewolf: A Classic Case in Comparative Perspective* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2020), 83. This section of the book is a selection from the English translation of Ginzburg's *Storia notturna*. Note that he uses the word *uyuz* instead of *obur/ubur*. This is an error that was transmitted from my seminar since scholarly editions were not yet available. While I was waiting for photocopies of the relevant pages from the manuscript, which the learned and generous Turcologist Robert Dankoff kindly provided within a few weeks, we started out by reading from the flawed print edition of the late nineteenth century where the word *obur* was not recognized by the Istanbulite Ottoman editor and exchanged with *uyuz* (meaning scrofulous), which is a misreading easily committed given Arabic orthography and is in fact attested even in the manuscript. *Obur*s seem to have been elusive and tricky from the get-go.

31   *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* first appeared as a film in 1992 and was turned into a TV series between 1997 and 2002.

32   The phrase is from Pamela Klassen's critique of Gil Anidjar, *Blood: A Critique of Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). Four critical commentaries on the book and Anidjar's response were published in a forum edited by Nina Caputo in 2015 in *Marginalia, Los Angeles Review of Books*.

33   In his long excursus on the devil and jinns in his Book Four, Evliya lists the "nation" (*ḳavim*) of Gog and Magog as well as the nation of "Cābūlsā" as separate kinds/species of evil spirits (*ervāḥ-i ḥabīṣe*). For the nation of Cabulsa, he writes: "This ghoulish nation are ancient critters [...] we shall write about them in due course as we saw them on Mount Elbrus." Evliya, 4:136v–37r.

34   Endres, "Vampires and the Orient," 205, citing Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1854). According to the brothers Grimm, the folk belief of "Slavs, Rumanians, Albanians and Greeks" related to that "superstition" moved into German in the third decade of the eighteenth century, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1854), 25: fasc.10. Available online at: https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB#11 (accessed August 31, 2021).

35   Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997; updated ed. 2009), has been groundbreaking and inspirational for a whole host of publications on this larger theme, which resonated particularly strongly in the wake of the wars and ethnic cleansings after the breakup of Yugoslavia and discussions about the inclusion of different Balkan countries in the European Union since then.

36   Cemal Kafadar, "The City that Rålamb Visited: Istanbul in the 1650s," in *The Sultan's Procession: The Swedish Embassy to Sultan Mehmed IV in 1657–58 and the Rålamb Paintings*, ed. Karin Adahl (Istanbul and Stockholm, 2006), 59–73.

37   Bericht des Regimentfeldschers Flückinger an die Belgrader Oberkommandantur (26.1.1732), cited in Klaus Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet: Kommentierte Dokumente zum Vampirismus 1689–1791* (Wien: Turia und Kant, 1992), 49–54:

       "Visum et Repertum: Über die sogenannte Vampyrs oder Blutaussaugers, so zu Medwegya in Servien, an der türckischen Gräniz, den 7. Januarii 1732 geschehen. Nachdem die Anzeig beschehen, daß in dem Dorf Medvegya die sogenannte Vampyrs einige Persohnen durch Aussaugung des Bluts umgebracht haben sollen, als bin ich auf hohe Anordnung eines alhiesig Löblichen Obercommando, umb die Sach vollständig zu untersuchen, nebst darzu commandirten Herrn Officirn und 2 Unterfeldscherern dahin abgeschicket, und gegenwärtige Inquisition in Beyseyn des der Stalater Heydukhen Capitain Gorschitz, Hadnack, Barjactar und ältesten Heydukhen des Dorfs, folgendermassen vorgenohmen, und abgehört worden. Welche dan einhellig Aussaag, daß vor ohngefehr 5 Jahren ein hiesiger Heydukh, nahmens Arnont Paule, sich durch einen Fahl von einem Heüwag den Hals gebrochen; dieser hat bey seinen Lebszeiten sich öfters verlauten lassen, daß er bei Cossowa in dem Türckischen Servien von einem Vampyren geplagt worden sey, dahero er von der Erden des Vampyrsgrab gegessen, und sich mit dessen Blut geschmieret habe, umb von der erlittenen Plag entledigt zu werden. In 20 oder 30 Täg nach seinem Todtfahl haben sich einige Leüth geklaget, daß sie von dem gedachten Arnont Paule geplaget würden; wie dan auch würcklich 4 Persohnen von ihme umbgebracht worden"

       Calmet devotes several pages to this case and concludes that "on trouva sur son cadavre toutes les marques d'un Archivampire," *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits*, 2:37–43.

38   On transfusion, see Holly Tucker, *Blood Work: A Tale of Medicine and Murder in the Scientific Revolution* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011). From the author's webpage: "On a cold day in 1667, the renegade Jean-Baptiste

Denis plucked an insane man off the streets of Paris and transfused him with cow's blood. A few days later, the patient was dead—and the transfusionist soon faced murder charges," https://www.holly-tucker.com/blood-work/ (accessed September 9, 2021).

39   His dissertation, titled *Pneumaticum instrumentum circulandi sanguinis, sive de motu et usu pulmonum*, was printed in Europe several times, including editions in Frankfurt and Leipzig. See Christos Bartsocas, "Alexander Mavrocordatos (1641–1709): Physician and Statesman," *Journal of the History of Medicine* (October 1973): 392–95. On Harvey's philosophy and method, the debate around his theory, and varying receptions, see Roger French, *William Harvey's Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The chapter titled "Circulation through Europe" does not extend into the 1660s; by then, the theory was widely accepted while elaborations and extensions were being undertaken. Investigating Mavrocordatos's contribution and reception within his own world would shed important light on our topic, at least indirectly, as cases of vampirism came to the attention of Greek Orthodox authorities in increasing numbers in the eighteenth century and stirred debate. Starting with Alexander's son, the Mavrocordato family enjoyed distinguished appointments throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including the voivodeship of Wallachia and Moldavia, where their cultural patronage as well as competition with local elites left a lasting legacy. One of his famous descendants, also named Alexander (1791–1865), worked with Mary Shelley in 1820–21 as her Greek tutor before he turned into a major figure during the Greek Revolution, which Byron joined after some correspondence between the two. Stephen Minta, "Lord Byron and Mavrocordatos," *Romanticism* 12 (2006): 126–42.

40   Calmet explores the differences between the relevant Catholic and Orthodox tenets and attitudes in close detail. On changes in the approach of the Greek Church during the eighteenth century and its ambivalent reception of some Enlightenment ideas, see Ioannis Zelepos, "Vampirglaube und orthodoxe Kirche im osmanischen Südosteuropa: ein Fallbeispiel für die Ambivalenzen vorsäkularer Rationalisierungsprozesse," in *Das Osmanische Europa: Methoden und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung zu Südosteuropa*, eds. Stefan Rohdewald, Konrad Petrovszky, Markus Koller, and

Andreas Helmedach (Leipzig: Eudora-Verlag, 2014), 363–79.

41   See the unpublished dissertation by Akif Yerlioğlu, "Paracelsus Goes East: Ottoman 'New Medicine' (*Ṭıbb-ı Cedīd*) and Its Afterlife" (Harvard University, 2020). Subhizade Abdülaziz Efendi, chief physician of the Ottoman court in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was familiar with van Swieten (mentioned above). In his 1771 translation from Latin of a medical work by Herman Boerhave, "written in the modern way of the Frankish doctors," the Ottoman doctor explains that he also made use of van Swieten's commentary, as the latter is a distinguished pupil of the former; *Kıtaat-i Nekaave fi tercemet-i kelimat-i Boerhave*, Istanbul Devlet Library, ms. Veliyüddin 2484, 2a.

42   Markus Köhbach, "Ein Fall von Vampirismus bei den Osmanen," *Balkan Studies* 20 (1979): 83–90. For the text, see Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099–1116/1688–1704)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000), 148–49. The translation is by Sariyannis, "Of Ottoman Ghosts," 196.

43   The fetva collection of Dürrizade Mehmed Arif Efendi (d. 1800), Süleymaniye Library, ms. Terc 69, 127b–28a.

44   The citation on taming death is in Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4. For a profound study of the formative period in Islamic history, see Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). For essays on Ottoman attitudes and practices, see Gilles Veinstein, ed., *Les ottomans et la mort* (Leiden: Brill, 1996). On the earlier Turkic world, see Jean-Paul Roux, *La mort chez les peuples Altaïques anciens et médiévaux d'après les documents écrits* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1963). On anxieties concerning the fixity of the boundary between the living and the dead among early modern Jewish communities, see Avriel Bar-Levav, "Death and the (Blurred) Boundaries of Magic: Strategies of Coexistence," *Kabbalah* 7 (2002): 51–64. On Jewish death rituals, Avriel Bar-Levav, "Ritualisation of Jewish Life and Death in the Early Modern Period," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 47 (2002): 69–82.

45   Two detailed studies on dissection, one on medieval Europe and the other on medieval Islam, establish the differences in a nuanced yet distinct manner: Emilie Savage-Smith, "Attitudes toward Dissection in Medieval

Islam," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50 (1995): 67–110; Katharine Park, "The Life of the Corpse: Division and Dissection in Late Medieval Europe," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50 (1995): 111–132.

46   The difference, as in many other instances, is relative; desecration of graves is not a matter that is taken lightly by either Christian or Muslim traditions; permanence of burial is the default position in both. However, a more strict attitude in this regard prevails among Muslims in general. For the historical development of that attitude among early Muslims in tandem with the evolution of doctrine regarding corporeality upon resurrection, see Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave*, chapter seven. About the practice of vampirism-related exhumation in eighteenth-century Europe, Dom Calmet, writes "it is said […] people can only save themselves from their dangerous visits and their hauntings by exhuming them, impaling them, cutting off their heads, tearing out the heart, or burning them," Augustin Calmet (1751), *Treatise on the Apparitions of Spirits and on Vampires or Revenants: Of Hungary, Moravia, et al. The Complete Volumes I & II*, trans. Rev Henry Christmas and Brett Warren (2015), 303–4.

   The relative liberality may be due to the fact that vampires were at least suspected to be in the category of heretics. On the strong equation of vampires with heretics in early modern Russia, see Felix J. Oinas, "Heretics as Vampires and Demons in Russia," *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 22 (1978): 433–41. For the curious phenomenon of a rapidly growing frequency of exhumations worldwide since the late twentieth century, see Franklin Foer, "Exhumation," *Slate*, May 10, 1998, https://slate.com/news-and-politics/1998/05/exhumation.html (accessed August 21, 2021); and Eleanor Cummins, "What Lies Beneath," *Vox*, October 30, 2019, https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/10/23/20920800/exhuming-bodies-john-dillinger-lies-beneath (accessed August 31, 2021).

47   Uğurol Barlas, *Bergama Kozak Yaylası Geleneksel Ölü Gömme Adetleri Araştırması, 2009–2013* (Istanbul: Hilmi Barlas Eğitim Vakfı, 2013). The classic study of beliefs and practices related to death in Anatolian Turkish culture is Sedat Veyis Örnek, *Anadolu Folklorunda Ölüm* (Ankara: DTCF Yayınları, 1979). On normative aspects, see *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Cenaze," "Defin," "Kabir," "Mezarlık," "Ölüm." Also see

Harun Yıldız, "Alevi Geleneğinde Ölüm ve Ölüm Sonrası Tören ve Ritüeller," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi* 42 (2007): 93–112. For a broad survey of relevant examples of beliefs related to the undead, culled from a body of Turkish source materials, see Sarpkaya and Yaltırık, *Türk Kültüründe Vampirler*. For an informative ethnographic survey of fearsome beings that haunt communities in the eastern Black Sea region of Turkey, particularly babies and mothers during the most precarious weeks after birth, see Abonoz Küçük, "Doğu Karadeniz Yöresi Doğum Sonrası İnanış ve Uygulamalarında Cadı/Obur," *Karadeniz* 3, no. 12 (2011): 123–36. Some of the samples are collected among immigrants from the Karaçay-Balkar region (right around Mount Elbrus) and neighboring areas of the Caucasus who use the word *obur/upır*. None of the cases fits the "profile of vampires" precisely but a closer and more fine-grained comparison may be productive.

48   An exciting new ERC project led by Marinos Sariyannis promises to chart the broad terrain of "the supernatural" in Ottoman cultural life. For innovative publications by Sariyannis on relevant matters, see "Of Ottoman Ghosts, Vampires and Sorcerers;" "*Ajâ'ib ve gharâ'ib*: Ottoman Collections of *Mirabilia* and Perceptions of the Supernatural," *Der Islam* 92, no. 2 (2015): 442–67; "The Dead, the Spirits, and the Living: On Ottoman Ghost Stories," *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 44 (2015), 373–90. As for the role of the Devil and of jinns, it certainly deserves far more elaboration; I hope to develop that discussion in the book-length study in progress.

49   Consider Ginzburg's suggestion that, in taking up the challenge of interpreting a self-told journey to a sabbath, we should also consider the possibility that "myths write us" in the sense that our dreams and visions are nourished by the tales we hear and imbibe. See the fascinating debate, spread over several decades and various publications, between Carlo Ginzburg and Bruce Lincoln, *Old Thiess*.

50   The verb carried the meaning of "*einsaugen … verschlucken*" in some Turkic dialects, as recorded by V.V. Radlov, *Versuch Eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 4 vols. (Von W. Radloff. Russia (Federation): Commissionnaires de L'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1888–1911); *op-* is in (1889–93) 1:1155. Dom Calmet uses the word "oupires" together with "vampires" (2:1). A Turkish derivation for "vampire" was first suggested

by Franz Miklosisch in 1886. Alternative derivations, from Slavic or other languages, have been proposed in the meantime. For some of the latest, see Brian Cooper, "The Word 'Vampire': Its Slavonic Form and Origin," *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 13 (2005): 251–70; it does not take account of the fact that a derivation from *op-* is not only a matter of secondary associations and that the word *obur/upır* is used in some Turkish dialects in the meaning of vampire rather than simply as witch. The article by Hatice Şirin User gives the most comprehensive treatment of the history of *op-* and *obur* in Turkic languages since the eleventh century, with a critical consideration of the Slavic derivation; see "Vampir," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı—Belleten* 58 (2010): 119–30. I am hoping to add some additional relevant data for an etymology based on *op-*, to be published in the *Festschrift for Andras Riedlmayer* (forthcoming, 2022).

51 For a deeply grounded comparison of eastern and western Slavic folklore of vampirism, see Elena E. Levkievskaja, "La mythologie slave: Problemes de répartition dialectale (une étude de cas: le vampire)," trans. Martine Roty, *Cahiers slaves* 1 (University Paris Sorbonne, 1997): http://www.recherches-slaves.paris4.sorbonne.fr/Cahier1/Levkievskaja.htm.

52 Harun Güngör and Mustafa Argunşah, *Gagauzlar: Gagauz Türklerinin etnik yapısı, nüfusu, dili, dini, folkloru hakkında bir araştırma* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1998), 128–30.

53 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone, 2011). Compared to Bynum's judicious combination of generous generalization and rigorous historicization, Anidjar's *Blood: A Critique of Christianity* remains somewhat ahistorical, although it is playfully provocative and offers flashes of insight. See the critical commentary by Amy Hollywood, Pamela Klassen, Ana Schwartz and Jonathan Sheehan, and Anidjar's response, in a forum edited by Nina Caputo in 2015 in *Marginalia, Los Angeles Review of Books*. For a collection of relevant essays, centered on the theme of race, see essays in Melissa Anyiwo, ed., *Race in the Vampire Narrative* (Rotterdam: Sense, 2015); particularly relevant is A. Marin, "Our Vampires (Not) Ourselves: the Greek Undead in the Age of Racialization," 7–22. The matter of blood calls for a far more deeply diachronic and far more broadly global comparative framework beyond the Biblical-Qur'anic traditions; see, for instance, Gary Beckman, "Blood in Hittite Ritual," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 63 (2011): 95–102.

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Transcultural Ornament and Heraldic Symbols

An Investigation into the Aesthetic Language of Early Modern Crimea and the Northern Black Sea Shore (Thirteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)

Nicole Kançal-Ferrari

This paper investigates the architectural and artistic environment in Crimea and seeks to chart the peninsula's cultural interaction with both the Mediterranean and the East from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth century. As such, it covers the earliest and the most southeastern territories in this volume. Based on the surviving material evidence in the peninsula, it explores to what extent we can speak of a shared aesthetic language among different cultural milieus in Crimea, taking into account their geographic and historical connectedness. The material the essay focuses on is the visual dimension of artifacts so as to situate them within the formal and stylistic language of the region and question to what degree these artifacts were agents and bearers of meaning within their respective contexts.[1] Such a perspective, which looks to the cross-cultural influences within a shared aesthetic environment, is warranted because the extant material shows traces of ornamental hybridity—that is, a blending of the formal language of different artistic traditions, in this case local, Byzantine, Turco-Islamic, and Western. Until now, the material culture of the broader Crimean region has not been studied alongside its cultural and artistic contexts, and cross-cultural research has been scarce in scholarship on this region.[2] Since investigations covering vast territories often run the danger of sweeping generalizations, this essay places the individual local artifact at the center of the analysis, thus establishing a close link between concrete objects and their larger cultural contexts.[3]

The period under consideration here, from the middle of the thirteenth century to the early sixteenth century, is that following the Pax Mongolica (Tatarica), which generated a stable political atmosphere and a related buoyant cultural development.[4] For all intents and purposes, this period ends at the dawn of the sixteenth century, with the emerging Renaissance in the West on the one hand and, on the other, with the conquest of the Black Sea shores by the Ottomans, which changed the cultural trajectory of the region, putting an end to the Genoese colonies. The architectural remains of the early Crimean Khanate, notably the extraordinary Renaissance-style portal at the Khan's palace in Bahçesaray, Crimea (discussed in this volume in chapter 10), is the *terminus ante quem* and watershed of this double shift that caused a new cultural climate in the region.[5]

1 Crimean Cultures

Crimea was exposed to a diversity of cultures since antiquity due to its location on the Black Sea and as part of the Mediterranean world. During the Golden Horde's dominance, the region showed relative stability, and a vast territory was connected culturally, economically, and in part also politically from China to the Balkans.[6] Indeed, the Golden Horde Empire—the Western part of the global empire created by Chinggis Khan—was in diplomatic contact with the Byzantine Empire, with the emerging principalities in Eastern Europe (e.g., Moscow and Poland-Lithuania), with Seljuk Anatolia, and also with the Mamluk state of Egypt, the Ilkhanids, and finally with the Ottomans.[7] In this period, the cities within the Mongol realms turned into wealthy trading centers that facilitated cross-cultural contact. Mainly through the Genoese colonies in the south of the Crimean Peninsula, constant and dynamic contacts were established with other trade centers around the Black Sea, the Balkans, and the broader Mediterranean.[8] In the Crimean Peninsula, a microenvironment consisting of a great diversity of different communities already existed; and in the East, trade was fostered by the Ilkhanid and later Timurid realms, by such important cities as Tabriz and others in the Transcaucasian region (including the territories of today's Azerbaijan, Armenia, and
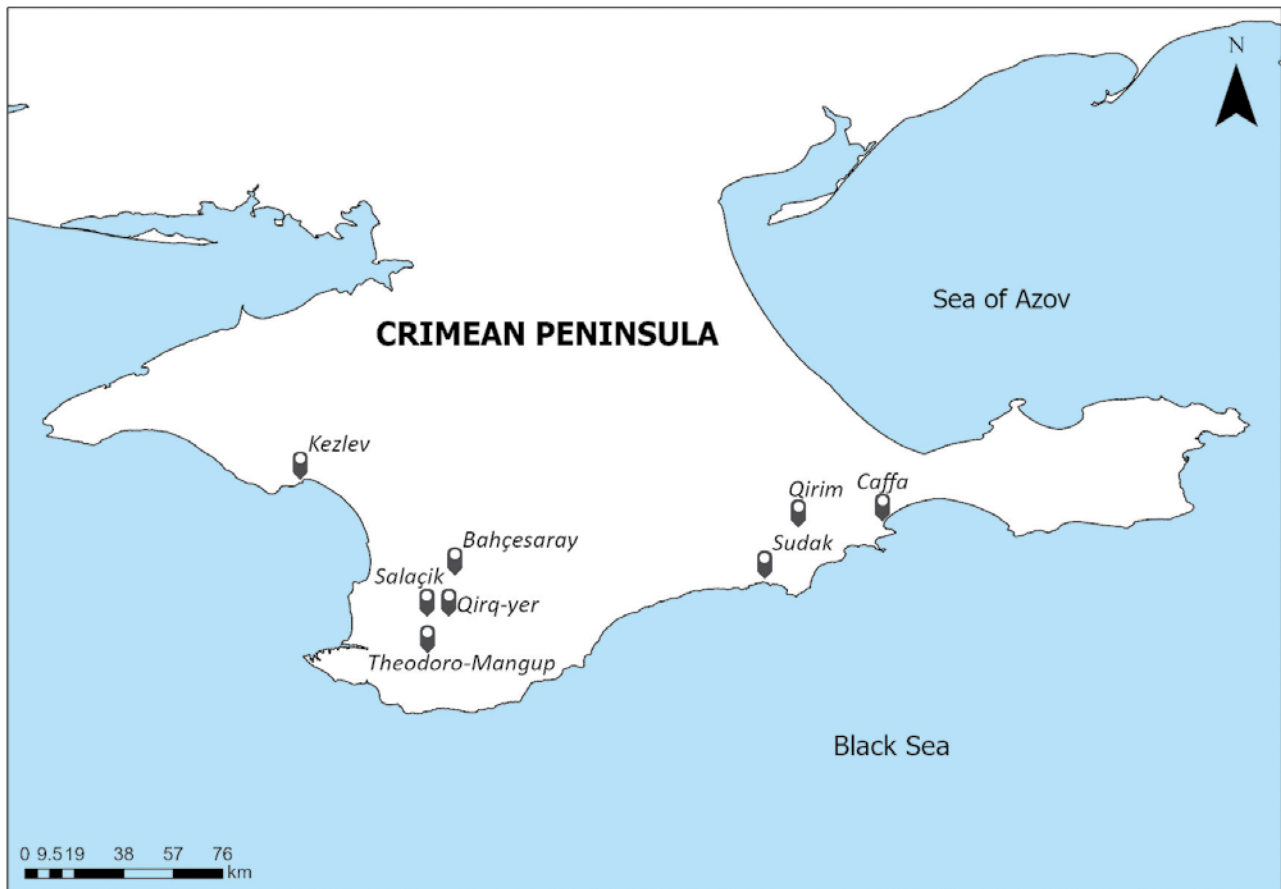
FIGURE 7.1   Map of the Crimean Peninsula

northeast Anatolia), which were part of one sociocultural network.[9] The encounter of these diverse cultural entities that existed within the Mediterranean and Eurasia is the central focus of this study.[10]

Most of the important towns in Crimea and of concern in this study, including the Genoese and Venetian colonies, are situated on riverbeds or have direct access to the sea, hosting harbors, and were therefore integrated within the Mediterranean trade network.[11] The horizontally oriented land routes were connected with the northern regions by the Dnieper and Dniester in the West and by the Don and the Volga Rivers in the East. These water routes, which cut the territory vertically, were part of the mercantile network with main centers in Crimea and the lower Don region. Rivers had always played an important role in north-south trade, facilitating the transport of goods. They also posed a threat, at any time, as they allowed fast displacement by boat.

In Crimea, the primary cultural centers were the Genoese colonies, in particular Caffa and Sudak,[12] the fortress-town of Theodoro (Mangup), the Byzantine/Greek principality,[13] the capitals of the Golden Horde ruler in Crimea, Qirim (Solkhat) and Qirq-yer/Salaçik and its environs,[14] and finally, in the sixteenth century, Bahçesaray, capital of the Crimean Khanate, successor of the Golden Horde and Kezlev (Yevpatoria), an important harbor in the southeast of the peninsula (Fig. 7.1).[15] The sociocultural environment of these cities in Crimea demonstrates a rich ethnic diversity. They were composed of Genoese, Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Turco-Tatar-Muslim communities, though the population of each group varied from town to town. The texture of the Genoese colonies in the south of the peninsula, such as Caffa and Sudak, is relatively well known through archival sources. Genoese documents, and later Ottoman tax registers, contain rich information on

FIGURE 7.2　　　City walls of Caffa
PHOTOGRAPH: VIACHESLAV LOPATIN—SHUTTERSTOCK

the districts of the towns and the number of churches, mosques, synagogues, and important public buildings, as do lapidary inscriptions and foundation or restoration inscriptions on marble slabs that were originally on the towers of the city walls. The history of Theodoro (Mangup), Qirq-yer, and Qirim is lesser known. But different sources, such as travel accounts, envoy narratives, and archaeological excavations, make it possible to investigate the nature of the relationship among different communities in these settlements (Fig. 7.2).[16]

Caffa in southeastern Crimea, the most important Genoese town on the northern Black Sea shore, was established in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and quickly became the mercantile hub of the region and departure station for Eastern lands from Central Asia to China.[17] The accumulation and passage of luxury goods through these centers fostered cross-cultural exchange. Along with the circulation of goods, people were also constantly moving. Envoys were sent to

different courts from various places, missionaries traveled through the steppes, and slaves were brought to the port cities and shipped to Egypt, Genoa, and many other destinations. In the thirteenth century, the uncles of Marco Polo started their journey to the East from Sudak, and in the fourteenth century, Ibn Battuta traveled through Crimea.[18] Parallel with mercantile relationships, contacts involved a political dimension. Indeed, this political component, negotiated between the various trade centers and the hegemonic Golden Horde, had a major impact on the sociocultural environment and is reflected, as will be shown below, in the visual culture of the peninsula (Fig. 7.3).[19]

The local production of objects was also exposed to multiple influences, for alongside people and objects, ideas and concepts also moved.[20] Ceramics and, more importantly, textiles were produced in Caffa, and since textile as a material is very favorable to the quick adoption of patterns and forms, it quickly assimilated new

FIGURE 7.3   City walls of Sudak
PHOTOGRAPH: ARTHUR LOOKYANOV—SHUTTERSTOCK

influences.[21] As such, towns created their own kind of enriched cultural and artistic microenvironments as a consequence of the movements of objects, people, and ideas, unlike the vast territories through which travelers and caravans moved.[22] But if it is already difficult to discern the nature of the goods or the people who moved, then how can one begin to recognize local transformations of concepts or ideas, as Rudolf Wittkower already asked in his essay on the cultural exchange between East and West from nearly half a century ago?[23] It is precisely the main object of this paper to discern the degree of hybridity and the dimension of "contact nebulas," which create "artistic nebulas" (in the words of Alina Payne), that are visible in works of art and architecture. How were forms from different visual domains assimilated and rearranged? And what was assimilated and why?

Taking into consideration the scarcity of the material and written sources, we have to be careful with historical interpretation. Little is known about the artistic and

architectural aspect of early modern cities in Crimea; to this end, Karpov speaks of an epistemological limit in investigating the relationship between the Genoese and the local populations.[24] However, I would argue that artifacts could provide interesting insight in their own right. Objects can speak in the absence of written evidence, and convey information about their shared cultural environment that is often overlooked in written sources. For the period in question here, besides extant Islamic edifices, such as mosques and mausolea, the best-studied monuments are the remains of a palace façade in Theodoro (Mangup), some still-standing churches, and a destroyed synagogue in Caffa. They exhibit many formal aspects that are similar to those of Islamic monuments.[25] Recent research on construction activities in Anatolia after the Mongol invasion touches upon their relationship to the broader region of the Ilkhanid domains, referring also to edifices in the former Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.[26] That being

said, the remains in Southeastern Europe are scarce, but likewise pivotal for a deeper understanding of the broader region.[27]

2   Ornament and Political Messages

The peninsula's cultural centers enumerated above hold artifacts marked by hybrid forms (i.e., forms from different artistic traditions) and diverse influences. In this investigation, I seek to examine them from two points of view: firstly, as ornament, part of a close formal and stylistic comparison with various artifacts and architectural elements from different places and divergent cultural environments; secondly, I ask how the ornament was supposed to be perceived. Was this choice purely aesthetic, part of a current fashion/current stylistic influence, or was there more to it? Does it produce meaning like an explicit visual sign such as heraldry? Indeed, many of the analyzed building façades and fragments contain heraldic crests; in several cases ornamentation can be understood "to be speaking" like a coat of arms.[28] The Genoese cities had inscriptions combined with coats of arms placed on their city walls and on the most important edifices.[29] A similar approach is visible in artifacts from the principality of Theodoro (Mangup).[30] Ornamented with coats of arms, the monuments in question were visually declared as belonging to this or that ruler, community, or family, and as a consequence, these identity markers also had a strong political message.[31] Coats of arms re-present, in the true sense of the word, the communities, families, and individuals they symbolize, and thus acquire an anthropological function.

Geometric and vegetal patterns are widely recognized as a Turco-Muslim idiom, but in Crimea, these patterns are part of the common artistic vocabulary of different communities and exist on most of the monuments and artifacts from that period. Crimea therefore furnishes the material evidence for the need of a more differentiated approach to ornament, rather than isolating this kind of ornamentation as belonging only to the Islamic domains.[32] We find them as parts of inscriptions in Theodoro (Mangup), in the mosque in Sudak, as well as on fragments from churches in Caffa (now in the Archeological Museum).[33] A motif typically associated with Islamic architecture is the *muqarnas*, a feature

FIGURE 7.4   Entrance *iwan* of the Hadji Geray (I. Mengli Geray) Khan Mausoleum in Salaçik, mid- or end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

serving as a squinch that facilitates the transition from arch to the dome or as a filling for a niche hood and at the same time is a decorative device. However, in Crimea examples of fan-like *muqarnas* patterns can be seen not only in mosques but also in Greek and Armenian edifices. Likewise, geometrical interlacements were also used widely in surface decoration on non-Muslim monuments throughout Crimea. Diverse forms of floral motifs, a great diversity of split palmette, and other foliate scrolls and vegetal borders are also found in the peninsula. It is possible that the Genoese churches of Caffa that no longer survive also displayed similar traces of ornamental hybridity, of aesthetic intersections where different artistic traditions met, as attested by travel accounts (Figs. 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6).[34]

The vegetal patterns in Genoese Caffa and Sudak are executed in a variety of styles—some echo Byzantine, some Eastern forms—but only a few of them belong to

FIGURE 7.5   Fronton of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Caffa (1348), Feodosia Antiquities Museum
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.6   Palace façade in Theodoro (Mangup), first half of the fifteenth century
PHOTOGRAPH: D. ALIMKIN—SHUTTERSTOCK

traditional Western ornamentation. This is rather astonishing, as one would expect to find more evidence of a Western artistic tradition in the Genoese colonies of the Black Sea shore. However, most of the extant materials from Genoese Galata (Pera) in Constantinople and from other Genoese colonies in Anatolia do not show explicit Western stylistic features either.[35] Rather, some of the marble slabs from Genoese Caffa, once attached on the city's towers, contain an Eastern type of vegetal decoration, while some of them show ornaments linking them to Byzantine Constantinople and Chios.[36] This attitude toward artistic creation, the flexible appropriation of local styles and patterns, seems to be typical of the Genoese.[37] The surviving artifacts in Constantinople suggest that artistic production started only in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and continued on a high level until the end of the century, that is, during approximately the same time span as in Genoese Caffa, although in Caffa, dated inscriptions point to continuing building activity until the Ottoman conquest. Scholars have proposed that the lack of Genoese craftsmen and the presence of a local artistic tradition explains the incorporation of Byzantine elements into Genoese artifacts in Constantinople. It has also been suggested that the newly rich Genoese families in Constantinople needed—and, as a consequence, accepted—a new, refined form of expression embedded in a local system of representation. The coats of arms were Genoese, but the ornamentation linked them to their respective local environment. For example, the so-called leaved cross of Byzantine origin, depicted in between the coats of arms on almost all the Genoese tomb stones of Galata, is also present in Caffa, where it is today found on slabs attached to church façades (Fig. 7.7). This points to an artistic dialogue between Galata and Crimea and is evidence of the export of a Byzantine motif into new environments.[38] Ornaments established contact among diverse cultural environments by way of aesthetic signs.

A similar dimension of aesthetic intersections can be observed in some slabs from the city walls in Caffa: the foliate decoration on these slabs bears the emblem of the khan of the Golden Horde, the *tamga*, together with the coats of arms of the Genoese (Fig. 7.8).[39] Michel Balard, the great scholar of the Genoese colonies in the Mediterranean, pointed to this dimension of the Genoese material culture in Caffa when he suggested that an image of the Orient left a lasting mark on both Genoese culture and Ligurian art, just as it did on Venetian art.[40] This assumes a strange dimension in one of the Genoese inscription slabs in the fortress in Sudak (1392), where a whole catalog of geometrical and floral interlacements, all clearly of non-Western origin, is visible (Figs. 7.9 and 7.10). This overwhelming assemblage of different modes of decoration, so foreign to the Western artistic tradition, is more common in Eastern ornamentation for façades, on grave steles in Eastern Anatolia and on Khachkars (Armenian cross-stones).[41] Nevertheless, the degree of asymmetry on this slab is striking and in sharp contrast with the other decorated inscriptions on the walls of Sudak. As for the slabs with the heraldic signs of Genoa and the Golden Horde in Caffa, one is immediately struck by the foreign element in the ornamentation, vividly suggesting the ornament's agency in creating a new aesthetic and perceptive environment.

What seems to be a random assemblage around the coats of arms on this slab gains another dimension when compared to the abovementioned inscription from the fortress of the principality of Theodoro (Mangup), bearing the name of the ruler Alexios and the date 1425 (Fig. 7.11). The inscription refers to the construction of a tower and a palace by Alexios.[42] Here, together with the Greek inscription and the heraldic crests and monograms of the ruler, we find, on one side of the inscription—and perhaps originally on both sides—a small single unit of the geometrical pattern that is also visible on architectural parts in Caffa and Sudak. The same pattern can be seen on different architectural fragments from the same place, fragments from the cathedral, and a part of a sarcophagus.[43] It becomes clear that this pattern was an integral part and one of the main elements of the architectural decoration in Theodoro (Mangup).[44] The same geometrical interlacement can be found on the corner columns of the buildings of the Golden Horde-Crimean Khanate environment in a similar application.[45] The decoration of the only standing façade in Theodoro (Mangup) is the best example of the striking common formal language in the region. It shows in its entire layout parallels to the decoration found on the churches in Caffa and Qirim,[46] and also to the entrance façades of the Golden Horde and early Crimean Khanate monuments, e.g., the mausoleums of Khanike Khanim (around 1437) and Hadji Geray (I. Mengli Geray) Khan in Qirq-yer/Salaçik (see

FIGURE 7.7
Lintel on lateral portal, Church of St. John the
Apostle in the "Quarantine" district in Caffa
fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.8   Fragments of limestone slab, Feodosia Antiquities Museum, 1342
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.9   Slab on the sixth tower in Sudak, 1392
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

FIGURE 7.10   Slab on the sixth tower in Sudak, 1392
(TAKEN FROM ELENA A. AIBABINA, *DEKORATIVNAIA KAMENNAIA REZBA KAFFY XIV–XVIII VEKOV* [SIMFEROPOL: SONAT, 2001], FIG. 4)

FIGURE 7.11   Slab with inscriptions and coat of arms, 1425, Bakhchisaray State Historical and Cultural Preserve
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

fig. 7.4).[47] All show the arrangement of door and window frames with a motif well known in Anatolian Seljuk, Ilkhanid, and later Ottoman art, a knot or chain motif combined with vegetal elements (see fig. 7.2) (Fig. 7.12).[48] The elaborate decoration visible on the architectural remains of Theodoro (Mangup) was exported to the West when Marie of Mangup married Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia (today's Romania).[49] A fragment showing the same arrangement in Akkerman (now Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, Ukraine), and a spolia used as a window frame in Dolheşti (today's Moldova) bear witness to the spread of this motif in the Western region outside Crimea.[50]

The latest examples of this arrangement in the peninsula are two prayer niches on the outer wall of the façade of the mosque in Kezlev from the middle of the sixteenth century, a period when this motif had become an integral part of the Ottoman vocabulary for the decoration of prayer niches (*mihrāb*) (Fig. 7.13).[51] This arrangement of the entrance façade and later mihrab was widely used from the second half of the fourteenth century on and is partly indebted to the first monuments belonging to

the Golden Horde. Indeed, during the rule of Özbeg Khan (r. 1313–41), new approaches to ornament reached the peninsula.[52] The earliest extant monument, the so-called mosque of Özbeg Khan, and especially the façade of the (now destroyed) adjacent madrasa in Qirim, together with the mihrab decoration of the mosque in Sudak reveal a close relationship to Anatolia.[53] This relationship, visible in the formal language of the early monuments, developed over the following 200 years, becoming a specific vernacular idiom in the peninsula shared by its different communities. It was later exported to the West, to the northeastern Balkans, to the domains of the semi-independent principalities in the former territory of the Golden Horde that were in close contact with Crimea.

However, it is interesting to note that in Sudak other inscriptions on slabs from approximately the same period also display a completely different ornamentation than the one previously discussed. On some of these, the decoration is clearly visible, on others it is completely destroyed due to weathering. Some of them are exceptionally "Western," showing figural depictions

FIGURE 7.12   Portal of the Armenian Church of Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Caffa 1408
             PHOTOGRAPH: KONSTANTIN MIZIKEVITCH—SHUTTERSTOCK

FIGURE 7.13   Prayer niche (*mihrāb*), Khan Mosque in Kezlev
mid-sixteenth century
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

of religious figures (1409). One extraordinary slab (1394) still in situ contains two female figures dressed in long robes fixed with a rope/belt, perhaps representations of the patrons. Together with a low relief of a Madonna with Child (1469) and some reliefs from churches in Caffa, they are the only remains showing figural depictions, though the Genoese churches in Caffa were most likely decorated with figural imagery.[54] Fortunately, some of the decorations that have since been destroyed or lost remain accessible through other sources, such as the account of Leon de Waxel, a traveler to the region, published in 1803 (Fig. 7.14).[55] From Waxel's drawings, it becomes clear that some of the now lost decoration differed from the extant decorations elsewhere

in Sudak. What was the reason for such different patterns and manners of decoration on the towers of one town, dating more or less from the same period? Did the elite families choose these different kinds of decoration? If so, what meaning did they attribute to these choices? The introduction of some of these geometrical patterns in the inscription in Theodoro (Mangup) suggests an intended meaning, one where a Christian but "local" dynasty can be seen to create a hybrid style through the appropriation of ornamental forms originating in a different artistic environment. However, the situation is different for the Genoese inscription in Sudak. Here, we have the application of a foreign system of ornamentation, an import of patterns, into a completely new environment. In this case, it is probably more important to read the incorporation of foreign elements in itself as bearing meaning than to question the exact way patterns and motifs were incorporated.[56]

Much research regarding the question of the transmission of decoration, of patterns, and of ornamentation has been undertaken in the last decade, and currently most scholars suggest that textiles probably played a decisive role in the spread of ornamentation from China to the West.[57] Another form of transmission of patterns may have been paper models for textile design or for application on other kinds of surfaces.[58] In my opinion, this could well be one of the possible ways unusual decorations were applied on some of the stone slabs in Sudak. The decoration in Waxel's drawing shows a similarity with much later ornamentation in printed books and, therefore, also underscores the role paper models (printed examples) may have played in ornamental transmission.[59]

What is proposed here for the spread of the patterns of decoration from East to West is also possible for the earlier period, for the transfer of ornaments from Anatolia to Crimea in the early fourteenth century. Once again, we do not have enough material to trace this transmission in detail, but patterns in Ilkhanid and Armenian manuscripts exhibit great similarity with motifs on some objects and architectural decoration in Anatolia and later Crimea.[60] Besides textiles, paper models, and manuscripts, I would argue, another possibility for the transmission of patterns over longer distances was woodwork. Wooden molds were used
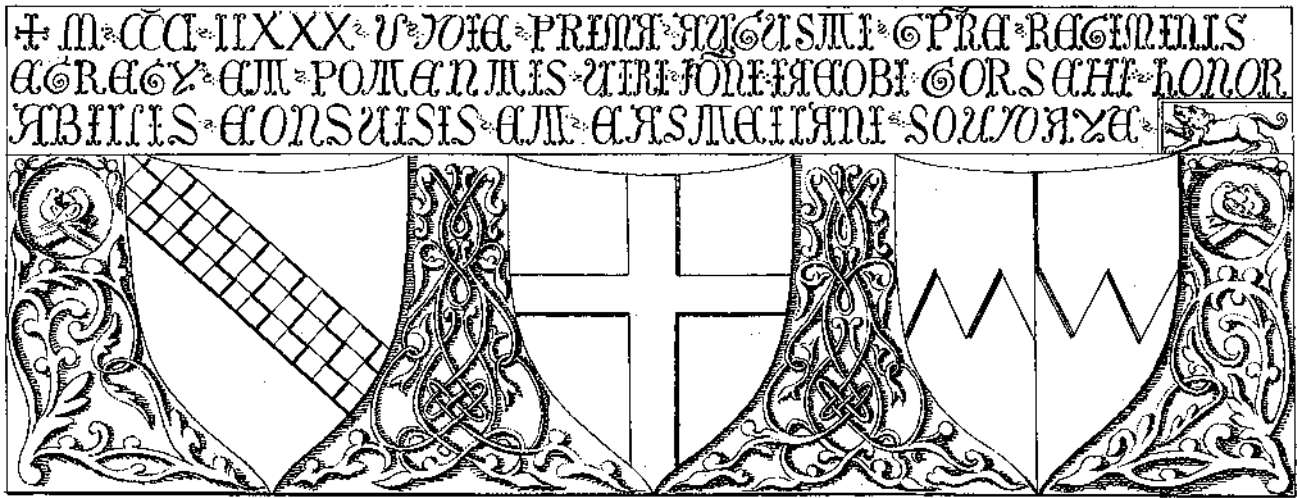
FIGURE 7.14   Drawing of slab near the entrance gate of Sudak, 1385 in Waxel, *Recueil* (no. 19)

for plaster decoration, and carved wooden doors were important and highly prestigious architectural elements. Furthermore, metal objects were another vehicle for the application and spread of common decorative approaches over a vast area.[61]

Besides these primary ornamental features, the nearly obsessive application of coats of arms on façades points to another sociopolitical aspect of visuality. In Constantinople, as in other cities, coats of arms were applied on marble slabs with inscriptions attached on the city walls, as well as inside churches, such as the slabs originally from the Church of San Paolo in Galata, exhibited today in the Archeological Museum in Istanbul. Marble slabs with coats of arms and commemorative messages were attached to the walls or, in some cases, used as tomb plates on the floor, which is a common practice in Western culture.[62] In Crimea, one comes across the introduction of the *tamga*, the visual idiom of the khan of the Golden Horde, in the inscriptions on the city wall by the Genoese,[63] as had been done in Constantinople with the emblem of the Byzantine emperor.[64] Furthermore, papal coats of arms were applied on marble slabs designed to commemorate the papal support for towers in Caffa and Constantinople. On the inscriptions of the principality of Theodoro (Mangup), the Genoese coat of arms is visible, together with that of the local ruler, Alexios, and the Byzantine emperor, the double eagle of the Palaiologan dynasty (Fig. 7.15).[65] Yet we also find slabs

with Genoese coats of arms bearing Armenian inscriptions (e.g., an inscription on a fountain in Caffa).[66] Thus, the relationship between different political entities in Crimea, primarily the Genoese towns Caffa and Sudak, Theodoro (Mangup), and the Golden Horde, can be explored through parallel visual idioms on stone slabs with or without inscriptions. However, the application of the coats of arms on other artifacts, such as the fountain and the aforementioned slab containing the Tatar *tamga*, together with the coat of arms of Genoa decorated with floral motifs, opens perspectives to a cross-cultural environment with blurred frontiers between the sociopolitical and ornamental agency of artifacts.[67]

A highly interesting insight in this hybrid dimension of the art of the peninsula can be seen in a fragment currently displayed in the courtyard of the Archeological Museum in Caffa (Fig. 7.16). This fragment from a doorframe shows the combination of a Latin inscription with a knot arrangement. The round part inside of the knot pattern is usually decorated with a floral or geometrical motif, while here we see the Genoese coats of arms instead.[68] This doorframe, which, in light of the other fragments, seems not to be an isolated case, shows the incorporation of the coats of arms into the frame, a site of pure ornamentation.[69] Here, we have the direct transformation of two elements of completely separate/distinct artistic traditions with different meanings in a hybrid new form: the combination of an Eastern form

FIGURE 7.15   Slab with inscriptions and coat of arms 1427, Bakhchisaray State Historical and Cultural Preserve
PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

and the Genoese's most powerful tool of visual and political expression, their coats of arms. The heraldic sign seems to be reduced to a decorative feature, and hence becomes clearly "readable." Here again, it can be asked if it is possible to understand meaning as generated by these hybrid forms of ornamentation or if meaning is produced by the incorporation of forms that originally maintained culturally distinct connotations.[70] This incorporation is another example of an artifact creating a visual intersection of the sociocultural with the anthropological.

The peninsula shows a unique mixture of Eastern and Western traditions. Every community in Crimea had its own way of incorporating new and unique features into its artistic vocabulary. Among the artifacts discussed here, we can see various real interactions and cultural exchanges occurring in the contact zones and a new visual tradition and a shared cultural environment emerging from these areas. The goal of this essay was to explore a few of the concrete dimensions of ornamental hybridity, the meeting of diverse artistic traditions in the visual realm as a result of cultural encounters and exchange, and to begin an investigation of the implications of this hybridity for the communities/ethnicities involved. The cultural environment of Crimea is tangible in its "artistic nebulas": in it being local and, at the same time, it interacting within the peninsula and the neighboring regions. Through the artifacts presented here, it becomes obvious that by way of selective appropriation, the material culture of different communities had much more in common than is generally acknowledged. The Crimean peninsula is perhaps the last region where we may trace how this shared artistic tradition created new forms, a practice also common in other geographic areas, notably certain regions in Anatolia.

FIGURE 7.16   Fragment of a door frame, 1406 Feodosia Antiquities Museum
                   PHOTOGRAPH BY AUTHOR

Notes

1   For new approaches to artifacts underscoring their analysis in complex networks and the anthropological dimension of their capacity to actively create meaning, see Carl Knappett, *Thinking Through Material Culture: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005); Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). For ornamentation, see Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne, introduction to *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 1–6; Avinoam Shalem and Eva-Maria Troelenberg, "Au-delà de la grammaire et de la taxinomie: L'expérience cognitive et la responsivité de l'ornement dans les arts de l'Islam," *Perspective* 1 (2010): 57–76.

2   Literature on the art and architecture of Crimea and the neighboring regions reflects this narrow focus on specific aspects, communities, and/or cultures, often also including nationalistic and ethnic discourses and current political tendencies. This bias is partly due to the selection, but also the availability, of written sources. Golden Horde (i.e., Mongol-Turco-Islamic) sources are sparse,

while richer information is available on the Latin side. For an introductory discussion on the entangled relationship between archaeology (i.e., artifacts) and text and problems of interpretation, see Rainer Schreg, "Der Reisebericht des Bronovius—Text und Archäologie," in *Im Auftrag des Königs. Ein Gesandtenbericht aus dem Land der Krimtataren. Die Tartariae descriptio des Martinus Broniovius (1579)*, eds. Stefan Albrecht and Michael Herdick (Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, 2011), 23–44. For the relationship between, and influence of, Turco-Islamic art and ornament on premodern Russian culture, see Leonid A. Beliaev and Alexei Chernetsov, "The Eastern Contribution to Medieval Russian Culture," *Muqarnas* 16, no. 1 (1999): 97–124.

3   Two interesting further lines of inquiry, the instrumentality of artifacts through forced displacement and the categorization of artistic styles in art historical narratives, are beyond the scope of this paper and are therefore only mentioned marginally. The carrying away of highly symbolic objects, like engraved Genoese stone slabs, to Italy and Russia during the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is an example of how these artifacts are laden with multiple significations. On the one hand, they are trophies

of war; on the other hand they are "national" property that has to be protected from the enemy. At the end of the eighteenth century, slabs from the Genoese city walls of Caffa were removed by the Russians and installed in the newly constructed residences of the aristocrats in Pavlovsk, near St. Petersburg, and Jaropolez, near Moscow, see Elena Skrzinska, "Inscriptions latines des colonies génois en Crimée (Théodosie, Soudak, Balaklava)," in *Iscrizioni genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1928), 31–72. Slabs from Cembalo (Balaklava), a Genoese fortress-town in southern Crimea, were brought to Genoa, to their "homeland," by the Italian army during the Crimean War in the 1850s, when Sardinia, "heir of Genoa," nourished the hope of taking back Crimea from Russia, see Charles Marie Sainte-Marie Mévil, *La Mer Noire au moyen age: Caffa et les colonies génoises de la Crimée* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1856), 4; Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 131–40. For recent publications on these slabs, their inscriptions, and heraldic symbols, see also Elena Iarovaia, *Geraldika genuezskogo Kryma* (St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage, 2010); D.V. Valkov, *Genuezskaia epigrafika Kryma* (Moscow: Dmitrii Pozharskii University, 2015).

4 See Nicola Di Cosimo, "Black Sea Emporia and the Mongol Empire: A Reassessment of the Pax Mongolica," in "Empires and Emporia: The Orient in World Historical Space and Time," ed. Jos Gommans, special issue, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 83–108.

5 This portal is a key case study in Tatiana Sizonenko's essay in this volume. See also my article "An Italian Renaissance Gate for the Khan: Visual Culture in Early Modern Crimea," *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 85–123.

6 For a general overview, see Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021).

7 For the diplomatic and ideologic relationship between the Golden Horde and the Mamluks, see Marie Favereau, "The Golden Horde and the Mamluks," *Golden Horde Review* 5 (2017): 93–115; Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

8 Michel Balard, *La Roumanie génoise XIIᵉ–début du XVᵉ siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1978). Losing the connections in Acre in the Eastern Mediterranean in the year 1258 to the Venetians and the incorporation of Cilician Armenia in the Mamluk Empire caused the emigration of Genoese, together with Armenians, to Crimea.

Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 151.

9 Ciocîltan, *Mongols*; Nicola Di Cosimo, "Mongols and Merchants on the Black Sea Frontier in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Convergences and Conflicts," in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads and the World*, eds. Reuven Amitaj and Michal Biran (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 391–424; Alexandr Osipian, "Practices of Integration and Segregation: Armenian Trading Diasporas in their Interaction with the Genoese and Venetian Colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, 1289–1484," in *Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean (1100–1800)*, eds. Georg Christ et al. (Rome: Viella, 2015), 349–61; Michel Balard, "Gênes et la mer Noire (XIIIᵉ–XVᵉ siècles)," *Revue Historique* 270–71, no. 547 (1983): 31–54; Joan-Paul Rubies, "Late Medieval Ambassadors and the Practice of Cross-Cultural Encounters 1250–1450," in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 37–112. For the import of ceramics to Moscow from Crimea and the Transcaspian region, as well as from Islamic Spain, see Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 102–3.

10 A golden ring with the inscription in Arabic letters of "Allah" (God) is an example of concrete evidence for such exchange in the Western realm of the Golden Horde territory and its periphery. The ring was found in the grave of Latçu (r. 1368–75), Christian ruler (voivode) of Moldavia, in the Church of St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi, northeastern Romania. Lia Bătrana and Adrian Bătrana, *Biserica "Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădăuţi* (Piatra Neamt: Constantin Matasă, 2012), 217–31, 390–91, 461–63. Finds in the Golden Horde territory often include items from various cultural environments that show hybrid features. For a treasure that includes items from Italian, Central Asian, and Iranian workshops, see James C.Y. Watt, "A Note on Artistic Exchange in the Mongol Empire," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 67; and Mark G. Kramarovsky, "The Golden Horde as Civilization," in *Zolotaia Orda: Istoriia i kultura* (Saint Petersburg: Slaviya, 2005), 58–59; *Çelovek srednevekovoy ulitsı: Zolotaya orda, Vizantiya, İtaliya* (St. Petersburg: Evrasya, 2012), 206–18; "Solkhat

(Crimea) in the 13th and 14th Centuries," in *Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga-Ural Region: Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery*, eds. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele et al. (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2008), 73–82, 235–38; Aleksandr G. Gertsen and Yuriy M. Mogarichev, *Krepost dragotsennostey Kırk-or Çufut-Kale* (Simferopol: Tavriya, 1993).

11 For towns in the Golden Horde territory, see German A. Fedorov-Davydov, *The Silk Road and the Cities of the Golden Horde* (Berkeley, CA: Zinat Press, 2001); Uli Schamiloglu, "The Rise of Urban Centers in the Golden Horde and the City of Ükek," *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie/Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 1 (2018): 18–40. See also Sergei Bocharov and Ayrat Sitdikov, eds., *The Genoese Gazaria and the Golden Horde*, vol. 2. (Kazan and Chişinău, 2019); M.E. Tkachuk and G.G. Atanasov, eds., *In Search of the Essence: Essays in Honour of Nicolai Russev on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Chişinău: Stratum 2019).

12 Balard, *Roumanie*; Victoria Bulgakova, "Islamisch-Christlicher Kulturkontakt im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum. Sugdaia unter Herrschaft der Seldschuken," in *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, eds. Michael Borgolte et al. (Berlin: Akademie, 2008), 261–74.

13 Aleksandr G. Gertsen, "Main Stages of the History Doros-Theodoro (Mangup) in the Light of Archaeological Research Expedition, Taurida Vernadsky National University," *Uchenye zapiski Tavricheskogo natsional'nogo universiteta im. V.I. Vernadskogo, Series: Istoricheskiye nauki* 26 (65), no. 1 (2013): 193–206; Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936); Maria Magdalena Székely and Ştefan S. Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina: O prinţesă bizantină pe tronul Moldovei* (Suceava: Sfânta Mânăstire Putna, 2006).

14 Gertsen and Mogariçev, *Krepost dragotsennostey Kırk-or. Çufut-Kale*; D.A. Lomakin, "'Obshirnaya Mechet,' Razvaliny Koyey Zametny I Donyne: Otechestvennaya Istoriografıya Posledney Chetverti XVIII–Nachala XXI Vv. O Mecheti Srednevekovoy Kreposti Kyrk-Yer (Chufut-Kale)," *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i etnografii Tavrii* 22 (2017): 535–51.

15 For the Turco-Islamic Heritage of Crimea, see Hakan Kırımlı and Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, eds., *Kırım'daki Kırım Tatar (Türk-Islâm) Mimarî Yadigârları* (Ankara: YTB,

2016); Oktay Aslanapa, *Kırım ve Kuzey Azerbaycan'da Türk Eserleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1979).

16 Michel Balard and Gilles Veinstein, "Continuité ou changement d'un paysage urbain? Caffa génoise et ottomane," in *Le paysage urbain au Moyen Âge, Actes du XIᵉ congrès des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1981), 79–131; Sergei P. Karpov, "Les chrétiens orientaux dans les comptoirs italiens de la Mer Noire," in *Γαληνοτάτη: τιμή στη Χρύσα Μαλτέζου* (*Galēnotatē: Timē stē Chrysa Maltezou*), eds. Gogo Varzelioti and Kostas G. Tsiknakes (Athens: Museum Benakii, 2013), 439–52. The most recent analysis based on the account books of Caffa (*Massaria Caffae*), which exist with many gaps for the years 1374–1461, exemplifying the ethnic diversity of Caffa, is given in Evgeny Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region* (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), 182–291. The earliest existing census after the Ottoman conquest dates from the year 1520, thus forty-five years after the Ottoman conquest, when most of the Genoese inhabitants of Caffa had left for Istanbul; Yücel Öztürk, *Osmanlı Hakimiyetinde Kefe, 1475–1600* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000). In Caffa, a third of the population was Muslim. The non-Muslim population consisted of a majority of Armenians, followed by Greeks, with some Jewish, Russian, and Circassian communities (230–32); Mangup was Greek, Jewish, Muslim, and Armenian (237); in Sudak, the majority was Greek, in addition there were Muslim, Armenian, and Jewish inhabitants (260).

17 Khvalkov, *The Colonies of Genoa*, 56–93; George Ioan Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIIIᵉ siecle* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929).

18 Rubies, "Ambassadors"; Peter Jackson, "Marco Polo and His Travels," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61 (1998): 82–101; Ibn Battuta, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, eds. C. Defrémery and B.R. Sanguinetti (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1893–1922), 2:354–451.

19 Di Cosimo, "Mongols and Merchants," 418.

20 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Linda Komaroff, "The Transmission and Dissemination of a New Visual Language," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York,

New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 168–96; Kramarovsky, "Golden Horde," 13–172; Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 97–124.

21 Zvezdana Dode, "On the Issue of Silk Weaving in Genoese Kaffa and Textiles from the Belorechenskaia Kurgans," *The Silk Road* 11 (2013): 113–22, plate 6.

22 For Eastern features in Eurasia, see Yuko Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); Ladan Akbarnia, "'Khitai': Cultural Memory and the Creation of a Mongol Visual Idiom in Iran and Central Asia" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007).

23 Rudolf Wittkower was one of the first art historians to stress the tricky nature of the relationship of artistic objects with their (new) environment: "Clarification of the roads of transmission is only the first step when dealing with the problem of diffusion. In considering the transplantation of forms, designs, and styles, we are faced with a triple challenge, from the simplest cases—the trading of objects and the migration of artisans—to the assimilation and adaption of imported material, and then to its complete transformation. Even where, in the process of translation from one civilization to another, essentials of stylistic formulas or representational patterns survive, their meaning may have changed beyond recognition"; Rudolf Wittkower, "East and West: The Problem of Cultural Exchange," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 13.

24 Sergei Karpov, "New Documents on the Relations between the Latins and the Local Population in the Black Sea Area (1392–1462)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 41; Balard, *Roumanie*, 310–54.

25 Patrick Donabedian, "Un des premiers exemples d'hybridation: L'architecture arménienne de Crimée (XIVᵉ–XVᵉ siècle)," *Series Byzantina* 9 (2011): 47–67; Anatolij L. Jakobson, "Armyanskaya srednevekovaya arkhitektura v Krymu," *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik* 8 (1956): 166–91. For the now-demolished synagogue, see Anatolij L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym: Ocherki istorii i istorii material'noi kul'tury* (Moscow and Leningrad: Nauka, 1964), 117, ill. 30.

26 Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rūm, 1240–1330* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014). Blessing's work on the Ilkhanid heritage in Anatolia redirects the focus from the vague "Seljuk" Anatolia for the whole period of the Middle Ages to a more differentiated look, establishing the often overlooked connection with the Ilkhanid region outside Anatolia, but without including the Golden Horde domains. For this connection, see Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "An Overview on Mosque Architecture of the Golden Horde Period in Crimea," in *Proceedings of the 15th ICTA International Congress of Turkish Art* (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2018), 383–400; "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques in Crimea: Artistic Interactions as Reflected in Patronage and Material Culture," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 143 (2018): 191–214.

27 Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*; Victor Spinei, "La génese des villes du sud-est de la Moldavie et les rapports commerciaux des XIIIᵉ–XIVᵉ siecles," *Balkan Studies* 35 (1994): 197–269; Laurenţiu Rădvan, "New Perspectives on the Process of Urbanization in Medieval Moldavia," *Colloquia* 18 (2011): 27–50; Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă*.

28 In Sudak, the inscriptions are in situ, in Caffa they are in the museum, see Skrzinska, "Inscriptions"; *Sudakskaya krepost*.

29 For Chios, see F.W. Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 16 (1909–10): 137–84; for Amasra, see H. Sercan Sağlam, "Anadolu'daki Armalı Ceneviz Yazıtları," in *Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period: The Italians in Anatolia During 12th–15th Centuries; Symposium Proceedings*, ed. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (Ankara: Koç University, Vekam, 2019), 99–130; Rafał Quirini-Popławski, "New Research on Genoese Colonies: Samastri and Simisso in the First Half of the 15th Century," in *Cultural Encounters in Anatolia in the Medieval Period*, 131–51; for Constantinople, see Ettore Rossi, "Le lapidi Genovesi delle mura di Galata," in *Iscrizioni genovesi in Crimea ed in Costantinopoli* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1928), 141–67.

30 The inscription is published online: IOSPE. Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea. https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.179.html; Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 17, 22, 48, 63, 64; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 214–21.

31 The cenotaphs of the first Moldavian princes in St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi show their coat of arms in the decorative border, see Bătrana, *Biserica*, 457, 458; Tudor-Radu

Tiron, "At the Border between Two Worlds. Hungarian and Polish Influences upon the Wallachian and Moldavian Mediaeval Heraldry (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Genealogica & Heraldica*, eds. Jan T. Anema et al. ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting De Nederlandse Leeuw, 2014), 257–345. Tiron points to possible connections with, among other things, the Tatar *tamga* of the Golden Horde. It is my opinion that the Genoese, strongly present in the region, also could have influenced the introduction of the Moldavian heraldic crests.

32   For the ongoing discussion in this field, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Early Modern Floral: The Agency of Ornament in Ottoman and Safavid Visual Cultures," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 132–55, 367–73.

33   Elena A. Aibabina, "Monumental Stone Carvings of the Crimea, 14th–18th Centuries," in *Crimea, Caucasus and the Volga-Ural Region: Islamic Art and Architecture in the European Periphery*, eds. Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, Joachim Gierlichs and Brigitte Heuer (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2008), 61–72, 233–34; Elena A. Aibabina [Yelena Akimovna Aybabina], *Dekorativnaia kamennaia rezba Kaffy XIV–XVIII vekov* (Simferopol: Sonat, 2001); Aslanapa, *Kırım*; Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym*, 104–50, plates 25–37; Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "Sudak Kalesi Bayezid-i Veli Cami Örneğinde Kırım'daki Altın Orda'dan kalan Mirasın Değerlendirilmesi," in *Proceedings of the VIII. International Turcology Congress* (Istanbul: 2014), 4:141–60; Elena Skrzinska [Yelena Cheslavovna Skrzhinskaya], *Sudakskaya krepost. Istoriya-Arheologiya-Epigrafika. Sbornik rabot i materialov* (Sudak, Kiev, St. Petersburg: n.p., 2006).

34   Balard and Veinstein, "Continuité," 111–12. According to some sources, Genoese churches were overtaken by the Armenian community after 1475. The hybrid (or local) character of the churches was perceived as such by Julien Bordier, who visited Caffa in 1607. In describing the church of St. Mary, he enumerates the carved stone decoration of floral and other elements in the manner of the region ("[…] of raised stone, chiseled notched with a thousand small kinds of flowers & other very delicate works according to the style of the region"); Veinstein supposed this to be the style of Byzantium (112).

35   Some fragments from Chios, the main Genoese colony in the Eastern Mediterranean until 1566, show parallels with Caffa; others are embedded in the Western

Renaissance tradition, see Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," 179. A drawing of a fragment from Sudak with St. George slaying the dragon is included in Leon de Waxel, *Recueil de quelques antiquités trouvées sur les bords de la Mer Noire appartenans à l'Empire de Russie: Dessinées d'après les originaux en 1797 & 1798 avec une carte geographique ancienne du pays ou ces antiquités furent decouvertes* (Berlin: J. Fr. Schüppel, 1803), plate 17. See also footnote 46.

36   For vegetal decoration with parallels in Sudak and Caffa and the relationship between Byzantine and Genoese artistic production, see Siegrid Düll, "Byzanz in Galata: Zur Rezeption Byzantinischer Ornamente auf Genuesischen Denkmälern des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987): 277–80, fig. 18, 20; for parallels in Crimea, see Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 31, 60, 62; for Chios, Hasluck, "Chios," 179.

37   Anne Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice: The Foreign, the Mobile, and the Cocharelli Fragments," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Payne (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 228–37.

38   For Genoese artifacts in Istanbul, see Düll, "Galata," 277–80, fig. 26. Düll describes the Byzantine ornaments on Genoese slabs as a film, a foil between the two environments, establishing a connection while holding them apart. The mihrab in the mosque in Sudak was overwritten after the town fell to the Genoese. Two coats of arms were carved on the border of the mihrab niche, one of them showing a lion's head that resembles a depiction on a tombstone in Istanbul. See Kançal-Ferrari, "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques," 204, fig. 8; Skrzinska, *Sudakskaya krepost*, 230–34; the tombstone in Istanbul is in Düll, "Galata," fig. 26.

39   Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 32–35; Skrzinska, "Inscriptions," 32–33.

40   Balard, *Roumanie*, 9.

41   A similar accumulation of different ornaments is not foreign to the Western premodern attitude, for example in the church façade of Cozia (1387–88), a settlement founded in the Golden Horde period in Romania. Nevertheless, these motifs do not deny their being embedded in their local cultural environment. Corina Popa, *Medieval Monuments of Oltenia* (Bucharest: ACS, 2011), 44–58. For a brief discussion of Caucasian elements in the medieval architecture of Romania, see

Vlad Bedros, *Armenian Artistic Heritage in Romania* (Bucharest: NOI, 2011), 133–39. For khachkars from the period in Caffa, see Aybabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 62–75.

42 IOSPE, Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.179.html.

43 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 169–70.

44 For apotropaic power and the deeper meaning of patterns similar to this little interlace, see Ioli Kalavrezou—Maxeiner, "The Byzantine Knotted Column," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu: Undena, 1985), 95–103, plates 1–4; see also Gell, *Art and Agency*, 83–90. For symbolic dimensions of these motifs on the burial shroud of Marie of Mangup, see Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 80–105, figs. 154–223.

45 For similar arrangements on façades in Anatolia, see Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*; for depictions in manuscripts, see note 60 below.

46 Dimensions of hybridity and influences from Turco-Islamic, Byzantine, and Latin environments on Armenian church architecture in Crimea are discussed in Donabedian, "L'architecture arménienne." According to Donabedian, frescoes in the Church of St. Stephen (before 1456) are influenced by Byzantium (49), and the arrangement of sculpture in, among others, the Church of St. John the Baptist (1348) adapts Latin elements from the milieu of Genoese Caffa (61–62). The possibility of spolia taken from Genoese churches in Caffa has to my knowledge not yet been discussed among scholars.

47 Elena A. Aibabina, "Reznyye Kamni Gorodishcha Chufut-Kale," *Povolzhskaya Arkheologiya* 2, no. 24 (2018): 150–67; Nadiya Avksentiyevna Gavrylyuk and Aliye Mustafakızı Ibragimova, *Tiurbe khana Hadzhi Geraja* (Kiev and Zaporozhie: Dyke Pole, 2010).

48 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 49–54, 157–64, plates 39, 40, 45, 46, 56, 59, 64, 65; Jakobson, *Srednevekovyi Krym*, plates 26, 30, 37. On this decoration element and its name, "*girihbandī-yi rūmī* or *band-i rūmī* (Anatolian knot, geometric interlace)," which is thus a regional affiliation, in sixteenth-century artistic treatises, see Necipoğlu, "Agency," 137.

49 See the burial shroud and the sarcophagi of the family of Stephen the Great in the Putna monastery. Maria Asanina Palaiologina (d. 1477), also known as Maria of Mangup (Maria of Doros), was the second wife of Prince Stephen the Great (r. 1457–1504), ruler of Moldavia. She was part of the Palaiologos dynasty, niece of the last emperor of Trapezunt and the cousin of the wife of the Aq Qoyunlu sultan Uzun Hassan (1423–78): Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 6. The shroud is briefly discussed within the Ottoman environment in Nurhan Atasoy and Lâle Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe, 1453–1699* (Istanbul: Armaggan—Turkish Cultural Foundation, 2012), 37–41. See also the tomb stones of the Moldavian princes installed as cenotaphs by Stephen the Great in St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi; Bătrana, *Biserica*, 457, 458, and notes 13, 31 above.

50 Székely and Gorovei, *Maria Asanina Paleologhina*, 63–68, figs. 145, 146. A window fragment from sixteenth-century Wallachia in the National Museum of Art of Romania in Budapest recalls the patterns in Theodoro (Mangup) and therefore furnishes further proof of the transmission of these designs to the West.

51 Kırımlı and Kançal-Ferrari, *Mimarî Yadigârları*, 724–41.

52 Kırımlı and Kançal-Ferrari, *Mimarî Yadigârları*, 454–59, 486–93, 610–23, 760–71; Kançal-Ferrari, "An Overview on Mosque Architecture"; Kramarovsky, "Solkhat (Crimea)," 73–82, 235–38.

53 Kançal-Ferrari, "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques"; Aslanapa, *Kırım*, 5–13.

54 See note 46 above.

55 Waxel, *Recueil*, plate 19.

56 Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice," 228–37.

57 Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 19–34; David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 222.

58 Watt, "Artistic Exchange," 71–72; Komaroff, "Transmission," 184–85.

59 The front pages of early printed Serbian books in the article of Vladimir Simić in this volume show similarities to the drawing of Waxel. These patterns became widespread in the early modern period through book printing.

60 Research on Ilkhanid patterns in manuscripts is still in the shadow of figural painting, which is much more broadly explored; Frantz Chaigne, "Le décor enluminé sous les Īl-khānides: Entre assimilation et innovation, de l'Iraq à la Chine," in *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie 3*, eds. Lorenz Korn and Anja Heidenreich (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 2012), 253–65; for Armenian manuscript illumination in Crimea, see

Heide Buschhausen, Helmut Buschhausen, and Emma Korchmasjan, *Armenische Buchmalerei und Baukunst der Krim* (Erevan: Nairi, 2009), 57–107. Ornamentation in manuscripts that have been dated to the mid-fourteenth century in Qirim are close to these motifs, which have direct parallels with Anatolia. Kadoi also refers to the "close stylistic relation between architectural decoration and manuscript illumination" for the Ilkhanid environment; Kadoi, *Islamic Chinoiserie*, 56, 226–28; Sheila Blair, "The Religious Art of the Ilkhanids," in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256–1353*, eds. Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni (New York, New Haven and London: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 114–15. Depictions of architecture in the *Great Mongol Shahnama* (probably 1330s in Tabriz) show the decorations visible on architecture and carved stone artifacts. The upper decoration of the architectural backdrop of the page "Iskandar Enthroned" (Musée du Louvre, Paris [7096]) recalls the original form of the mihrab in the Özbeg Khan Mosque and the decoration in the Surp Khach Monastery in Qirim.

61 Wooden doors from religious buildings in Anatolia, Iran, Crimea, Moscow, and the Balkans all show common ornamentation with other material; Joachim Gierlichs, "Tabrizi Wood Carvings in Timurid Iran," in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th–15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 357–70; Leo Aryeh Mayer, *Islamic Woodcarvers and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1958); Beliaev and Chernetsov, "Eastern Contribution," 107–8, 122, 51; Rüstem Bozer, "Ahşap Sanatı," in *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı II*, eds. Ali Uzay Peker and Kenan Bilici (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2007), 533–41.

62 Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio, *Le pietre sepolcrali di Arab Giami* (*antica chiesa di S.Paolo a Galata*), vol. 69 (Genoa: Regia Daputazione di storia patria per la Liguria, 1942).

63 The two earliest extant slabs from 1342 contain the coat of arms of Genoa and the *tamga* of the Golden Horde khan, at that period Janibek Khan (r. 1342–57); the two heraldic signs appear in the same size. A precious marble slab from 1448 shows the coats of Genoa, the papacy, and the personal coat of Pope Clemens IV (1291–1352), as well as the *tamga* of the Golden Horde khan. After 1342, the Mongol sign was, together with the coat of arms of Genoa, reduced to the same size as those of the Genoese families, but always present and thus a visible

manifestation of the relationship between Caffa and the Golden Horde. One could speculate that the reason these slabs in Caffa were taken down by the Russians after the annexation of Crimea, while the ones in Sudak without the *tamga* were not, was exactly this dimension of the relationship with "the enemy," whose memory had to be erased.

64 For the heraldic signs on the walls of Galata (Pera), see Eugenio Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Galata et la souveraineté de Byzance," *Revue des études Byzantines* 19, no. 1 (1961): 320–27. In 1424, the Genoese in Pera proposed the Ottoman sultan Murad II introduce his emblem on a slab for a tower in exchange for his financial support for its construction; Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantenhandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: J.G. Cottanische Buchhandlung, 1879), 2:442.

65 IOSPE, Online Corpus of the Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, https://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/5.180.html. The second heraldic crest can be explained by the kinship of Alexios to the Palaiologan family and the coat of arms of Genoa by the temporary domination of the Genoese over Theodoro (Mangup) in the last quarter of the fourteenth century; Ciocîltan, *Mongols*, 228–29; Vasiliev, *Goths*, 177–82.

66 Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 60–61, plate 3.

67 The coins of Genoese Caffa showed on one side the sign of the town of Genoa and on the reverse the *tamga*; Otto Retowski, *The Genoese-Tatar Coinage* (Akron: Russian Numismatic Society, 1984).

68 Discussed, as well as its coats of arms attributed to the Mariniand Campofresco families, in Aibabina, *Dekorativnaia*, 50–51, plate 8.

69 Perhaps a combination of the Western Renaissance frame with shield and the knot arrangement?

70 Dunlop, "Ornament and Vice," 228–37.

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Romes Outside of Italy

Alevisio Novy and the Circulation of Renaissance Architecture in Muscovy and the Crimea

Tatiana Sizonenko

The early modern architecture of Muscovy is significant in the history of itinerant artists and architects residing in or passing through the realm, including those of Italian, Dutch, German, and English origins.[1] The arrival of foreign artists corresponded to a period of major geopolitical change in Rus' (the future Russia), with the unification and expansion of fragmented city-states and feudal territories under the authority of Muscovite princes, beginning with the reign of Grand Duke Ivan III (r. 1462–1505), who vanquished the Golden Horde (the Mongol Empire), and continuing through the rule of his successors, especially that of Grand Duke Vassily III (r. 1505–33). In the last half of the fifteenth century, with the collapse of the Mediterranean Byzantine world upon the Ottoman conquest and the disintegration of the Mongol Empire on the Volga into competing khanates, Muscovy became a key player on the Eastern frontier and fostered new alliances with the Venetian Republic and the papacy, which sought to reach a political and ecclesiastical accord with Rus' in the hope of launching a joint crusade against the Turks. Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72), a Byzantine refugee appointed a Roman Catholic cardinal and the nominal patriarch-in-exile of Constantinople, was instrumental in connecting Rome, Venice, and Muscovy through the 1472 marriage of the grand duke of Muscovy to the Byzantine Princess Zoë (Sophia) Paleologo, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine IX Palaeologos (1405–53). Cardinal Bessarion articulated the idea of reconquering Constantinople and planted the notion of Moscow as heir to Byzantium with Russian statesmen.[2] Ivan's marriage to Zoë made possible many connections to cultural and political circles in Rome and Venice and facilitated Italian masters' invitations to Moscow. By the end of Ivan's rule, his court supported a large corps of Italian architects, stonemasons, wood carvers, and decorators from Bologna, Milan, and Venice, who worked relentlessly to rebuild the Moscow Kremlin on a new scale of artistic magnificence.

Ivan III's ambitious program to claim the Grand Duchy of Muscovy as the successor state to Byzantium was a determining factor in the official patronage that led to the rebuilding of the Kremlin and in the development of the artistic landscape throughout the state. However, foreign architects found themselves not in a cultural desert but rather on genuinely fertile artistic ground. Through interaction with highly skilled local artisans, powerful patrons who had informed artistic tastes, and a rich diversity of regional artistic forms, they produced structures that exhibit changes in patterns of aesthetic thinking. The artistic expression fostered by the Muscovite court was reverential simultaneously toward aspects of local medieval Russian forms and Byzantine/Mediterranean traditions simultaneously, yet was at odds with the exclusive embrace of Renaissance forms. The types of artistic contact found in early modern Russian architecture help advance our understanding of patterns of artistic transmission, aesthetics, intellectual history, and form.

Outside Russian academic circles, the phenomenon of early modern Russian art and architecture remains largely marginalized within the survey of Western art history, as Dmitry Shvidkovsky observes in his recent book *Russian Architecture and the West*.[3] His book is a consistent attempt to reconsider the history of Russian architecture and demonstrate the cultural connection of its artistic forms and values with Western traditions. Recent publications on artistic transfer in the Mediterranean, Central Europe, and other global locations ask to transcend nationalist models and center-periphery arguments and instead consider processes that account for both the importance of local traditions and the creative assimilation of imported artistic forms.[4] Taking previous scholarship on cross-cultural

exchange in the Muscovite Rus' as a point of departure, this essay seeks to further contextualize work of Italian architects and draw attention to the astonishing adoption and metamorphoses of Renaissance styles, motifs, and methods in Russian regional schools of architecture. Through the example of Renaissance architectural ideas circulating in Muscovy and its borderlands, in particular in Crimea, this analysis aims to deepen our understanding of this region as an active partner in European and Eastern Mediterranean cultural developments during the early modern period, with more fluid borders and greater interconnectedness than is acknowledged.

My focus is on the work of Alevisio Lamberti, known in Moscow as Alevisio Novy (the New), who was among a group of architects and artists invited by the Muscovite Grand Prince Ivan III to rebuild his capital. Alevisio was a talented but lesser-known Venetian sculptor, stone carver, and architect, active ca. 1490–1520 in Venice, Ferrara, Crimea, and Muscovy, who was identified formally as Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana by Sergio Bettini in the 1940s.[5] Although Alevisio's cultural experiences and architectural contributions are extraordinary, he remains largely overlooked in Western scholarship due to the scarcity of documentary evidence to fully authenticate his work. In turn, Russian scholarship has emphasized an Italian reading of his work in Muscovy, which reflects a larger geopolitical process in the construction of Russian cultural identity on European terms. Alevisio's case is especially interesting: as an artist who was passing with the Russian embassy through Crimea en route to Moscow, he was apprehended by the Crimean Khan Meñli I Giray (or Mengli Geray) (r. 1475–1515), who obliged his unwilling visitor to work on the construction of the *Devlet Saray* (Palace of Happiness) until he completed the palace's several sections. As will be shown, Alevisio's work in the Crimea and on the Moscow Kremlin is key to our understanding of the reinterpretation of Renaissance forms and iconographies in diverse transnational contexts. A close reading of Alevisio's work in several geographic locations will illuminate the artist's creative response to local conditions and will demonstrate the complex nature of cross-cultural mediation in early modern architecture.

For the reasons stated, the figure of Alevisio Novy is particularly interesting among the successive groups of Italian craftsmen who came to Moscow at the cusp of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to his

reconstructed career, Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana had already demonstrated his remarkable talent working for Mauro Codussi and Pietro Lombardo from 1488–95 on the extensively ornamented façade of the Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice before going to Moscow in 1503.[6] Based on his now-recognized work in the Crimean Khanate and Moscow, scholars have also attributed to him buildings in Pavia, Montagnana, Padua, and other towns in the Veneto, in particular the Chapel of Santissimo (ca. 1500–01) in the Duomo di Montagnana, and the Oratorio dell'Annunciazione (La Chiesetta Revese) (ca. 1499) in Brendola (Figs. 8.1 and 8.2).[7] His other thoroughly attested individual work is the Gruamonte funeral monument in Ferrara Cathedral, completed in 1498, where the sculptor showed his mastery in handling the figures using *all'antica* Renaissance techniques (Fig. 8.3).[8] His work on the Gruamonte monument had earned him a reputation as a celebrated tomb architect, so he was recommended to Ivan III's embassy, led by Dmitry Ralev and Mitrophan Karacharovo, who were recruiting an architect in Venice to redesign the resting place of Moscow's ruling princes.

1 The Iron Gate Portal in Bakhchisaray Palace in Crimea

In September 1504, Alevisio, the Venetian sculptor and architect,[9] was leaving the Crimean Khanate to begin his architectural appointment in Moscow. His unintended yearlong sojourn and service at the court of the Crimean Khan Meñli I Giray (1475–1515) had earned him much admiration. At Salaçiq in 1503–4, Alevisio completed for Meñli I Giray some sections of a great palace, the *Devlet Saray*, from which only the *Demir Kapi* or "Iron Gate" portal survives (Fig. 8.4).[10] In a diplomatic letter dated September 15, 1504, Meñli I Giray went to great lengths to recommend Alevisio to Grand Prince Ivan III of Moscow, then his ally, when he urged him "do not to look upon other Italian masters as the equal of this Alevisio" and called the artist "a most excellent master, not like others, a great master."[11]

The Iron Gate portal (1503–4), now preserved in the Bakhchisaray Palace, is an extraordinary monument for its remarkable adaptation of the classical orders of the Venetian Renaissance to the Eastern Mediterranean cultural context in the Crimean Khanate. Until now,

FIGURE 8.1   Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, Chapel of Santissimo, ca. 1500–01, Duomo di Montagnana, Italy
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 8.2   Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, Oratorio
dell'Annunciazione (La Chiesetta Revese), ca. 1499,
Brendola, Italy
PHOTOGRAPH WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS,
PUBLIC DOMAIN

FIGURE 8.3   Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, tomb of
Tommasina Gruamonte, 1498, Casa Romei,
originally Church of St. Andrea, Ferrara, Italy
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

though, the portal has remained mostly a hidden gem, understood primarily as an exotic guest among other constructions of the palace built in the Middle Eastern style.[12] The Iron Gate portal is the only remaining original part of the Tatar khans' palace complex, founded in 1532 by Meñli I Giray's son Sahib, who expanded the Crimean Khanate over the Caspian and Volga regions and moved the capital from Salaçiq (Salacik) to Bakhchisaray (Garden Palace) in the valley of the Curuq Su River. As the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliyâ Çelebi testifies, the "*Demir Kapi* Portal was carefully moved from the former *Devlet Saray*" as "a fine monument to the reign of Meñli I Giray."[13] Many of the structures currently in the palace were added later, while some of the original sections did not survive past the eighteenth century due to continuous warfare with Muscovy. Because of the inscription itself and the excellent state of preservation of the gate, there is

FIGURE 8.4   Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, *Demir-Qapi* or "Iron Gate," Bakhchisaray Palace, 1503–4, Crimea
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

little doubt about its authenticity. Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, who particularly excelled in stone decoration and sculpture, is likely the artist who completed the work, and the diplomatic letter to Ivan III from the Crimean khan only makes this identification of the artist more plausible.

Most likely conceived as the main imperial gate of appearances in the *Devlet Saray*, the Iron Gate shows the breadth of the cultural horizon against which it was made. The portal was strategically positioned on the way from the Ambassadors' Courtyard to reception halls used in official ceremonies.[14] The important guests would immediately see two gilt Arabic inscriptions above the doorway. The first, in the *tondo* (which features a centrally placed *tamga* showing the emblem of the Giray dynasty), extolled the sovereign and his lineage: "The owner of this palace and the ruler of this land, the greatest and noblest Sovereign, Meñli Giray Khan, son of Haci Giray Khan, let God have mercy upon him and his parents in both worlds." The second, on the lintel or entablature, proclaimed his political office: "This majestic threshold and this high gate were constructed under the order of the Sovereign of Two Continents and the Khagan (Emperor) of Two Seas, Sovereign, a son of a Sovereign, Meñli Giray Khan, Son of the Sovereign Haci Giray Khan, 909 (1503/04)."[15] These gilded inscriptions in classical Arabic both glorified Meñli and summarized his recent political accomplishments. In 1502, he defeated the last khan of the Golden Horde and adopted the title of *khagan* (khan over khans), the successor to the Golden Horde's authority over the Tatar khaganates in the Caspian-Volga region.[16]

Arguably, Meñli I Giray was making an explicit reference to the gilded foundation inscription above the main gate to the Topkapi Palace in Constantinople, which celebrated Meñli's main rival, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II, at the zenith of his political power in 1478: "Sultan of the Two Continents and Emperor of the Two Seas, the Shadow in this world and the next, the Favorite of God on the Eastern and Western horizons, the conqueror of Constantinople, the Father of Conquest, Sultan Khan Mehmed."[17] Meñli I Giray conceived his own rulership in a similar political formulation, thus publicly unveiling his cultural concerns in the context of Ottoman expansion in the Black Sea region, which would hinder maritime movement. It is well known that Meñli I Giray was in direct diplomatic contact with the Ottoman court in Constantinople and exchanged letters with Sultan Mehmed II, as preserved historical documents at the Topkapı Palace testify.[18] He had personally met with Mehmed II in 1475, in fact, after being captured by the Ottomans in Feodosiya and delivered to Constantinople. Entering under the protection of Mehmed II, he recognized Ottoman suzerainty over the Crimean Khanate and thus returned to the throne of Crimea in 1478.[19]

Meñli I Giray made great use of Alevisio's architectural and sculptural talents to state his imperial ambitions once he apprehended the Venetian artist en route from Venice to Moscow. In 1502, Grand Prince Ivan III's embassy in Venice hired Alevisio for the task of transforming the burial place of the princes of Muscovy.[20] Alevisio went by the traditional sea route for Italian merchants trading with Moscow, using stations established north of the Black Sea, but while crossing Moldavian lands, the artist and ambassadors were arrested by the local Prince Stefan the Great in response to shocking news: Ivan III had disgraced his spouse Elena, Stefan's daughter, and deprived his eldest son by her, Dimitrij, of the right of succession in favor of Vasily, Ivan's youngest son from his marriage to Zoë, the Byzantine Princess Sophia Paleologa. Meñli I Giray was instrumental in negotiating the embassy's release, but the travelers then stayed at the khan's own court for a year while Ivan and he were reconciling over a further political drama. This time, the grand prince of Moscow banished and deprived of the throne an adopted son of Meñli I Giray, Muhammad Emin.[21] When Ivan III and Meñli I Giray finally resolved the issue, the embassy was at last freed and Alevisio continued on his way to Moscow under the protection of Crimean guards.

2 The Iron Gate: Portal, Architecture, and Ornament

Made from eighteen large blocks of local limestone,[22] the Iron Gate is more than a clear-cut Renaissance-style portal. While its general form, based on the classical orders, is markedly Renaissance in character, its coloring and ornamentation, and the articulation of its forms, appear linked to Middle Eastern traditions. Thus, it contains two opposing architectural and decorative tendencies in practically equal measure.

The architectonic structure of the portal, with a large semicircular tympanum and entablature resting on the two pilasters, constitutes *framing* and thus belongs to Venetian architecture. In particular, the two pseudo-Corinthian capitals, whose S-shaped volutes are connected by a central vegetal inflorescence, are based on an uncommon ancient example that was admired for its variety and highly ornamental potential by the architectural circle of Pietro Lombardo and Mauro Codussi in Venice.[23] Acroterion and blossoming acanthus flowers, notably decorating the tympanum, also preserve a further Venetian note. However, the classical forms seem to exist here in order to give a magnificent frame to the gilded Arabic inscription in the *tondo*, placed prominently in the tympanum, thus making it the focus of the composition. The other gilded inscription is the centerpiece of the entablature. As a highly skilled sculptor and carver, Alevisio was certainly capable of rendering a designed inscription in stone. The presence of the Arabic script itself suggests that the Renaissance master collaborated with both a local calligrapher and perhaps a craftsman, who would have assisted with models for the inscriptions. However, no information exists as to any local artists involved.

All of the architectonic elements of the portal are covered with carpet-style, low-relief flower and vegetal decoration, highlighted by a brightly painted red background. Lavishly adorned with carved floral scrolls and large lotus flowers rather than true *all'antica* acanthine ornament, the tympanum backdrop adds an *orientalizing* Central Asian flavor to the portal that is further underscored by the unusual use of bright colors, such as green, purple, and red. Although we cannot know whether Alevisio himself selected these colors at the time of the original commission, they help nonetheless to underscore the intended focus on decoration, even if implemented sometime later. The stylized flowers, spiraling across the panel behind the tympanum and evoking the splendors of Paradise, conjure fifteenth-century international Timurid designs that typically featured arabesque scrolls of swirling floral stems.[24] In all, the low-relief carpet-style carved ornamentation deemphasizes the orders and veils the portal's overall architectonic structure. Placed on the same level as the doorway framing, even the pilasters and capitals blend visually with the incredibly rich and dense carved ornamentation.

Thus, the classical forms lose their legibility and merge entirely with the carpet-style ornamental design.

From this analysis it becomes apparent that Alevisio did not build or ornament the Iron Gate simply according to the principles that he exercised in his native Venice. The portal's localisms make it a very distant relative of any extant contemporary portal on which Alevisio may have worked while in Venice. As scholarship demonstrates, portals in the Scuola Grande di San Marco (1488–95), San Zaccaria (1483–90), Santa Maria Formosa (1492), and Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1481–89), with which Alevisio either was affiliated or familiar at the time, emphasize the mastery of the classical orders and adherence to Vitruvian and Albertian architectonic principles of the primacy of invention over decoration (Figs. 8.5 and 8.6).[25] The architectural work of Mauro Codussi and Pietro Lombardo in Venice shows a firm understanding of classical orders and the achievements of the Tuscan tradition in elegantly framed blind arcades, marble paneling, windows, and portals. A fine balance between regularity and ornament embodied the concept of decorum and represented the *all'antica* language of nobility that by definition was cultured and abstract.[26] In contrast, the Iron Gate underscores ornamentation as its guiding formal aesthetic principle, which would appeal to local tastes influenced by the cultures of the Golden Horde, as well as by their Christian neighbors.

Given the rich blending of Renaissance and Eastern approaches to architectural articulation and decoration, the Iron Gate is especially significant with regard to the transference of iconographies, raising questions concerning the transformation of the meaning of objects and forms. Venetian architectural forms appear to be translated and manipulated through the local Crimean context, thus they shed their Venetian character in the process of transformation, which endows the "Renaissance" portal with new layers of ideas and meanings due to its exclusive function in the khan's palace.

How and to what extent did the original function and meaning of the portal, as a distinct Venetian structure with specific decoration and other period characteristics, change? The new context of the khan's palace suggests a radical shift in its function if we grasp the program that lay behind the portal's construction. The Iron Gate was probably bound up with the changing ideology

of the Crimean Khanate and designed to celebrate both the raised status of the dynasty and the new character of their rule. The appropriation and transformation of the Italianate orders demonstrates a well-established strategy for individual self-fashioning and for displaying political and economic standing in the European and Mediterranean cultural milieu. As has been shown, patrons frequently used Italian artistic standards to enhance their role in cultural and economic transfers and to display the breadth of their political influence.[27] With its mixture of classical elements, the gilded Arabic inscription, and the arabesque quality of the carved floral ornamentation, the Iron Gate was certainly intended both to catch the eye as an exotic guest and to appeal to local tastes through familiar aesthetic and thematic Crimean features.

3 Archangel Michael Cathedral and Architectural Context in Muscovy

The Archangel Michael Cathedral (1505–8) in the Moscow Kremlin is the other most significant extant architectural commission in Alevisio Novy's or Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana's artistic career (Fig. 8.7). The building reflected Ivan III's recent political accomplishments. Like Meñli I Giray and Sultan Mehmed II, Ivan was inspired to raise a monument to celebrate his divinely guided (as he saw it) successes, in his case defeating the Golden Horde and expanding Muscovite power and influence. Marking the majestic final phase in the rebuilding of the tsar's official residence, the new cathedral assumed an enlarged role, not only in the rebuilding program but also in the sacred topography of Muscovy. Built on the old foundation, where Russian princes began to be buried from the mid-fourteenth century on, the Archangel Cathedral housed the pantheon of the ruling dynasty. Here, the Russian princes swore their oath of allegiance to the tsar and prayed to the tombs of ancestors and their celestial patron after the coronation ceremony and before going into battle.[28]

The cathedral is significant because it has long been considered the most "Renaissance" building in the Moscow Kremlin and has aroused a debate as to the relationship between its traditional Russian features and the new architectural order introduced from Venice.[29] Scholars have discussed a number of questions, including

the authorship, the origin and style of the façade decoration, the relation of the interior plan to Russian medieval architecture, and the influence of employed artistic forms on subsequent local architecture.[30] Until now, however, Alevisio's work in Moscow has been primarily interpreted as an example of a direct transfer of Venetian models to Russian designs. While earlier scholars such as F. Gornastaev and A.I. Vlasyuk suggested that the architectural and compositional forms of the Archangel Michael Cathedral had an organic link to Russian medieval traditions, particularly the Vladimiro-Suzdal architectural school, later scholars have emphasized an Italian reading of Alevisio's work.[31] However, Dmitry Shvidkovsky's recent analysis of the cathedral reestablishes its links with early Russian architecture by explaining the duality of its forms as being politically motivated, resulting from the settling of dynastic disputes over the succession at Ivan III's court before his death in 1505.[32] Shvidkovsky argues that the cathedral's design was a result of a compromise between the supporters of Vasily, the younger son from the Byzantine princess, who were in favor of new Italianate styles, and the supporters of Dmitry, the elder son from the first wife, the princess of Tver, who preferred the traditions of early Russian architecture. Instead, I propose to connect the development of the Archangel Michael Cathedral to a versatile and polyglot visual context already extant in Moscow. Alevisio's work appears to be consistent with that city's growing intellectual culture and eclectic visual tradition, yet its artistic forms take on a new layer of meaning with the transfer of the Renaissance architectural language to the Muscovite court.

The cathedral belongs to the final stage of the Moscow Kremlin renovation program initiated by Tsar Ivan III. Although Ivan III did not live to see it completed, there are no reasons to consider the Archangel Michael Cathedral a product of his successor Vasily III's patronage and to associate it with a new stylistic stage in Muscovite architecture, as has been proposed.[33] The construction began in the last months of Ivan III's life in 1505 and without doubt followed a plan that met his approval.[34] The idea for the cathedral was probably already under consideration when the tsar's embassy first approached Alevisio in Venice. Alevisio's work completing the Cathedral Square ensemble comprised the tsar's palace, the belfry, and other churches, all designed by various Italian architects who also worked

FIGURE 8.7   Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, Cathedral of Archangel Michael, North Façade, 1505–8, Moscow Kremlin, Moscow, Russia
PHOTOGRAPH, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

on the city walls and the ring of fortification towers encircling the royal residence. Among the elements of the Moscow Kremlin, the Archangel Michael Cathedral stands out for its monumental scale, the lavish decoration of its façades, and the splendid design of its carved portals. The cathedral competes for attention with the largest edifice of the Cathedral Square, the Dormition Cathedral, the seat and burial place of Russian patriarchs and the symbolic center of the Russian patriarchy in the Muscovite state.[35] Conceived as the shrine where princes would take their final refuge, the Archangel Michael Cathedral served a farsighted political purpose, signaling the increasing authority of the Moscow ruling house.[36] Its epic size and effective placement on Borovitsky Hill, the highest hilltop above the Moscow River, made the shrine open to view when approaching the city by river. Thus, the cathedral visibly glorified Muscovite princes while furnishing them with a sacred and political center comparable to that of other Eastern European potentates and thus helped put Muscovy on the map alongside the established city-states of the Mediterranean.

A splendid addition to the Cathedral Square, Alevisio's masterwork replaced the previous building, a much smaller white-stone church[37] completed in 1333 during the reign of Ivan Kalita (1325–40) and the first example in the history of Kievan Rus' of a dedicated burial place for Moscow princes (not shared with Russian patriarchs). Prior to that, most Russian princes were buried side by side with patriarchs and bishops in ducal cathedrals, the main political and sacred centers of principalities.[38] Thus, Alevisio's Archangel Michael Cathedral helped realize the ambition of Muscovite princes to create a unified sacred center manifesting political authority in the Kremlin. The architect was tasked to design a space that could not only house the twenty existing tombs in the old church but also serve as a resting place for future generations of the ruling dynasty.[39] The result was a five-domed monumental church with six piers, longer by eight meters and wider by six meters than the previous building. The construction lasted three building seasons and was completed at the same time as the grand unveiling of the other Cathedral Square elements: the new royal palace on the opposite side, the Annunciation Church (the palace church of the Moscow princes), and the St. Ivan Belfry Tower (Fig. 8.8).

Strategically placed on the main diplomatic route leading through the Savior (previously Frolov) Gate to the princely palace, the Archangel Michael Cathedral caught the attention of every ambassador and visitor to the tsar's residence. The cathedral was an important stopping point for all official ceremonies, including the coronation of tsars and the departure of princes to the battlefield. Guests must have been particularly struck by the sophisticated taste of the Muscovite tsars, the unprecedented architectural decoration of the cathedral, and the splendid display of ornamented portals enhancing its entrances. Many contemporary commentators praised the Italianate character of the Moscow Kremlin and its vast scale, reminiscent of an entire town. For example, Paolo Giovio, bishop of Como, described Moscow as "an astonishingly beautiful citadel with towers and slit windows built by Italian masters."[40]

Designed in the Italian style and presenting gilded domes, the Archangel Michael Cathedral further extended the diversity of architectural forms and styles featured in the Moscow Kremlin. Based on the revival and reworking of Byzantine and Russian architectural traditions with the help of several generations of leading Italian masters,[41] Ivan III's architectural patronage did not produce a uniform Italianate style but rather was strikingly eclectic: Italian Renaissance decoration and building innovations coexisted with Byzantine and Russian regional styles. The direct borrowings from Italian architecture most commonly found in the Moscow Kremlin—the palatial edifices and the citadel walls—were those for which there were few preexisting architectural traditions and thus easily afforded a creative reinterpretation. In contrast, newly added ecclesiastical buildings visually preserved links to Byzantine and Russian regional types but were reinterpreted with the use of technological innovations brought in by Renaissance masters. The interior decoration and design of churches and palaces adhered to Byzantine-Russian and Eastern standards of beauty prominent in Muscovy, thus further perpetuating visual continuity with established local traditions.

The duality of the Archangel Michael Cathedral further demonstrates the consciousness of the selection, adaptation, and response to aesthetic and intellectual approaches already at work in the Moscow Kremlin. By the time Alevisio Novy arrived, Ivan III's

FIGURE 8.8   Giacomo Quarenghi, *Cathedral Square in the Moscow Kremlin*, 1797, State Hermitage Museum
PHOTOGRAPH, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

architectural renovation program was nearly complete, and the visual expression produced by Alevisio further expanded on the already existing variety and complexity of artistic expression fostered at Ivan's court. The Archangel Michael Cathedral was inserted into the Cathedral Square opposite the Dormition of the Mother of God Cathedral, coronation church and first sacred center of Muscovy. The Dormition stood on a fairly central spot, with the metropolitan's residence and the grand princes' palace on the north side and the Church of the Deposition of the Robe on the west (Fig. 8.9). Built by Aristotele Fioravanti, a leading architect from Bologna, the Dormition displays a strong continuity with architectural traditions in Muscovy yet applied the principle of orders and mathematical proportions to symbolically supersede its medieval rivals. The whole complex was surrounded by red brick Lombard-style

crenellated fortifications constructed under the direction of Pietro Antonio Solari and two other masters, Marco and Anton (Onton) Fryazin.[42] Besides the walls, the Lombard masters completed the Faceted Palace, a banqueting hall in the Terem Palace, in 1491,[43] which combined a Renaissance-style rusticated façade and interior in a wholly Russian tradition (Fig. 8.10).[44] Thus, when Alevisio began his work in the Kremlin, the visual aspects of Renaissance architecture coexisted with those produced in regional Russian styles.

Built from red brick and decorated with carved white stone architectural elements, the Archangel Michael Cathedral is neither Italian nor Russian in tone but reflects conflicting patrons' tastes for both *all'antica* vocabulary and familiar regional traditions.[45] With its overall cross-and-square five-dome structure, vertical and horizontal volumes, and semicircular Russian gables

FIGURE 8.9   Aristotele Fioravanti, the Dormition Cathedral, south façade, 1475–79, Moscow Kremlin, Moscow, Russia
PHOTOGRAPH, JORGE LASCAR, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

or *zakomaras* above its dividing façades, the cathedral brings to mind princely and patriarchal churches in Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod, Vladimir, and Suzdal before the Mongol invasion (Fig. 8.11).[46] At the same time, however, Renaissance-style order articulation of the façades with pilasters arranged in two tiers, large scallop shell reliefs placed in each of the *zakomaras* (which were once crowned by Gothic phials), and *oculi* on the west façade are reminiscent of Venetian decoration.

The Archangel Michael Cathedral was the first church in Muscovy in which Renaissance orders were fully used. The two-register architectonic structure of the façades, with rows of pilasters crowned with carved composite capitals, is undoubtedly the most striking aspect of the cathedral and belongs to Venetian architecture. Pilasters dividing each row of the façades support the horizontal elements of a classical entablature, thus creating a unified design for the entire building, other than the east wall with its apses. The lower tier of the north wall is decorated with a pseudo-arcade of blind arches, and the upper is adorned with framed sunken panels. The protruding pedestals at the base of the pilasters and the projections above in the entablature produce vertical axes that connect the two registers and refract and diverge in the *zakomaras*, inviting the gaze to follow the architectural scan of the building's perimeter. Pseudo-Corinthian capitals with S-shaped volutes are derived from the architectural circle of Pietro Lombardo and Mauro Codussi in Venice.[47]

The Archangel Michael Cathedral's resemblance to Venetian Renaissance architecture ends when we consider its overall proportional and spatial organization. The white-stone members constitute a framing that takes in the entire exterior but is not based on the kind of exact geometry and rational principles that characterize Italian Renaissance architecture and that the earlier Dormition Cathedral by Fioravanti displayed. Instead, vertical bays on the north and south façades broaden

FIGURE 8.10   Marco Ruffo and Pietro Antonio Solari, the faceted palace, 1487–91, Moscow Kremlin, Moscow, Russia
PHOTOGRAPH, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

toward the center or the main dome axis and become smaller toward the west entryway. The composition of five domes is also placed more toward the apse or east; the size of *zakomaras* with carved shells varies as well and slightly diminishes toward the west side, thus creating a dynamic wave from east to west. This flexible architectural framing is applied throughout the building with a rationale determined by practical factors of perception and use.[48] Overall, Alevisio created a dynamic architectural articulation of the façades, effectively manipulating proportions and scale.

This flexible framing continues the kind of spatial organization seen in Russian regional architecture and

reveals, if only partially, that the construction of the building follows early Russian prototypes. The monumental five-dome, six-pier, cross-and-square building visually and structurally recalls such large cathedrals as St. Sophia Cathedral (1045–50) in Novgorod and the original Dormition Cathedral (1158–60, 1185–89) in Vladimir. The link with regional early Russian architecture can also be seen inside the cathedral. The massive near-square six pillars divide the building into three naves, compressing the space of the interior. The three bays of the west façade correspond to these three naves, in the same way that the five bays of the north and south façades represent the five bays of the interior. However,

FIGURE 8.11   Cathedral of St. Sophia, 1045–50, Novgorod, Russia
PHOTOGRAPH, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

the exterior decoration does not fully follow the interior divisions as typically found in Russian medieval architecture. For instance, in the traditional Russian form, each section of the façade would be adorned with a semicircular *zakomara*, which represented the actual vaulting of each section of the building. Instead, here the actual cathedral vaulting is not made visible on the façade. The semicircular *zakomaras*, crowning each of the façades, are decorative elements that rest on the entablature, with the actual vaults invisible behind the horizontal elements of the upper entablature. Thus, the innovative exterior order decoration appears to be applied to a very traditional use of space.

Further examination of Alevisio's use of so many ornamental motifs, including the classical orders, the large relief scallop shells, the cluster of *oculi* above the main portal, and ornamental semicircular moldings, reveals that the Archangel Michael Cathedral does not exactly transfer any of the Venetian models. Comparison

with Venetian monuments such as Scuola Grande di San Marco (1488–95), Santa Maria Formosa (1492), and Santa Maria dei Miracoli (1481–89), completed respectively by Mauro Codussi and Pietro Lombardo, or even Alevisio's own work on Duomo di Montagnana (ca. 1500–01) and Oratorio dell'Annunciazione (la Chiesetta Revese, ca. 1499) in Brendola confirms that he does not copy any specific building. As Shvidkovsky rightly observes: "[Alevisio] gathers elements of various Venetian buildings, especially those of Codussi, into his own composition, unconcerned as to whether they come from an interior or exterior."[49]

Alevisio's departure from Venetian models in ornamentation and aesthetics becomes even more apparent in his use of materials. The Archangel Michael Cathedral was made of red brick and white stone—essentially foreign to Venetian palatial and church architecture that was typically clad in a delicate palette of multicolored and precious marbles. However, the use of red brick

and white stone was characteristic of building construction in Byzantium and across the Slavic cultural sphere, becoming a hallmark of the Moscow Kremlin during the last decades of the fifteenth century with the addition of the fortifications built under Ivan III, all made of red brick. Thus, the use of such materials in Alevisio's work connected the Archangel Michael Cathedral to the aesthetics of the Moscow Kremlin. I would propose that the local cultural situation had an important impact on the circulation of architectural forms and significantly altered their original meaning and function. Given the ambition of Ivan III's rebuilding project that brought together not only a corps of Italian masters but also homegrown talent, it is plausible to imagine that Alevisio, as with the Iron Gate, collaborated with local craftsmen and artisans, who assisted him in preparing models but would also make practical and aesthetic suggestions. Hence Alevisio refashioned Venetian architectural forms in response to local tastes and building traditions that he willingly embraced.

This rigorous synthesis of Venetian and Russian is also found in the design and decoration of the cathedral entryways. The west façade has a total of three portals carved from white stone and embellished with floral ornamentation typical of Renaissance Venice: classical floral acanthine scrolls, capitals, urns decorated with plant forms, and fantastical stylized dragons (Fig. 8.12). However, the gathering and adaptation of the ornamental motifs and architectural forms demonstrates the artist's accommodation of local tastes. On the one hand, Alevisio fashioned the portals as magnificent entryways that evoke splendidly decorated *all'antica* arches. Particularly, the west side portals take the form of a semicircular arch, adorned with a carved palmette acroterion and pseudo-Corinthian capitals with a vegetal inflorescence—forms often found in Venetian architecture. On the other hand, the west central portal is designed as a monumental perspective entryway, a form of Russian medieval architecture especially common in the Vladimiro-Suzdal Principality. Thus, Venetian *all'antica* architectural ornamentation, comprising acanthine scrolls, dragons, and candelabras, is presented within a Russian-type framing. Gilding of the lavish low-relief floral and vegetal decoration, highlighted by a bright blue background, must have further appealed to local tastes. Although this coloring was probably added later, it only complements the overall portal design,

where Venetian *all'antica* elements appear to be *orientalized*; they become comparable to brightly colored carved reliefs and carpet-style ornamental designs that once covered the walls of the Kremlin Palace and were key to the aesthetics of every Muscovite church, which typically were displayed in a myriad of gilded and ornamented icons, embroidered textiles, and ecclesiastical furnishings. *All'antica* architectural forms lose their legibility as classical decoration and function in a new way within a visual culture that emphasizes ornamentation over spatial integrity, a long-standing aspect of Russian arts that was not without the influence of the Golden Horde approach to decoration.

Given the rich blending of Italianate and Russian aspects in architectural articulation and decoration, how should we approach Alevisio's work in the Moscow Kremlin? The cathedral was surely intended to possess traditional aesthetic and thematic Muscovite features, especially seen in the overall architectural plan and composition of the building and the interpretation of the classical orders. It was surely designed to represent the specific character of the Muscovite cultural *milieu* that was openly embracing different artistic and cultural paradigms, while also appropriating Italianate orders and architectural forms.

4   Alevisio Novy's Work, Novel Approaches

The mixing of Renaissance, Russian, and Eastern Mediterranean traditions in Alevisio's work in Moscow and the Crimea underscores the stylistic and thematic openness of art produced in the early modern period. Until recently, this mixing of cultures had been described through the model of *mimesis* or imitation, connoting the mimicked or unoriginal and emulated nature of art produced in the cultural periphery. This interpretation unfairly leaves the work of original artists such as Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana on the margins of art history. Furthermore, scholars have associated the possession of artistic agency and cultural imagination in the Eastern Mediterranean with powerful fifteenth-century rulers such as Mehmed II, Ivan III, and now Meñli I Giray, celebrated as great leaders in the Renaissance period. Instead, this paper brings the focus back to the artist and situates Alevisio's work outside of Italy within the milieu he entered while in Muscovy

FIGURE 8.12   Cathedral of Archangel Michael, West portal
                 PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL CLARKE, WIKI CREATIVE COMMONS, PUBLIC DOMAIN

and the Crimea. His encounter with local traditions and materials resulted in the creation of fascinating variations in familiar architectural orders, while also leading to a further transformation of their underlying aesthetic principles. The Iron Gate in the Bakhchisaray Palace and the Archangel Michael Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin are products of a nontrivial meeting of cultures that accommodates specific concerns of the patron, artist, and locale. Alevisio reinterprets Venetian *all'antica* orders in—and on—local cultural terms, designed either to celebrate the raised status and changing ideology of the Crimean Khanate or to serve as a cultural bridge between old and new in Ivan III's ambitious geopolitical and artistic project to completely rebuild the Moscow Kremlin. Alevisio's work exemplifies the agency of remarkable individuals who crossed fluid boundaries in the early modern period and found their own distinctive ways to transform and shape cultural history.

Notes

1 Research for this article was initiated as part of my dissertation project at the University of California San Diego in 2010. I would like to thank Jack Greenstein and William Tronzo for encouraging me to develop this paper for publication. I am also grateful to Andrej L. Batalov for productive discussions of the subject at the Moscow Kremlin. An earlier version of this publication was first presented in June 2014 at the mobile seminar "From Riverbed to Seashore" (funded by the Getty Foundation's Connecting Art Histories Initiative), and the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America in March 2015. I would especially like to acknowledge Professor Alina Payne for providing invaluable feedback for this paper and for organizing a unique scholarly context for intercultural dialogue and exchange.

2 The emergence of the idea of Moscow as a new Byzantium and the Third Rome has long been discussed in scholarship. R. Skrynnykov summarizes major historical viewpoints in his monograph, see R. Skrynnikov, *Tretiy Rim* (St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 1994), 40. Dmitry Shvidkovsky offers a concise reading of the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome and provides historical context on the invitation of Italian masters to Rus', see Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* (Yale University Press, 2007), 74. Political

circumstances leading to the arrival of Italian architects in Moscow have been also discussed in Evelyn Welch, "Between Italy and Moscow: Cultural Crossroads and the Culture of Exchange," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, ed. Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4: 59–99. Finally, for a recent reappraisal of the idea, see the dissertation of Helen A. Hurst, "Italians and the New Byzantium: Lombard and Venetian Architects in Muscovy, 1472–1539" (PhD diss., City University of New York, Graduate Center, 2014).

3 Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 1–11.

4 The recent volume *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Brill, 2013), delves deeply into cultural exchange and artistic transfers in the Mediterranean from later antiquity to the modern period and offers substantial insight into the process of transformation that occurs across artistic mediums during such transfers. Another volume, *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, eds. Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Beatrice Joyeux-Prunel (Ashgate, 2015), reintroduces the project of Global Art History through a series of helpful case studies from the early modern to contemporary periods. The volume centers on Central Europe (especially the Polish-Lithuanian borderlands), Eurasia, and Latin America, insisting on rethinking the conventional high/low, center/periphery categories and sites of contact that were "off center."

5 The name Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana was truly discovered in the 1940s. The following publications helped with attribution of his works: P. Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia* (Venice: Ongania-Naya, 1893), 2: 180; Ettore Lo Gatto, *Gli artisti italiani in Russia* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1935), 1: 56–65; Sergio Bettini, "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana. Un grande artista veneto in Russia," *Le Tre Venezie* 12, no. 1–3 (1944): 17–31; "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana, un grande artista veneto in Russia," *Le Tre Venezie* 19 (1944): 16–31; Giuseppe Fiocco, "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana," *Bolletino del Museo Civico di Padova* 45 (1956): 83–88; Sergio Bettini, "L'architetto Alevis Novyi in Russia," *Atti del primo convegno sull'urbanistica veneta 18–20 maggio 1964, Bolletino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 6, no. 1 (1964): 159–80; "L'architetto Alevis Novi in Russia," in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. A. Petrusi (Florence: Sansoni 1966),

573–94; G. Mazzi, "Indagini archivistiche per Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana," *Arte Lombarda* 44–45 (1976): 96–101. G. Danieli, "Schede d'archivio per la storia dell'arte a Padova e nel territorio (sec. XV ≠ XVI)," *Bolletino del Museo Civico di Padova* 82, Padua (1993): 131–70; S.S. Pod'yapol'sky, "O knige E. Lo Gatto. Posleslovie cherez veka," in *Istoriko-arkhitekturnoe issledovanie: Stat'i i materialy*, ed. E.N. Pod'yapol'skaya (Moskva: Indrik, 2006), 219–61, 236.

6 Paoletti, *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, 2: 107, 176–77, 180.

7 See also Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 99, for a summary of opinions on the attribution of different works to Alevisio.

8 L.N. Citadella, *Notizie amministrative, storiche, artistiche relative a Ferrara* (Ferrara: Tipografia di Domenico Taddei, 1868), 2:3: 185–89; Mazzi, "Indagini archivistiche," 96–101. Fiocco, "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana," 83–88; A. Bacchi, "Scultori e sculture nella Ferrara del Cinquecento," in *Gli Easte a Ferrara. Una corte nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 2004), 183–87.

9 Literally, "New Alevisio." There are several spellings of the name: Alevisio, Aloisius, Alvise, and Alevis.

10 N. Ernst, "Bakhchsarayskii Khanskii Dvorets i architector velikogo knyazya Ivana III Fryazin Alevis Novy," *Izvestiya Tavricheskogo obshestva istorii, arheologii, i etnografii* 2, no. 59, Simferopol (1928): 3–4; A. Vlasyuk, "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo v Bakchisarae i v Moskovskom Kremle," *Arkhitekturnoe Nasledstvo* 10 (1958): 101–16; Oleksa Gaivoronskii, *Khanskii Dvorets* (Kiev: Energia Plus, 2004), 32.

11 Vlasyuk, "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo," 101; the letter is fully cited in footnote 2. Also see a partial translation of the letter in Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 99.

12 Recently, Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, who was part of the Getty Foundation *Connecting Art Histories* project (directed by Alina Payne) that I participated in, was inspired after my several presentations on this topic to publish a paper on the meaning and function of the Iron Gate in relation to the cultural and political identity of Khan Mengli Geray. Kançal-Ferrari's essay provides an important clarification about the inscription in the context of the khan's patronage; see Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "An Italian Renaissance Gate for the Khan: Visual Culture in Early Modern Crimea," *Muqarnas* 34 (2017): 85–113.

13 Cited from Gaivoronskii, *Khanskii Dvorets*, 18.

14 Vlasyuk, "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo," 102.

15 Cited from Gaivoronskii, *Khanskii Dvorets*, 30–2. Ernst's translation from the original Arabic into Russian was published in 1928, Ernst, "Bakhchisaraiskii Khanskii Dvorets," 39. About the further interpretation of the inscriptions, see Kançal-Ferrari, "An Italian Renaissance Gate," 99–110.

16 Robert Croskey, "The Diplomatic Forms of Ivan II's Relationship with the Crimean Khan," *Slavic Review* 43, no. 2 (1984): 257–69; Brian Glyn Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001).

17 Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (MIT Press, 1991), 13.

18 Alexandre Bennigsen, Pertev Naili Boratav, Dilek Desaive and Chantai Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Le Khanat de Crimée dans les Archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapi* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1978).

19 Williams, *The Crimean Tatars*, 47–48.

20 Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 102.

21 Gaivoronskii, *Khanskii Dvorets*, 32.

22 Vlasyuk, "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo," 101–16.

23 Paolo Modesti, *Santa Maria dei Miracoli, a Late Fifteenth-Century Building in Ancient Style* (Venezia: Chorus, 2009), 12.

24 Designs of arabesque scrolls with swirling floral stems, which featured across a range of mediums including architectural decoration, miniature paintings, and decorative arts, especially those produced in the centers of Herat, Tabriz, and Samarqand, reached a peak of popularity during the fifteenth century and provided inspiration to lands stretching from Anatolia to India. Though Timur's extensive empire itself was relatively short lived, his descendants continued to rule over Transoxiana as leading patrons of Islamic art. See Henri Stierlin, *Islamic Art and Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 58–85.

25 Deborah Howard, "Space, Light, and Ornament in Venetian Architecture: Pietro Lombardo Reconsidered," in *Reflections on Renaissance Venice: A Celebration of Patricia Fortini Brown*, eds. Blake de Maria and Mary E. Frank (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2013), 95–104.

26 Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 88–89.

27   Barbara Max, "Wandering Objects, Migrating Artists: The Appropriation of Italian Renaissance Art by German Courts in the Sixteenth Century," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe: Forging Identities, 1400–1700*, ed. Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 4: 178–226. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81.

28   Andrej L. Batalov, "Uspenskii sobor Moskovskogo Kremlya v sakral'noi topografii Moskvy," *Moskovskii Kreml' XV Stoletia: Drevnie svyatyni i istoricheskie pamyatniki*, eds. A.L. Batalov et al. (Moskva: Art Volkhonka, 2011), 1: 65–75.

29   Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 102.

30   F.F. Gornastaev was the first to suggest that the Archangel Michael Cathedral played a significant role in the formation of Moscow architecture, especially in introducing orders and two-register articulation of the façade, divided by pilasters that support an entablature in the lower level and semicircular lunettes (zakomary) in the upper. See S.S. Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki arkhitektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora," in *Drevnerusskoe Iskusstvo*: *Zarubezhnye Svyazi*, ed. G.V. Popov (Moskva: Nauka, 1975), 253–79, 253. For the original source, see Igor Grabar, *Istoriya russkogo iskusstva* (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1953–64), 2: 24. Later in 1917, S.V. Shervinsky connected architectural decoration of the façade with the Venetian Renaissance tradition; see S.V. Shervinsky, "Venetsianismy moskovskogo Arkhangelskogo sobora," *Sborniki Moskovskogo Merkuriya*, no. 1 (1917): 191–204. In the second part of the twentieth century, A.I. Vlasyuk and S.S. Pod'yapol'sky significantly clarified the stylistic link between the cathedral's architectural ornamentation and that of the various Venetian monuments built by Mauro Codussi and Pietro Lombardo at the end of the fifteenth century, connecting it to such examples as Scuola Grande di San Marco and Santa Maria dei Miracoli; see Vlasyuk, "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo"; Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki arkhitektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora." However, the question of authorship has remained a subject of debate until very recently. For instance, S. Shervinsky thought that another Alevisio (Alevisio Carcano), a Milanese architect who worked from 1494–1508 on the construction of the Tsar Palace

and the wall in the Moscow Kremlin, was responsible for the Archangel Michael Cathedral. Conversely, N.L. Ernst made a clear distinction between Alevisio Novy and Alevisio Carcano when he attributed the authorship of the Archangel Michael Cathedral to the master Alevisio who came in 1504 via Crimea with a Russian embassy, after being apprehended en route by the Crimean Khan Meñli 1 Giray to complete the portal of his own palace; see Ernst, "Bakhchirasaraisky khansky dvorets," 53–55. The question of authorship was truly illuminated when Italian scholars E. Lo Gatto, S. Bettini, and Giuseppe Fiocco identified Alevisio Novy as Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, the Venetian master who worked as a master sculptor and carver on the façade of the Scuola Grande di San Marco under the direction of Mauro Codussi and Pietro Lombardo, as well as later independently in Ferrara, Montagnana, and Padua, hence securing the artistic link to Venice; see Lo Gatto, *Gli artisti italiani in Russia*, 56–65; Bettini, "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana," 17–31; Fiocco, "Alvise Lamberti da Montagnana," 83–88; Bettini, "L'architetto Alevis Novyi in Russia," 159–80; Pod'yapol'sky, "O knige E. Lo Gatto. Posleslovie cherez veka," in *Istoriko-arkhitekturnoe issledovanie: Stat'i i materialy*, ed. E.N. Pod'yapol'skaya (Moskva: Indrik, 2006), 236. Later, S.S. Pod'yapol'sky and D. Shvidkovsky affirmed the identification of Alevisio Novy as Alevisio Lamberti da Montagnana, thus pronouncing definitively the author of the Archangel Michael Cathedral as the master in the Bakhchisaray Palace in Crimea; see Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki arkhitektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora."

31   Vlasyuk, A.I., "Novye issledovaniya arkhitektury Arkhangelskogo sobora v Moskovskom Kremle," *Arkhitekturnoe Nasledstvo*, no. 2 (1952): 105–32; "O rabote zodchego Alevisa Novogo." S.S. Pod'yapol'sky refutes Vlasyuk's theory about the connection of the Archangel Michael Cathedral to Russian architectural forms; Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki arkhitektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora." Continuing the work initiated by Pod'yapol'sky, D.A. Petrov's recent essay offers a fresh interpretation and lays out some interesting strategies to understand the connection of Archangel Michael Cathedral with Italian architecture; D.A. Petrov, "Arkhangelsky sobor i ego svyazi s pamyatnikami italianskoi arkhitektury," in *Moskovskiy Kreml' XVI stoletia:*

Drevnie sviatyni i istoricheskie pamyatniki, eds. A.L. Batalov et al. (Moskva, Byksmart, 2014), 169–95.

32 The link of the Archangel Michael Cathedral to medieval Russian architecture has been reconsidered in Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 99–104; and subsequently by Hurst, "Italians and the New Byzantium," 110–16. Both try to explain the dual character of the Archangel Michael Cathedral through the struggle over the succession between the two dominating factions at the court of Ivan III before his death in 1505.

33 Hurst, "Italians and the New Byzantium."

34 Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 102.

35 Batalov, "Uspenskii Sobor Moskovskogo Kremlya."

36 E.S. Sizov, "Khram Arkhangela Mikhaila na sobornoi ploshadi," *Arkhangel'sky Sobor Moskovskogo Kremlya*, ed. N.A. Mayasov (Moskva: Krasnaya Ploshad', 2002), 16–123, 23.

37 Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki architektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora," 255, see footnote 8.

38 Batalov, "Uspenskii Sobor Moskovskogo Kremlya," 66.

39 Sizov, "Khram Arkhangela Mikhaila na sobornoi ploshadi," 29.

40 A. Posevino, *Moskoviya, istoricheskie svedeniya o Rossii* (Moscow: Moscow State University Press, 1983), 43.

41 I extend Dmitry Shvidkovsky's concept of revival and a Moscow Renaissance to Ivan III's patronage of the Moscow Kremlin. My more detailed argument on the Russian Renaissance was presented at a public lecture in London during the conference "Frontiers of Fifteenth Century Art," sponsored by the British Academy in September 2015, and is currently the subject of a separate essay. For the purposes of this publication, I refer to D. Shidkovsky's chapter "The Moscow Renaissance" in his book *Russian Architecture and the West*, 73–121. Helen Hurst's attempt to define Ivan III's patronage and the work of Italian architects in the Moscow Kremlin as a "new Byzantine style" is not fully convincing; see Hurst, "Italians and the New Byzantium." The link with authentic Byzantine sacred centers and visual traditions was never lost throughout the early modern period. Muscovy preserved a living connection to Byzantium through the sacred arts clearly on display in the cathedrals of the Moscow Kremlin. Furthermore, the Muscovite tsars built their identity and defined their legitimacy using relics and sacred objects of Byzantine and early Russian origin.

42 The artistic identity of Pietro Antonio Solari and Anton (Onton) Fryazin has been well understood and amply discussed. It is relevant to mention here these publications: Piero Cazzola, "Pietro Antonio Solari architetto lombardo in Russia," *Arte Lombarda* 14 (Milan: Alfieri, 1969): 45–52; "I 'Mastri frjazy' a Mosca sullo scorcio del quindicesimo secolo (dalle Croniche russe e da documenti di Archivi italiani)," *Arte Lombarda* 44–45 (Milan: Alfieri, 1976): 157–72; Lo Gatto, *Gli artisti italiani in Russia*; Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 91–97.

43 S.S. Pod'yapol'sky, "Moskovsky Kremlevsky dvorets v XVI veke po dannym pismennyh istochnikov," in *Drvenerusskoe iskusstvo: Russkoe iskusstvo pozdnego srednevekovia, XVI vek*, ed. A.L. Batalov (St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2003), 99–119; also see D.E. Yakovlev, "Novie svedeniia o veikokniazheskom dvortse v Kremle kontsa XV Veka," in *Materiali Konferentsii "Brunovskie Chteniia,"* ed. Moskovskii arkhitekturnii institut (MARKHI) (Moscow, 1998); Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 93–97; Leonid A. Beliaev et al., *MoskovskaiaRus': Problemy arkheologii i istorii arkhitektury* (Moscow: Institut arkheologii RAN, 2008).

44 William C. Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 99.

45 For a detailed discussion on the use of brick and white stone on the cathedral's façade, including a confirmation of its dual color scheme, see Petrov, "Arkhangelsky sobor i ego svyazi s pamyatnikami italianskoi arkhitektury," footnote 52.

46 Sizov, "Khram Arkhangela Mikhaila na sobornoi ploshadi," 31; Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki architektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora," 254.

47 Modesti, *Santa Maria dei Miracoli*, 12; Pod'yapol'sky, "Venetsianskie istoki architektury moskovskogo Archangelskogo sobora," 254.

48 There has not been a great deal of scholarly literature addressing the spatial organization and dynamics of the Archangel Michael Cathedral. To do so fully would require writing a book on the subject, and I concur with D.A. Petrov that such a project should be undertaken. For a brief discussion of this topic, see Petrov, "Arkhangelsky sobor i ego svyazi s pamyatnikami italianskoi arkhitektury," 172.

49 Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West*, 98.

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The Mangalia Mosque in the Waqf Empire of an Ottoman Power Couple

Princess İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha

Gülru Necipoğlu

İsmihan Sultan's (ca. 1544–85) Friday mosque in the coastal town of Mangalia along the Black Sea littoral is the oldest remaining Ottoman monument at the south end of the Dobruja region in present-day Romania.[1] It is my hope that this essay will open new horizons that may inspire further research on this little-known, fascinating monument and others connected with it (see figs. 9.1a–b). The most detailed information on Princess İsmihan's mosque was provided in the restorer-architect and architectural historian Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's 1981 book cataloging Ottoman monuments in Romania and Bulgaria. Being chiefly concerned with documenting the mosque's formal features, he refrained from interpreting the contextual and personal factors that may have motivated the princess's architectural patronage. Ayverdi consulted her endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) and briefly summarized its contents, but without considering its connection to the interlinked endowments of her influential husband: Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (grand vizier between 1565 and 1579), who was a convert to Islam born into a Serbian Orthodox family in Bosnia.[2]

In my book on the age of the chief royal architect Sinan (d. 1588), the patronage of this power couple looms large, as both of them commissioned some of his most celebrated monuments. However, the Mangalia mosque appears only briefly because it is excluded from Sinan's corpus in his autobiographical treatises.[3] Focusing on this relatively modest mosque in a port city on the Black Sea, the present essay combines close-up and wide-lens perspectives to offer a new interpretation of its meaning within the architectural patronage profiles of the princess and her husband. Scrutinizing the previously unnoted connection of İsmihan Sultan's mosque with an extensive transregional network of monuments demonstrates how these buildings collectively generated an empire-wide web of infrastructures and portability mechanisms, even though they were not portable themselves.[4] The connectedness of those monuments, in turn, promotes connective thinking and allows me to engage directly with this volume's theme of artistic interactions between Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean in the early modern period.

1 The Princess, Her Husband, and Familial Networks

Given the prestigious status of Princess İsmihan as the eldest daughter of the reigning Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74) and his Venetian-born chief wife Nurbanu Sultan (d. 1583) at the time when the Mangalia mosque was being built, it is not unlikely that its plan was prepared in the office of the corps of royal architects headed by Sinan. This is all the more likely as her husband Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was the all-powerful grand vizier of the Ottoman Empire throughout the reign of his father-in-law.[5] During the construction of the princess's mosque (ca. 1568–73), the chief architect Sinan was busy in Edirne building her royal father's grandiose Selimiye mosque complex (1568–74). Therefore, one may speculate that a ground plan drawn on paper for her building project could have easily been sent from Edirne to Mangalia (about 400 km to the north), perhaps with one of Sinan's assistants, even though the construction would have been realized by local builders.[6] Alternatively, this project may have been assigned to a city architect in one of the Ottoman provinces (*vilāyet*) in Europe, the closest being Rumelia (Rumeli) and Buda (Budin).[7] In Rumelia province, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's two sons, Hasan Beg and Kurt Kasım Beg, born from a concubine prior to his marriage with the princess in 1562, were based as district governors (*sanjak begs*) in Bosnia and Herzegovina respectively around 1571–72. The well-connected grand vizier's nephew Mustafa Pasha held the same posts before being promoted to governor-general (*beylerbeyi*) of Budin province for twelve years (1566–78),

FIGURE 9.1A   İsmihan Sultan's Friday mosque, Front view, Mangalia
PHOTOGRAPH BY ELIZABETH KASSLER-TAUB, 2015

FIGURE 9.1B   İsmihan Sultan's Friday mosque, Back view, Mangalia
PHOTOGRAPH BY ALEXANDER OSIPIAN, 2015

distinguishing himself as a prolific patron of architecture. These relatives may have acted as intermediaries facilitating the logistics of the construction in Mangalia, located within the Rumelia province.

The monuments built for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and İsmihan Sultan were legally interconnected by the individual, though cross-referenced, unpublished endowment deeds of the couple.[8] The princess's *waqfiyya* was legally registered in January 1573, and that of her husband shortly thereafter in April 1574. Both were written in Ottoman Turkish by the scholar Abdülgani b. Emirşah who was a professor employed in İsmihan's madrasa in the Eyüb district of Istanbul, built by Sinan next to a family mausoleum, where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and their children are buried, along with a school for Qurʾan recitation (see fig. 9.4).[9] Because of her incomparable royal blood, the princess is buried in the mausoleum of her august parents and siblings, constructed by Sinan next to the Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul. The endowment deeds of the couple state that whoever died first would become the waqf administrator of the other. Moreover, during their lifetime, and posthumously, if the income of one person's waqf should not suffice to meet expenses, funding would be provided from the other's endowment. Upon their deaths, their children would administer these waqfs over the generations and enjoy the surplus income, which was enormous even after deducting all expenses. A branch of that family descending from this couple's only surviving son, İbrahim Khan (d. 1622), was honored by his grandfather Selim II with the royal title of "Khan" matching his mother's name: İsmihan means "with the name of Khan." Such was the importance of the İbrahim Khanzade (Descendants of İbrahim Khan) family during the eighteenth century that, should the Ottoman dynastic lineage cease, its members were considered legitimate successors to the sultanate.[10] The only other candidates for that lofty position were the khans of Crimea (descending from the Mongol Golden Horde), who had been the Ottoman dynasty's tribute-paying vassals since the late fifteenth century.

İsmihan Sultan's involvement in the politics of the court helped secure her husband's position as grand vizier for fourteen years. European primary sources abound with eye-witness accounts of the grand vizier's subordinate relationship vis-à-vis his royal wife, who

was forty years younger than him. She had been given to him in marriage in 1562 by her grandfather Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66) as a reward for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's contribution to Crown Prince Selim's victory in the princely war of succession in Konya. The Venetian diplomat Marino Cavalli (1567) observed that the "intelligent and prudent" grand vizier, who matched his royal wife in religious "bigotry," enjoyed unparalleled authority as the true "emperor" of the Ottoman dominions (see fig. 9.2).[11] A Ragusan ambassador in Rome reported to the pope that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who ruled the empire of his passive and hedonistic father-in-law as "virtual emperor," was only afraid of his much younger

FIGURE 9.2   Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, engraving
FROM JAKOB SCHRENCK VON NOTZING
(TEXT), DOMENICUS CUSTOS (ENGRAVING),
GIOVANNI BASSISTA FONTANA (DRAWING),
AUGUSTISSIMORUM IMPERATORUM, INNSBRUCK,
1601

wife İsmihan. Exerting formidable control over him, she occasionally insulted the pasha as "Vlach" (boorish bumpkin), and should he fail to please her, he risked deposition.[12]

European observers were astonished by the subordination of viziers to their royal wives, whose authority over their husbands confounded ordinary gender relations. A Venetian diplomat, Costantino Garzoni, remarked in 1573: "These sultanas are considered by their husbands not as wives, but as masters, since there is no comparison whatsoever between the former's royal blood and that of the pashas, who are all slaves, therefore, they revere their wives with great submission and are forbidden from having other wives."[13] The chaplain of the Habsburg embassy in Istanbul, Stefan Gerlach (1573–77), observed that when a pasha married a sultana, he had to divorce his former wife, even if they had conceived children.[14] Indeed, Sokollu was required to send away the concubine who gave birth to his two aforementioned sons when he married İsmihan Sultan.[15] Gerlach adds that "men who are willing to take sultanas as brides become slaves of their wives, who reserve the right to remind them 'You were once my father's slave,' and they must obey whatever their wives demand."[16]

According to Gerlach's informant, Sokollu's German clockmaker Oswald, the pasha's royal wife was "small and ugly in countenance, but cheerful and entertaining in disposition."[17] The grand vizier complied with the sultana's wishes, visiting her palace quarters only when she chose to summon him with a eunuch.[18] She carried a dagger as a token of authority, like a cavalry soldier, and had 100 select female attendants among her household of 300 women, who were dressed up in the same way as male pages, with silk brocade costumes and bejeweled gold belts fitted with daggers.[19] The sultana possessed her own great treasure, overflowing with the jewels presented as gifts to her husband, who was "richer than any German Prince," according to the same clockmaker.[20] Upon the assassination of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579, İsmihan Sultan remarried in 1584 to a younger man of her own choice. Her second husband was the handsome governor of Budin (Buda), whose forcefully divorced wife reportedly moved to tears the city's stones and mountains with her inconsolable lamentations. A year later, in 1585, the princess passed away during childbirth.[21]

2 İsmihan Sultan's Mangalia Mosque as an Urban Development Project

Publications and websites often provide confused and contradictory bits of information on İsmihan Sultan's mosque in Mangalia. For instance, hypothetical dates proposed for its construction range from 1525 or 1573 to 1575, and as late as 1590.[22] Just as the date 1525 is preposterous since its patron was not even born at that time, the equally illogical date 1590 would make it a posthumous monument completed after her death. That the mosque was already completed by 1573, with its appointed personnel in place, is demonstrated by her endowment deed registered during that year. Interestingly, both the princess and her husband separately endowed landed and commercial properties in and near Mangalia, as we shall see below.

İsmihan Sultan's endowment deed lists the Mangalia mosque as one of her three main charitable socioreligious monuments, testifying to its considerable importance. The other two were monumental complexes built by Sinan in the capital Istanbul. One of them is her spectacular Friday mosque in the "Çatladı Kapusı" quarter (i.e., Kadırgalimanı near the Hippodrome), constructed between 1567–68 and 1571–72. This ashlar masonry domed sanctuary, boasting a fountained forecourt with arched marble colonnades and lavish Iznik tile revetments, is particularly renowned for its harmonious proportions and the perfect balance between structure and ornament (see fig. 9.3). While the princess endowed the mosque itself, the accompanying madrasa and the subsequently added dervish convent, completed in 1574, were separately founded by her husband as part of the same complex in his own endowment deed. The second complex listed in İsmihan's endowment deed is her aforementioned madrasa in the Eyüb district, which abuts the familial domed mausoleum of her husband and their children, both of them completed in 976 (1568–69) (see fig. 9.4). This, too, was a jointly endowed complex by the couple. Its mausoleum, featuring sumptuous Iznik tile revetments, and its subsequently built freestanding domed prayer hall, dated 987 (1579) and functioning as a school for Qur'an recitation, belonged to the grand vizier's endowment. The nearby public fountains created by him ranged in date from 1567–68 to 1570–71. Both multifunctional complexes co-endowed

FIGURE 9.3   Mosque complex of İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Kadırgalimanı, Istanbul
PHOTOGRAPHY BY REHA GÜNAY, FROM GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU, *THE AGE OF SİNAN:*
ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, LONDON, 2005

FIGURE 9.4   Funerary Madrasa complex of İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Eyüb, Istanbul
PHOTOGRAPHY BY REHA GÜNAY, FROM GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU, *THE AGE OF SİNAN:*
ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, LONDON, 2005

by husband and wife carry Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's name, although she was the main founder, an unfortunate manifestation of male chauvinism and traditional gender roles that has erased her memory from the public sphere.[23]

Compared to her foundations in Istanbul, İsmihan Sultan's mosque in Mangalia is an unassuming structure lacking a masonry dome, precious marble colonnades, and Iznik tiles. Nevertheless, its delightful wooden-pillared spacious portico overlooking a picturesque garden with tombstones adds to its intimate charm in close communion with nature. This monument is described in her endowment deed as the "pleasure increasing Friday mosque (bir cāmiʿ-i ṣafā-encām) with a silver-like dome (ḳubbe-i sīmīn) in the large village called Mangalia (Manḳālya nām ḳarye-i kebīr), located in the Tekfurköyü district (nāḥiye) within the sanjak (ṣāncāḳ) of Silistra in the province of Rumelia (Rūmili)."[24] I find it likely that the continually renovated hipped roof covered with red brick, which crowns both the open and closed spaces of the mosque, may once have featured an inner wooden dome underneath the pyramidal outer protective shell, as is implied by the reference to a "silver-like dome."

The same reference also suggests that the hipped roof was originally sheathed with lead, a mark of prestige, instead of brick. In fact, the mid-seventeenth-century traveler Evliya Çelebi's description confirms this deduction. He states that Mangalia's most excellent Friday mosque, featuring a single minaret and "covered with pure lead in the sultanic manner" (selāṭīn-miṣāl raṣāṣ-i ḫāṣṣ ile mestūr), was that of İsmihan Sultan. This "light-filled mosque, the likes of which do not exist in these [Black Sea] trading ports," boasted a large congregation.[25] The aesthetic effect of such humble mosques, quite common among contemporary constructions of Sinan, relied on colorfully painted plaster walls and wooden details, including inner domes and porticoes with tall pilasters, instead of marble columns.[26] With their extensive use of wood and relatively small scale, these structures crowned by pyramidal hipped roofs came close to Ottoman vernacular residential architecture.

Information is extremely scarce on the Mangalia mosque's construction process and architectural history. In his 1981 book Ayverdi briefly describes the building that then functioned as a museum, in one part of which prayers were still performed. He was informed by the museum-cum-mosque's imam that it had been extensively renovated under the auspices of the Romanian state in 1961–62. He published photographs from the 1880s, taken prior to the mosque's restoration as a museum, along with its measured ground plan and elevation (see figs. 9.5a–b).[27] The mosque was restored again by local authorities in the 1990s and surrounded by a tall fence. During its most recent renovation in 2008, the wooden roof was entirely replaced with a new one and the single minaret was consolidated, while the interior walls and the fountain over a well in the yard were also renewed.[28] The large garden, surrounding the mosque and functioning as a graveyard, features Ottoman-period tombstones, mostly dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with only a handful from the early seventeenth century. Their inscriptions were published with accompanying photographs soon after being documented during the latest renovation.[29]

The rectangular mosque with a single-galleried cylindrical minaret is built of ashlar masonry. Its asymmetrical main façade features a curved prayer niche (mihrāb) on the right side of the arched portal, which is flanked by a single pair of two-tiered windows on both sides. There are visible signs of awkward old and new repairs on the walls. The lower windows, for instance, have been enlarged in such a way that their rectangular frames encroach upon the pointed blind-arched lunettes. The painted plaster interior decorations have completely disappeared, and the present flat wooden ceiling is brand new. The mosque's interior space has a renewed wooden upper gallery above the entrance portal, resting on six sandstone pillars that are presumed to be spolia. Likewise, some large-size regular blocks of cut stone used in the outer face of the mosque's back wall, which differ from irregular smaller stones at the side and front walls, are believed to have been recovered from the ancient ruins of Callatis. Ancient Callatis was a Greco-Roman trade hub, the archaeological remains of which have been excavated.[30]

The classical remains were partly visible when Evliya Çelebi visited Mangalia in the mid-seventeenth century. He reported that this was an ancient port whose fortress had been destroyed by Sultan Bayezid I (r. 1389–1401), but its foundations could be seen in the currently inhabited part of the city at the mouth of the harbor. He adds that in olden times the city had a huge harbor protected by two gates, the large stones of which were still visible under the sea. Since many ships sank each year in the
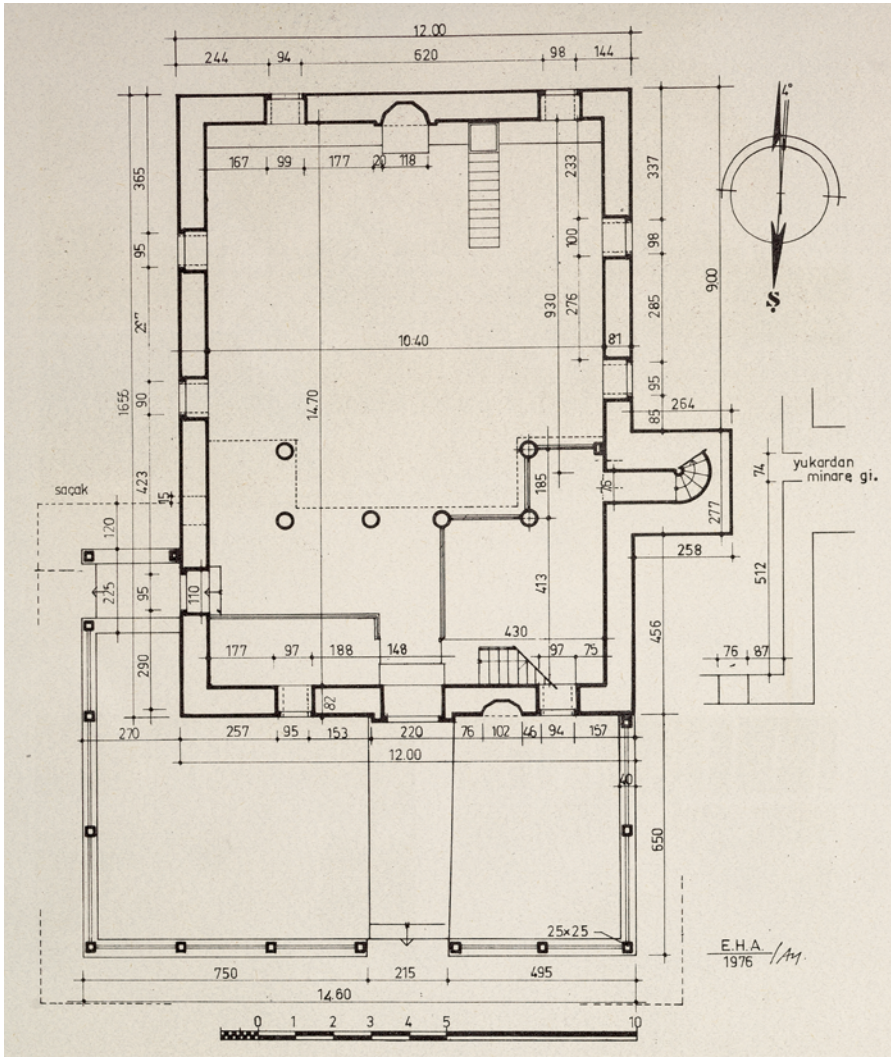
FIGURE 9.5A
Plan, Mangalia mosque
FROM EKREM HAKKI AYVERDI,
*AVRUPA'DA OSMANLI MIMÂRÎ
ESERLERI: ROMANYA, MACARISTAN*,
VOL. 1, ISTANBUL, 1981
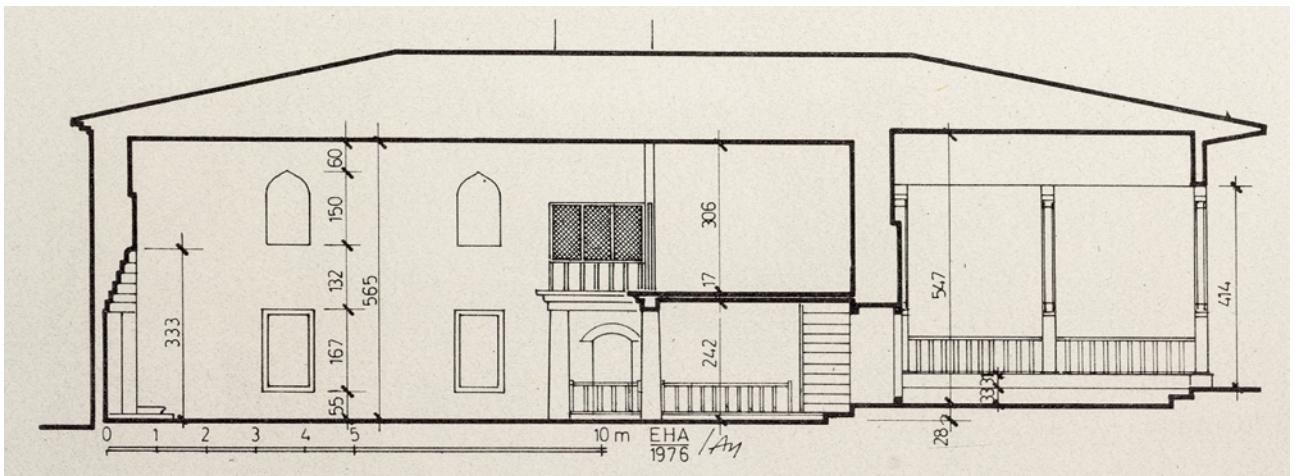
FIGURE 9.5B   Cross section, Mangalia mosque
FROM EKREM HAKKI AYVERDI, *AVRUPA'DA OSMANLI MIMÂRÎ ESERLERI: ROMANYA, MACARISTAN*, VOL. 1, ISTANBUL,
1981

present unprotected harbor of the "cruel landing stage," open to "mountain-like" waves, Evliya wished that the sultan would order the grand admiral's navy to clean this much-needed silted harbor.[31]

The simplicity of the Mangalia mosque in comparison to İsmihan Sultan's ambitious, monumental domed mosque in Istanbul, built during the same years, can be explained by its location in a provincial village with a seemingly small Muslim population at the time it was founded. Unlike neighborhood masjids (*mescid*) where Friday prayers were not held, Friday mosques (*cāmiʿ*) were only allowed by Ottoman Hanafi law to be built in cities (*şehir*) or towns (*ḳaṣaba*). The princess's mosque must therefore have been created with an eye to promote future urban development in Mangalia, which was then a "large village." Sixteenth-century Hanafi jurists in the Ottoman Empire defined cities and towns as places where "Friday prayers are performed, and markets are held." This politico-juridical definition opened the way to the recognition of large villages possessing their own markets as towns, provided that the reigning sultan approved the performance of the Friday prayer in them with an imperial permit (*icāzet-i hümāyūn*). During the age of Sinan, the right of the sultans to grant urban status to borderline settlements accelerated the creation of Friday mosques in sparsely inhabited ports and trade routes, which were expected to form the nuclei of new towns.[32]

Indeed, by the time Evliya Çelebi visited Mangalia, it had evolved into a flourishing commercial port city at the "Silistra sanjak in the territory of Dobruja," featuring several Friday mosques and masjids, seven elementary schools, three khans, 300 shops, 300 warehouses, a small bedestan (covered market), a small bathhouse, seven coffeehouses, and many taverns. The prosperous town, sited on a flat sandy plain along the seashore, was entirely the waqf of İsmihan Sultan, governed by the trustee of her endowment (*mütevellī*). Its imams, Friday preachers, and muezzins were all from Istanbul, "that is, zealous and talented gentlemen of refinement" (*mücevvid ve pür maʿrifet çelebiler*). Evliya observed that the city, with well-built castle-like houses for protection against Cossack pirate attacks, was "surrounded on all sides with orchards and gardens." It had near its western gardens a "joy-giving" small lodge (*tekke*) of Bektashi dervishes, called "Muharrem Baba Sultan," where under the shade of tall trees devotees engaged in soulful conversations after the afternoon prayers.[33]

According to Evliya, the city, which was a qadi district with a judge, had "very few righteous people." Dominated by Laz merchants, who generally descended from converts to Islam, its inhabitants included many Greeks and Jews. Since the Lazes strongly disliked Jews, the sharia law court was continually busy with lawsuits between these two groups. The Laz populations venerated the city to such a degree that, if a man could not afford the pilgrimage to Mecca, they would tease him with the witticism, "Hey ignoramous! Go to Mangalia, the Kaʿba of the poor!" Being a "mine of merchants" (*kān-i tüccār*), the large landing station (*iskele*) of Mangalia was lined with numerous warehouses. Every year a thousand ships loaded merchandise there, destined for Istanbul, as it was a "major trading port of the Dobruja region" particularly rich in wheat and other types of grain.[34]

3   Endowments of the Princess for the Mangalia Mosque

To return to İsmihan Sultan's endowment deed, this document lumps together revenue-producing properties intended for the perpetual upkeep of her three pious monuments in Mangalia and Istanbul in a single-budget income, thus confirming the interconnected legal status of the trio. As keenly noted by Evliya, the princess's endowments included Mangalia itself, a commercially profitable port for shipping coveted grain supplies to the capital, Istanbul. Ayverdi does not mention an important piece of information provided in her endowment deed; namely, that she was granted the ownership of Mangalia (i.e., its revenues) as a donation from her reigning father with a royal decree in 1568. The same decree lists additional crownlands donated to her during the same year with imperial freehold patents (*temlik-i sulṭānī ve iʿṭāʾ-i ḫāḳānī*), unlike others that she bought legally in accordance with sharia principles. The copy of Selim II's decree (*nişān-i hümāyūn*) appended to her endowment deed lists the tax income generated by villages he bequeathed to "my daughter İsmihan Sultan" (*ḳızım İsmiḫān Sulṭān*) with imperial freehold patents (*mülknāme-i hümāyūn*).[35]

Those lands, entirely concentrated in Rumelia province, were to be exempt from the recruitment of janissary cadettes and state taxes. The princess was free to sell or donate them as her "personal property" (*mülk*) to whomever she wished, or to endow them as waqfs.

Each territory brought an annual income, in addition to her monthly stipend of 300 aspers paid from the royal treasury.[36] Her father's imperial decree first mentions a marketplace in Pogonya (Pogonia) district at the Avlonya sanjak (Vlora, Albania), yielding an income of 3,000 aspers, donated on 28 Cemaziülahir 976 (1568). It then enumerates landed properties subsequently bequeathed as a group on 16 Şaban 975 (1568), which collectively generated a sum of 25,000 aspers: the Mangalia village in the Silistra sanjak (3,500 aspers), villages in the neighboring Black Sea port of Varna, also in the Silistra sanjak (now in Bulgaria, 801 and 550 aspers), villages in the Pravadi district (Provadia in Bulgaria, 700 and 650 aspers), and finally villages in the Dubnica district of the Köstendil sanjak (Kyustendil in Bulgaria, 18,770 aspers).

Besides these landed properties, whose annual income added up to a grand total of 28,000 aspers (about 465 ducats), the economically independent princess endowed a considerable sum of 80,000 dinars (about 1,350 ducats), the accruing legal interest of which was earmarked for the expenses of her waqf.[37] Her endowed possessions consisted of villages, arable fields, and commercial buildings along the modern-day Romanian and Bulgarian Black Sea coast, as well as in Albania, Greece, and Istanbul. They included three shops at the Kadırgalimanı mosque complex in Istanbul, a newly built bazaar in the Papuşva village of the Dubnica district in Köstendil, a weekly marketplace in the Pogonya district of the Avlonya sanjak, a river and eight mills in the arable field (*mezra'a*) of Yund Alanı in the district of Çirmen (Greece), and in the same arable field three female (*cāriye*) and seven male slave servants (*ḳul*) based in a village called Değirmen (lit., Mill), who were likely employed operating her mills.[38]

The employees of the mosque in Mangalia consisted of a Friday preacher, an imam, two muezzins, two janitors, two caretakers of oil lamps, and Qur'an reciters. The mosque's upkeep and its recorded annual expenses were to be checked by endowment administrators sent from the imperial capital each year, indicating that her mosque and the endowed Mangalia village itself had very close ties with Istanbul, as observed above by Evliya.[39] The princess's endowment deed explains that the boundaries of lands donated by her father Selim II were fixed by officers sent from the capital to those sites, who prepared documents demarcating borders (*ḥudūdnāmeler*), which were then stored at the imperial council hall of Topkapı Palace.[40]

Likewise, the borders of lands donated to her husband, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, by imperial decrees in the marshlands of the Banat region in Transylvania were delineated by "stone markers, with the distances between each of them measured in masons' cubits, except in marshes where markers could not be installed."[41] These crownlands, awarded to him by Sultans Süleyman and Selim II, celebrated major landmarks of his career, particularly his military exploits in Central and Southeastern Europe. They comprised estates in the new Transylvanian (Erdel) principality, which was established in 1541, simultaneously with the province of Budin (Buda) in Hungary. According to his endowment deed, in that region "world famous for its beauty and value," troops led by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 958 (1551) had conquered Becskerek Castle (*Beçkerek ḳalesi*, now Zrenjanin in Serbia) along with seventeen strongholds (*ḥiṣār*) subordinate to that castle (see fig. 9.6). For this successful anti-Habsburg Transylvanian campaign, accomplished while the pasha was governor-general of Rumelia, Sultan Süleyman rewarded him in 961 (1553–54) with an "imperial freehold patent" (*mülknāme-i hümāyūn*), a lake there "known as Bega" (probably named after the Bega/Tisza River). Becskerek was once an island on that nonextant big lake, as shown on the Tabula Hungariae map of 1528 created by Lazarus (Secretarius) soon after the Ottoman victory in Hungary at the Battle of Mohács (1526).[42]

Süleyman also awarded Sokollu a village and arable fields around Becskerek as third vizier for having subdued in 1555, at the head of an army in the Dobruja region, the rebel Düzme Mustafa, who pretended to be this sultan's executed insubordinate son, Prince Mustafa (d. 1553). As a reward for commanding, again while he was third vizier, successful imperial troops on behalf of Prince Selim in the succession "War of Princes" at Konya in 966 (1559), Sokollu was granted more villages inside and outside Becskerek Castle. This feat ensured his future father-in-law's position as heir apparent. The grant was subsequently bestowed by Sultan Selim II in Receb 976 (1568), in fulfillment of a promise he had made as crown prince, assuring the vizier that he would do so upon his accession to the throne.[43]

Interestingly, all of the landed properties listed in Princess İsmihan's endowment deed as gifts from her father were also donated during the same year, in 1568. This chronological concurrence once again demonstrates the connectedness of the waqfs of husband and

FIGURE 9.6   The Surrender of Becskerek Castle in 1551, manuscript painting from Arifi, *Fütuḥāt-ı Cemīle*, 1557
TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY, H. 1592, FOL. 6B. PUBLIC DOMAIN

wife, particularly those in Rumelia province, whose governor-general between 1551 and 1555 was Sokollu. While mounting two victorious anti-Habsburg campaigns to Transylvania from Belgrade in 1551 and 1552, he must have developed an intimate familiarity with Ottoman Europe, where he later established waqf endowments. We do not know whether, after their marriage in 1562, İsmihan Sultan accompanied her husband to those lands and to Mangalia. However, the site of her mosque in that village was no doubt selected in consultation with her well-informed spouse, just as the lucrative estates donated to the couple by Selim II in 1568 were almost certainly the ones specifically requested by them.

Princess İsmihan's endowment deed is of an unusually high literary value, written as it was by the esteemed professor of her madrasa in Eyüb. It praises the "golden lineage" (*silsile-i zeheb-neseb*) of the Ottoman dynasty, which "ever since its emergence in 699 (1299)" had developed the world with pious and charitable architectural endowments. Following the example of her forebears, "Her Highness İsmihan Sultan (*İsmiḫān Sulṭān*)" built and endowed for her last journey to the other world monuments "befitting her exalted prestige and decorously suited to her name 'with the title of khan' (i.e., *ism-i ḫān*)." The text continues:

"Aware of this world's transience, she fully devoted herself to piety, divine worship, pious foundations, and good deeds. Her endurance and resignation on the path of God was such that she even accepted His divine decree after six of her darling children passed away, falling like pearls of pure tears from her moist eyes, one after the other to the earthen grave, becoming concealed from her sight like the soul and sliding away from her eyes like drops filled with blood."[44]

The poetically expressed tragic demise of her six infants thus provided the main impetus for the mournful twenty-nine-year-old princess's architectural patronage. The Venetian diplomat Marcantonio Barbaro (1573), who characterizes Sokollu's wife as "young and pretty enough," confirms that every year she gave birth to a son but each of them passed away shortly thereafter.[45] According to Gerlach (1576), the couple had recently abandoned their old palace at Kadırgalimanı, which was adjacent to their co-endowed mosque complex. They moved around 1574 to a newly built palace closer to the Hippodrome because the previous one was believed to be haunted by evil spirits, causing the deaths of their children one by one.[46] This new residence apparently proved luckier for the couple, judging by Antonio Tiepolo's (1576) report that they had three surviving infants, two daughters and a son (most probably İbrahim Khan), many others having died from "falling sickness."[47]

According to the stipulations of her endowment deed dated 1573, the princess would personally administer her own endowments by means of her household steward, Hüsrev Kethüda b. Abdurrahman, who also managed the endowments of her husband. After her death, the waqf would be administered by her children and grandchildren over the generations. Should their bloodline cease, they were to be replaced by the freed male slaves of her husband. The surplus income of her waqf had to be used for repairing dilapidated mosques and madrasas, buying clothes for poor children, paving roads, and building bridges. Every year twenty needy daughters of her own freed female slaves and ten other poor women would each be given a marriage dowry of 4,000 aspers (about 400 ducats). The remaining surplus of 4,000 aspers was to be distributed as marriage dowries to five orphan girls and poor widows. The leftover income would be used by İsmihan Sultan's children and the children of her children in perpetuity. It is noteworthy that these stipulations embody conspicuous gender concerns, which shed light on the humanistic personal orientations of the generous princess.[48]

4   Entwined Endowments as Connective Transregional Networks

The fact that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqfs were intimately intertwined with those of his wife in and near Mangalia becomes evident from previously unnoticed clues in his endowment deed. Since his numerous endowments are too many to enumerate, I have plotted them on a map to chart his major constructions that invigorated regions extending from Central and Southeastern Europe all the way to Anatolia, Syria, and the Hijaz (see fig. 9.7).[49] It is particularly meaningful that Sokollu's income-generating endowments included places in Mangalia, excluded from my map as they were relatively minor commercial structures. These waqfs are

Szigetvar
Becskerek
Belgrade
Visegrad
Sokolovici
Balçık
Varna
Edirne
Büyükçekmece
ISTANBUL
Lüleburgaz
Çorlu
Sidhirokastron
Gallipoli
Bursa

Azov
Sea

Black Sea

Aegean
Sea

Niğde
Bor
Antep
Birecik
Payas
Antioch
Aleppo

Mediterranean Sea

Tripoli
Sidon
Damascus

Pious foundations
(most with nearby income-producing
structures)

Income-producing structures
(not including landed properties, mills, shops)

Major Roads

Medina

Red Sea

Mecca

FIGURE 9.7   Map of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf endowments
FROM GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU, *THE AGE OF SİNAN: ARCHITECTURAL CULTURE IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE*, LONDON, 2005

described in the grand vizier's endowment deed as follows: "At the district (*ḳażā*) of Tekfurköy in the village of Mangalia, also known as Hisarlık (lit., with a fortress)," he endowed twelve shops, a warehouse, and a bakery for bread.[50] This alternative name associated with Mangalia probably refers to the remains of the medieval fortress of Pangalia that Bayezid I had demolished in 1392.[51]

Sokollu's other waqfs concentrated along the Black Sea littoral complemented those of the couple in Mangalia. For instance, he built a nonextant covered market or bedestan (*bezzāzistān*) at the port city of Balchik (Balçık) subordinate to Varna (now in northeast Bulgaria). His endowment deed describes it as a vaulted building "in the manner of a bedestan at the middle," bounded by forty-eight surrounding shops, twenty-four upper-story rooms, ten warehouses, and ten toilets.[52] Sokollu built another now lost bedestan with a central masjid in the neighboring coastal town of Varna where, as we have seen, his wife also owned landed properties. It is described as a bedestan comprising twenty-six shops and fifteen warehouses, with a neighboring khan and, in front of it, six shops. The pasha endowed several windmills, waterwheels, and agricultural lands along the riverfronts of Varna and adjoining rivers.

Another group of monuments sponsored by Sokollu further inland were also sited on riverbanks. One of these was a grandiose bedestan and khan complex built in Belgrade, at the sanjak of Semendire (Smederevo, Serbia). This city at the confluence of the Danube and Sava Rivers was conquered in 1521 during Sultan Süleyman's reign. The grand vizier's complex, located outside the fortified walls of Belgrade, in a suburb (*varoş*) "at the quarter of the Ferhad Pasha mosque," had numerous abutting shops and a channel of sweet water, the surplus flow of which was distributed to fountains named after Sokollu inside the city. This major revenue-producing structure was built ca. 1567–74 along a paved road to Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik), an autonomous tributary republic under Ottoman protection. It catered to regional and transregional commerce dominated by resident Ragusan and Ottoman Jewish merchants.[53]

Around the same time the grand vizier created a commemorative complex (ca. 1572–74) endowed for the soul of his late son Kurt Kasım Beg, who passed away as the sanjak governor of Herzegovina (Hersek), whose capital Mostar was three days' journey from Ragusa. This charitable complex constructed by Ragusan stonemasons at Trebinje (in modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina) was also sited along the caravan route to Ragusa. It was comprised of a small masjid (*mescid*), a sumptuous caravanserai (*ribāṭ*) for travelers who might gratefully pray on behalf of the deceased, a source of running water (*miyāh*, *sebīl*), a paved road (*ḳāldırım*), and a stone bridge (*cisr*) over the Neretva River providing access to the Adriatic Sea. Only the bridge remains from this charge-free benevolent complex.[54]

The pasha's commercial complex in Belgrade occupied the site of three deserted churches and a synagogue unable to pay taxes, which he had purchased in 1567 and demolished.[55] During the height of his grand vizierate, the legal status of churches and monasteries became transformed by imperial decrees Selim II dispatched to sanjak governors throughout Rumelia between 1567 and 1571. The recipients were informed that it was no longer legally permissible to renew the title deeds that the ruler's non-Muslim subjects had sent for renewal upon his accession to the throne in 1566. The grand mufti, Ebussuud (d. 1574), issued a fatwa announcing that from now on it was illegal to endow lands and landed properties owned by the state to non-Muslim religious sanctuaries, which were allowed to buy back their lands from the state in return for a deed (*tapu*) on condition that they agreed to pay a tithe and other taxes. The lands of inactive endowments would be confiscated or sold by the royal treasury.[56] This revenue-increasing measure, attributed to Ebussuud's centralization of lands in accordance with sharia principles, meant that the abandoned estates of non-Muslim sanctuaries provided new spaces for other buildings. One of those structures was Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's bedestan and caravanserai complex in Belgrade. Another example was Princess İsmihan's Friday mosque at the complex she co-endowed with her spouse in the Kadırgalimanı quarter of Istanbul, which replaced a church.[57]

One must remember that those years were taken up with naval battles in the Mediterranean, first the victorious Ottoman campaign against Venetian Cyprus (1570–71), for which preparations began in 1568, and then the Lepanto disaster (1571) inflicted by the Holy League. This was an imperial age of confessionalization throughout Eurasia, during which the Christian frontiers of Ottoman Europe experienced religious ferment provoked by the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation. Divided today between Romania

and Bulgaria, the Dobruja region in Rumelia province, where İsmihan Sultan's Mangalia mosque is located, had been under Ottoman rule since the early fifteenth century. This region was situated at the Danubian frontier of the three Romanian tributary states (Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania), which became more fully integrated into the Ottoman central administration after the mid-sixteenth century. Caught between rival Ottoman-Habsburg imperial claims over the Kingdom of Hungary, the Romanian principalities forged independent religious identities, as did their Catholic and Muslim neighbors. Wallachia (Eflak) and Moldavia (Boğdan) strengthened Orthodox Christianity by boosting the construction of churches and monasteries. The principality of Transylvania (Erdel), on the other hand, constituted a novel multiconfessional experiment backed by the Ottoman state. The official promulgation of personal religious freedom in 1568 encouraged the flourishment of Protestant movements (Lutheran, Calvinist, and Unitarian) to the detriment of Catholic and Orthodox Christians residing in Transylvania.

As is well known, the Ottomans actively supported Orthodox and Protestant Christianity to weaken their Catholic Habsburg rivals allied with the papacy. Hence, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's religiosity as a devout Muslim did not contradict his active role in the restoration of the defunct Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate in Peć (İpek, near Kosovo) in 1557, at a medieval Byzantine-style monastery complex where his Christian relatives would serve as patriarchs for several generations. Other Serbian Orthodox monasteries and churches were also renovated, expanded, and painted with frescoes during and after his grand vizierate.[58] The confessional autonomy of the Romanian principalities was endorsed by Ottoman regulations that strictly forbade the construction of mosques in their domains, just as Muslims were not allowed to own land and landed properties therein.[59] Thus, geopolitical frontiers became increasingly delineated by monuments that signaled regional religious identities in these contact zones, which were characterized by augmented cultural intermingling.

Seen from such a wide-lens perspective, İsmihan Sultan's Friday mosque in Mangalia can be interpreted as one of the building blocks of a wider imperial project aimed to simultaneously boost Islamization, urbanization, and economic development in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire. Rectangular Friday mosques with hipped pyramidal roofs, like hers in Mangalia, were built and endowed around the same time by her husband in fiefs donated to him by imperial decrees. One of them was a now lost Friday mosque and elementary school for teaching the Qur'an to Muslim children, completed around 1573, inside the previously mentioned Becskerek Castle. According to his endowment deed, the pasha built this complex in order to "decorate" that predominantly Christian region with monuments of Islam. The text poetically likens the mosque inside that castle to a bubble in a pool (ḥavż) and to a rose in a rose garden, allusions to the insular ecology of Becskerek in the midst of a lake and to the bucolic setting of the sanctuary. Near this mosque, Sokollu created an endowed garden (bostān, gülistān) and elementary school, and also constructed at a suburb (varoş) of Becskerek a bathhouse with twenty-two neighboring shops. These structures were accompanied by five other shops and a grand mansion comprising six shops inside the nearby fortress of Temeşvar (Temesvár, now Timişiora, Romania). The latter was conquered a year after Becskerek and transformed into the capital of a new province in 1552 during a campaign led by the vizier Kara Ahmed Pasha, whom Sokollu had assisted as the governor-general of Rumelia.[60]

The grand vizier's endowment deed also mentions his masjid with "a lead-covered" hipped roof and elementary school in his birthplace, the village of "Şoḳolovik" (Sokolovići) in the district of Višegrad in Bosnia. Near that masjid, fronted by a wooden-pillared portico, he created a public fountain along an avenue to which drinking water was brought via a channel. The masjid (rebuilt in the twentieth century, except for its original minaret) and its extinct dependencies contributed to the Islamization of that village on the Lim River, the longest tributary of the Drina. This complex expressed its founder's persistent preoccupation with kinship ties, endowed as it was for the soul of his father who had converted to Islam as Cemalüddin Sinan Beg.[61] The endowment deed refers to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's celebrated bridge over the Drina, the subject of a novel by the Nobel Prize winning Yugoslavian author Ivo Andrić, as a "monumental stone bridge with twelve arches" at Višegrad. At the head of that bridge, dated 979 (1571–72), was a now lost hospice ('imāret) providing free food to travelers,

fifty-four shops, and a sweet-water channel supplying the grand vizier's neighboring public fountains.[62]

A comparable Islamization program that went hand in hand with an urban and economic development strategy characterized the architectural patronage of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's aforementioned nephew Mustafa Pasha (d. 1578). This governor-general of Buda commissioned Sinan to design for him a monumental Friday mosque with a lead-covered dome in Buda, the administrative capital of the recently established province in Ottoman Hungary. The vanished mosque that comprised the founder's mausoleum was complemented by another one in Pest, and a series of neighborhood masjids curiously dedicated to the souls of the Prophet Muhammad, the latter's daughter Fatima, and each of the four Sunni caliphs. The pasha's socioreligious and commercial monuments, of which only a few bathhouses have survived, transformed Buda and Pest into a composite Ottoman city (Budapest), linked together by his new bridge resting on boats across the Danube. Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's remarkable construction activities throughout Bosnia and Hungary, where he successively served as sanjak governor and governor-general, fostered urbanization, improved travel conditions, and promoted Sunni Islam. He enhanced communications in underdeveloped places by building bridges, paved roads, and caravanserais, transforming his birthplace Rudo from a Christian Bosnian village into a prosperous Muslim town settled with 500 tax-exempt households for whom residences were built. In 963 (1555) the pasha endowed there a Friday mosque, elementary school, bathhouse, caravanserai, and a weekly bazaar at the head of his bridge spanning the Lim River.[63]

5   Concluding Remarks

In concert with their relatives who circulated as governors in the empire's provinces, İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha played a considerable role in the development of seaside and riverbed ports along the Black Sea littoral and connected streams.[64] By collaboratively sponsoring a collection of charitable and income-producing architectural monuments with linked destinies, the grand vizier and his royal wife promoted Islamic socioreligious institutions, education, culture,

commerce, travel, and pilgrimage. The profit-making structures endowed to support the couple's pious charitable foundations included lands, weekly markets, khans, bedestans, shops, warehouses, rental houses, bakeries, mills, artisanal workshops, bathhouses, waterwheels, water channels, fountains, dairy farms, bridges, and paved roads.

Shifting our gaze from a panoramic perspective back to the close-up view of the Mangalia mosque, with which the present essay began, affirms that this seemingly generic monument and others like it merit further scrutiny. While being one of the integral components of an empire-wide construction program, this mosque also carried deeply personal meanings for the forlorn princess mourning the recent deaths of her children. Both dimensions, however, have previously escaped notice because architectural production in the Ottoman provinces has been studied in separate national and geographic compartments, just as women's patronage has been marginalized by gender segregation in the scholarship instead of being viewed in relation to that of men. This double segregation of interrelated projects has been detrimental to perceiving the "larger picture," as amply demonstrated by the present case study.

The ongoing interest in Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's widely cast patronage web would be enriched by considering him in relation to his royal wife, to whom he largely owed his immense power. The interdependent architectural endowments of Princess İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha constituted an extensive network, many of its units concentrated on the main land route diagonally cutting across the Ottoman Empire and dotting the port cities of the Black Sea, Mediterranean, and Adriatic, as well as riverbanks connected to those interlinked seas. These monuments marking focal points of passage reflected a persistent preoccupation with communications and connections throughout the empire and beyond with their infrastructure of roads, bridges, and ports that stimulated mobility. The same vision was manifested in the grand vizier's unrealized state projects, including the creation of a canal in Suez, and another one connecting the Don with the Volga.[65] As such, the vast waqf empire of this power couple perfectly resonated with our collective research project, exploring connected art histories "From Riverbed to Seashore."

Notes

1 The name of the mosque's patron is spelled "Esmāhān" in some publications, but I prefer to use the correct spelling in her endowment deed cited below, which is consistently "İsmiḫān."

2 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, in collaboration with Aydın Yüksel, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1981), 1: 42–43, figures 68–78. I am grateful to Horia Moldovan for bringing to my attention the few relevant publications by Romanian scholars: Nicolae Iorga's article on mosques in Romania, "Moschei pe pământ românesc," *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice anul* 22 (1929): 184–87; and H. Stănescu, "Monuments d'art turc en Dobrouja," *Studia et acta Orientalia/Société des sciences historiques et philologiques de la R.P.R., Section d'études orientales* 3 (1961): 177–89. Using the mid-seventeenth-century description by the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, Stănescu correctly identified the Mangalia mosque's patron as Selim II's daughter but spelled her name as "Esmahan Sultan."

3 Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005, 2011), 331–68. The Mangalia mosque is referred to on 333, 542n280 in Howard Crane and Esra Akın, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006).

4 On a related article exploring the portability of architecture despite the immobility of buildings, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 313–81.

5 On the biographies of this couple, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 40–41, 43–44, 331–68; Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), 37: 354–57; and Radovan Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch: Le destin d'un grand vizir*, trans. Mauricette Begić (Lausanne: L'Age d'homme, 1994).

6 The Ottoman chief architect Sinan's autobiographies do not identify all of the monuments designed by him or by assistants in his office; lists of monuments appended to the autobiographies generally omit the names of masjids and masjid-like small Friday mosques. For the use of plans, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 3 (1986): 224–43; *Age of Sinan*, 161–76.

7 On sixteenth-century documents mentioning city architects in these two provinces, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 139–40, 157–58.

8 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 331–36.

9 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 333, 542n278. Copies of İsmihan's endowment deed, recorded at the beginning of Ramadan 980, are preserved in the Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (hereafter VGM), Defter 572, no. 53: 134–59; and in an incomplete version at the Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala İsmail 737, no. 2, fols. 27b–40a. Copies of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's endowment deed, registered at the end of Zilhicce 981, are in VGM, Defter 572, no. 20: 27–62 (translated into modern Turkish in Defter 2104, no. 323: 442–78); and in Istanbul, Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fols. 1a–5b, 18b–47b; with an incomplete version in Süleymaniye, MS Lala İsmail 737, fols. 203a–208a.

10 Feridun Emecen, "İbrahim Han," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2000), 21: 316–17. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's endowments came to be named as the İbrahim Khanzade waqfs, which are recorded alongside the separate waqfs of İsmihan Sultan in VGM, Küçük Evkaf 43, Defter 2, dated 21 Ca. 1233. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 333, 542n276–77.

11 Marino Cavalli, "Eine unbekannte venezianische Relazion über die Türkei (1567), edited by Willy Andreas: Relatione de le cose di Costantinopoli del 1567," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Stiftung Heinrich Lanz, Philosopisch-historische Klasse* 5, Abhandlung (Heidelberg, 1914), 12.

12 Cited in Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch*, 298.

13 Eugenio Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo XVI, Serie III, Relazioni degli stati ottomani* (Florence: Società editrice fiorentina, 1840–55), 1: 400–01, 406.

14 Samuel Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs des aeltern Tage-Buch* (Frankfurt am Mayn: In Verlegung Johann-David Zunners, 1674), 266, 349, 384, 398.

15 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 332, 542n251–52.

16 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs*, 349.

17 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs*, 349.

18 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs*, 383–84.

19 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs*, 349.

20 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs*, 58, 398.

21 On İsmihan's second husband, Kalaylıkoz Ali Pasha, and their infant son Mahmud, who died within fifty days, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 331, 542n246.

22 The date 1525 was given in an old outdoor signboard now replaced with a new one providing the correct date of 1573. In a larger signboard recounting the mosque's history, the date 1525 is crossed out and replaced with 1573. This signboard makes the unsubstantiated claim that "Esmahan Sultan" visited Mangalia, where she "took refuge," and misidentifies her as the daughter of "Solyman II" who built the mosque "in the memory of" her father. The erroneous date 1575 is provided in the Wikipedia entry, "Mangalia Mosque." And 1590 is the date given in Kemal H. Karpat, "Dobruca," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1996), 9: 482–86, at 485.

23 On these complexes, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 332–45. They are typically named after Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokullu Mehmed Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 2009), 37: 357–63. For other monuments by some, but not all, royal women named after their husbands or fathers, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 69, 270, 305, 372.

24 "Rūmilinde Silistre ṣāncāǧında Tekfurköyi nāḥiyesinde Manḳālya nām ḳarye-i kebīr içre bir cāmiʿ-i ṣafā-encām," VGM, Defter 572, no. 53, 149; and Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala İsmail 737, no. 2, fol. 34v.

25 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Zılli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 3: 201.

26 For examples, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 278–80, 293–96, 400–1, 483–92, 502–5.

27 Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 1: 42–43, figures 68–78.

28 Currently located in the south end of Costanta County (Ottoman Köstence) in Romania, the Mangalia mosque is said to serve a community of 800 Muslim families, mostly of Turkish and Tatar ethnicity. This was one of the towns to which Kipchak Turks and Tatars from Crimea immigrated during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–78: See Kemal H. Karpat, "Dobruca," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1996), 9: 482–86.

29 On the tombstone inscriptions, see Lütfi Şeyban, "Mankalya Esmâ Sultan Câmii Haziresi Mezartaşı Kitabeleri," *Belleten* 74 (2010): 389–420.

30 The Callatis Archaeological Museum in Mangalia, inaugurated in 1959, preserves artifacts from the Neolithic, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods. According to Stănescu, "Monuments d'art turc en Dobrouja," the Mangalia mosque's cemetery garden covers a section of ancient Callatis, and the mosque incorporates spolia.

31 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Zılli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 3: 201.

32 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 55–57.

33 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Zılli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 3: 201.

34 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Zılli, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 3: 201.

35 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 333–34. The decree written in Istanbul on 26 Receb 976 (1569) is copied in VGM, Defter 572, no. 53: 150–51.

36 VGM, Defter 572, no. 53: 141–46. İsmihan's salary in 1575 was higher than that of her younger sister Gevherhan (250 aspers), but lower than those of her aunt Mihrümah (600 aspers) and Safiye Sultan (700 aspers), who was the chief consort of her reigning brother Sultan Murad III; see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 127–29.

37 VGM, Defter 572, no. 53: 150–51.

38 Her waqf properties are listed in Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 1: 42.

39 Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala İsmail 737, no. 2, fols. 35a–b.

40 VGM, Defter 572, no. 53: 141–51; and Süleymaniye Library, MS Lala İsmail 737, no. 2, fol. 34b.

41 Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fol. 3a, "nice ṭāşlar dikilüp ʿalāmetler vażʿ olunup, her iki ʿalāmetüñ mābeyni bennā ẕirāʿıyla ölçülmüşdür, meger ki mābeynlerinde sāzlıklar ve baṭāḳlar olup, vażʿa mecāl olmaya, anlar ḳalmışdur."

42 The map prepared by Lazarus, a secretary at the episcopal center of Esztergom, demonstrates that major watercourses (particularly the Danube and Bega/Tisza) in the Banat region have changed over time; see B. Székely, "Rediscovering the Old Treasures of Cartography: What an Almost 500-Year-Old-Map Can Tell to a Geoscientist," *Acta Geodaetica et Geophysica Hungarica* 44, no. 1 (2009): 3–16.

43 Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fols. 1a–5b, 45b–47b. Slightly different dates are provided in a copy of the "temliknāme" of Becskerek Castle given to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha by Selim II (translated into modern Turkish in VGM, Defter 2104, 478–79, from the original document in Defter 610, no. 303: 270), which states that this castle, its villages, and agricultural fields were donated to Sokollu by Sultan Süleyman in 963 (1555–56). When Sokollu asked for the renewal of that property deed (mülknāme) upon building his Friday mosque there, it was renewed by Selim II at the end of Şaban 974 (1567). A well and three mills bestowed by Sultan Süleyman in 961 (1553–54) were also renewed then; VGM, Defter 610, no. 304: 271 (translated in Defter 2104, 480). Other property deeds dating from 975 to 977 (1565–69) and mid-Ramadan 982 (1574) are listed in Defter 610 (translated in Defter 2104, 488–89).

44 Translated in Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 333; from the manuscript kept at the Süleymaniye Library: MS Lala İsmail 737, fols. 32r–33v.

45 Albèri, Relazioni degli stati ottomani, 1: 320, 405.

46 Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des aeltern Tage-Buch, 267.

47 Albèri, Relazioni degli stati ottomani, 1: 156–57.

48 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 333–34, 542n282–83.

49 For a list of Sokollu's endowments, see Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 331–68, esp. 345–48.

50 "Tekfurköyi ķażāsında Ḥiṣārlıķ dimekle maʿrūf Manķālya ķaryesi," VGM, Defter 572, no. 20: 35.

51 Evliya Çelebi only mentions the ruins of the nonextant Mangalia fortress. According to Stănescu, "Monuments d'art turc en Dobrouja," ancient Callatis became the medieval port of Pangalia under the Genoese, whose fortress was destroyed by Sultan Bayezid I. He cites the 1444 travelogue of Jean de Wawrin according to whom the city, already called Mangalia, was a fortress of the Turks and Crimean "Mengli" Tatars.

52 Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fol. 22a.

53 VGM, Defter 572, no. 20: 28, 31, 35, 37. The Ragusan road (kamin) is mentioned by Stephan Gerlach, who saw the nearly completed complex under construction in 1573; Gerlach, Stephan Gerlachs des aeltern Tage-Buch, 16, 529–31. Discussed in Andrej Andrejević, "Sokollu Mehmet Pasha's Contribution to the Building of the City of Belgrade," in 8th International Congress of Turkish Art (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 1983), 3: 1627–36; Vladimir Božinović and Viktor Popović, "Analysis of Documentation about Ottoman Heritage in Belgrade via Digital Reconstruction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Caravanserai," in Balkanlarda Osmanlı Vakıfları ve Eserleri Uluslararası Sempozyumu (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 2012), 341–52. On the multifaceted tributary status of the Ragusan Republic, see Lovro Kunčević, "Janus-faced Sovereignty: The International Status of the Ragusan Republic in the Early Modern Period," The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, eds. Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 91–121.

54 Süleymaniye Library, Lala İsmail MS 737, fol. 76a–b; Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fol. 46a. See Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 444; Ayverdi, Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri, 2: 469–70. The bridge was originally built in the Arslanagić village north of Trebinje but subsequently moved closer to Trebinje around 1970–72. On the importation of Ragusan masons for Ottoman buildings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology,'" 333 and 333n33, 347 and 347n57.

55 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 58; Andrejević, "Sokollu Mehmet Pasha's Contribution," 1627–28.

56 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 58. Aleksandr Fotić, "The Official Explanations for the Confiscation and Sale of Monasteries (Churches) and Their Estates at the Time of Selim II," Turcica 26 (1994): 35–54.

57 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 58, 336, 344.

58 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 58; Slobodan Ćurčić, "Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453," in The Byzantine Legacy of Eastern Europe, ed. Lowell Clucas (Boulder: East European Monographs; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1988), 59–81; Maria Adelaide Lala Comneno, "Notes Upon the Architectural Patronage of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the Ottoman Bosnia," in 9th International Congress of Turkish Art (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 1995), 2: 417–23.

59 On the Romanian tributary states, see Tasin Gemil, Romanians and Ottomans in the XIVth–XVth Centuries (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2009); and essays in Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević, The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013).

60 Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan, 346–47. The Becskerek mosque's personnel consisted of a Friday preacher, an imam, two muezzins, and a janitor; Fatih Millet Library,

MS Tarih 933, fols. 1b–5b; and VGM, Defter 572, no. 20: 28–29, 37.

61　Fatih Millet Library, MS Tarih 933, fols. 1a–5b, 45b; and VGM, Defter 572, no. 20: 28–29, 31–32, 37. On the rebuilt mosque and its now lost dependencies, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 346; Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 2: 422–23.

62　*The Bridge on the Drina* was published in 1945. The seven Friday mosques and seven masjids endowed by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha are listed along with his other waqfs in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 346–47. On his bridge and waqfs in Višegrad, see Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*, 2: 495–511.

63　On Sokollu Mustafa Pasha's waqfs, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 439–40; Gyula Káldy-Nagy, "Macht und Immobiliarvermögen eines türkischen Beglerbegs im 16. Jahrhundert," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 25 (1972): 441–51; Burcu Özgüven, "A 'Beylerbeyi' from Budin: Sokollu Mustafa," in *Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak (Istanbul, 1999), 253–63.

64　İsmihan Sultan's relatives had waqf properties in Southeastern and Central Europe, which supported their charitable-pious monuments elsewhere in the empire: her mother Nurbanu Sultan, her father Sultan Selim II, her brother Sultan Murad III, her aunt Mihrümah Sultan, and her sisters (Gevherhan Sultan, Shah Sultan, Fatma Sultan) and their vizier husbands.

65　Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 247.

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Goldsmithery Made for the Cantacuzini

How Şeytanoğlu's Descendants Made the Arts Flourish in Wallachia

Anna Mária Nyárádi

The patronage of the Cantacuzino family marked an outstanding period in Wallachia[1] from many perspectives. Three generations of this family, whose members considered themselves the descendants of Byzantine *basileis*, contributed to an era of flourishing arts in the region where they settled in the early seventeenth century. In the same manner as Konstantinos Korniaktos in Lemberg (Lwów; Lviv),[2] they left behind an impressive legacy of great artistic value through manifold forms of patronage, a remarkable example of how cultural "switching" systems assimilated, translated, and linked cultures between the Greek East, the Latin West, and the Ottoman Orient. The foundation of their artistic patronage was not only their wealth and ambition but, importantly, their large network of powerful and influential family members.

Established in Moldavia and then in Wallachia, the descendants of the once powerful archon Michael Kantakouzenos adapted quickly to the new cultural environment and, through well-planned marital alliances, became part of the local elites. However, they did not forget their Greek roots and kept close relations, not only with the Constantinopolitan Greeks but also with the Greek diaspora from Italy, and these connections had an impact on their patronage. Although they did not dispose of fabulous wealth like their ancestor nicknamed Şeytanoğlu, they nevertheless acted as self-aware patrons, the progeny of archons. Thus, Şerban Cantacuzino patronized not only the monastery founded by him in Cotroceni but also Mount Athos. As a sign of their intellectual elasticity, some of the family members had libraries in their residences (or in the monasteries founded by them), which, though not extensive, contained Latin volumes as well.[3] They followed traditions, but at the same time, they were open to the world around them: to the Greek East, to the Mediterranean, to the Ottoman Orient, and to Central Europe. And their patronage reflects these features.

There is little evidence regarding the masters and architects who worked for the Cantacuzini, but a closer analysis of the works of art that survived offers sufficient information: the ornaments and techniques used point to the place where they come from.

Likewise, very little or almost nothing is known about the architects they employed or the stone carvers who made the splendid ornaments in stone and also worked for the family. In some cases, locals, or masters coming from Moldavia may be assumed, in others, stone carvers from the Mediterranean or from Central Europe. The *muqarnas* decorations that appear on the katholika of monasteries patronized by the Cantacuzini suggest that the contributions of masters who came from an Islamic milieu were also demanded and appreciated.[4] Similarly, the stucco ornaments that were inspired by Persian miniatures and decorate the outer walls of the church from Fundeni dedicated to St. Euthymios indicate that not just the ornamental repertoire of European art should be taken into account when their patronage is examined (the founding inscription of the church is in a cartouche decorated with rollwork). The same hybridity can be noticed on some of the goldsmithery they commissioned. Indeed, the richly ornamented basin and ewer made for Voivode Şerban (and kept today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art), with an Islamic shape and Western floral decoration, could be considered as iconic of the Cantacuzini's patronage.

Some of the monasteries that this essay discusses are no longer extant, but many artworks, especially exquisite works in silver, have survived. Due to the makers mark, goldsmithery offers the opportunity of identification, if not of the master at least of the city where he was active. The essay aims to explore this segment of the Cantacuzini[5] patronage.

1 The Kantakouzenoi in Wallachia and Their Architectural Patronage

The story of the Kantakouzenoi developed from the seashore to the riverbed, beginning at the shores of the Black Sea at Anchialos (Ahyolu Pomorie),[6] where Michael Kantakouzenos (nicknamed Şeytanoğlu), owner of the local salt works, built his sumptuous palace. He controlled almost the entire salt trade in Wallachia due to a trade privilege obtained from Sokollu Mehmed Pasha[7] and became one of the most influential magnates in the region.[8] In fact the Kantakouzenoi had control over the Danubian salt trade, and they dealt not just with the extraction of salt but also with its transportation, as they owned a large fleet.[9] Being one of the most powerful archons, Michael Kantakouzenos was deeply involved in the ecclesiastical matters of the patriarchate of Constantinople.[10] In 1578, the fortunes of the Kantakouzenoi turned as Şeytanoğlu was executed in his palace at Anchialos by a special envoy of the sultan. The eldest of his sons, Andronikos, fled to Constantinople, asking for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's protection. After a short period, he regained part of the family fortune and continued to run its affairs. In time, he became more and more involved in the power struggles north of the Danube.

Several years after his death in 1601 under obscure circumstances, Andronikos's sons came to Wallachia with Radu Mihnea's entourage, obtaining through their skills different positions in the administrative system, usually serving first as bostanik and then as treasurer.[11] Three of them entered the network of local elites through well-planned marital strategies, thus considerably increasing their fortune. Thomas married Eftimia Ciolpan, the niece of the voivode of Moldavia, Miron Barnovski. He served in as bostanik from 1618, and from 1630 as stolnik.[12] Iordaki married the daughter of logothete Pătraşco Şoldan, Catrina, the sister-in-law of Basil Lupu, the voivode of Moldavia, and was treasurer from 1632.[13] Both were highly appreciated in Moldavia for their skills and services.[14] On their large estates, they constructed several mansion complexes, often comprising a church. Thomas owned mansions in Budeşti, Iordaki in Paşcani, and Cârligi. Around 1640, he also erected a church in Iaşi.[15] As benefactors, the Kantakouzenos brothers offered many donations to different monasteries, and being intimate advisers of Voivode Basil Lupu,[16] they joined his ambitious patronage of the arts, which resulted in a remarkable mixture of Eastern and Western influences.

Konstantinos, the third of the brothers who decided to remain behind, became cupbearer in Wallachia, then high cupbearer in Moldavia.[17] He married Ilinca (Elina),[18] daughter of Radu Şerban, the former voivode who died in exile in Vienna. With Ilinca's impressive dowry, the freshly married couple became one of the richest families in the land. She inherited large estates around Coiani and in the valley of Prahova, where they managed to acquire further estates, benefiting from the fact that the trade route, which linked the Transylvanian cities with the northeastern Balkans, moved from the valley of Teleajen to the valley of Prahova.[19] From 1632 on, Konstantinos served as bostanik to the voivode of Wallachia, Matei Bassarab. For more than two decades he was a respected and indispensable adviser of the voivode.

In order to be within close proximity to the court, Konstantinos erected a house in Târgovişte, next to the voivode's court complex, where he stayed when his presence was required. But his primary residence was in the valley of Prahova, at Filipeştii de Târg. Built with a new type of vaulting, unknown before in Wallachia and decorated with a loggia, the mansion set a new model for the boyars' residences from the region.[20] In 1654 Paul of Aleppo visited it, together with Makarios III, the patriarch of Antioch, and describes it in his account as follows:

"Having left the church, we alighted at the palace of the Bostanik, which consists of princely buildings, that surprise the senses, and are handsomer than the city edifices. It has a delightful warm bath of beautiful marble, to which water is raised by wheels fixed on the river, which flows also into the orchards and gardens by innumerable channels. The apartments in it are in exact resemblance to the buildings of Constantinople: as, indeed, all the Wallachian Grandees have villas which are admirable specimens of architecture. Each of them is sure to possess, among his buildings, at least one large convent, with its many fiefs; and they are each of them jealous of their fellows in regard to the beauty of their structures and establishments. All their ambition and pride center here."[21]

First, however, he describes the monastery that was rebuilt entirely by the bostanik in the forests of Mărgineni, not far from his residence:

"On the morning of Tuesday we came to the Convent of St. Nicolas, known by the name of the Convent of the Bostanik, Kyr Constantine, our friend. This person is said to be of the blood of the Katakozinos, Emperors of Greece. He it was that built this convent entirely new, and of such a construction as to excite the admiration of the beholder. The church has a high dome covered with tin and three tabernacles, over each of which is a handsome cupola. Before the gate is a round and wide cupola with many arches; in the middle of which is a pond of water, with an elevated pipe, through which the water is conducted from a distance. There is no person in this country who has formed ponds and fountains of water by leading to them distant streams, except this Bostanik. This cupola is entirely covered with paintings inside as "Praise the Lord from the heavens" and all kinds of animals and beasts of the earth and sea are there and "Praise God in his saints" and the virgins are dancing, and the judges and the old men and youths, to the beating of the drum and the tune of pipes: and there are other similar paintings, all of which astonish you with surprise, and are the performance of an able master, the same who was engaged on the painting of the convents of Vasili Beg of Moldavia."[22]

In addition to many other things, the passage provides information that attests to a popular awareness of Kyr Konstantinos's imperial origins, a subject Stephan Gerlach also addresses in his account about Şeytanoğlu.[23] Other sources corroborate that the bostanik was considered by his contemporaries to be a descendant of the Byzantine emperors.[24]

A remarkable gospel cover, with the Anastasis on the front panel and the Crucifixion at the back, once belonged to this monastery (Fig. 10.1).[25] It is decorated in silver-gilt and blue enamel and encloses a Gospel printed at Vilna[26] in 1644. The text of the Gospel is in Old Slavonic, but the inscription on the back of the silver cover is in Greek.[27] It mentions the defunct voivode of Ungro-Wallachia, Şerban,[28] his son, Voivode Constantin,[29] Bostanik Konstantinos Katakouzenos, Ankoutza (Ancuţa), her sister Elina, Stolnik Dumitra[s]kou (Dumitraşcu),[30] and the treasurer Istrati. All were

relatives of Konstantinos,[31] but the inscription in Greek suggests that he was in fact the main patron. It is worth mentioning that he had previously collaborated with Dumitraşcu Filipescu, as both were founders of the Dormition of the Virgin Church from Filipeştii de Târg.[32]

The realism of the scenes on the gospel covers, as well as the individuality and expressiveness of the faces, make it an outstanding work, which has been attributed to a Transylvanian workshop.[33] The attribution is plausible, all the more so given that Konstantinos traveled to the Principality of Transylvania several times, first as an envoy of the voivode Matei Bassarab, then in exile.[34] As Georg Krauss points out in his chronicle,[35] he was well-known there, as he was considered a respectable man with large connections. It is more than likely that the defunct voivode was mentioned in the inscription of the gospel cover because Ilinca (Elina) wished to include the memory of her father in the donation. The memory of her ancestors was kept alive in the names of the boys as well: their first son was named Drăghici, in memory of her great-grandfather (Drăghici from Mărgineni),[36] the second boy was named Şerban, after her father, and the third boy was baptized with the name of his father, Konstantinos.

The boys were educated at Târgovişte by Panteleimon Ligaridis and later obtained different positions in the administration. Drăghici served as logothete and then high cupbearer, Şerban as cupbearer, and Constantin as second bostanik in his youth.[37] The younger boys, Mihai, Matei, and Iordaki, followed the same pathway. The girls also were married in a well-planned manner to rich and influential boyars (Marica became the wife of Spatharus Pană Filipescu,[38] Stanca married Papa Brancovan, and Ancoutza's husband was Bostanik Ianaki).[39]

In 1663 a tragedy occurred that affected the whole family: the head of the family, Konstantinos, was killed in the trapeza of the Snagov monastery by his enemies.[40] After Voivode Grigore Ghika was deposed, with the new voivode, Radu Leon (nicknamed the Oysterseller),[41] came better times for the Cantacuzini. Drăghici became spatharus and Şerban bostanik.[42] Constantin went to Constantinople and then to Padua via Venice to complete his studies. At that time, many Greeks preferred to study there. He matriculated at the University of Padova as Constantinos Cantacuzenus Constantinopolitanus.[43]

Meanwhile, Drăghici died in Constantinople leaving Şerban as head of the family and in the position of

FIGURE 10.1 *Gospel cover from Mărgineni monastery,* before 1658
© NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART OF ROMANIA, BUCHAREST

spatharus. But when Ghika returned in 1672, they were once again persecuted and forced to go into exile on Crete.[44] They returned a year later with the new voivode, Georgios Doukas, who was an old acquaintance of the family. Things went well at the beginning, but with time, the relations become more and more tense, especially when rumors spread that Şerban, then great logothete, and Anastasia, the voivode's wife, had become lovers while Doukas was away on a military campaign.[45] When Doukas sent a troupe of horsemen to capture him, he fled and hid in the woods around Cotroceni. After hiding there for days, he reached Adrianople by crossing the Danube, which once carried his grandfather's boats with their supplies and salt, and through his influential protector, Kara Mustafa Paşa, managed to install himself as Doukas's successor.[46] Thus, he became voivode of Wallachia.

As ruler Şerban set new standards. Just like Şeytanoğlu, his great grandfather,[47] he "was master in everything, governing after his liking."[48] Just a month after he became voivode, he began to build a monastery in Cotroceni on the site where he had hidden out and where there was already a small wooden church. The katholikon of the newly erected monastery was finished in 1680 and later became Şerban's own burial place (part of the family was also buried there). The monastery was offered in 1682 to Mount Athos, as well as to all the monasteries from Athos, and the founding act stipulated that Greek monks would worship the Lord in it.[49] Around 1683, Şerban erected in it a building that would later serve as his temporary residence.

Upon finishing the monastery, he began to build a large han, which was considered extraordinary in comparison with the hans previously built in Wallachia.[50] It is more than likely that he looked to the hans he had encountered while in Constantinople as models.[51] It is also probable that it was built by the same masters who worked at the Cotroceni monastery,[52] and it is also possible that these masters came from an Islamic artistic milieu. *Muqarnas* decorations appear on several churches erected or renovated by the Cantacuzini, such as the katholikon from Cotroceni or Dintr-un Lemn monastery and the "Doamnei" church[53] (endowed by the second wife of Şerban, Maria Gheţea).

Şerban's brothers also erected several churches in the Prahova valley and its surroundings (Afumaţi, Filipeştii de Pădure, Măgureni) and renovated churches at Coiani

and Târgovişte.[54] The most interesting and original contribution was Mihai's who, after a pilgrimage with his mother and sister Stanca to the Holy Land,[55] built a monastery at Râmnicu Sărat together with Stanca's son, Constantin Brancovan, and later founded a skete called Sinai in the Bucegi (Carpathian) Mountains.[56] He also contributed donations to the endowment of the St. Nicholas church from Braşov (Brassó; Kronstadt; among the other items donated by him, a silver box with a spoon and a lamp are mentioned in the church inventories).[57] Around 1699 he built a church in the surroundings of Bucharest (which probably was part of his residence that is no longer extant) the very first in Wallachia, dedicated to Euthymius the Great.[58] The outer walls of the church were decorated with stuccos inspired by Persian miniatures, the inner with frescoes by Pârvu Mutu, who painted many churches endowed by Cantacuzini. The last and maybe the most important of his legacy was the Colţea monastery, founded in Bucharest in 1701, which included a hospital, the very first in Wallachia.

2   Goldsmiths and Journeymen

Del Chiaro, Constantin Brancovan's Italian secretary, remembers Şerban as a Maecenas, someone who introduced a more civilized way of life at his court. One such elegant addition to daily life was the use of silverware for domestic purposes,[59] some of which survives. The decoration of a silver plate, used as liturgical plate[60] at the Cotroceni monastery, suggests that originally it was probably intended for domestic purposes and might have been used at his court (Fig. 10.2). The plate is decorated with embossed flowers: tulips, narcissus, and peonies. According to the Greek inscription engraved on the back, it was donated to the Cotroceni monastery in 1680.[61] The central part of the plate bears the coat of arms of the Cantacuzino family (a double-headed eagle with a scepter in its left claw and a sword in its right) with a crown above and the initials of Şerban. The double-headed eagle appeared in the seal of Konstantinos Kantakouzenos and in the seals used by his son as an allusion to the Byzantine imperial roots claimed by the Kantakouzenoi.[62]

On the rim of the plate there is a maker's mark identified as EV.[63] It appears on an octagonal plate[64] donated

FIGURE 10.2   *Plate from Cotroceni monastery*, around 1680
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BUCHAREST

FIGURE 10.3   *Plate*, before 1685
© SAINT NICHOLAS CHURCH, BRAŞOV

by Drăghici's son Pârvu and his wife Ilinca to St. Nicholas Church in Braşov (Fig. 10.3).[65] For a long time it was used as a liturgical plate, but its decoration—very similar to the plate from the Cotroceni monastery—indicates that it was initially made for domestic purposes. It does not bear any coat of arms. Pârvu was Şerban's envoy in the Principality of Transylvania,[66] and he had the opportunity to acquire it there.

It must be mentioned that two silver plaques, which once decorated liturgical vestments, have been identified in the same ecclesiastical collection. According to the inscriptions around the medallions (which represent the Virgin with the Child in front and the enthroned Virgin with the Child, flanked by two angels), they were offered by Voivode Şerban, probably together with the liturgical vestments which they adorned.

There is another variant of the arms adopted by Şerban: the double-headed eagle with a raven on the central part of its breast; the raven with a cross in its beak was the coat of arms of Wallachia in its traditional form. This was a hybrid formula displaying his imperial descent metaphorically and suggesting his secret hopes of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire under a new Kantakouzenos dynasty.[67] At the same time, this variant displayed the priority given to his paternal descent.

In accordance with his hybrid coat of arms, his voivode entitlement lists both names: "I, Şerban Cantacuzino Bassarab."[68] The first who claimed a Bassarab descent was his grandfather, Radu Şerban.[69] The renovation of the katholikon of Argeşului monastery originally erected by Neagoe Bassarab was an act intended to emphasize that Şerban considers himself to be of Bassarab descent.

The hybrid eagle-and-raven coat of arms appears on another splendid example of domestic silver: an ewer and a basin bearing his initials (Fig. 10.4).[70] The shape of the ewer and basin is typical of Islamic models: the pierced upper part of the basin will stop the water poured from the ewer from splashing over.[71] This structure made that type of basin serve the purpose in a more hygienic way than the Western examples, which were flat. And yet, its lavish decoration is Western, more typical of the Central European Baroque. Both the ewer and the basin bear the same maker's mark as the silver plate from the Cotroceni monastery. A closer analysis of the mark reveals that the letters have been mistakenly read:. It is not a combination of the letters E and V but a P with an A above it.

The demands of Wallachian voivodes in relation to silver items were satisfied mainly either by Hungarian masters (usually goldsmiths from Saxon cities under Hungarian rule) or by Balcanic silversmiths (such as those from Chiprovtsi, a mining center where a Catholic

FIGURE 10.4   *Ewer and basin*, before 1685
                © METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ARTS, NEW YORK

Bulgarian enclave lived). The ewer and basin bear a maker's mark that points to a Hungarian master, but who was he? Wallachian voivodes preferred to commission silverworks from Hermannstadt (Nagyszeben; Sibiu)[72] or Kronstadt (Brassó; Braşov),[73] both Saxon cities, indicating that he must have been a German-speaking Hungarian subject.

It had been a long tradition for Wallachian potentates to commission silverworks from Hungary. There, the goldsmiths' guilds were the operational units providing the workshops with precious metal, controlling the frames of the production, and in the case of large orders, the chief masters distributed the work.[74] In order to preserve larger interests, the guilds from the Saxon cities in Transylvania forbade the masters from working outside of Hungary. But the commissions coming from the South and sometimes from the East (from Moldavia) represented a profitable opportunity, and the guilds tried to satisfy the demands at the highest level when it was requested from them. Strict rules and severe control were the guarantees of quality. It was stipulated that it was compulsory for every master to punch his mark on silverworks made in his workshop. The makers' marks were registered by the guild and usually kept together with the documents of the guild in the chief master's house. Unfortunately, only the lead tablet containing the makers' marks of the guild from Nagyszeben has been preserved.[75] The register of marks from Brassó has been lost, but the guild records of both cities can be consulted.

In the records, there is no master with the initials PA or AP active during the period from 1678 to 1688, when Şerban ruled. Corina Nicolescu remarked that the master who worked for the Cantacuzini disappeared in 1685.[76] There were many masters called Paul or Peter in Nagyszeben and Brassó, but only one who died in 1685: Paul Schirmer, the chief master of the goldsmith's guild from Nagyszeben. The letter A, which appears above the P, is not the initial for his surname (which sometimes appears in the records as Schermer) but for "aurifaber." While it is odd that he did not use the initial of his surname, it appears that two masters with the initials PS had already entered the guild,[77] so he had to choose another combination of the letters in order to avoid confusion. As such, it is seems that his option was PA, for Paul aurifaber. He entered the guild in 1656, at the age of

23.[78] Usually, the mark of the new master was punched on the lead tablet in order to register it. Unfortunately, the tablet is damaged on the upper portion of the back side where the row follows the marks of the masters who entered the guild between 1648 to 1661, so his mark is not visible.[79]

He must have attracted a measure of prestige, because in 1671 he was elected younger chief master, and in 1678—the year Şerban obtained the voivodeship—he became senior chief master.[80] Being in charge of the distribution of the work following the commissions of the new voivode, it seems that he had ensured the opportunity for himself. At that time he had two apprentices: his son Georg (until November 1680) and Daniel Groll (until December 1681),[81] who likely contributed to delivering the expected quality of the solicited silverworks in a timely manner.

The type of the basin, with a pierced upper portion characteristic of Islamic examples, was unknown in Central Europe, where the goldsmith was from. The envoy of the patron probably delivered a model of the ewer and basin (similar to the copper examples that are still preserved in the monastery treasuries from Oltenia),[82] which the goldsmith followed. The form is Islamic, but the decoration is entirely Western. A pattern book containing drawings and prints that once belonged to Paul Schirmer[83] and was inherited by his son, Paul Schirmer Junior, has also been preserved.[84] More than likely he used the prints pasted in the pattern book, which display friezes with birds in various positions and attitudes among leafy plants. They are similar to those decorating the upper part of the basin.

The luxurious gilt-silver ewer and basin represented an important accessory of court ceremonies. Before official meals, the voivode washed his hands, and it was the task of a high ranked servant (called a "medelnicer") to pour water over the basin and onto the voivode's hands. The set was probably on display in the voivode's residence. It seems that after his death it was inherited by Şerban's son-in-law Dimitrie Cantemir, who married his daughter Cassandra in Iaşi around 1700.[85] It probably was part of Cassandra's dowry. Dimitrie was the kapithia of his brother Antioh, and the couple lived in Constantinople until 1710,[86] when Cantemir became hospodar of Moldavia and they moved to Iaşi. But soon Cantemir had to flee to Russia after losing the battle in

Stănileşti against the Ottomans. The object thus traveled a long and winding path until the ewer and basin arrived in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[87]

Besides liturgical silver, monastery treasuries also preserved domestic silver items. A silver tankard with scale decoration from the Cotroceni monastery bears Paul Schirmer's mark.[88] The Cotroceni monastery served as one of Şerban's residences, and the tankard probably was in use and kept there as part of the domestic silver. For the endowment of the monastery Şerban commissioned two gospel covers, and later a pair of processional ripidia (liturgical fans). One of the gospels is in Greek and was printed in Venice in 1671, while the other is in Old Slavonian and was printed in Lemberg (Lwów; Lviv)[89] in 1670,[90] but on both covers the offering inscriptions are in Greek. According to this, the first cover was made in 1680. It is decorated with the Anastasis in the center and with the figures of the apostles on both sides. On the back, the Crucifixion is the focal scene, while the corners are occupied by the evangelists, and the sides by figures of prophets. Paul Schirmer repeated the same iconographic scheme on a gospel cover commissioned in 1682 by Spatharus Constantin Brancovan for the Bistriţa monastery;[91] in 1684, working for the same patron, he made a gospel cover for the Dintr-un Lemn monastery[92] with a Western-style representation of the Virgin and Child on the back.

The second gospel cover was made in 1681 according to the inscriptions in Greek (Fig. 10.5). The central part is decorated with the Crucifixion on the front and the Anastasis on the back, while oval medallions depict scenes from the Revelation, inspired by the illustrations from the Bible in Luther's translation, which in turn reproduce engravings by Lucas Cranach, and the corners are occupied by the prophets and the evangelists. Corina Nicolescu read the maker's mark as CV.[93] Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos published a similar gospel cover from the Simonopetra monastery on Mount Athos (and mentions another example in the collection of the Xeropotamou monastery) and read the mark as VA IC.[94] Both gospel covers (from the Simonopetra and Cotroceni monasteries) bear Valentin Igell's mark, who entered the goldsmiths' guild of Brassó in 1666.[95] There is a short chronicle in the manuscript kept in the collections of the Simonopetra monastery that relates how the hieromonk Gregorios of Simonopetra was very

unsatisfied with the first book cover made in 1657 and sent it back to Brassó, where a new one was made in 1677.[96] The voivode was probably apprised about the outcome[97] and the successful fulfillment of the hieromonk's demand, which might have contributed to the commission of another richly decorated gospel cover, this time from Felten Igell.[98]

A similar gospel cover was identified by Marcu Beza in the collections of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and mentioned by Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos.[99] In 1681, Ilinca, together with her daughter Stanca and her son Mihai, went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[100] Further research will clarify if the gospel cover from Jerusalem can be related to Ilinca's pilgrimage from 1681 to 1684. Potentate pilgrims usually brought gifts with them in order to donate them, the Cantacuzin Chronicle mentions that they "offered silver and gold to the Holy Sepulcher as much as they had brought with them."[101] A golden plaque donated to the Holy Sepulcher, kept in the Treasury of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, was part of these offerings.[102]

After his return, Mihai erected a monastery at Râmnicu Sărat and offered it to the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. The donation was made together with Constantin Brancovan, who was not just his half-orphan nephew but "a creation of the clan"[103] and a member of it for a long time. His patronage was part of the Cantacuzini's art patronage; until he decided to follow his own path. In several cases, he commissioned works of art from the same artists, following his uncles' example. Just like in the case of the gospel covers, Brancovan commissioned a pair of ripidia for the Bistriţa monastery from Paul Schirmer, which repeat the iconographical scheme of those from the Cotroceni monastery, but without the representation of the donator's family.[104] This iconographical scheme represented a new feature, because before neither the decoration of the ripidia nor that of the liturgical plates displayed the dedication of the church, which in the case of Cotroceni monastery was the Dormition of the Virgin and Saint Serghius and Bacchus.[105] The central part of a liturgical plate made by the same goldsmith and donated in 1685 by Constantin Brancovan to Bistriţa monastery is decorated with the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin in accordance with the dedication of the katholikon.[106] For the same monastery, he also made an octagonal plate

FIGURE 10.5   *Gospel cover from Cotroceni monastery*, 1681
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with the same type of representation of the Virgin and Child in the center,[107] which is similar to the one on the back of the gospel cover from Dintr-un Lemn monastery.

Paul Schirmer was not the only master from Nagyszeben whose work was part of the endowment of the Cotroceni monastery. Just like the senior one, the junior chief master, who at that time was Merten Herman Junior,[108] also made claim to this lucrative opportunity, making a pair of candlesticks for the monastery.[109] After Paul Schirmer died in 1685, the voivode applied to the chief master from Brassó, Hans Hennek (Johannes Henning),[110] who made several lamps decorated with fleshy flowers for the Cotroceni monastery,[111] which were still in fashion at that time.

The kivotia and katzi from the Cotroceni monastery were made by unidentified masters. According to the inscription displayed on a light blue enameled background, the kivotion, reproducing a church at small scale, was donated by Şerban in 1685 along with an identical vessel (likely intended for the chapel) (Fig. 10.6).[112] The katzi, donated in 1686, is decorated on its flat part with the Dormition of the Virgin (in accordance with the dedication of the katholikon), below which kneels the donator and his family (Fig. 10.7).[113]

Thomas Klosch, another goldsmith (and a former chief master) from Brassó,[114] made a pair of candlesticks for the same monastery,[115] as well as two lamps, decorated with Şerban's coat of arms, which were donated by Constantin Brancovan to the Bistriţa monastery around 1689[116] according to the inscription incised on the upper part of the candles.[117] The coat of arms clearly indicates that the lamps were made for Şerban. He died suddenly in October 1688,[118] at which point the lamps were not yet delivered. Brancovan, who became voivode after Şerban's death, forced the widow to give up part of her family fortune, claiming that Şerban failed to pay the annual tribute to the Ottomans.[119] He probably took the lamps, paying for them or confiscating them, and finally donated them to Bistriţa monastery.[120]

Şerban's second wife, Maria, and his daughters also contributed to the art patronage of the family. Maria, who was of humble origins, founded a church in Bucharest dedicated to the Entry of the Virgin into the Temple,[121] without doubt with the support of her husband. The church was a metochion of the Cotroceni monastery,[122] and it was probably built with the contribution of the same masters who had built the monastery.

This dual patronage can also be observed in the case of church embroideries. It is presumed that the three, almost identical, epitaphioi depicting the Descent from the Cross (the first was gifted by Şerban and Maria to the Cotroceni monastery in 1680, the second to the Tismana monastery in 1681, and the third to the Doamnei church in 1683)[123] were made by the same embroiderers.

Later, in 1688, Maria donated lamps to the Măgureni monastery that were commissioned from Georg May (II),[124] a goldsmith from Brassó, who also worked for Constantin Brancovan. In 1709, together with her daughter Maria (Constantin Bălăceanu's widow),[125] and with the financial support of the ecclesiarch Neophytos, Maria dedicated a reliquary casket[126] for the skull of St. Gregory the Theologian to the Vatopaidi monastery on Mount Athos.[127] The relic often accompanied the monks from Mount Athos as they went on alms missions, and it was probably on such a mission into Wallachia that the reliquary casket was made.[128] The body of the vessel is covered with gilt floral ornament and acanthus leaves on a silver ground, while the lid is decorated with the standing figures of the Three Hierarchs. Smaranda, Şerban's daughter who died at a young age, donated a lamp commissioned from Sebastian Hann to the Sărindari monastery[129] shortly after she became Grigore Băleanu's wife.[130]

The son of Drăghici, named Şerban like his uncle, and nicknamed Măgureanu (after the Măgureni village where he owned land) contributed to the renovation of the Cozia and Comana monasteries (the latter was the burial place of his third father, Voivode Radu Şerban).[131] In the first period of the renovations he donated an artophorion to Comana that was made in Venice by an unidentified master, who used the maker's mark ST,[132] in the memory of his parents and his two wives.[133] The artophorion, unlike the widespread type (shaped like a church-like casket), has a cylindrical shape, is topped with a dome,[134] and is decorated with standing figures. Şerban Măgureanu's further donations, together with his second wife Andreiana, to the Radu Vodă monastery, the Târnovului monastery, and posthumously in 1710 to the Surpatele monastery,[135] and to the Dormition of the Virgin monastery from Râmnicu Sărat,[136] point to his preference for the same Venetian goldsmith. In all four cases, the ornament of the plates indicates that they were initially designed for domestic purposes.

FIGURE 10.6   *Kivotion from Cotroceni monastery,* before 1688
© NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART OF ROMANIA, BUCHAREST

FIGURE 10.7   *Katzi from Cotroceni monastery,* before 1686
© NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ART OF ROMANIA, BUCHAREST

3   The End of a Clan but Not of a Legacy

Ştefan, the son of Constantin, became voivode in 1714, and confident that he would be able to rule for an extended period, started to renovate the Annunciation Church from the old court complex, as well as the Church of St. Peter and Paul.[137] During the same period, he also built a "palazzino" in the garden of his residence.[138] However, soon after, in 1716, he was replaced with Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, who realized the Cantacuzini were still a powerful clan and that the consolidation of his own position was contingent upon their annihilation. Through compromising letters, he managed to charge the family and ultimately have Constantin and Ştefan executed in Constantinople. Soon after, Mihai was also executed in Adrianople. After ensuring the end of the clan, Mavrokordatos commissioned the construction of a magnificent monastery in Văcăreşti, near Bucharest—a monument that paradoxically represented the very apogee of the artistic blossoming under the Cantacuzini.

Much has been written about the works that were created under the Cantacuzini's patronage, and they are considered expressions of the so-called Brancovan style (after the name of Voivode Brancovan). A brief examination of the surviving works reveal that while the architecture and goldsmithery they commissioned followed an innovative way, comprised of Oriental traits and new ornamental motifs borrowed from Western European art, the liturgical textiles, or church paintings, kept to the tradition, respecting the canons of Eastern religious art. The ornamental sculptures (mainly tombstones) could be included in the first group, though they do not display Oriental features. This hybridity was not always the outcome of a situation in which masters coming from different cultural areas worked together in order to create a building complex or a work of art. Following a model from a realm other than the artist's could also result in a hybrid work of art, just like in the case of the basin that once belonged to Şerban Cantacuzino. With a shape typical for Islamic lavabo sets, it was not made by a goldsmith from the Ottoman Empire but by a master who was a German-speaking Hungarian subject of the Transylvanian Principality. It is more than likely that he worked following an Oriental model that was probably sent to him by the patron.

The Hungarian goldsmiths became acquainted with the ornamental repertoire of the newest fashions in decorative arts during their journeyman years, spent mostly in Central Europe, and sometimes in Western and Northern Europe. Usually they returned back to their hometown in order to become members of the guild, along with prints they had collected in their travels bound together into pattern books. These prints, just like the books of ornaments—especially the frontispieces—played an important role in the transmissions of ornamental motifs and compositional schemes. Pattern books were used not only by goldsmiths but also by stone carvers. Salient similarities, which can be noticed between some ornamental sculptures of the Black Church in Braşov, the stone frames of the main entrance of the katholikon of the Hurezi monastery, or the stone fragments from Văcăreşti monastery, suggest that it is likely they were made by the same masters or group of masters who strongly influenced each other.[139] Not just the same decorative pattern was followed, but even the stone-carving technique is similar. Since we lack written sources referring to the building process, all this must remain supposition.

We still know very little about the creation process of the surviving works, of how architects and craftsmen were chosen, and how decisions on design and decoration were made. But what we can say with certainty is that the Cantacuzini's ambitions, wealth, and taste set new standards for arts patronage in Wallachia and resulted in remarkable works of art that display an original mixture of local, Western, and Oriental elements. Aesthetically important for the art of the region, this approach continued until the recent past.

Notes

1 Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth century the term Wallachia often referred both to Ungro-Wallachia and Moldo-Wallachia. A letter sent to Maximillian II by Christoph Teuffenpach is relevant in this sense; Teuffenpach wrote that the sultan flung both Wallachias ("*der Türkisch Kayser habe beiden Walacheien aufboten*"); see Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei şi Ţării-Române* (Bucureşti, 1930), 2:95. The title of the metropolitan preserved part of this denomination: Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia. In the same way, in Poland the denomination "Wołoszczyzna" referred to both Wallachias; Daniel Ursprung, "Raumvorstellungen und Landesbewusstsein: Die Walachei als Name und Raumkonzept im historischen Wandel," in *Das Südosteuropa der Regionen*, eds. Oliver Jens Schmitt and Michael Metzeltin (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 522.

2 Lviv, Ukraine.

3 Corneliu Dima-Drăgan, *Biblioteca unui umanist român, Constantin Cantacuzino Stolnicul* (Bucureşti: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură şi Artă, Consiliul Aşezămintelor Culturale, 1967), 18–25.

4 For further examples, see Corina Popa, "Elemente de morfologie otomană în arta monumentală din Ţara Românească (secolele XVI–XVII)," *Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice* 3, nr. 2 (1992): 45–53.

5 The family adapted later the Latinized form of the Greek surname Kantakouzenos.

6 Pomorie, Bulgaria.

7 Samuel Gerlach, ed., *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch der von zween glorwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten* [...] (Frankfurt am Mayn: Zunner, 1674), 64.

8 "Wird Herr über Balachia und Bogdania"; Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 260.

9 Tom Papademetriou, *Render unto the Sultan: Power, Authority, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the Early Ottoman Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 200.

10 Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance: Continuation de l'histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucarest: L'Institut d'Étude Byzantine, 1935), 116.

11 Nicolae Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini. Studii istorice basate în parte pe documentele inedite din arhiva D-lui G. Gr. Cantacuzino* (Bucureşti: Institutul de Arte Grafice şi Editură "Minerva," 1902), 47.

12 Nicolae Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători în Ţara Românească şi Moldova. Sec. XIV–XVII* (Bucureşti: Editura enciclopedică română, 1971), 361.

13 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 363.

14 "care capete de-abea de au avut cîndva această ţar, sau de va mai avea"; Miron Costin, "Letopiseţulu Ţării Moldovei de la Aaron vodă încoace (...)" in *Opere*, ed. P.P. Panaitescu (Bucureşti: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă, 1958), 121.

15 The Dormition of the Virgin Church, known as Tălpălarior Church.

16 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 361.

17 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 135.

18 Sometimes her name is mentioned in the documents as Elina.

19 Călin Hoinărescu, "Ctitoriile cantacuzine din Prahova—Premisă fundamentală a arhitecturii brîncoveneşti," *Revista muzeelor si monumentelor—Monumente istorice şi de artă* 16, no. 1 (1985): 55.

20 Hoinărescu, "Ctitoriile cantacuzine," 58–59.

21 *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch: Written by His Attendant Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic*, trans. F.C. Belfour and A.M. Oxon (London, 1836), 1:160.

22 *Travels of Macarius*, 157–58.

23 "Aus dem alten griechischen Kaysergeschlecht der Kantakuziner"; Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 60.

24 "Dem Costandin Postelnic, ein alter, greiser undt sehr verständiger Herr, so von dess Constantini keyssers Familii, welcher Constantinopol gebawet gewesen"; *Siebenbürgische Chronik des Schässburger Stadtschreibers Georg Kraus. 1608–1665.* (Wien: Ausschusse des Vereines für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, 1864) 2:372.

25 It is kept today in the collection of the National Museum of Arts of Romania, Bucharest.

26 Vilnius, Lithuania.

27 Corina Nicolescu, *Argintăria laică şi religioasă în Ţările Române (sec. XIV–XIX)* (Bucureşti: Muzeul de Artă al Republicii Socialiste România, 1968), 289.

28 Voivode Radu Şerban.

29 Voivode Constantin Şerban.

30 Dumitraşcu Filipescul.

31 The defunct voivode was his father-in-law, and Voivode Constantin Şerban was his illegitimate son, so he could be considered a brother-in-law. Ancoutza, as daughter of the defunct voivode, was his sister-in-law, Elina his wife, and Dumitraşcu was the father of her daughter's husband, Pană Filipescu; Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 177–78. And Istrate was the husband of Ancoutza's daughter; Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 206.

32 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 136.

33 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 289.

34 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 135.

35 *Siebenbürgische Chronik*, 2: 372.

36 Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini*, 58.

37 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 137–39.

38 Her second husband was Radu Creţulescu, the great logothete.

39 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 136.

40 Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini*, 80.

41 Del Chiaro, Anton Maria, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia: Con la descrizione del paese, natura, costumi, riti e religione degli abitanti* (Venezia: Antonio Bortoli, 1718), 125.

42 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 137–38.

43 A photo of the page with the record in the matricola was published in Radu Ştefan Ciobanu, *Pe urmele stolnicului Constantin Cantacuzino* (Bucureşti: Editura Sport Turism, 1982).

44 Del Chiaro, *Istoria*, 128.

45 Del Chiaro, *Istoria*, 130–31.

46 Iorga, *Despre Cantacuzini*, 124–25.

47 Del Chiaro relates a (probably fictious) scene: The sultan, seeing him from the window of his residence in Adrianople, how briskly he got on the horse, made a remark to the vizir about the resemblance between him and his ancestor, calling him "Cantacusin Saitàn Ogulù,"; *Istoria*, 132.

48 Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 267 (quoted after Papademetriou, *Render unto*, 206).

49 Ionescu, G.M., *Istoria Cotrocenilor, Lupescilor (Sf. Elefterie) şi Grozăvescilor* (Bucuresci: Tipografia şi Fonderia de Litere Thoma Basilescu, 1902).

50 George Potra, *Istoricul hanurilor bucureştene* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1985), 35–36.

51 Potra, *Istoricul hanurilor*, 35–36.

52 Potra, *Istoricul hanurilor*, 35.

53 The Entry of the Virgin into the Temple Church, called "Doamnei" (Lady's) Church.

54 Constantin was the patron of the St. Stephen Church in Târgovişte, which was called the "Stolnik's" church because at that time he served as stolnik.

55 Gheorghe Brancovici, *Cronica românească*, eds. Damaschin Mioc and Marieta Adam-Chiper (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1987), 74.

56 Sinaia, Romania. The village was named after the skete.

57 Candid C. Muşlea, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din Şcheii-Braşovului* (Braşov: Institutul de Arte Grafice "ASTRA," 1943), 1:381, 385.

58 Elisabeta Negrău, "Hramul vechiului paraclis al mănăstirii Comana. Note privind cultul sfinţilor Eftimie şi Spiridon în Ţările Române (sec. XVII–XVIII.)," *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 32 (2014): 363.

59 "Introdusse nella sua Corte un modo di vivere più pulito, e civile; giacchè sino a quel tempo non era stato in uso l'adoperar vassellami di argento, spezialmente nella Mensa"; Del Chiaro, *Istoria*, 144.

60 It is kept today in the collection of the National Museum of Arts of Romania, Bucharest.

61 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 140.

62 Del Chiaro, *Istoria*, 124.

63 Corina Nicolescu published an image of it in 1963, following studies by Viktor Roth and Theodora Voinescu, and she identified the maker master as EV. Roth found the mark on a standing cup from Holzmengen (Holcmány; Hosman) and published it in 1912, mentioning it as a mark formed from the letters E and V. Later he also published the image of the mark, upon which Theodora Voinescu and Corina Nicolescu based their identification of the same mark on silverworks commissioned by the Cantacuzini. See Corina Nicolescu, "Die Rolle der siebenbürgische Goldschmiede in der Entwicklung der Goldschmiedekunst der rumänischen Länder im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 6 (1963): nr. 6., fig. 11; Theodora Voinescu, "Din legăturile artistice ale Ţării Româneşti cu Transilvania (Meşteri argintari)," *Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei* 3, nos. 1–2 (1956): 82–88; Viktor Roth, "Az egyházi kehely történeti fejlődése Erdélyben," *Archeológiai Értesítő* 32 (1912): 91–132; *Kunstdenkmäler aus den sächsischen Kirchen Siebenbürgens. Goldschmiedearbeiten* (Hermannstadt: Drotleff, 1922), 177.

64 It is kept today at St. Nicholas Church, Braşov.

65 Corina Nicolescu, *Biserica Sf. Nicolae din Şcheii Braşovului* (Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane, 1967), 28.

66 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 143.

67 Dan Ionescu, "Ideal and Representation: The Ideal of the Restoration of the Byzantine Empire during the Reign of Şerban Cantacuzino (1678–1788)," *Revue d'Études Sud-Est Européennes* 12 (1974): 523, 527.

68 On the katzi from Cotroceni monastery kept at the National Museum of Arts in Bucharest appears as part of the inscription with Cyrillic letters: "(...)IO SERBANU CATACUZINO BASARABU (...)" ("ІѠШЄРБАНЬКА ТАКУЗУНОБАСАРЬЬ").

69 Constantin Rezachevici, "Cum a apărut numele dinastic Basarab şi cum l-a adoptat Matei Vodă," *Analele Universităţii Craiova. Seria Istorie* (2005), 11.

70 It is kept today in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

71 The Islamic form of the basin and its significance were clarified for me by András Riedelmayer during the research seminar "From Riverbed to Seashore" led by Alina Payne at Harvard University.

72 Sibiu, Romania.

73 Braşov, Romania.

74 Tihamér Gyárfás, *A brassai ötvösség története* (Brassó: n.p., 1912), 125.

75 It is kept today in the collection of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu.

76 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 27.

77 Peter Schnell, senior and junior, in 1615 and in 1637; Gyárfás Tihamér, "A nagyszebeni ötvösök mesterjegytáblája," *Archeológiai Értesítő* 30 (1910): 415.

78 Daniela Dâmboiu, *Breasla aurarilor din Sibiu între secolele XVI–XVII* (Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Altip, 2008), 215.

79 It is the reason why, for researchers, this master remained anonymous for a long time. Other than the standing cup from Holzmengen, works from his early period are not known. A parcel-gilt tankard bearing his mark was auctioned by Sotheby's in 1990 and arrived in the collection of Nicholas M. Salgo, while a bowl (modified later and mounted on an oval base), chased with mythological scenes and bearing his mark, was auctioned by Sotheby's in 2008; see Judit H. Kolba, *Hungarian Silver: The Nicholas M. Salgo Collection* (Cambridge: Thomas Heneage, 1997), 59 (nr. 37); "A Continental Silver-Gilt Figural Tazza," Sotheby's, New York, October 17, 2008, lot 60: http://www.sotheby.com (accessed January 20, 2016).

80 Dâmboiu, *Breasla*, 215.

81 Dâmboiu, *Breasla*, 216.

82 There is a copper ewer and basin of this type in the collection of the Hurezi monastery.

83 Iulius Bielz, *Arta aurarilor saşi din Transilvania* (Bucureşti: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură şi Artă, 1957), 24.

84 It is kept today in the Library of the Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu.

85 Ştefan Lemny, *Cantemireştii. Aventura europeană a unei familii princiare din secolul al XVIII-lea*, trans. Magda Jeanrenaud (Iaşi: Polirom, 2010), 52.

86 Lemny, *Cantemireştii*, 77.

87 Accession nr: 2005.62.1, 2005.62.2. According to the online database of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York, http://www.metmuseum.org (accessed on January 20, 2015): it entered the Imperial Russian Collection; in 1932 it was sold by the Soviet government to a German private collection. In 1990 it was auctioned at Christie's (Mary Clare Altenhofen's research clarified that it was not auctioned at Sotheby's as is stated in the online database of the museum) and bought by a German art dealer; in 2005 it was acquisitioned by Wolfram Koeppe for the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York.

88 Mentioned as EV master. Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 87.

89 Lviv, Ukraine.

90 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 298–99.

91 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 300.

92 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 302.

93 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 299.

94 Yota Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Book Cover 'by the Hand of Loukas of Hungary-Wallachia' and 'Iakovos, Hieromonk of Simonopetra,'" in *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A.A. Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, 1997), 370–71.

95 Gyárfás, *A brassai*, 116. Tihamér Gyárfás has not published Valentin Igell's mark, but the analysis of the guild records and the data published by Gyárfás revealed that the only master whose initials match the letters from the mark in the period under discussion is Valentin Igell (he was active as a goldsmith master between 1666 and 1691).

96 Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Book Cover," 370–71.

97 The Cotroceni monastery founded by him had close relations with Mount Athos (later, in 1682 the monastery was offered to the Mount Athos monasteries).

98 Valentin's Saxon nickname.

99 Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, "Book Cover," 371.

100 Marinescu, Adrian, "Legături ale domnitorilor români cu Sinaiul," *Anuarul Facultăţii de Teologie Ortodoxă "Patriarhul Justinian"* 7 (2007): 236.

101 *Istoria Ţării Romîneşti. 1290–1690. Letopiseţul Cantacuzinesc*, eds. C. Grecescu and D. Simonescu (Bucureşti: n.p., 1960), 180.

102 Virgil Cândea, *Mărturii româneşti peste hotare. Creaţii româneşti şi izvoare despre români in colecţii din străinătate* (Bucureşti: Editura Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2011), 3:43.

103 Ionescu, "Ideal and Representation," 532.

104 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 210.

105 Corina Popa, "Model şi variante în argintăria brâncovenească," *Studii şi Cercetări de Istoria Artei* (Seria Artă Plastică) 36 (1989): 34.

106 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 140.

107 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 140.

108 Dâmboiu, *Breasla*, 191.

109 Carmen Tănăsoiu, "Odoarele Hureziului," *Ctitorii brâncoveneşti. Elemente de artă eclesială medievală* (Bucureşti: Editura Cuvântul Vieţii, 2014), 208.

110 Gyárfás, *A brassai ötvösség*, 116.

111 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 247–48. (According to the catalogue the two lamps are punched with his mark, and another two are attributed to him.)

112 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 176–77.

113 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 235.

114 Gyárfás, *A brassai ötvösség*, 112.

115 Tănăsoiu, *Odoarele*, 208.

116 Carmen Tănăsoiu attracted my attention to these interesting and meaningful details (Şerban's coat of arms appears on the lamp, but in the inscription Constantin Brancovan is mentioned as the donor) during my research in the collections of National Museum of Arts of Romania, Bucharest.

117 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 249–50.

118 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 138.

119 Mariana Lazăr, "Contextul finalului domniei lui Şerban Cantacuzino şi situaţia averii sale," *Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie* 33 (2015): 361.

120 Bistriţa, Oltenia.

121 It is still called the "Doamnei" Church (Lady's church).

122 Lazăr, Mariana, *O biserică bucureşteană, metoh al mănăstirii Cotroceni*, http://www.monumentul.ro/pdfs/0%20biserica%20bucuresteana.pdf (accessed January 20, 2016).

123 Ana Maria Musicescu, *Broderia veche românească* (Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane, 1985), 24.

124 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 248–49.

125 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 113.

126 It is kept at the Vatopaidi monastery on Mount Athos.

127 Anna Ballian, "Vatopaidi Monastery—Artworks from Moldavia and Wallachia of the 17th-Early 18th centuries," www. pemptousia.com (accessed January 10, 2016).

128 Ballian, "Vatopaidi Monastery."

129 Viorica Guy Marica, *Sebastian Hann* (Bukarest: Editura Fundaţiei Culturale Române, 1998), 189.

130 Stoicescu, *Dicţionar al marilor dregători*, 117.

131 Negrău, *Hramul*, 360.

132 The artophorion is currently on display in the National Museum of Arts of Romania in Bucharest. The mark was discussed recently by Anita Paolicchi, see "Argenteria veneziana acquistata al tempo di Constantin Brâncoveanu da Şerban Cantacuzino II Măgureanu (1685–1710)," in *Brâncoveanu 300: Epoca brâncoveneasca la orizontul modernităţii româneşti*, eds. Florentina Niţu, Şarolta Solcan and Radu Nedici (Bucureşti: Editura Universităţii din Bucureşti, 2016), 161.

133 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 179.

134 In the period under discussion several analogies are known in the regions south to the Danube: the artophorion dedicated by Neopytos, metropolitan of Adrianople, to his cathedral church (kept at the Museum of Byzantine and Christian Art, Athens), or the artophorion dedicated by Hegumen Damascene to the Bachkovo monastery.

135 Nicolescu, *Argintăria*, 154–56.

136 Valentina-Cristina Sandu, *Restituiri istorice. O anaforniţă şi o piatră de mormânt cantacuzină de la biserica Adormirii din Râmnicu Sărat*, http://www.bursedoctorale.ro/public/documente/conferinte/1332621577 (accessed January 20, 2016).

137 Mariana Lazăr, "Politica ctitoricească a lui Ştefan Cantacuzino, domn al Ţări Româneşti (1714–1716)," *Revista istorică* 27, nos. 5–6 (2016): 444.

138 Del Chiaro, *Istoria*, 12.

139 Bálint Ágnes Ziegler, "A brassói evangélikus főtemplom (Fekete Templom) 18. századi újjáépítése. Felekezeti, politikai, rendi csoportidentitás kifejeződése egy újjászülető épületben" (PhD diss., Eötvös Loránd University, 2012), 192–93.

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The Reliquary of St. Niphon

Relations between Wallachia, Constantinople, and Mt. Athos

Ioli Kalavrezou

This essay offers some thoughts on an important and well-known object that has mostly received the attention of church historians.[1] It has a place in history during the early stages of the relations that developed between Wallachia and the post-Byzantine Orthodox Church in the very early years of the sixteenth century. However, as an *object* it also displays a complex and layered visual message arising from its hybridity, itself the result and visual testament of a series of geographical intersections from Wallachia to Constantinople. It is a reliquary, now in the monastery of Dionysiou on Mt. Athos, that contains most of the bones of St. Niphon.

St. Niphon II was an Athonite monk who also, for a brief period, served as ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople, but who moreover settled in Wallachia in the early years of the sixteenth century after an official invitation from the country's ruler, Radu cel Mare (r. 1495–1508). He was pronounced a saint a short time after his death in 1508. Looking at his life and a series of related events, they reveal the interactions that unfolded between the patriarchate, Athonite monasticism, and the political life of Wallachia. All this unraveled in the wake of the Ottoman Empire's rise as the dominant political and military power in the region. In this reliquary, we have an object that, through its form, images, and materials, is the product and testimony to the interactions and exchanges that this volume has proposed to study. It also demonstrates the concepts that can be extracted from the study of multicultural exchanges such as hybridity, portability, and transportability.

This reliquary, when displayed open for pilgrims who pay their respects to the saint, does not quite reveal its full form. It appears as a rectangular container in the shape of a box or even a coffin. Once the "architectural" lid is lifted, the reliquary reveals its content (Fig. 11.1). Several of the bones are visible through openings cut out of the metal cover that protects the contents. These cutouts are shaped in the form of the bone immediately underneath.[2] A portrait of St. Niphon, that is, his "icon," was painted on the inner surface of the open lid, depicting a frontal bust-length St. Niphon dressed in his episcopal garments, holding a thick book in his outstretched left hand and with his right blessing a young man in a kneeling and praying position before the saint (Fig. 11.2).[3] He is dressed in a bright red tunic and mantle with a wide collar and golden decorative trim; he also wears a high crown. Although there are no inscriptions next to the figure, he has always been identified as the voivode of Wallachia, Neagoe Basarab, the supporter of Niphon and patron of the reliquary, depicting here the spiritual connection that was established between the two.

It is important to realize that after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, the patriarch was the authority of the Orthodox Church. Niphon II, as mentioned above, had been ecumenical patriarch, the highest ecclesiastical position in the Orthodox Church. He was recognized not only as a religious figurehead but also as an administrative and legislative authority, which stretched beyond Constantinople. The Orthodox Church, in general, and more specifically the patriarch, were to organize and administer the various Orthodox populations within the Ottoman Empire. His authority and jurisdiction (κυριαρχία καὶ δικαιοδοσία) was accepted by all the Christian peoples of the empire. Considering the complex military and geopolitical conditions of the period, the Balkan Peninsula and its peoples had become a region of fundamental importance in an effort to maintain order and unity in the Orthodox Church. The Danubian Principalities, one of the more remote areas of the Ottoman Balkans, was of special concern to the patriarch. At the same time, the various rulers and archons of those areas sought to establish good relations for their own security and advancement with the Orthodox authorities, that is, the patriarchate and the monastic foundations on Mt. Athos, the only other stable Christian society in this period. Niphon II was one of

FIGURE 11.1   View of relics, Reliquary of St. Niphon Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPH: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

the individuals who, at the request of Radu cel Mare, the ruler of Wallachia, became involved in the organization of the Wallachian Church.[4]

Although known as one of the first ten ecumenical patriarchs after the fall of Constantinople, Niphon II is also known as a saint of the Orthodox Church. In Romania, he is particularly revered because of his role in the organization of the church.[5] His early life is not known, except that he was born in the Peloponnese around 1435–40. However, we do have knowledge of his clerical career from a vita composed in Greek by a certain Gabriel (known as Gavriil Protu in Wallachia), also from Mt. Athos; probably composed shortly after his death.[6] This version, however, has not survived but exists in various redactions and biographical texts that describe his activities as a monk and priest before he became patriarch and later archbishop in Wallachia. It is important to point out that he held the diocese of Thessaloniki for several years before receiving the patriarchate, giving him the opportunity to not only establish important connections with individuals within the Orthodox hierarchy but also political connections with the Ottoman authorities.[7]

As patriarch, Niphon served on the throne at least twice, but both were rather brief periods.[8] After his second patriarchate, which ended in 1498, Niphon was exiled to Adrianople. It was there, while residing at the monastery of St. Stephen, that he met Radu cel Mare— Radu the Great, voivode of Wallachia since 1495.[9] Radu had come to Adrianople to pay the annual tribute and homage to Sultan Bayazid II (r. 1481–1512). It was then that Radu, having met the ex-patriarch, invited him to his country to become Wallachia's new archbishop, which was approved by the Ottoman authorities and the Holy Synod.[10] The reason for this gesture was his realization that the Wallachian Church had fallen into lawlessness and the charge to the archbishop was to establish order and reorganize it.

His activities and his reception are enthusiastically recorded in the various vita redactions. In the Meteora

FIGURE 11.2   St. Niphon and Neagoe Basarab, Reliquary of St. Niphon, Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPH IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

redaction he is seen as a new apostle who has come to liberate many from the claws of the devil.[11] In another redaction he is described as having been sent by God to restore order.[12] When in Wallachia, he took his task quite seriously, to the point that he began to interfere in state affairs, something that angered Radu, who then decided to dethrone Niphon in 1505 and exiled him—never to return to Wallachia again. Niphon withdrew to the monastery of Dionysiou on Mt. Athos, where he remained until his death three years later in 1508.[13] What occurred in the following years led to the creation of the reliquary under discussion.

In the few years Niphon spent in Wallachia he established a close relationship with the young noble Neagoe Basarab, a voivode of Wallachia, to whom he had become a spiritual father. Neagoe became an important political figure, ascending the throne after Niphon's death in 1512 and gaining the throne with the help of his family, the Craiovesti boyars, and reigning for nine years, until 1521.[14] He became famous not only as a great ruler but also for his attention to the Orthodox Church throughout the Eastern Ottoman world, supporting various

establishments and monasteries on Mt. Athos. For the monastery of Dionysiou he had a fortification tower and water reservoir built in 1520, a year before his death. He also is known for one of the earliest literary works of Wallachia called "The teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his son Theodosie," where he touches upon various subjects, such as philosophy, diplomacy, and ethics.[15] In Dionysiou there is a small portrait painting that possibly depicts Neagoe and his son Theodosie blessed by the hand of God from above.

Neagoe's close relationship to his mentor and the bond that developed between them found expression in his decision to ask for the exhumation of Niphon's remains from the monastery of Dionysiou where he was buried. A translation took place and the body arrived in Wallachia where Neagoe set up a penitential apology to Niphon from his deceased predecessor Radu the Great, the man who had sent the archbishop into exile. The ceremony took place at the monastery of Dealu, which was founded by Radu and also where he was buried.[16] Niphon was canonized, and then the bones, now holy relics, were returned to the Dionysiou
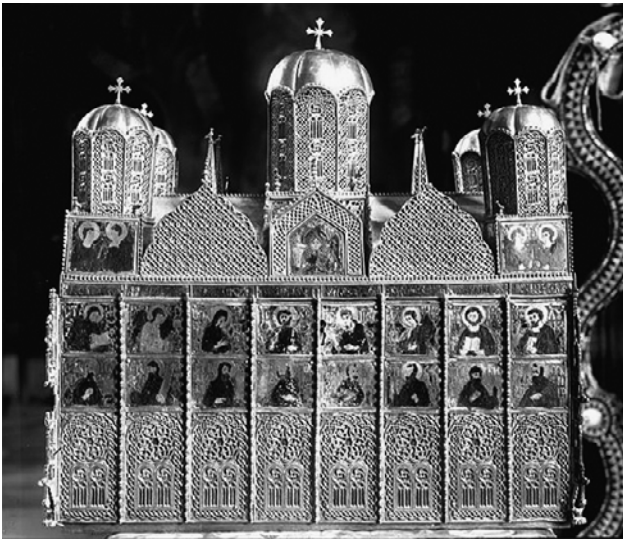
FIGURE 11.3   Reliquary of St. Niphon, Frontal full view when
closed Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPH FROM N.P. KONDAKOV,
*PAMJATNIKI HISTIANSKOGO ISKUSSTVO NA
AFONE*, ST. PETERSBURG, 1902, FIG. 85

monastery on Mt. Athos.[17] They were returned in the reliquary under discussion, which Neagoe had commissioned in the shape of a five-domed church, the type of building that had become popular in the Balkans in the fourteenth century and beyond. However, he did not return the head and the right arm of the saint, which are still kept in the cathedral church of St. Demetrios of Craiova. Recently, in 2019 these relics were moved into a new silver reliquary. In other words, the relics of St. Niphon are divided between Mt. Athos and Craiova, in today's geography between Greece and Romania, the two places with the most dedicated venerations of the saint. Now knowing the circumstances of the creation of this object, we can return to the reliquary and take a closer look at its appearance and what messages it might communicate.

The container in the Dionysiou monastery is not just a chest for the placement of the saint's bones. When closed, it becomes a small architectural structure, clearly a church, and most importantly a church with five domes, a typical feature of fourteenth-century and later church structures in the Balkans (Fig. 11.3).[18] The rectangular container with Niphon's relics forms the body of the church building, and the lid is built up in order to create the roof with the domes. In the central crossing of the structure is placed the main octagonal dome, the tallest and largest reaching a total of sixty centimeters

FIGURE 11.4   Reliquary of St. Niphon, View from above,
Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPH: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

in height. The four smaller domes are placed in the four corner sections of the building and are hexagonal (Fig. 11.4). Gothic pinnacles, with a small bird attached at their top, fill in the empty space of the roof between the domes. Although constructed to depict a church, it is interesting to see that there is no indication of an apse on either one of its narrow sides (Fig. 11.5).[19] Gothic elements are present around the reliquary. The lowest section of the church structure is surrounded by a series of plaques in silver-gilded openwork. They are arranged so as to have eight on the long sides and four on the short,

FIGURE 11.5   Reliquary of St. Niphon, Frontal view, Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPH: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

suggesting Gothic windows. Narrow double windows with arched tracery and a centrally placed rose window above form the series.[20]

The openwork design is also applied in the upper parts of the building. There are four cornices, two on each of the long sides with an ogee arch and pinnacle, wrought in the same open work technique as the Gothic windows at the lower register. The drums of the domes display the same tracery, and the numerous pinnacles

of the cornice appear Gothic in concept. The unusual decoration of this Gothic design on what is considered a Byzantine-type church building is remarkable. It shows a hybridity of architectural styles not seen before on metalwork objects. It is also a witness to the impact that Western church design had in the region in this period.

Between these delicate and light sections of the church structure, two rows of enameled plaques with representations of busts of saints cover the sides of

FIGURE 11.6   Enamel plaques of the Deesis and additional saints, Reliquary of St. Niphon, Dionysiou monastery Front detail
PHOTOGRAPH: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

the container up to the level of the roof. The portraits selected to be placed on the exterior of the reliquary represent what is a typical Byzantine visual structure of the hierarchy of the holy (Fig. 11.6). On the front side, Christ, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, and the archangels form the most important visual representation of prayer, the Deesis, located at the top row of the holy figures. This composition can be expanded to include some or all of the apostles, the evangelists, church fathers (bishops), and martyrs, among them the military saints and the holy monks. The two registers of figures around the body of the reliquary include all these categories, sixty figures in total. Most of the enamel portrait plaques, created by the champlevé technique, have lost the colorful enamel paste, used mainly for their garments, so that the reliquary now appears more uniform

in its silver-gild surface. Scant remains of the enamel help identify the colors used: light blue, green in two different tones, red, brown, white, and ochre yellow. Thus, originally, the colorful main body of the reliquary made a much more vibrant and lively impact on the viewer than today.

On the front, together with the Deesis, are placed the four evangelists, hymnographers, and archbishops, all figures that contributed to the theology and structure of the church. These figures together comprise what can be defined as the liturgical side of the church and represent its intercessory role, as visualized through the Deesis itself with the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist, who are addressing Christ. On one of the narrow sides are eight apostles. On the second narrow side a variety of figures are placed together, from monks to

FIGURE 11.7   Reliquary of St. Niphon, Saint portraits of the two short sides, Dionysiou monastery
PHOTOGRAPHS: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

bishops; among them are Athanasios the Athonite as well as St. Niphon himself (Fig. 11.7).[21] This side is most appropriate for Niphon to be included on, reflecting his episcopal as well as his monastic characteristics. On the second larger side, the back of the reliquary, are applied plaques depicting the military saints, the protectors of the church and its people, and a few other categories of saints, like martyrs, Constantine and Helena and the medical saint Panteleimon. Eight additional plaques are placed at the roof level at the corners, which contain two figures each (Fig. 11.8). Six contain pairs of prophets, rightly placed at the upper segments of the reliquary-church, the traditional location of prophets in the interior decorative system of wall paintings within a church building. The other two depict four archangels,

which are placed on the front long side of the reliquary accompanying the scene of the Deesis, most appropriate for the extended composition of the Deesis. At the same level are also four of the highest hierarchy of beings in the category of angels, one on each side; two cherubim are on the long sides and two seraphim on the narrow.

All figures have inscriptions that identify them, which are written in Slavonic. However, the main dedicatory inscription is written in Greek. It surrounds the reliquary as a border at the lowest level of the lid of the container.[22] It is assembled by twenty-four narrow plaques, and the letters fill the whole height of the plaques. Unfortunately, those plaques on the back side, where the hinges are also attached, have lost the lettering, and the

FIGURE 11.8   Reliquary of St. Niphon, Back view, Dionysiou monastery
                  PHOTOGRAPH: DIONYSIOU MONASTERY

enamel and the inscription is incomplete. This is most unfortunate, since it was in this location that the name of the donor was mentioned. The Greek has many orthographical as well as misconstrued words, which suggests that it was composed by someone who knew some Greek but had little written experience and had mainly learned the language orally. The inscription explains that this is the chest of the most holy archbishop of Constantinople Niphon, also Ecumenical Patriarch of New Rome, commissioned and completed by the God-loving and most

pious. Here, the name of Neagoe would have followed, since these adjectives are used mostly for worldly leaders. Two other plaques survive with the following text: "The most holy, honest and illuminated father fell asleep there […]," and then on an additional plaque a date is given "in the year 7023=1514/5." This is the date of the production of the reliquary and is related to Neagoe's commission. The sequence of the plaques as they are now, applied on the container in this damaged area, seems not to be original.[23]

The one church famous for its five domes in Byzantium was the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which was built on the fourth hill and rose above the city. It is well known as one of Constantine I's great foundations, where he was also buried in 337 in an adjacent mausoleum.[24] This early Constantinian church was rebuilt by Justinian and was celebrated for its architecture of five domes, and also because it became the burial place for all Byzantine emperors until the eleventh century.[25] The church however, has not survived. Immediately after the conquest of the city in 1453, the Holy Apostles was given by Mehmet II to Patriarch Gennadios to become the seat of the patriarchate instead of the Hagia Sophia, where it had resided since the fourth century. For a number of not so clear reasons Gennadios, after a short time of residency at the Holy Apostles, abandoned the church and moved the Patriarchate to the Church of Pammakaristos in the northwestern part of the city.[26] The Holy Apostles, once the great church of Constantinople that dominated the city, was demolished in 1461 by Mehmet II to make way for the Fatih Mosque. Two illustrations in the Menologion of Basil II from circa 1000 depict the Holy Apostles. The scenes depict the translations of the bodies of St. Luke and St. John Chrysostom, both brought to be buried in that church.[27] In both, an attempt is made to show as many of the domes as possible. Three twelfth-century manuscripts also have as their frontispiece a representation of a five-domed church, usually identified symbolically as depicting the Church of the Holy Apostles. All three introduce homilies, and one has the homilies of Gregory Nazianzus in the Mt. Sinai manuscript. The other two, produced in the same workshop, contain the Homilies of James Kokkinobaphos on the life of the Virgin.[28]

These are sermons by church theologians, who were preachers, so to speak, of Christian teachings, as were the apostles. They follow their tradition, and introducing their texts with the image of the Church of the Holy Apostles makes this relation and parallelism very clear. That this building is meant to be the Church of the Holy Apostles is certified by the two scenes depicted within the architectural framework: the Ascension and Pentecost.

The one medieval building modeled after the Constantinopolitan Holy Apostles was the Church of San Marco in Venice. Built in the eleventh century, it became famous in the West for its Byzantine design with its five domes, a most unusual structure in the West.[29] In the late fifteenth century, the façade of San Marco was transformed by the addition of five round-arched portals with Gothic elements.[30] It became most renowned for this new aesthetic combining Byzantine grandeur and design with Western Gothic decorative features. It is this novel and recent aesthetic that we find also on the reliquary, which makes it unique and most unusual for its time.[31] By the fourteenth century, the five-domed church had become a favorite architectural type built throughout the Balkans.[32] Well known are the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, the Church of Gračaniča, and many others, as are the foundations of the ruling Wallachian families, for example, the Church of Dealu founded by Radu or Curtea de Argeş, the foundation of Neagoe Basarab.

The reliquary of St. Niphon is most unusual for this period and possibly is the first to use a church building to house the remains of a saint in the Eastern tradition. What is unusual in this work is the transformation of the "body" of the church structure into a "sarcophagus" for the remains of the body of a saint.[33] The five-dome design is also of special interest. Possibly the idea to create a church to house relics might have derived from seeing Western reliquaries with the remains of saints, which by this period had the appearance of church-like structures. But the pinnacles and turrets present on these are actually applied on what began as a sarcophagus with a slanted roof cover and not a church structure as such. I believe that the choice of the domed building for the reliquary here had a more specific meaning.

In the various versions of the vita, we are told that Radu is described as having a deep admiration for the devout Patriarch Niphon when he met him in Adrianople. It is also specifically mentioned that he was absolutely convinced that, while in Wallachia, Niphon "will become a new apostle, destined to save many a soul from the claws of the Devil."[34] The author describes, among other things, everyone welcoming Niphon "as having been sent by God" (ὡς ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πεμπόμενον).[35]

Once in Wallachia, the archbishop at once dedicated himself to organizing the church and reproaching and warning the people of their uncontrolled behavior in matters of religious and moral conduct. He also devoted much energy to instructing Radu and the local nobility on how to govern with political competence. These activities and the way they are described in the

various vita redactions present him very much in an apostolic light.

Because of his patriarchal position and his apostolicity in Wallachia, I can easily infer that special intention and meaning were given to the choice of a five-domed church-like structure for the housing of his remains. In this case, we have an object created in Wallachia in the early years of the sixteenth century, to be sent to the monastery of Dionysiou on Mt. Athos, which through its form references Constantinople and the apostolic tradition of teaching and organizing the church at the same time. Thus, we see portability and transported architecture as the chief carriers of meaning brought together in one most unusual object.

I want to close with a passage from a 1928 description of this reliquary by Robert Byron, a well-known English traveler who visited Mt. Athos and provided the following account:

"And with much ceremony the incomparable reliquary of St. Niphon was placed before the doors of the altar for our inspection. Of all products of the North Balkan, that cultural no-man's-land between east and west Europe, this object is perhaps the most extraordinary and beautiful. Niphon was the successor of Gennadios, the first Oecumenical Patriarch after the fall of Constantinople. (He seems to have retired at this monastery where he died in 1505). His bones with exception of his head and right hand, which are now said to be in Hungary, were incased in this coffer, sent from Wallachia by the Voivode Neagoe, whose confessor and godfather the Patriarch had been.

[...] But the outstanding and astonishing feature of the whole is the magnificently wrought tracery which, together with the numerous pinnacles of the cornice is entirely Gothic. Thus, it is shown how with the destruction of the Eastern Empire, western forms began to permeate the strongholds whence all medieval culture had originally sprung."[36]

The "cultural hybridity" of the reliquary was recognized early on. However, pointing out the themes, the forms, and the materials used in the creation of the St. Niphon reliquary allows us to recognize how, through visual means, an overall message is expressed; one connecting the political affairs of rulers, church hierarchy, and monasticism in the Balkans when it was under complex military and geopolitical conditions during a period of a struggle for recognition and the establishment of a new order.

Notes

1   Porfirije Uspenskij, *Pervoe putešestvie vafonski monastyri I skity v 1845 godu, ast'Ija, otdalenie vtoroe* (Kiev: 1877), 93–94; Nikodim Kondakov, *Pamjatniki hristianskogo iskusstva na Afone* (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1902), 214–15, fig. 85; Γ. Σμυρνάκης; Gerasimos Smyrnakis, Ἅγιον Ὄρος (Athens: n.p., 1903), 509; Gabriel Millet, Jules Pargoire and Louis Petit, eds., *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de l'Athos. Première partie* 465 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904), 161–62; Robert Byron, *The Station: Travels to the Holy Mountain of Greece* (London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2011), 130 [originally published in 1928 by Duckworth Publishers under the title *The Station, Athos: Treasures and Men*]; George Fousteris, "Η Λειψανοθήκη του Αγίου Νήφωνος," in *Ο Ἅγιος Νήφων, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1508–2008)*, *Τόμος επετειακός επί τη συμπληρώσει πεντακοσίων ετών από της κοιμήσεως αυτού* (Mount Athos: Monastery of Dionysiou, 2008), 451–71; Nikos Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns in the Early Modern Period: History, Mentalities, Institutions (II)," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique* 4 (2007): 59–104.

2   The head and right arm are still in the cathedral church of St. Demetrios of Craiova in Romania.

3   This painting of Neagoe Basarab praying to St. Niphon has now been removed and has become an independent icon of St. Niphon in the monastery. A copy of this scene has replaced it in the inner side of the lid where the original was removed. This change is also the cause of a misunderstanding in Panou's discussion of a description in one of St. Niphon's vita texts, see "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 74–75.

4   The author is indebted to two authors and their studies. For the historical information, most essential was Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns"; and essential for the reliquary, since I was not able to see it myself, was Fousteris, "Η Λειψανοθήκη του Αγίου Νήφονος."

5   For detailed bibliographical references on his life and career, see Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 62–63.

6   The vita composed by Gabriel seems to have been commissioned by Neagoe Basarab who, with this document, was at

the same time promoting his own agenda for his monarchical career.

7   For his career, see Florin Marinescu, "Η μαρτυρία και το έργο του Αγίου Νήφωνος στη Βλαχία," in *Ο Άγιος Νήφων, Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Τόμος επετειακός επί τη συμπληρώσει πεντακοσίων ετών από της κοιμήσεως αυτού (1508–2008)* (Mount Athos: Monastery of Dionysiou, 2008), 134–45; Aimilios Mavroudis, "Άγιος Νήφων, πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Από τον Μωρέα εις την Αχρίδα," in *Realia Byzantina*, eds. Sofia Kotzabassi and Giannis Mavromatis (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 167–90. For the versions of the surviving texts and concerning the vita, their histories, and their various redactions, see Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 66–67 and fns. 16 and 17.

8   Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," fn. 8.

9   For Radu the Great, see Radu Ştefan Vergatti, "Radu le Grand: Un voïvode valaque méconnu," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 47 (2008): 15–30.

10 For further bibliography, see Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 64.

11 On the Meteora manuscript, see Petre Ş. Năsturel, "Recherches sur les rédactions gréco- roumaines de la 'Vie de Saint Niphon II, patriarche de Constantinople,'" *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 5, nos. 1–2 (1967): 71; Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 68.

12 Grecu Vasile, ed., *Viata sfântului Nifon o redacţiune grecească inedită* [An unpublished Greek redaction of the Life of St. Niphon] (Bucharest: n.p., 1944), 78 (esp. lines 12–19).

13 Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 64–65.

14 Neagoe had usurped the throne by killing Ragu's brother, who ruled after Ragu's death in 1508.

15 For the life and career of Neagoe Basarb, see Mihai-D. Grigore, *Neagoe Basarab—Princeps Christianus. Christianitas-Semantik im Vergleich mit Erasmus, Luther, Machiavelli (1513–1523)* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015). The idea to write a text for his son reminds me of the one compiled by Constantine VII for his son Romanos in the tenth century, the *De Administrando Imperio* (How to rule an empire), containing much advice on diplomacy and other matters of government. In Dionysiou there is a small portrait painting depicting Neagoe and his son Theodosie blessed by the hand of God from above.

16 For a discussion of the translation and the ceremony, see Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 72–73; and Petre Guran, "Invention et translation des reliques—un cérémonial monarchique?" *Revue des Études Sud- Est Européennes* 36, nos. 1–4 (1988): 212–22.

17 The canonization was recognized by the Constantinopolitan Church, which was celebrated at Curtea de Argeş in 1517, a famous foundation by Neagoe Basarab dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin. Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 72–73 and fn. 32; for the political dimension of these events, see esp. 74–75 with further bibliography.

18 Reliquaries in the form of a church were not common until this late period. There is one example, probably from the tenth–eleventh century, now at Aachen, which has the shape of a small Byzantine church and served most likely as an Artophorion, a container that housed the bread of the liturgy. As such, the church building was most appropriate in relation to the liturgical space of the transubstantiation. It was transformed into a reliquary containing the head of St. Anastasios once it reached the West; see Martina Bagnoli, ed., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relic and Devotion in Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), cat. no. 55. Nonreligious buildings as containers did exist; for example, the famous incense burner in the treasury of San Marco, which was converted to a reliquary by the addition of crosses on its domes when it was brought to Venice from Constantinople by the crusaders. Nicolette Trahoulia, "The Scent of an Emperor: Desire and the San Marco Incense Burner," *Arte Medievale* 7 (2008): 33–40.

19 Perhaps an apse would have created an image expressing too strong a statement of St. Niphon's place in the church. Creating a reliquary with the likeness of a church was already a daring innovation.

20 There is another example of a miniature church in silver-gilt, very similar but much smaller, called Kivotion (Greek: container) now in the Muzeul Naţional de Artă al României (Inv. 14083/M 1446). It was given by the Craiovescu family to the Bistriţa monastery in the early sixteenth century. This is the family of Neagoe Besarab, and it seems to have been produced by the same workshop as the Niphon reliquary, but it had a different function.

21 Athanasios as well as Niphon are placed together here since they are both saints from Mt. Athos. All the figures are listed by Fousteris, with a drawing identifying their placement on the reliquary, in "Η Λειψανοθήκη," 466–67.

22 Fousteris, "Η Λειψανοθήκη," 464–65, with photographs of the plaques of the inscription.

23 For a discussion of this text, see Fousteris, "Η Λειψανοθήκη," 463–66.

24 Mark Joseph Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 118–22.

25 Another contemporary church, built by Justinian in the same design, with one large dome placed at the crossing of the two arms, the nave, and transept, and the other four placed one on each of the arms, but with an additional dome on the long nave arm, bringing the domes to six, was that of St. John in Ephesus, which is no longer standing. A later five-domed church, but of a smaller scale, was the Nea Ecclesia on the palace grounds, built by Basil I in the nineth century, which unfortunately has also not survived, and it is not certain how the five domes were arranged, probably with the four secondary ones not on the cross arms but in the corner segments.

26 Marios Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century*. Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources 13 (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1990), 57.

27 *El Menologio de Basilio II Emperador de Byzancio*, BAV, ms. Vat. Gr. 1613, f. 61 r, 121r; although only the third and fourth of the five domes are visible in the illustrations. Constantine's original conception of the church was for it to be a memorial dedicated to the apostles, with their cenotaphs arranged around the church and himself to be buried in the center. However, his tomb was removed and a separate mausoleum built for it. Over time, relics of apostles and patriarchs were brought to Constantinople and buried in that church.

28 Mt. Sinai, ms. gr. 339, fol. 1r, Paris, Bib. nat. gr. 1208, fol. 3v; and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana BAV, ms. Vat. Gr. 1162. It is not an accident that the Kokkinobaphos frontispieces have two narrative scenes added to the architectural design, the Ascension and Pentecost representing the apostles.

29 For its relation to and association with the Constantinopolitan Church of the Holy Apostles, it is important to mention that above the original central portal of the eleventh-century church there is a mosaic with representations of the apostles.

30 Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 1960). Michael Jacoff, "Fashioning a Facade. The Construction of Venetian Identity on the Exterior of San Marco," in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, eds. Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia, 2010), 113–50.

31 Actually, if one studies the overall impression of the late fifteenth-century façade of San Marco one can see that the reliquary has a similar construction: the Gothic portal/windows at the lower level, the body of the structure, the Gothic pinnacles, and then the five domes. I do not think it is a coincidence.

32 There are numerous buildings that spring up from the fourteenth century onwards. Where the four secondary domes are placed, however, has varied. The late Byzantine churches have the domes over the corners of an ambulatory, rather than the corners of the naos as they did in the middle Byzantine period, but the idea of the five domes remains the same.

33 As mentioned above, miniature versions of church buildings were made in Byzantium but not for bodily relics, see footnote 18.

34 Panou, "Greek-Romanian Symbiotic Patterns," 66–68; and also the Greek from the Meteora redaction in the edition of the vita published by Năsturel, "Recherches sur les rédactions gréco- roumaines," 71.

35 Grecu, *Viata sfântului Nifon*, 78 (lines 21–22).

36 Byron, *The Station*, 122.

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Between Venice and the Danube

Hieromonk Makarije and His Cyrillic Incunabula at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century

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The concept of cultural transfer was first introduced in research on European colonization in the early modern period. In the humanities, it was used to interpret the changes in the culture of the conquered as well as in the culture of the colonizers. The complexity of this acculturation process is reflected in the fact that the concept of cultural transfer not only functioned between two separate and different cultural systems (two or more states, nations, or entities) but also within one.[1] There were three interrelated components: a) a self-transferring culture, b) institutions that mediated the process, and c) a target cultural group. This meant not only the reception of the culture of the output system by the target group but also the transformation and incorporation of these elements into it.[2] The agents in this process were individuals who created networks through which ideas and objects circulated, causing different cultural references and meaning to be transmitted. One type of cultural transfer between Venice and the Danube region around 1500 occurred by way of printers and their books, as both moved across Southeastern Europe, disseminating ideas, art patterns, and decorative motifs.[3] The focus of this essay is the analysis of one such process, that is, the migration of artistic ideas and technologies from Venice through the Cetinje printing house to the Wallachian principality in the north.[4]

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Venice was the center of the publishing industry in Europe. Its position as a maritime trading power in the Mediterranean allowed books to be easily transported almost everywhere. It was one of the largest book markets, where one could find both grand libraries and numerous wealthy book collectors. For this reason, skilled artists and artisans from all around Europe flocked into the city.[5] Those of the Orthodox faith gathered around the Greek Orthodox Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (Fig. 12.1). This was a small community composed of entrepreneurs, adventurers, scholars, and members of old noble families who had emigrated from the Balkans for political

reasons.[6] Establishing a printing shop in the Ottoman Empire was a costly and challenging undertaking, so some of those enterprising individuals tried to organize the production of printed books for the Orthodox Slavs who lived in the Balkans under Ottoman domination. The Venetian government granted privileges to some publishers and printers to publish Cyrillic books and sell them in foreign markets, unhindered by competition. Financial benefits in that business were so high that the Venetian government even set aside religious arguments urging the control of Orthodox books' contents.[7]

The last third of the fifteenth century saw a change in the visual design of printed books in Venice: printers started decorating texts with richly ornamented Renaissance graphic frames and introducing color into books. In 1469, German printers Johann and Wendelin of Speyer, who Italianized their names into Giovanni and Vendelino da Spira, introduced a new round and readable letter type—the Roman type. Another well-known printer, Nicholas Jenson, continued working on this type, subsequently improving it.[8] Yet, another Venetian printer of German origin, Erhard Ratdold, pioneered a new concept in book decoration by introducing wood-carved illustrations, ornaments, and initials with a characteristic combination of Gothic and Renaissance elements. His aim was to improve the printing technique to imitate the quality and decoration of manuscript books.[9] As will be shown, this mixed cultural and publishing climate in Venice also provided a pivotal impetus to the spread and shaping of printing in the Balkans and far into the Eastern hinterland of the Danube region.

1 Between Venice and Cetinje

Đurađ Crnojević (1490–96), the lord of Zeta, arrived in Venice around 1490 and displayed significant interest in printed books and opening a printing shop at Cetinje.

FIGURE 12.1
The Church San Giorgio dei Greci
in Venice, woodcut illustration
FROM *FORESTIERE ILLUMINATO*
INTORNO LE COSE PIÙ RARE, E
CURIOSE, ANTICHE, E MODERNE
DELLA CITTÀ DI VENEZIA, VENEZIA
1740

He was educated in Venice and married Elizabeta Erico, the daughter of the Venetian nobleman Antonio Erico, which is recounted in Cardinal Pietro Bembo's book *Historia Veneta*, which was published in 1551.[10] His father Ivan, who had also lived there earlier, had established strong ties with the Venetian government, driven by the fact that his small state lay sandwiched between two powerful neighbors—the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire.[11] Interested in procuring books for Orthodox churches in his homeland, Đurađ brought a printing press from Venice in 1493 and founded a Cyrillic printing shop in Cetinje. It was the first such workshop in Southeastern Europe, and only the second to print books in Cyrillic: Sveipolt Fiol had founded the first one in Krakow in 1491 and published liturgical Cyrillic books for the Russian market.[12]

While the Cetinje printing shop was active between 1493 and 1496, a certain hieromonk Makarije "from Montenegro" worked there as the main master. To this day, his biography has remained almost entirely obscure to researchers. They know about him only what he chose to divulge in the prefaces and colophons of his books.[13] As the manager of his publishing endeavor,

Đurađ Crnojević appointed Makarije, whose education, knowledge of the language, and theology, as well as his printing skills, made him highly qualified for this role.[14] He controlled the central part of the bookmaking process, edited texts, defined the layout of illustrations, and decided all other technical matters. The Glagolitic printing house of Blaž Baromić functioned in the same way. He founded it in Senj in Dalmatia after he returned from Venice in 1493, where he had trained in the workshop of Andrea Torresano.[15] Baromić and Makarije faced the same problems in their efforts to establish a printing shop and purchase rare cast metal letters of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets.[16]

Some researchers have suggested that Andrija Paltašić (Italianized Andrija Iacobi) from Kotor, who ran a printing house near the church of Santa Maria Formosa in Venice in 1476, could have introduced Makarije to the printing business. It is unknown when and where Paltašić learned the printing craft, but he could have been taught by the famous French printer Nicholas Jenson. Paltašić's printing house operated until 1499, during which time he published thirty-eight books on religious, juristic, and historical subjects.[17] He also provided his services to

other printers, such as Octavian Scott, and is also known to have collaborated with some South Slavic printers, such as Bonino de Boninis from Dubrovnik.[18]

At the request of Đurđe Crnojević, over the course of three years, Makarije printed several books intended for Orthodox worship: *Octoechos* (1494),[19] *Psalter* (1495), and then a *Prayerbook* (1495/96). The illustrations in *Octoechos* were made with two woodcut clichés that complemented each other: one was a decorative frame with an arc, and the other a central part with the figural representation (Fig. 12.2). The same frame was used for all central clichés, which were changeable. These first printed woodcuts had all the features of good Italian Renaissance book illustration. These qualities would not be attained again until the eighteenth century.[20] The frame consists of vegetal ornaments (i.e., Renaissance tendrils that end in stylized flowers with intertwined figures of a griffin, lion, dragon, and birds). In the corners, the symbols of the Evangelists are marked with the first letters of their names.[21] The central images within this framework were different: the Synaxis of the Archangels, the Synaxis of St. John the Forerunner, the Betrayal of Judas, the Synaxis of St. Nicholas, the Descent into Hell, and the Holy Hymnographers.

2 Painters and Goldsmiths from Dubrovnik

The press, paper, and ink Makarije bought in Venice, but it is most likely that he hired some goldsmiths or woodcarvers from the area of Cetinje to finish the decorative elements of the book—illustrations, vignettes, and ornaments. Makarije was certainly not an engraver or a master in woodcut illustrations, although he is likely to have designed and perhaps even drawn them.[22] Shortly before this, the first Italian Renaissance decorative elements intertwined with older Gothic art forms appeared in the neighboring coastal city of Dubrovnik in the middle of the fifteenth century, in the work of the sculptor Pietro di Martino from Milan (Fig. 12.3).[23]

Earlier researchers pointed out the possible impact of the fifteenth-century Dubrovnik painting on the illustrations in the *Octoechos*, and two brothers, Vicko and Marin Dobričević, were named as the potential creators of the illustrations. They were the sons of Lovro Dobričević, the painter engaged in 1455 to paint the Orthodox

FIGURE 12.2   The Betrayal of Judas, woodcut illustration, *Octoechos* (tones 5–8), Cetinje 1494
THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA

Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in the important Savina Monastery in Zeta.[24] It was assumed that the author could have been a Catholic painter who still worked in the Gothic style, using Orthodox iconographic patterns for figural compositions in the central part, and Renaissance ornaments and figures for frame decoration. The grounds for this hypothesis are found in the firm and sharp drawing, the disproportionate figures, and the physiognomies. Vicko painted in such a manner even in the early sixteenth century, while his younger brother Marin worked as a woodcarver in Kotor until 1497. There is no doubt that they would have been able to artistically unify Byzantine iconography, Gothic art, and early Renaissance motifs and to synthesize all of these elements in one woodcut illustration.

FIGURE 12.3   The view of Dubrovnik in the sixteenth century (copy from the nineteenth century)
PHOTOARCHIVE OF INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB; PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO MOFARDIN

The author of the *Octoechos* illustrations could have also been a goldsmith familiar with woodcutting and the tools for executing woodcuts. Dubrovnik was a major goldsmith center, whose leading craftsmen accepted commissions well beyond the city's borders. They made various items for local and foreign clients as well as church and state institutions: jewelry, belts, decorations for clothes made of gold and silver wire, coinage, weapon decoration, liturgical items, tableware, and utensils for various purposes.[25] They often collaborated with other artists, working mostly in the Gothic style or combining it with Renaissance decorative elements. They were similar to those Italian masters who nurtured the Gothic style until the sixteenth century, gradually introducing Renaissance innovations. A master goldsmith could be easily found in Dubrovnik because, by order of the city authorities, they were all located in one "goldsmith's

street" (ruga aurificium), next to the state mint, on the west side of the Sponza Palace (Divona).[26]

Although we know today only fragments about their lives, a few should be mentioned as the possible authors of the illustrations in the *Octoechos*.[27] Marin Keraković worked for various clients, making objects after their designs, often depicting woodland hunting scenes. Two of the pieces he made have been preserved in the Savina Monastery, and it would be interesting to know how they got there. These two drinking vessels from around 1500 have the distinctive Dubrovnik stamp with the head of St. Blaise, like those on two vessels in the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, and testify to what his artworks looked like.[28] The city authorities hired local goldsmiths to make expensive dishes intended as gifts to foreign rulers.[29] Marin Keraković made several plates of Dubrovnik silver, simple and beautiful in shape, on the occasion

of the wedding of King Vladislav of Hungary in 1502. The gift was similar to the one sent to King Matthias Corvinus earlier. If the design had not been agreed on in advance, the goldsmith would usually make it himself.[30] Another artisan who accepted similar commissions from other clients was Jovan Progonović, a prominent goldsmith originally from Novo Brdo in Kosovo, who arrived in Dubrovnik with his brother, the priest Nikola, fleeing the Ottoman invasion.[31] Considering the political significance of the marriage concluded between Đurđe Crnojević and Elizabeta Erico, including the ceremonial exchange of gifts, it is worth looking into the presents sent by the Dubrovnik authorities to the newlyweds at the Cetinje court.

Although there is no definitive evidence to confirm their provenance, a stylistic comparison still provides grounds to look to Dubrovnik for the unknown author of the *Octoechos* illustrations. It would have undoubtedly been easier for Makarije to find an illustrator there than in Venice and to keep the entire production process under control. The specific skill and tools necessary for making woodcuts speak in favor of the hypothesis that it was a goldsmith who made them. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that one of the available painters made drawings of the compositions, which the goldsmith then transferred to another medium.

3   Sculpture, Coinage, and Other Clues

Although the *Octoechos* illustrations were designed in the Renaissance manner, some of their decorative elements do not appear in similar compositions in either Venetian or German printed books.[32] Given the distance of Venice, the source of some aspects of the *Octoechos*'s decoration should be sought near Cetinje. Due to the devastating earthquake that almost destroyed Dubrovnik in the seventeenth century, few older monuments have been preserved. Hence it is difficult but not impossible to establish connections based on some sculptural decorations on the Rector's Palace, paintings, and coin images. About fifty years before the founding of the Cetinje printing house, the Rector's Palace underwent a thorough renovation after having suffered severe damage in devastating gunpowder explosions and fires in 1435 and 1463.[33] The renovation was entrusted to the architect Onofrio Giordano from Cava near Naples,

and this enabled a stronger influx of Renaissance art elements from Italy. The city authorities decided to decorate the walls of the palace with many relief decorations. Filip de Diversis provided detailed descriptions of these reliefs in his 1440 description of Dubrovnik titled *Situs aedificiorum, politiae et laudabilium consuetudinum inclytae civitatis Ragusii ad ipsius Senatum descriptio*.[34] Nicola de Ciria from Cremona, an intellectual and poet who served as a city notary, and Ciriaco Pizzecoli from Ancona, a Renaissance intellectual and one of the leading experts in ancient epigraphy, also participated in the creation of the palace's sculptural program. Ciriaco arrived in Dubrovnik in 1443/44 during a tour of Dalmatia in search of ancient inscriptions. They confirmed authoritatively the general belief that Cavtat near Dubrovnik was the ancient Epidaurum, which brought the city prestige that needed to be reflected in the sculptural decoration of the Rector's Palace.[35]

Although several generations of masters worked on the façade, most of the decorations were made by Pietro di Martino from Milan. For almost two decades, from 1430 to 1450, Di Martino worked on this one and other commissions in Dubrovnik.[36] Pietro probably made the masonry of the main door of the palace, which has a Gothic arch and doorframes with intertwined relief. The central motif are small putti shown picking bunches or hiding in the leaves of tendrils of vines, as well as some animals that are disguised symbols—a squirrel, winged lion, bear, dragon, monkey, rabbits, and birds.[37] The consoles in the entrance hall of the palace are decorated with group scenes featuring boys with animals. Although these scenes embody the cheerful Renaissance spirit, they undoubtedly had the function of representing the power, wisdom, and just administration of the Dubrovnik government.[38] On the capitals of the columns in the entrance hall, the Renaissance stonemason presented ball-shaped groups of various fruits, winged birds pecking at the fruit, and winged boys sitting on curled Gothic leaves. They show the transition from late Gothic to Renaissance art, transferred from Italy to Dubrovnik in the sketchbooks of Master Pietro di Martino (Fig. 12.4).[39]

Some details on the door capitals provide grounds to assume that they served as a source for the decorative frame of the *Octoechos* illustrations. The image of winged putti in motion carrying medallions made of

FIGURE 12.4   Putti in the capital of the column on the porch, The Rector's Palace, Dubrovnik, mid-fifteenth century, Dubrovnik PHOTOARCHIVE OF INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB; PHOTOGRAPH BY MILAN PELC, 2003

FIGURE 12.5   Putti, woodcut illustration, detail of fig. 12.2, *Octoechos* (tone 5–8), Cetinje 1494
THE LIBRARY OF DEČANI MONASTERY

twisted vine tendrils and their characteristic attitudes seem to have been copied from these capitals (Fig. 12.5). After appearing in the middle of the fifteenth century on the capitals and windows of the Rector's Palace, naked boys with wings conquered the architectural sculpture of Dubrovnik's residential buildings and Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, as well as the decoration of sepulchral monuments.[40] From there, painters and sculptors copied and transferred them to other media, paving the way for their further dissemination. Representations of angels holding a coat of arms in a wreath were common in Dubrovnik at that time, and a fine example has survived on the four-sided crown of the well in the monastery of St. Clare. The angel-putto fleeing from a lion and dragon in the *Octoechos* illustration is probably part of general Christian symbolism and represents the soul that encounters various temptations in this world. Similar iconographic and allegorical layers were noticed by researchers of the sculptural ornamentation of the Rector's Palace.[41] The program of the palace portal is believed to have been modeled on one of the older buildings because it contained the eschatological iconography typical of this type of architecture.[42] Positive and negative symbols—putti, a bear, dog, griffin, and dragon—depict the universal and

eternal struggle between good and evil.[43] One console shows a dragon with outstretched wings and gaping jaws attacking a young hero armed with a shield and club. The image of the dragon and satyr is repeated on the door and the crown of the well. The crown was initially located somewhere else and reached the monastery of the Poor Clares much later.[44] On three sides of the crown of the well are representations of real and fantastic animals that, together with the abovementioned angels, form the symbolic whole of the microcosm. On one side is a griffin that clashes with a lion trampling acanthus leaves, while below it is a basilisk attacking a bear.[45] Some depictions symbolize the dualism of light and darkness and good and evil: the fight between a lion and a bear, a dragon killing a goose, a dog hunting a deer, or an eagle hunting a lamb.[46]

Another element of the illustration of the Cetinje incunabula that points to Dubrovnik is the image of the Holy Hymnographers—St. Joseph the Hymnographer, St. John Damascene, and St. Theophanes Graptos—as the authors of the hymns in the *Octoechos* (Fig. 12.6). As they rarely appear together in miniature paintings, it is assumed that the origin of this iconographic scheme should be sought in monumental frescoes.[47] Behind them is a church, upon which descends a blessing in the

FIGURE 12.6   Three Hymnographers, *Octoechos* (tones 5–8),
Cetinje 1494
THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA

form of the Hand of God, and the thesis that this is a depiction of the old church in Cetinje, the endowment of Ivan Crnojević, was put forward very early. The old church was destroyed in the Venetian-Ottoman wars at the end of the seventeenth century, so very little data about it exists today.[48] However, archaeological research has shown that the representation in the book does not correspond to the plan of the church on the ground.[49] Namely, the church in the illustration is a three-nave basilica with a dome in the middle of the central nave, seen from the northwest side. The middle nave is considerably taller than the side naves and has five arched window openings, with one Gothic triangular arched opening on the wall of the side nave. The four windows shown on the tambourine suggest that there were eight in total. The portal has two pairs of

pillars supporting the lintel above, which is a lunette with a cross and a decorative border. Above it is an eight-petal rosette. The Dubrovnik Cathedral, built in the twelfth century on older foundations, was a three-nave basilica with a dome and a round tambour without a pedestal and a semicircular apse (Fig. 12.7). Illuminated by windows on the walls of the central nave and with a rosette above the main portal, it had three entrances: the main one on the west side, the north facing the square in front of the palace, while the south faced the Archbishop's Palace.[50] The colonnade around the building in the form of a porch, which reached half the height of the side naves, also contributed to the similarity.[51] The cathedral has always occupied a prominent place in art displays and sometimes left the impression that it was a five-aisled building. However, in the oldest depiction of this edifice, the relief with the view of Dubrovnik in the hands of St. Blaise made by some goldsmith from the middle of the fifteenth century, the church is shown from the south side as a three-nave basilica with much lower side aisles. The prominent high dome is moved slightly toward the sanctuary, and the windows of the central aisle are visible. The roof of the outer gallery is not shown separately but is connected to the roof of the side nave. The church also appears in the painting of St. Blaise in the Rector's Palace, made by Lovro Dobričević in the middle of the fifteenth century. This is a very detailed representation of the cathedral and is consistent with the previous description.[52] The similarity of the temple from the *Octoechos* with the basic contours of the Dubrovnik Cathedral suggests that the master who made the composition had seen this temple and used it as a pattern.[53]

A motif from Dubrovnik can also be found in the depiction of the Synaxis of St. John the Forerunner (Fig. 12.8). The entrance to the city in the background is flanked by two high towers, one circular and the other four-sided, both with a protruding crown on the consoles. Further in the background, there is a tall Romanesque bell tower with a pyramidal top, partially obscured by towers, which indicates its spatial distance from the city gate. The realism of this architectural backdrop has led researchers to look for its models, and some have recognized in it the bell tower of St. Mark's Church in Venice, while others thought it more likely to be found

FIGURE 12.7   Detail of fig. 12.3, Old Cathedral, Dubrovnik
PHOTOARCHIVE OF INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, ZAGREB; PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO MOFARDIN

in coastal cities like Kotor or Dubrovnik.[54] It was felt that the landscape of the city, fortified with two towers and a bell tower, represents a real space, but the problem could not be conclusively resolved because no historical city vedute corresponded to that picture. However, by interpreting this detail as a symbolic rather than real representation, its source becomes easier to identify.

When compared with depictions on the "mince" (coins minted in Dubrovnik at the end of the fifteenth century), a similarity that could not have been accidental becomes apparent. In 1449 the state mint introduced a new type of mince of better quality, which had a representation of a male or female head or bust on the obverse surrounded by the inscription "MONETA RAGUSII," while the reverse side showed the city gate with the inscription "CIVITAS RAGUSII." (Fig. 12.9)[55] Dubrovnik was symbolically depicted as a city (civitas)

with a gate defended by two high and narrow towers, a narrow window, and a high bell tower with a large pointed roof. Although it seems that the bell tower is located above the gate, perspectively it is placed deeper in the background, behind the towers, with the right tower partially obscuring it, similar to the example in the *Octoechos*. On some types of coins, a double broken line appears in front of the city gates, marking the port of Dubrovnik. Such a composition would not be surprising because the key political symbols of Mediterranean cities were fortified towers protecting the city gate and bell towers.[56] It seems that the person who made the woodcut drawing transposed the well-known image of the city into one symbolic detail of the new religious composition, although the reasons for such a creative decision remain unclear. The fortified city gate with a bell tower on coins represents a protected city, while the wood-carved illustration shows St. John the Forerunner

FIGURE 12.8   The Synaxis of St. John the Forerunner, detail,
                Octoechos (tone 5–8), Cetinje 1494
                THE LIBRARY OF DEČANI MONASTERY

FIGURE 12.9   City gate, coin, Dubrovnik 1464

preaching to the inhabitants of an already Christianized city, as indicated by the cross on a flag on the square tower. All this suggests that the illustrations of the *Octoechos* were done by a person familiar with motifs from Dubrovnik, or that a painter made drawings following Makarije's ideas. In both cases, the person who made the illustrations would have had connections with Dubrovnik.

4   Departure to Wallachia and Return to Mount Athos

In the following decades, Makarije's books left a deep mark on printing in the Balkan hinterland. After the Ottomans conquered Zeta, the Cetinje printing shop was shut down, and Hieromonk Makarije disappeared from the historical scene. He reappeared ten years later, in 1508, far north on the banks of the Danube—in the principality of Wallachia. As the remarks in the colophons of his books explain, he was engaged there to print three books: the *Prayerbook* (1508), *Octoechos* (1510), and the *Four Gospels* (1512).[57] He probably moved to that distant principality because it provided good prospects for continuing his bookmaking career. The population of Wallachia also belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church and used the Church Slavonic language in the liturgy. Makarije was recommended by Đurađ Crnojević, who had familial ties with the Wallachian rulers.[58] In 1495, Radu cel Mare succeeded his father on the throne of Wallachia and ruled until 1508. To strengthen his international political position, he married Catalina Crnojević, probably Đurađ's sister or daughter. They had several children, one of whom, Radu de la Afumați, became the next Wallachian ruler. Another favorable circumstance for Makarije's career was the arrival of Maxim Branković from Venice to Wallachia in 1504, where he was appointed the new metropolitan. His appointment was a way for Prince Radu to get rid of his opponent, Metropolitan Nifon. Branković was the last descendant of the old Serbian ruling family; he could trace his ancestry back to the Byzantine Palaiologos dynasty and was also a relative of Princess Catalina and Duke Đurađ Crnojević.[59] During Radu's reign, Makarije printed the *Prayerbook*, the first Wallachian printed book.[60]

These Wallachian editions had many elements similar to the publications of the Cetinje printing shop: the high quality of printing, uniform prefaces and conclusions in both *Octoechos* books, a similar text structure, and the mention of the Serbian saints Sava and Simeon in the *Prayerbook*.[61] Makarije also repeated some visual elements: the decorative vignettes used in the *Psalter* printed in Cetinje in 1495 appeared on the first page of the *Prayerbook* from 1508. The *Four Gospels* printed in Wallachia in 1512 also contain one decorative vignette from the Cetinje incunabula. It consists of a braided

ornament inside a rectangular frame, representing a Greek cross, with a two-headed black eagle at the center as a reference to the Crnojević family.[62] A similar type of braid was used in the *Four Gospels*, but here the coat of arms in the middle contained a black raven with a crown on its head and a cross in its beak, the coat of arms of Prince Radu cel Mare.[63]

Another illustration found in both the Cetinje (1494) and Wallachian (1510) editions of the *Octoechos* points to the migration of influences between the Mediterranean and the Danube region (Fig. 12.10). The Cetinje book contains an illustration of the Holy Hymnographers, the authors of the hymns from the *Octoechos*, at the beginning of the service of Little Vespers on Saturday evening: St. Joseph the Hymnographer, St. John Damascene, and St. Theophanes Graptos. This same composition is found in the Wallachian edition but as the frontispiece of the book. The position of the Holy Hymnographers is different because: the central place is given to St. Theophanes Graptos rather than St. John Damascene; their names are not written on the halos; and they hold scrolls instead of books. The composition is less strict than in the Cetinje edition, while the elongated tambours of the domes indicate that the background church belongs to the Wallachian type of architecture. Although the identification of this historical church has not been successful, it is highly likely that the picture represents a monastery, probably the one that hosted the printing shop, like Govora, Dealu, or Snagov. It is also possible that this was the church in Tîrgoviște, the seat of the Wallachian ruler, because it was there that around the 1540s Dimitrije Ljubavić, a Serbian printer from Goražde in Bosnia, opened a printing shop attached to the Wallachian court.[64]

When a few years later the political climate in Wallachia changed, Makarije left for the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, where he became the monastery's *hegoumenos* (abbot) shortly thereafter. He continued to maintain his ties with the Wallachian rulers, who became patrons of Hilandar, granting charters and sending financial help every year. Radu IV had already sent substantial gifts to the monasteries of Mount Athos: in 1498, he sent around 5,000 aspras to the Hilandar Monastery, a large sum of money in those hard times.[65] Radu V sent 10,000 aspras to Hilandar, 1,000 of which were intended for Abbot Makarije personally.[66] Petru Rareș, the duke of Moldova, issued in 1533 one of the

charters in which he declared his support for the Hilandar Monastery. At that time, Makarije was in Moldova, the charter informs us, where he was negotiating financial aid for his monastery. Makarije preserved his ties with Dubrovnik, too. City officials usually sent money to Hilandar, but sometimes monastery delegations went to Dubrovnik to collect the funds, which was the case in 1526. Maybe because of these good relations, Makarije wrote a short geographic essay about Wallachia and Moldova, entitled *Tlkovanije o zemljah dakijskih* (An essay on Dacian lands), between 1526 and 1529.[67]

Although they were of lesser quality than the books printed in Cetinje, the technical aspects of Makarije's editions made them the finest printed books in Romania. In the decades that followed, these books became the gold standard for the new master printers in the Danube region.

5   The Afterlife of Makarije's Incunabula

Makarije's influence on South Slavic printers was felt long after he exited life's stage. Some of them, like the printer Božidar Vuković, mentioned the Cetinje editions in the prefaces of the Cyrillic books he published in Venice. It is evident that Makarije's books had a strong impact on his editions.[68] Vuković followed him in the publishing business for the Balkan population, expressing the wish in his *Prayerbook for Travelers* (*Zbornik za putnike*) from 1520 to transfer the printing shop to his homeland in Montenegro. Although this plan never came to fruition due to the wars that forced him to remain in Venice, in 1537 he printed the second volume (tones 5–8) of the *Octoechos*, the last book that Makarije had worked on in the Cetinje printing shop before the collapse of the state.[69]

The influence of Makarije's book was also noticeable in another edition of the second volume of the *Octoechos*, printed at the Gračanica Monastery in Kosovo and Metohija in 1539 under the patronage of Nikanor, the metropolitan of Novo Brdo, an exceptionally learned man, as historical records show (Fig. 12.11).[70] Although the text of this *Octoechos* differs from the previous editions, the influence of the Cetinje book is visible in the use of framed initials, which Dimitrije, the printer from Gračanica, almost literally copied, introducing only minor changes.[71] The Holy

FIGURE 12.11   Three Hymnographers, *Octoechos*, Gračanica
Monastery 1539
THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA

Hymnographers—St. Cosmas of Maiuma, St. John Damascene, and St. Joseph—are represented beneath a characteristic architectural depiction of the Gračanica Monastery, the see of metropolitan Nikanor.[72] This illustration connects the Gračanica edition of the *Octoechos* with the earlier books printed in Cetinje, Wallachia, and Venice, uniting their characteristic elements and blending them into a new whole. The upper part of the illustration with the monastery in the background was based on the concept of the illustrations in the Cetinje and Wallachia books. The image of the hymnographers was inserted separately from a particular template found in Vuković's Venetian *Octoechos* from 1537.[73] Similar to

the Wallachian edition, the illustration is here placed as the frontispiece. Although of lesser quality, it shows this new iconographic model transformed from a minor decorative element into a standard emblematic image.

The appearance of this specific image in different editions around the Balkans gave rise to many unreliable stories about the Cetinje printing shop. In the preface to his *Psalter* printed in Venice in 1579, Jerolim Zagurović, a printer from Kotor, wrote that he had discovered somewhere the original typeset of the Cetinje printing shop and that he used it for his books.[74] The Venetian booksellers and printers Marco and Bartol Ginami also evoked Makarije's publishing endeavor in the preface to their *Psalter* from 1638.[75] Even much later, some writers claimed that the printing shop had remained at Cetinje until the end of the seventeenth century and that the typeset was preserved in other places in Montenegro.[76] All of these rumors created significant confusion among historians, at the same time contributing to the prestige of Makarije's Cyrillic incunabula. His life journey and intense activity in the printing business, followed by the impact of his books, marked the routes of cultural transfer between the Mediterranean and the Balkan hinterland over a long period.

Notes

1   The basic concepts and ideas about cultural transfer in the early modern period are expounded in Günter Berger and Franziska Sick, eds., *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im Ancien Régime* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2002); Michel Espagne and Matthias Middell, eds., *Von der Elbe bis an die Seine. Kulturtransfer zwischen Sachsen und Frankreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 1993).

2   Wolfgang Schmale, "Kulturtransfer im theresianischen Zeitalter?" in *Strukturwandel kultureller Praxis. Beitrage zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Sicht des theresianischen Zeitalters*, ed. Franz M. Eybl, 95–109 (Wien: WUV, 2002).

3   Stephan Sander-Faes, "Kultureller Austausch zwischen Italien und dem Donauraum: Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung," in *Barocke Kunst und Kultur im Donauraum*, eds. Karl Möseneder et al. (Petersberg: Imhof, 2014), 1:186–89; Cristina Dondi, "The Venetian Booktrade: A Methodological Approach to and First Results of Book-Based Historical Research," in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, eds. Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (Berlin: De Gruyter Saur, 2010), 219–27.

4 Werner Schmitz, *Südslavischer Buchdruck in Venedig (16.–18. Jahrhundert): Untersuchungen und Bibliographie* (Giessen: W. Schmitz, 1977), 153; Simonetta Pelusi, "Libri e stampatori a Venezia: Un ponte verso i Balcani," in *Ponti e frontiere*, ed. Andrea Bonifacio (Venezia: EditGraf, 2005), 61–78. A similar topic has already been discussed in an article, see Vladimir Simić, "O mogućim izvorima i autorima drvoreznih ilustracija Oktoiha petoglasnika (1494)," *Zograf* 40 (2016): 162–71.

5 Leonardas Gerulaitis, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1976); Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 21–45.

6 Fani Mavroidi, "Serbi e la confraternita Greca di Venezia," *Balkan Studies* 24 (1983): 511–29; Lovorka Čoralić, "Prisutnost doseljenika sa istočnojadranske obale u Veneciji od XIII. Do XVIII. Stoljeća," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 26 (1993): 40–46.

7 Simonetta Pelusi, "Il libro liturgico veneziano per serbi e croati fra Quattro e Cinquecento," in *Le civiltà del libro e la stampa a Venezia. Testi sacri ebraici, cristiani, islamici dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, ed. Simonetta Pelusi (Padova: Poligrafo, 2000), 44–49.

8 Theodore Low De Vinne, *Notable Printers of Italy during the Fifteenth Century: Illustrated with Facsimiles from Early Editions, and with Remarks on Early and Recent Printing* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1910), 33–36, 66, 74–78.

9 Gilbert R. Redgrave, *Erhard Ratdolt and His Work at Venice* (London, 1894), 9–17; Alfred W. Pollard, *Italian Book Illustrations: Chiefly of the Fifteenth Century* (London: Seeley, 1894), 5–53; De Vinne, *Notable Printers of Italy*, 102; Curt F. Bühler, *The Fifteenth Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 48–57.

10 As early as 1496, Turkish military troops conquered Zeta, and Đurađ had to flee to Venice with all the splendor of a "Greek" ruler. He settled with his family in the house of Alvise Pasqualin (now known as Casa Zaguri), near the bridge of St. Maurizio leading to the church of Santa Maria Zubenigo (Santa Maria del Giglio). However, after numerous conflicts with the Venetian authorities, which Marino Sanudo described in detail, he eventually fled Venice, leaving his wife and children there. He returned to Montenegro, and then, after having secured the patronage of Sultan Bayezid II and probably converting to Islam, he ended his adventurous life as a Turkish spahi somewhere in Anatolia in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Rotković, *Sazdanje Cetinja*, 81, 113; Marino Sanudo, *I diarii*, eds. Federico Stefani, Rinaldo Fulin et al. (Venezia: F. Visentini, 1879), 1:402, 421, et passim; Diana G. Wright, "The First Venetian Love Letter? The Testament of Zorzi Cernovich," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 1–10.

11 Sima Ćirković et al., *Istorija Crne Gore: Od kraja XII do kraja XV vijeka* (Titograd, 1970), 2:2:333–47.

12 Mitar Pešikan et al., *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva, 1494–1994* (Beograd: SANU: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 1996), 206–8; Szczepan K. Zimmer, *The Beginning of Cyrillic Printing in Cracow, 1491: From the Orthodox Past in Poland* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1983), 153.

13 Pešikan, *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva*, 137–39; Nadežda R. Sindik, *Smerni sveštenik mnih Makarije ot Černije Gori* (Beograd: Kultura, 1995), 11–12.

14 Dennis Romano, "Aspects of Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46 (1993): 712–14; Evgenij L. Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori (1492–1496)* (Cetinje: CNB, 1996), 200–03.

15 Anica Nazor, "Kulturnopovijesno značenje izdanja glagoljske tiskare u Senju g. 1494–1508," *Slovo: Časopis Staroslavenskog instituta* 21 (1971): 417–28; Marija Pantelić, "Kulturni ambijent djelovanja Blaža Baromića, pisca i štampara glagoljskih knjiga," *Senjski zbornik* 6 (1975): 31–36.

16 Milanka Ubiparip, "Petoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića," in *Oktoih petoglasnik: Izdanje Đurđa Crnojevića*, eds. Milanka Ubiparip et al. (Cetinje: Mitropolija crnogorsko-primorska, 2014), 26–31; Milan Pelc, "Od primanja do stvaranja: Hrvatska grafika 15. i 16. stoljeća," *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 48, nos. 3–4 (2005): 24–25.

17 Miloš Milošević, *Andrija Paltašić Kotoranin* (Cetinje, 1994), 15–22; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori*, 170–78.

18 Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori*, 179–82. Milan Pelc, "Ilustracije u tiskopisima Dobrića Dobrićevića (Boninus de Boninis)," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 24 (2000): 135–36.

19 Ljiljana Puzović, "Počeci srpskog štamparstva: Izdanja štamparije Đurđa Crnojevića," in *Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilske knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku*, ed. Tatjana Subotin-Golubović (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2014), 13–18. The

Octoechos is one of the most important liturgical books in the Orthodox Church. It was originally organized as one book that contained hymns in all eight tones (collections of melodies) used in Orthodox services. As the number of hymns in each tone increased, the book was later (not before the fourteenth century) divided into two volumes. Among the Slavs, the first volume was called "Prvoglasnik" (of the first tone) and the second "Petoglasnik" (of the fifth tone). Numerous manuscripts of the Octoechos have been preserved, but they all differ slightly, either in the exact redaction of Old Slavonic they were written in or in the order of hymns they contain. Nemirovski, Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori, 364–65; Vaso J. Ivošević, "Dogmatski značaj i liturgijska uloga Oktoiha u životu Pravoslavne crkve," in Pet vjekova Oktoiha: Prve štampane ćiriličke knjige na slovenskom jugu, ed. Milosav Babović (Podgorica: Pobjeda, 1996), 96–102; Evgenij L. Nemirovski, "Hronologija izdanja Đurđa Crnojevića," Bibliografski vjesnik 3 (1986): 160.

20 Dejan Medaković, Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga XV–XVII veka (Beograd: Naučno delo, 1958), 99.

21 Miroslav Lazić, "Izdanja cetinjske štamparije između tradicije i inovacije, funkcije i forme," in Između tradicije i inovacije: 520 godina od prve ćirilske knjige štampane na srpskoslovenskom jeziku, ed. Tatjana Subotin-Golubović (Beograd: Narodna biblioteka Srbije, 2014), 33.

22 Lazar Čurčić, "Udeo jeromonaha Makarija u štampanju cetinjskih inkunabula," in Pet vjekova Oktoiha, prve štampane ćiriličke knjige na slovenskom jugu, eds. Milosav Babović and Miroslav Pantić (Podgorica-Beograd, 1996), 129–42; Sindik, Smerni sveštenik mnih Makarije ot Černije Gori, 5–6, 9; Milanka Ubiparip, "Petoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića," in Oktoih petoglasnik: Izdanje Đurđa Crnojevića, eds. Milanka Ubiparip and Miroslav Lazić (Cetinje: Mitropolija crnogorsko-primorska, 2014), 23.

23 Vojislav J. Đurić, Manastir Savina (Herceg Novi, 1973), 5–10; Cvito Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari od XIII–XVIII st.," Starohrvatska Prosvjeta 1 (1949): 40–42, 152–57; "Petar Martinov iz Milana i pojava renesanse u Dubrovniku," Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 27 (1988): 89–100.

24 Vojislav J. Đurić, Dubrovačka slikarska škola (Beograd, 1963), 90–94, 108–16; Valentina Živković, Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru: XIV–XVI vek (Beograd, 2010), 282–88; I. Prijatelj-Pavičić, U potrazi za izgubljenim slikarstvom: O majstoru Lovru iz Kotora i slikarstvu na prostoru od Dubrovnika do Kotora tijekom druge polovice XV. stoljeća (Dubrovnik, 2013), 307–15.

25 Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari," 187.

26 Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari," 171; Krešimir Regan and Branko Nadilo, "Ranoromaničke sakralne građevine dubrovačkog područja (II.)," Građevinar 58, no.3 (2006): 234.

27 Ivo Stjepčević, Katedrala Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru (Split: Novo doba, 1938), 40, 42; Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari," 146.

28 Bojana Radojković, Srpsko zlatarstvo 16. i 17. veka (Novi Sad 1966), 33–35; Mila Gajić, Srebrne čaše poznog srednjeg veka u Srbiji (Beograd 2010), 21, 47; Bojana Radojković, "Srebrna renesansna čaša iz Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu," Zbornik muzeja primenjene umetnosti 6–7 (1960–61): 9–11; Iva Lentić, "Zlatarstvo," in Zlatno doba Dubrovnika: XV. i XVI. stoljeće (Zagreb: MTM, 1987), 229, 256; Marijana Kovačević, "The Images of Dragons in the Gothic Style Goldsmiths' Work of Zadar," Ikon: Journal of Iconographic Studies 2 (2009): 220–25.

29 Lentić, "Zlatarstvo," 232–33; Vinicije B. Lupis, "Zlatarske veze Dubrovnika i Mađarske," Starohrvatska prosvjeta 37 (2010): 194–95.

30 Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari," 188–89.

31 Vojislav Jovanović, "Novo Brdo srednjovekovni grad," in Novo Brdo, eds. Vojislav Jovanović and Sima Ćirković (Beograd: RZZSK, 2004), 50; Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari," 204–6; Gajić, Srebrne čaše, 21; Radojković, Srpsko zlatarstvo, 107–8.

32 Rajko Vujičić, "Neka zapažanja o ilustracijama Oktoiha petoglasnika Crnojevića štamparije," in Crnojevića štamparija i staro štamparstvo, ed. Jevto M. Milović (Podgorica: CANU, 1994), 89–95.

33 Nada Grujić, "Knežev dvor u Dubrovniku prije 1435. godine," Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 40 (2003–4): 149–52; Stanko Kokole, "Renesansni vložki portala Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku," Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 26 (1987): 237.

34 Fisković, "Petar Martinov iz Milana," 89–90; Filip de Diversis, Opis Dubrovnika, trans. Ivan Božić (Dubrovnik, 1983), 17.

35 Stanko Kokole, "Cyriacus of Ancona and the Revival of Two Forgotten Ancient Personifications in the Rector's Palace of Dubrovnik," Renaissance Quarterly 49, no. 2 (1996): 235–40.

36 Fisković, "Petar Martinov iz Milana," 92.

37 Igor Fisković, "O značenju i porijeklu renesansnih reljefa s portala Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku," Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 26 (1987): 198–200; Renata Novak-Klemenčić, "Kiparski ukras Kneževa dvora u Dubrovniku

u 15. stoljeću—nekoliko priloga," *Prilozi povijesti umjet-nosti u Dalmaciji* 39 (2001–2): 282–97.

38   Fisković, "Petar Martinov iz Milana," 106–7.

39   Fisković, "Petar Martinov iz Milana," 102–3.

40   Fisković, "O značenju i porijeklu renesansnih reljefa," 220.

41   I. Babić, "Mitološke i astronomsko-astrološke teme na Kneževom dvoru u Dubrovniku," *Adrias* 17 (2010): 166–75.

42   About portals in Serbian medieval churches, with older literature, see Jasmina S. Ćirić, *Portali crkava moravske srbije: Arhitektura i arhitektonski ukras*, Phd diss. (Beograd, 2014); see also Janko Maglovski, "Studenički južni portal—prilog ikonografiji studeničke plastike," *Zograf* 13 (1982): 13–26; Jovan Nešković, "Portali crkve Svetog Nikole u Bariju," *Zograf* 29 (2002–3): 33.

43   Miljenko Jurković, "Romanički motivi u skulpturi 15. i 16. stoljeća u Dubrovniku," in *Likovna kultura Dubrovnika 15. i 16. stoljeća*, ed. Igor Fisković (Zagreb: Muzejsko galeri-jski centar, 1991), 116; Fisković, "O značenju i porijeklu renesansnih reljefa," 198–99. The conceptual connec-tion between the sculptural decoration of Dubrovnik, Kotor, Raška, and Apulia has been highlighted in Jovanka Maksimović, *Srpska srednjovekovna skulptura* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1971), 90–95.

44   Cvito Fisković, "Romanički bestijarij na renesansnom bunaru u Dubrovniku," *Starinar* 20 (1969): 98–100; Vinicije B. Lupis, "Prilog poznavanju gotičkog zlatarstva u Dubrovniku," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 35 (2008): 152–54.

45   Jurković, "Romanički motivi u skulpturi," 115–16; De Diversis, *Opis Dubrovnika*, 15.

46   Athanassios Semoglou, "Le combat des animaux dans le décor religieux à Byzance après l'iconoclasme et sa référence eucharistique," *Ikon: Journal of Iconographic Studies*, 2 (2009): 126; Vujičić, "Neka zapažanja o ilus-tracijama Oktoiha petoglasnika," 92.

47   Since the sixteenth century this wall painting has appeared in many monasteries in the Balkans, such as Gračanica and Ravanica in Serbia, Humor and Suceviţa in Romania, or Molivoklissia on the Holy Mountain. For the iconography of the Holy Melodes, see Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rom, 1976), 8:2–3 and *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rom, 1974), 7:102–4, 207–9, 343–44; Mirjana Tatić-Đurić, "O Tebje radujetsja," in *Enciklopedija pravoslavlja*, ed. Dimitrije M. Kalezić (Beograd, 2002), 2:1351–52.

48   Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, "Izveštaj o radu na proučavanju starih srpskih rukopisa i štampanih knjiga kao i drugih starina," *Istoriski časopis* 2 (1951): 345.

49   Branislav Borozan, "Sakriveni iskaz gravure iz Cetinjskog Oktoiha," *Matica: Časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu* 44 (2010): 614–15.

50   Nada Grujić and Danko Zelić, "Palača vojvode Sandalja Hranića u Dubrovniku," *Anali Dubrovnik* 48 (2010): 56–59.

51   Danko Zelić, "Arhitektura starih katedrala," in *Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku*, ed. Katarina Horvat-Levaj (Dubrovnik–Zagreb, 2014), 43–45.

52   Zelić, "Arhitektura starih katedrala," 50–52; "Veduta Dubrovnika, 17. stoljeće," in *Sveto i profano: slikarstvo tali-janskog baroka u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Radoslav Tomić (Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvor, 2015), 236–38. An overview of the artworks depicting the old Dubrovnik Cathedral is given in Pavuša Vežić, "Ikonografija romaničke kat-edrale u Dubrovniku," *Ars Adriatica* 4 (2014): 65–71.

53   Laura Nuvoloni, "The Woodcut as Exemplar: Sources of Inspiration for the Decoration of a Venetian Incu-nabulum," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographi-cal Society* 15, no. 1 (2012): 151–54; Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum. Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (200 B.C.–1470)* (Amsterdam: University Press, 1995), 54–61.

54   Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 101.

55   Milan Rešetar, *Dubrovačka numizmatika* (Sremski Karlovci, 1924), 1:29–33, 123, 130–32.

56   Bože Mimica, *Numizmatička povijest Dubrovnika* (Zagreb: HAZU, 1994), 391–92.

57   That issue is extensively discussed in Vladimir Simić, "Early Cyrillic Printed Books and the Migration of Decorative Forms between the Adriatic and the Danube around 1500," *Zograf* 44 (2020): 196–200.

58   Kornelija Olar, "Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji," in *Crnojevića štamparija i staro štamparstvo*, ed. Jevto. M. Milović (Podgorica: CANU, 1994), 106–111; Niculina Vârgolici and Agnes Erich, "Controversy Regarding the Printing of the First Book in the Romanian Space, the Liturgy Book (1508)," *Studii de Biblioteconomie şi Ştiinţa Informării* 13 (2009): 166–72.

59   Svetlana Tomin, *Vladika Maksim Branković* (Novi Sad: Platoneum, 2007), 34–39; Petre Panaitescu, ed., *Liturghierul lui Macarie* (Bucureşti 1959), xxxi–xxxiv.

60   Radu Ş. Vergatti, "Le règne de Radu le Grand," in *Cartea. România. Europa. Lucrările simpozionului internaţional,*

ed. Florin Rotaru (Bucureşti: Biblioteca Bucureştilor, 2009), 162–63. The founder's composition of prince Radu cel Mare and princess Catalina is shown on the west wall of the narthex in the Govora Monastery. Andrei Oţetea, ed., *Istoria Romîniei* (Bucureşti: Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1962), 2:618.

61   Additional arguments, based on linguistic analysis, that support the opinion that the Cetinje and Wallachia printers of the same name were indeed the same person, are presented in Viktor Savić, "Dva značajna zapisa o štamparu Makariju," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 78 (2012): 101–6; "Zapisi štampara sveštenomonaha Makarija. Jezik, pismo i pravopis," in *Srpsko jezičko nasljeđe na prostoru današnje Crne Gore i srpski jezik danas,* ed. Jelica Stojanović (Nikšić: Matica srpska, 2012), 159–79; Evgenij L. Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke in kyrillischer Schrift: Die Druckereien des Makarije in der Walachei und von Giorgio Rusconi in Venedig* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1997), 2:15–17.

62   Zoran Rakić, "Zastavice četvorojevandjelja br. 33 i 39. u biblioteci manastira Hilandara," in *ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ. Zbornik u čast Mirjane Živojinović*, eds. Bojan Miljković and Dejan Dželebdžić (Beograd: Vizantološki institut SANU, 2015), 2:489–90. For additional literature on this type of ornament, see Mirjana Živković, "Ornamenti Beogradske Aleksandride," *Saopštenja* 47 (2015): 38.

63   Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 173–74; Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, 28–29.

64   Olar, "Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji," 105; Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, "Stare srpske povelje i rukopisne knjige u Hilandaru," *Arhivist* 2 (1952): 77.

65   Vergatti, "Le règne de Radu le Grand," 167–68.

66   *Documento Romaniae Historica, B. Tara romaneasca* (Bucuresti: Academiei Republicii Socialiste Romania, 1972), 2:435–42; as cited in Nemirovskij, *Gesamtkatalog der Frühdrucke*, 47.

67   Đorđe Sp. Radojičić, *Književna zbivanja i stvaranja kod Srba u srednjem veku i u tursko doba* (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1967), 344–46; Olar, "Makarije u rumunskoj istoriografiji," 109–11.

68   Nadežda R. Sindik, ed. and trans., *Izdavači, štampari, prepisivači* (Cetinje: Obod, 1996), 71–72. In his will he left the old manuscripts to the monasteries on Lake Skadar. Pešikan et al., *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva*, 81.

69   Miroslav Lazić, "Između patriotizma, pobožnosti i trgovine: Motivi izdavačke delatnosti Božidara Vukovića,"

Arheografski prilozi 35 (2014): 56–62; Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 110.

70   Radoslav M. Grujić, "Prva štamparija u Južnoj Srbiji 1539. Godine, na Kosovu Polju u manastiru Gračanica," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 15–16 (1936): 84–86; Radivoje Ljubinković, "Dve gračaničke ikone sa portretima mitropolita Nikanora i mitropolita Viktora," *Starinar* 5–6 (1956): 134.

71   Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 160.

72   Pešikan et al., *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva*, 99–101.

73   Sreten Petković, "Nesačuvani portret novobrdskog mitropolita Nikanora iz 1538/39. godine," *Starine Kosova i Metohije* 9 (1990): 74–85.

74   Medaković, *Grafika srpskih štampanih knjiga*, 105, 113, 160–66; Nemirovski, *Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori*, 16–17.

75   Pešikan et al., *Pet vekova srpskog štamparstva*, 175.

76   Radoslav Raspopović, "Jedan arhivski dokument o sudbini štamparije Crnojević," *Glasnik Narodnog muzeja Crne Gore* 5 (2000): 8–9.

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Eastern Danube territories, in Willem Blaeu, *Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula,* Amsterdam 1649–55

PART 3

The Danube and Beyond

∵

Between Worlds: Ottoman Heritage and Its Baroque Afterlife in Central Europe

Iván Szántó

Like other chapters in this volume, the present essay aims to take a close look at monuments from a single region. Here, I am interested in a tempestuous era of Central Europe's history, when it became a war zone as a result of the Ottoman push westward and when the contours of its natural geography and topography were overwritten by ceaselessly shifting political and confessional borders. My main concern is the way these shifts affected religious art and architecture, since both were likewise exposed to an uncertain fate: formed as the natural outgrowth of their environment, they were later exposed to a changing climate. To examine the mechanisms and consequences of these shifts, I focus on one building, the parish church of Szigetvár in Southwestern Hungary. However, because of the fluid territorial contours of the region, we must also situate it in a retrospective and prospective timeframe, as well as within a broader regional context (Fig. 13.1).

Bisected by the Drava, a major tributary of the Danube, the northern part of the region encompasses Southwestern Transdanubia as far north as Lake Balaton in Hungary, while the southern part includes Eastern Croatia (Slavonia) and, across the Sava, the northeastern highlands of Bosnia.[1] Representing the westernmost foothold of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, this heterogeneous area was closer to a self-contained geographic unit while part of the empire, than during any other time before or after.[2] While this integrated Ottoman phase of its local history—from around 1600 to 1690—was relatively short, the preceding military buildup and the subsequent withdrawal lasted much longer.

Can we speak about true artistic activity, other than defensive work, in this environment that was for centuries a theater of war? Moreover, could this territory, on the periphery of whichever side of a border it fell at any given moment, develop an artistic language of its own while the wars between two world religions were waged in it? And if so, where do its monuments belong? What happened to them when the empires that had constructed them withdrew, leaving these buildings behind, vestiges in a hostile area, like seashells on a dry riverbed? And how might these events have affected historical memory? Such questions are justified by the peculiar situation of this territory. Indeed, the land around the Danube, Sava, and Drava Rivers was not merely "between worlds"; it changed hands much more often than almost any other region in play between the early modern empires. It has lost most of its medieval and Ottoman monuments, with the majority of the local heritage dating from the post-Ottoman period. Here, a fortress that protected its surroundings could be captured overnight, transforming it into a menace for those it had intended to defend, and vice versa. Large segments of the population were thus constantly on the move, abruptly changing allegiances for survival. Such abrupt shifts exceeded anything else in Central Europe and the Balkans, and even Dalmatia and Bosnia enjoyed far greater degrees of stability, irrespective of the different political systems that governed them. There were decades when, for instance, Protestant communities coexisted with Sufi orders, but after a sudden change of fortune, both would face persecution. Under these circumstances, it is particularly difficult to assign the region to a particular cultural geography. Yet, building activity did not cease: churches were abandoned, destroyed, converted, or rebuilt as mosques; and then restored to their Christian sites within short intervals. Such conditions explain how an Ottoman mosque showing architectural features shared by buildings in Diyar Bakır or Damascus would assimilate into the Baroque landscape of eighteenth-century Central Europe by way of Vienna-trained painters (Fig. 13.2).

FIGURE 13.1   Map showing the main urban and rural settlements mentioned in this chapter

FIGURE 13.2   Parish church, Szigetvár
                 PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

1   High Baroque Mimesis in the Mosque of Szigetvár

Insignificant as it may appear at first sight from the perspective of art history, the monuments of Szigetvár might well represent the quintessence of this extremely hybrid conflict zone. Viewed through whichever ideological prism—the Habsburg, Hungarian, Ottoman, Christian, Muslim, etc.—this first resting place of Sultan Suleiman I became the cornerstone of conflicting ambitions and expectations in Vienna, Buda, and Istanbul, evolving from an emotionally charged epicenter of military events into an abstract discursive space, with little concern for the geographic reality of the town itself. A closer look at the actual sites of Szigetvár, however, shows the physical layers on them that were accreted in the wake of successive war damage. On one monument they settled in a way as to create a potential space for ecumenism, which was unparalleled, even by regional standards.

Our main subject, the former mosque of ʿAli Pasha of Szigetvár, came into being shortly after the Ottoman occupation, while its conversion to a local parish church—a function it has maintained ever since—occurred immediately after the fall of the Ottomans.[3] Apparently not built in place of a preexisting medieval parish church, it is one of the few former congregational mosques in the region that retained aspects of its former function relatively well during the transition to a church. Other examples include Pécs (the Gazi Qasim Pasha mosque) and Đakovo (the Ibrahim Pasha mosque); both were ready to use as parish churches following the Ottoman period, while the old cathedrals were so badly ruined that the bishops who returned to these sites were confronted with decades-long rebuilding (in Đakovo) or restoration (in Pécs) projects. The ʿAli Pasha mosque (*c.*1570) was a standard single-domed square building of the Đakovo-Pécs type. Considering that the first mosque of a newly conquered town was customarily built in the military headquarters, which would be followed by the mosque for the civilian (and initially Christian) *mahala*,[4] the *qasaba* mosque of Szigetvár may have preceded the otherwise undated mosque of the endowment of Müʿezzinzade ʿAli Pasha by a few years.[5] Both mosques survive; in contrast, few traces—apart from several descriptions (and a few sketches)—remain of other buildings, such as the medieval parish church of

Szigetvár and Suleiman's recently located shrine complex outside the town, the latter of which also included a mosque.[6] As we have already seen, a frontline shrine of military devotion became more vulnerable than any other building when military fortunes changed. Judging by the hundreds of Muslim places of worship that disappeared alongside the Suleiman complex, in contrast to the handful that survive, we must consider the preservation of a building much more unusual than its destruction. This begs the question as to the chances for survival of Muslim religious buildings in the aftermath of Ottoman rule.

Apparently, the main cause that sealed the fate of these buildings was the view that after the Christian takeover of the region, there would be no Muslims left in need of a mosque for prayer. Unlike, for instance, in Bosnia, the Islamicization of Hungarian society during the Ottoman period was insignificant, as most Muslims were members of the Ottoman military, or directly dependent upon it. Tax records indicate that the Muslim population of Baranya County was concentrated in towns and fortified settlements (palisades, palankas), especially in the capital of Pécs, while the rural population settled in separate, Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian, and Greek Orthodox—but not Muslim—communities.[7] Muslims thus left Hungary with the same speed as the thrust of the reconquest had pushed back the frontier to the south.[8] Those few who stayed were baptized en masse, chiefly by the Jesuits, whose missionaries had been present already under the Ottomans.[9] The empty mosques and shrines, when not demolished, were quickly seized by the Jesuits and the Croatia-based Franciscans, who arrived shortly after the cessation of military activities. With few exceptions, these often-ruined buildings were entirely abandoned after 1700, used only as a source of building materials, which were extremely scarce at the time. The destruction of the shrine of Suleiman is a well-documented case given its swift, albeit illegal, nature: the perpetrator, a member of the occupying force, claimed in the procedural records to have been unaware that the building had been given to, and consecrated by, the Franciscans.[10] This case illustrates the priorities of the time and attests to the fact that religious considerations do not always motivate such acts of vandalism. For example, Count Lajos Festetich (1732–97), the new landlord of Szigetvár who had purchased a number of former Zrínyi estates from

the Vienna Hofkammer in 1769, never scrupled to sell the bricks of the Zrínyi castle, even as he liked to compare himself to its legendary defender. He transferred a gate of the castle to his family residence in Toponár and incorporated it into the new building, leaving the old fortress in ruins.[11]

Nevertheless, Christian triumphalism was also present in instances of architectural destruction. In the Tvrđa (fort) of Osijek, the complex of Qasim Pasha (two türbes and a sabil of which have been excavated) was razed to the ground in order to create space for the Church of St. Michael, completed in 1768.[12] There, the new church can be thought to "trample" on the mosque in the very same way that the Luca Giordanesque St. Michael of 1770, executed by Franz Xaver Wagenschön for the main altar, tramples on Satan's forces inside the church.[13] The fate of the congregational mosque of Pest, in the far north, was a bit more fortunate. The structure was surveyed and depicted by the inquisitive architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723) in his *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (1721), in which it is presented as a valuable local example of Islamic architecture.[14] Once the engraving was complete, however, the building was left to be razed.

Within this context, the Szigetvár parish church of St. Roch gains a unique status. While there are mosques in the region that managed to survive by undergoing a Baroque transformation,[15] their new patrons did not utilize their communicative potential, perhaps deliberately choosing to obscure it. Szigetvár, in complete contrast, represents a nearly singular example in Central European architecture of a monument that not only passively acknowledges its prior Islamic identity but in fact actively conceptualizes this non-Western heritage in order to reclaim and come to terms with it.[16] The mosque-like features of the exterior were masked by plastering and Baroque additions; these latter elements included a campanile and apse in place of the mihrab, which was subsequently demolished. Inside, the Ottoman dome, resting on muqarnas squinches, is fully preserved as though to suggest the fundamental characteristics of Islamic architecture—a statement that is, however, complicated by the monumental Baroque fresco covering its interior (Fig. 13.3).[17]

Entering the building from the west, the first segment of Stephan Dorffmaister's fresco that comes into view depicts the Turkish conquest of Szigetvár (Fig. 13.4). A
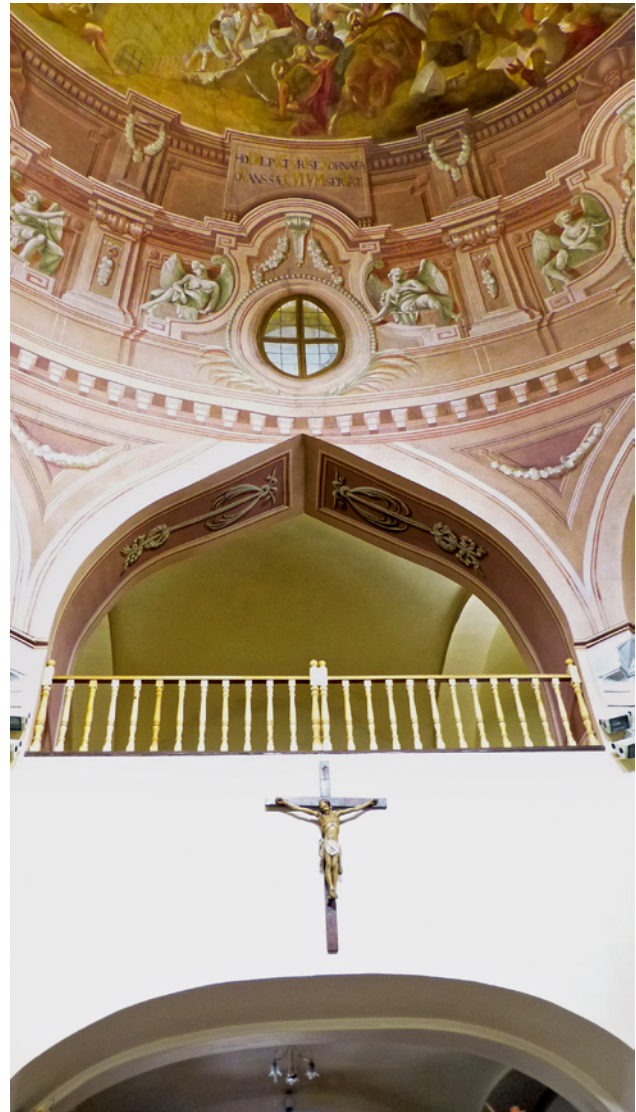
FIGURE 13.3   Parish church, Szigetvár, View of the ceiling fresco
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

group of Turkish fighters fly at an almost-superhuman Miklós Zrínyi—echoing the iconography of Hercules and Antaeus—who, rather than surrendering, breaks out of the castle to die a martyr. Despite the numerical superiority and apparent success of the Turks, we see in the distance what the Turks do not know, the death of the sultan in his tent, foretelling a different outcome: "It fell in 1566 with the fulfillment of the fate of Suleyman and Zrínyi," the chronogram tells us.[18] To the left of this section, a stretch of battle scenes almost encircles the entire dome. First, the Christians appear to gain the upper hand, but it becomes evident that the Ottomans

are winning: "It languished for 122 years under the crescent moon."[19] Finally, above the altar, as we come full circle, General de Vecchi and members of his Hungarian troops are depicted triumphantly entering the liberated Szigetvár and magnanimously distributing bread for its defeated and humiliated defenders (Fig. 13.5).[20] "In 1688 it exulted its recovery by ancient law through famine," the chronogram reads.[21] A further chronogram adds: "Today, in 1788, it celebrates the centenary, ornate with paintings."[22]

In the center of the dome, the fresco makes it clear that the long war on Earth was preordained by God, and it followed a divine plan. The ultimate Christian victory is thus attained through Mary, the angels, and above all the Holy Trinity, all of whom are depicted. The inevitable downfall is the share of those who, like the followers of Muhammad, do not believe in the Christian creed, and there is no better proof presented to the churchgoers than the purified mosque in which they are present. The extolment of the Trinity in a former mosque where Suleiman died thus inverts the program of a building that was restored by Suleiman: the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which in 692 (72 Hijri), was built to resemble a Christian martyrium and announce in the then Christian city that "The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only a Messenger of God, and His Word which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in God and His messengers, and say not 'Three.'"[23]

What we see here is how, by sustaining the non-Christian appearance of the building even after reconsecration, the remodeling allows the local past to manifest itself in the decorative program, and how this historical dimension inevitably drives the Baroque triumph depicted on the dome toward a secular narrative. It is through the latter that the ambiguity of the mosque as an architectural framework finds explanation and resolution. Through the fresco the *then* of the mosque and the *now* of the church become one. Dorffmaister ingenuously employs well-established metaphors and allusions from the classical repertoire to transform his sixteenth-century protagonists into timeless heroes. In his death, Zrínyi recalls Anchises, whose flight with the palladium from the burning Troy ensured a new beginning in Rome. Zrínyi's palladium is a combined imperial and royal flag that is returning triumphantly in the de Vecchi scene. As for the dying Suleiman, he resembles Constantine the Great.[24] His gaze transcends the

crescent-decorated flag to meet the triumphant Cross of Christ, while his own troops, busy finishing off Zrínyi, fail to witness even the death of their ruler. The truth of *in hoc signo* is revealed to Suleiman as if it were occurring in the dream of Constantine, the sultan's predecessor. Ironically, this perspective might have been the furthest from Suleiman's mind when, in his own terms, he received martyrdom in the land of the infidel.[25]

By the time of the 1788 centennial celebrations, Muslim doctrines hardly represented a threat demanding such a vigorous refutation. It seems that the Muslim population of the reconquered territories evaporated almost overnight. But in the absence of Muslims, there were others who, in Catholics' opinion, precisely required the indoctrination of the Dorffmaister's fresco. The Habsburg takeover of Transdanubia was also a Catholic takeover, which offered little benefit for dissident confessional groups; indeed, for some of those populations, this was the start of a new era of persecution. While the Muslims left Szigetvár in 1689, the Unitarians and their blasphemous beliefs stayed, along with the Lutherans and Calvinists and their halfhearted devotion to Mary and the angels. Some Catholics went so far as equating Protestants with Muslims, while others were content viewing their beliefs as the reason for God's punishment in the form of the Ottomans. However, it must be admitted that during the 100 years of undisputed Catholic hegemony, local Protestants did not suffer any visual insult comparable to the fresco, which in fact appeared only upon its conclusion.

If such long-standing general disdain for non-Catholics had not provided enough incentive for the creation of the fresco, in the 1780s a series of unprecedented threats finally gave Catholics the necessary stimulus. The divine order that took shape so beautifully inside the church was steadily giving way to growing disorder outside: in 1782, Emperor Joseph II (r. as King of Hungary 1780–90) issued an Edict of Tolerance, granting equal rights to non-Catholics, while the Edict of Secularization effectively curbed papal intervention in Austrian lands and abolished most monastic orders. In 1785, the Patent of Serfdom liberated—at least officially—the serfs, while another edict, dating to 1789, ended the nobles' tax exemption.

Apparently, the Baroque fresco in the Ottoman mosque owes its existence to this political climate.[26] The centennial anniversary was just a good excuse to

FIGURE 13.4   The deaths of Miklós Zrínyi and Sultan Suleyman I, detail of the ceiling fresco, parish church, Szigetvár
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 13.5   The reconquest of Szigetvár, detail of the ceiling fresco, Szigetvár parish church
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

express religious and secular opposition. Immediately after the proclamation of the Edict of Tolerance, Protestant delegates began to exert their influence in the provincial assembly of Baranya County, where Count Lajos Festetich, the patron of the frescoes, had long been vice-chancellor (*alispán*). He vehemently opposed Josephinian reforms and allied himself with Pál László Esterházy, the bishop of Pécs (r. 1780–99), who was struggling to regain the bishops' position of perpetual chancellorship (*örökös főispán*) that had been abolished shortly before, in 1777. The Szigetvár fresco may well attest to this alliance, as it simultaneously expresses religious and political dissidence.[27] It proclaims Catholic doctrines in a Baroque language at a time when both Catholicism and the Baroque manner had begun to lose ground. Yet, it also represents a rare early public display of secular nationalist sentiment. When not damaging Zrínyi's castle by selling it off brick by brick, Lajos Festetich actively cultivated the heritage of his illustrious predecessors. He believed that their moral commitment and religious devotion had served the empire even when their actions defied imperial commands. Stephan Dorffmaister (1729–97), the painter of the Szigetvár fresco, received similar commissions from Pál László Esterházy. In 1787 the Bishop of Pécs ordered a painting depicting the Battle of Mohács (1526) in a chapel attached to his summer residence, and he made it accessible to the public.[28] As the first large-scale depiction of the event, it stirred national and anti-Habsburg feelings under an anti-Ottoman guise and became a major attraction.

By 1788, when the refurbishment of the ʿAli Pasha mosque was complete, the building became the only former mosque in the Habsburg Empire to uphold a timely message. The Ottoman conquest had already faded into history: Mozart had written *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* six years before, in 1782, and the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages in Vienna, founded in 1754, then taught Turkish (and Arabic) language, literature, and culture at a scholarly level.[29] At the same time, Istanbul's newest imperial mosques, the Laleli (Tulip) and Beylerbeyi, completed in 1764 and 1778 respectively, featured façades richly articulated with pilaster strips and entablatures that contributed to their distinctly Baroque appearance.[30] Yet, only at Szigetvár would a standard Ottoman mosque fully and effortlessly metamorphose into a standard Baroque church.

The vehicle of this transformation was the fresco: its splendor successfully obliterated the former Islamic identity of the building, not by causing it physical harm but rather by eradicating the structure from historical memory and thus opening it up to new perspectives. Together with Dorffmaister's other historical paintings, the Zrínyi scene quickly became an influential point of reference for the literary and artistic patriotic movement at the turn of the nineteenth century.[31] By focusing on individual heroism and de-emphasizing the Baroque aspects of universalism, early-nineteenth-century artists introduced the Zrínyi theme into their standard repertoire. With the Baroque ecclesiastical origins of the battle scene thus relegated to the background, the association of the building with an erstwhile "local" Orient also underwent a metamorphosis that would resurface in the landscape of popular piety.

At the same time as the grand theme of Zrínyi was elaborated by academic artists to meet the demands of a wide national audience, the former mosques of Baranya County and Slavonia maintained their lingering presence in the religious consciousness of local communities, which reimagined these buildings as homegrown manifestations of a biblical East. When Catholic authority was reestablished in the Post-Ottoman dioceses of Đakovo and Pécs, and the surviving congregational mosques were taken over by the local parishes—similar to the smaller locality of Szigetvár—these edifices came to be regarded variously as proof of Divine Providence, the abode of the triumphant church, and images of a New Jerusalem. In Pécs, the parish foregrounded this association by establishing a Via Crucis leading from the mosque-church to a Calvary chapel newly erected in a form reminiscent of a Muslim shrine (türbe) atop a hill.[32] Although there is no sign of an Ottoman predecessor at the site, one can still find the small Ottoman shrine of Idris Baba on a neighboring hill.[33] Considering the predilection for elevated shrines among the Bektashi of the Balkans, the introduction of the türbe-shaped chapel in Pécs may well represent a modification of an established local custom.[34] The same pattern was followed in Buda, where the Franciscans built their Calvary shrine on a hilltop next to the former Bektashi mausoleum of Gül Baba.[35] As a practice, Via Crucis was initiated in the region by the Franciscan Province of St. John of Capistrano, before a papal decree of 1731 would prescribe it for every parish.[36]

2   The Sacred Landscape of Transdanubia over the Ages

What did this region look like before its Baroque transformation? Geographically and confessionally speaking, it had been diverse since medieval times. In the north and along the main rivers, ancient towns prospered; some, like Pécs (Sopianae), Osijek (Mursa), and Mitrovica (Sirmium), date back to the Roman period. This zone was a fertile agricultural landscape with dense alluvial forests and a few isolated mountainous areas, such as the Mecsek Hills over Pécs. The south, however, was altogether different, with its forested subalpine character and modest urbanization that lasted until the Ottoman takeover. Indeed, this mountainous area was already a frontier zone before the arrival of the Ottomans. For instance, it was not well integrated into the ecclesiastical administrative system prevalent in the north, and its Christians were considered to be heretics by Catholics and Orthodox alike. To overcome this problem, the Hungarian king Béla IV (r. 1235–70) founded a bishopric in southeast Slavonia in 1239, at Đakovo. It was safely positioned in the northern lowlands (that is, outside the "heretic" zone) but its success in converting highlanders across the Sava was doubtful. Still, Đakovo witnessed the improving infrastructure that was evidently beneficial for the trade of salt from the mines of Soli (now Tuzla). With the appearance of the Ottomans during the 1460s, the region came under military control. Initiated by King Sigismund (r. 1387–1437), a defensive chain of fortresses was established along the Sirmian stretch of the Danube and Sava Rivers, which was extended with a western flank in northern Bosnia by King Matthias I Corvinus (r. 1458–90) in 1464. Firmly taking control of the highlands and militarizing it, this strategy delayed the Ottoman advances.

These defensive structures were supplemented by strongholds of spirituality. Perhaps the most venerated site of frontier devotion was the shrine of St. John of Capistrano (1386–1456) in the fortress of Ilok (Újlak) overlooking the Danube.[37] Having co-engineered (along with John Hunyadi, the father of Matthias) the most resounding European victory against the Ottomans at nearby Belgrade in 1456, Capistrano became the protector saint of the borderland, while his shrine in this precarious *antemurale* location grew to be the main pilgrimage site for would-be crusaders and a center

for Franciscan anti-Ottoman schemes.[38] No wonder in 1526 this Franciscan shrine was one of the first monuments in the Hungarian Kingdom to be swept away by the armies of Sultan Suleiman I. Capistrano was all too notorious in Ottoman eyes to become a syncretistic figure such as St. Spyridon or Sari Saltık, who are venerated elsewhere in the Balkans by Christians and Muslims alike.[39] Yet, the memories of his miracles may have infiltrated the Ottoman side of the frontier. None other than 'Ali Dede Bosnawi (d. 1598), a Halveti custodian of the Szigetvár shrine of Sultan Suleiman, alleges in his *Muhadhirat al-awa' il wa musamirat al-awahir* (Lectures of the firsts and conversations of the lasts, 1589) that in Capistrano's wonder-making sarcophagus at Mitrovica (east of Ilok) there was a cup that was always filled with wine.[40] Although the story is apparently conflated with references to the Roman sarcophagi of Sirmium, the Franciscan Church of Buda (originally founded by Béla IV in a different location) still preserves what is said to be the wine cup of St. John of Capistrano.[41] In 1689, with the turn of the tide, the Szigetvár shrine of Suleiman would fall victim to its captors as quickly as the shrine of Capistrano did to Suleiman in 1526.

Returning to the mountain forts of the southern defensive chain, which is located at Soko near Gračanica (to the west of Tuzla), one is preserved as what may be the earliest regional example of a preexisting local monument converted to a mosque (Fig. 13.6). This problematic building may have originally been a stone manor house, owned by the family of the Bosnian king Stephen Ostoja (r. 1398–1404 and 1409–18), that was transformed into the mosque of the adjoining fort after its capture by the Ottomans around 1520, hence its name Fethiye ("conquest") mosque.[42] This transformation signaled the start of a hectic era of conversion, reconversion, destruction, and reconstruction that has lasted until the twentieth century, and continues even today. Very little is left of the pre-Ottoman appearance of these religious buildings. Moreover, in cases where we have references to churches or other structures transformed into mosques by the Ottomans, we lack information concerning the aesthetic or representational considerations—beyond the obvious religious motives. Much the same can be said about the Christian appropriation of those structures in the seventeenth century, and it is only in the following century that we can slowly detect the rise of emotional attitudes toward the surrounding built heritage.

FIGURE 13.6   Mosque, Soko
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

As the Ottoman expansion accelerated in the aftermath of 1526, the frontier moved from the Bosnian mountains to the northern plains, and the settlement pattern changed considerably. In the highlands, the salt-mining town of Tuzla developed into a major city, with numerous mosques, the dervish lodges of the Naqshbandi and Halveti orders, a Franciscan mission for the Christians, and a Jewish community.[43] Other towns along the trade routes, like Gračanica, also prospered. In contrast, the former centers on the plain suffered widespread destruction due to their exposure to constant warfare. The thirteenth-century cathedral of Đakovo, for instance, almost completely vanished, as did the University of Pécs, founded in 1367.[44] But as the frontline moved further north, these municipalities reemerged as cosmopolitan Ottoman towns. Their population was in flux. Many well-to-do city dwellers fled, while numerous Muslim as well as Greek Orthodox Slav settlers arrived, the majority coming immediately after the conquest, which in the area of Pécs occurred in 1543. With the consolidation of the Drava plain, the salt trade from Tuzla via Osijek flourished again, and it

seems that by the early seventeenth century Đakovo had established itself as the main entrepôt for this route.[45] The presence of Đakovo Muslims in Pécs is suggested by the early seventeenth-century mosque of Yakovali Hasan Pasha, the only neighborhood mosque still standing in the town. Even beyond the Đakovan connection implied in its name, the mosque's closest architectural parallel is the Ibrahim Pasha mosque in Đakovo, which was probably built by Ibrahim Pasha Memibegović (a member of the powerful Sokollu clan), who may have been the father of Hasan Pasha (Fig. 13.7).[46]

Hungarian inland migration was also considerable; it involved mainly Evangelical Lutherans and Calvinist Protestants, but more radical Unitarians from Transylvania also appeared; the Ottomans could usefully play off these groups against the distrusted Catholics. At Pécs, Jesuit missionaries, Calvinists, and Unitarians were granted the same church for shared use.[47] The All Saints Church remains the only ecclesiastical building in the town to fully preserve its pre-Ottoman appearance. The Ottomans chose this church because it lies outside the walls, on a street leading to what may have been a

FIGURE 13.7   Parish church, Đakovo
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

Bektashi tekke, which, in turn, was a former Renaissance villa. A similar situation may have prevailed in smaller towns.

This sort of prosperity could not be achieved north of the Drava until hubs of Christian opposition emerged in the vicinity. The epicenter of such activities was Szigetvár, the stronghold of the Croato-Hungarian Zrínyi (Zrinski) family, whose hereditary estates along the Drava fell into Ottoman hands during the 1540s.[48] Miklós Zrínyi (Nikola Šubić Zrinski, 1508–66) led several raids on the areas of Osijek, Ilok, and Đakovo that often met the support of the local rural population. It was thus imperative for the Ottomans to clear away this obstacle, which led to the 1566 siege that famously claimed the lives of both Suleyman and Zrínyi.[49] Subsequent campaigns as far north as Törökkoppány and Lake Balaton (1553), and as far west as Kanizsa (1600)—which marked the northwestern limits of the Ottoman Empire— removed daily military activity from Szigetvár and ensured the integration of the area into the empire for almost a century before it was taken back by Gabriele Vecchi in 1688–89.

3   Conclusion

In reconquered Baranya County, Muslim allusions were not restricted to surviving mosques, türbes, or türbe-like Calvary chapels, as newly built churches reminiscent of mosques served the very same purpose. For instance, the parish church of the small vine-growing village of Palkonya, constructed on the old route from Đakovo to Pécs in 1816, could be easily mistaken for a mosque (Fig. 13.8). An early Hungarian example of a neo-Classical rotunda, the church was commissioned by Count János Batthyány, possibly to evoke the valiant days of his ancestors.[50] As it never had a Muslim population or mosques, the village pertained to the Zrínyi estates that were escheated by the Imperial Chamber in 1696, following the extinction of the Zrínyi family in 1691. From Vienna, it was acquired in 1701 by Count Ádám Batthyány (d. 1703), a lineal descendant of Miklós Zrínyi and fellow protagonist of the Ottoman wars.[51]

These pseudo-mosques and pseudo-türbes metaphysically transport the pilgrims, first to the now-distant age of the Turkish wars and thence, by implication, to a timeless Palestine, which early nineteenth-century popular imagination located somewhere in the Ottoman East. In this sense, these buildings represent the final stage of a long era of religious conversion and reconversion. Yet, were we to look at artistic forms alone, they are at the same time precursors of another era—of historicism—the architecture of which would choose freely from a wide array of styles depending on the emotional mood, historical period, or geographic location it aimed to call to mind.

FIGURE 13.8   Parish church, Palkonya
PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

Notes

1   Nenad Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526–1690*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

2   It constituted the Kanije Eyalet (which officially existed between 1600 and 1699) and the Bosnia Eyalet (1586–1867), with the Sava River serving as natural boundary between them.

3   For a brief description of the building, see Katalin Granasztói Györffy, *Szigetvár, plébániatemplom* (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 1999).

4   Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 89–90.

5   Four of Szigetvár's early *sançakbeg*s bore the name ʿAli, of whom two seem to have held the position for longer than a few months (1571–73 and 1573–79, respectively). The most instrumental early builder of Ottoman Szigetvár and its conquered hinterland, however, was Iskender, the first *sançakbeg*. See Géza Dávid, "Die Bege von Szigetvár im 16. Jahrhundert," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 82 (1992): 69–70, 71–79.

6   Unpublished results of an ongoing excavation, led by Erika Hancz, seem to prove that the complex was located elsewhere than the topographical sketches would suggest. See Erika Hancz, "Nagy Szülejmán szultán Szigetvár környéki sátorhelye, halála és síremléke az oszmán írott forrásokban"/"Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Sigetvar'daki Otağ Yeri, Ölümü ve Türbesi," in *Szülejmán Szultán emlékezete Szigetváron/Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Sigetvar'daki hatırası*, ed. Norbert Pap, *Mediterrán és Balkán Fórum* 8 (2014): 56–71.

7   Attila Gaál, "Turkish Palisades on the Tolna-County Stretch of the Buda-to-Eszék Road," in *Archaeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*, eds. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005), 105–8; Claus Heinrich Gattermann, *Die Baranya in den Jahren 1686 bis 1713. Kontinuität und Wandel in einem ungarischen Komitat nach dem Abzug der Türken* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2005), map 4.

8   Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 145–46; Gattermann, *Die Baranya*, 89.

9   For post-Ottoman forced conversions, see Gattermann, *Die Baranya*, 87–88; for comparison, see Karl Teply, "Türkentaufen in Wien während des Großen Türkenkrieges 1683–1699," in *Jahrbuch des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt*

Wien 29 (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1973), 57–87; Manja Quakatz, "'Gebürtig aus der Türckey': Zu Konversion und Zwangstaufe osmanischer Muslime im Alten Reich um 1700," in *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert/Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century*, ed. Barbara Schmidt-Haberkamp (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2011), 411–32.

10   József Molnár, "Szülejmán szultán síremléke Turbéken," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 14, no. 1 (1965): 64–66.

11   László Boros, "Dorffmaister Somogyban," in *Somogy Megye Múltjából* 5 (Kaposvár: Somogy Megyei Levéltár, 1974), 61–83.

12   Kornelija Minichreiter, "Dio turskog Osijeka na prostoru Križanićevog trga u svjetlu arheoloških nalaza," in *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku* 3 (Osijek: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1984), 43–107.

13   Mirjana Repanić-Braun, "Oltarne slike Franza Xavera Wagenschöna u crkvi sv. Mihaela u Osijeku," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 26 (2002): 98–108.

14   Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (Vienna, 1721), vol. 3, plate 2.

15   Such as those of Đakovo (now All Saints Church) and Pécs (Chapel of St. John of Nepomuk, as well as the Inner City Parish Church).

16   The only significant parallel is the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul of Kamianets-Podilskyi in Podolia, now Ukraine, with its minaret from the brief Ottoman period (between 1672 and 1699) that is reused as a Marian column.

17   Éber László, "A szigetvári plébániatemplom kupolafestménye," *Magyarország műemlékei* 3 (1913): 193–220; Géza Galavics, "A szigetvári Dorffmaister-freskó és a Festetichek," in *Koppány Tibor Hetvenedik Születésnapjára. Művészettörténet—műemlékvédelem* 10, eds. István Bardoly and Csaba László (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 309–17.

18   soLIManI zrInI qVe fatIs sVbDIta.

19   sVb Lvne hIs pLanXIt.

20   For the terms of the Ottoman surrender, see István Sugár, "Szigetvár kapitulációja és a megadási szerződés," in *Tanulmányok a török hódoltság és a felszabadító háborúk történetéből*, ed. László Szita (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1993), 125–41.

21   reVInDICata faMe Ivre VeterI eXVLt Verat.

22   hoDIe pICtVrIs eXornata oVans saeCVLVM serVat.

23   Qur'an 4:171, al-Nisa, translation by Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, *Roman Transliteration of the Holy Qur-'aan. With Full Arabic Text and English Translation* (Lahore: Qudratullah, 2011); Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 27 (2008): 36–38.

24   Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 15–41.

25   About the concealment of the death of the sultan, see Nicolas Vatin, "Comment on garde un secret," in *The Ottoman Empire: Myths, Realities and "Black Holes." Contributions in Honour of Colin Imber*, eds. Eugenia Kermeli and Oktay Özel (Istanbul: Isis, 2006), 239–55.

26   For a similar political activism at work elsewhere among Dorffmaister's patrons, see Géza Galavics, *Program és műalkotás a 18. század végén* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1971).

27   This opinion was first proposed by Géza Galavics, "Die Historienbilder von Stephan Dorffmaister," in *Gedenkausstellung von Stephan Dorffmaister/Dorffmaister István emlékkiállítása*, eds. László Kostyál and Monika Zsámbéky (Zalaegerszeg: Göcseji Múzeum, 1997), 111–26; and "A szigetvári Dorffmaister-freskó és a Festetichek," 309–17; for a different view, see László Boros, "Stephan Dorffmaisters Auftraggeber und Mäzene in den Komitaten Somogy und Baranya," In *Gedenkausstellung von Stephan Dorffmaister/Dorffmaister István emlékkiállítása*, eds. László Kostyál and Monika Zsámbéky (Zalaegerszeg: Göcseji Múzeum, 1997), 217.

28   Boros, "Stephan Dorffmaisters Auftraggeber und Mäzene," 216–17.

29   For the changing Austrian opinion about the Ottoman Empire and Islam after 1683, see Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 73–115; Iván Szántó, "Centennial Displays of Ottoman Heritage in the Baroque Art of Western Hungary," in *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 6, ed. Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2018/forthcoming); "Two Islamic Strongholds in Nineteenth-Century Styria," *Studia Litteraria Universitatis Iagellonicae* 14 (2019): 257–66.

30   For the cross-cultural legibility of Ottoman Baroque, see Ünver Rüstem, *Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 17–31.

31   Géza Galavics, "A Zrínyi kirohanása téma története (Peter Krafft képe és hatása)," in *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870*, eds. Júlia Szabó et al. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), 1: 61–65.

32   For a short description of the ensemble, see Miklós Csapkay and Balázs Dercsényi, *Pécs, kálvária* (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 1995).

33   Gerő Győző, *Az oszmán-török építészet Magyarországon. Dzsámik, türbék, fürdők* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), fig. 76.

34   Nathalie Clayer, "Les hauts lieux du Bektachisme albanais," in *Lieux de l'Islam. Cultes et cultures de l'Afrique à Java*, ed. Mohammad Ali Amir-Moeizzi (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1996), 168–83.

35   Another example of the growing sensibility toward a historicized local heritage is a türbe-shaped well house (late eighteenth century) at Babócsa, Southwest Somogy County, beside what may have been an original Turkish structure in an Ottoman-era garden ("Basakert"), converted to a park of the Somssich castle. Domokos Teleki, *Egynehány hazai utazások leírása* (Vienna: n.p., 1796), 207.

36   Emanuel Hoško, "L'origine e gli influssi del vocabolario artistico nella Provincia francescana dei Santi Cirillo e Metodio in Croazia," *Ikon* 3 (2010): 343–54; Martin Elbel, "Tanquam Peregrini: Pilgrimage Practice in the Bohemian Franciscan Province," In *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe, 1450–1800*, eds. Maria Crăciun and Elaine Fulton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 227–43.

37   Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), 11–14, 37–58; Gábor Klaniczay, "Kapisztrán és a ferences obszervancia csoda-felfogása," in *Európa védelmében. Kapisztrán Szent János és a nándorfehérvári diadal emlékezete*, eds. Kálmán Peregrin and László Veszprémy (Budapest: HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2013), 72–81.

38   Norman Housley, "Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 94–115.

39   Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 27–29; for examples of conversion, see Harry T. Norris, *Popular Sufism in Eastern Europe: Sufi Brotherhoods and the Dialogue with Christianity and 'Heterodoxy'* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1–5; Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 121–42; Nathalie Clayer, "Les miracles des cheikhs et leurs fonctions dans les espaces frontières de la Roumélie du XVIe siecle," in *Miracle et Karāma. Hagiographies médievales comparées*, ed. Denise Aigle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 435–58.

40   Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 175–77.

41   It was transferred back to Hungary from Vienna in 1772, see László Zolnay, "Kapisztrán János címeres ivópohara a budai ferenceseknél," *Budapest: A székesfőváros történeti, művészeti és társadalmi képes folyóirata* 11, no. 8 (1973): 409–10. For the Medieval and Ottoman fortunes of the Franciscans of Buda, see Eszter Kovács, "A budai ferences kolostor a török korban," in *Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából* 31 (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2003), 241–62.

42   John Bold et al., *Archaeological Ensemble of the Old Mosque of Soko* (Sarajevo: Bosnia and Herzegovina Commission to Preserve National Monuments, 2007).

43   Adem Handžić, *Tuzla i njena okolina u XVI vijeku* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1975), 165–88.

44   Ive Mažuran, *Popis naselja i stanovništva u Slavoniji 1698. godine. Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad u Osijeku* 2 (Osijek: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1988), 12; Ede Petrovich, "A középkori egyetem megszűnése," in *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* (Pécs: Janus Pannonius Múzeum, 1966), 153–70.

45   During the period, a quick urbanization can be observed as opposed to the almost stagnating rural settlements. Towns attracted numerous Muslim settlers, and converts as well, while most of the villages remained Christian. Muslim villages can be observed only in Slavonia near Osijek, Orahovica, and Požega. Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 24–25; for the demographics of Baranya, see Gattermann, *Die Baranya in den Jahren 1686 bis 1713*, 72–199.

46   Balázs Sudár, *A pécsi Jakováli Haszan Pasa-dzsámi* (Budapest: Műemlékek Nemzeti Gondnoksága, 2010); for a more general context of the Memibegović family network, see Moačanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube*, 103.

47   Antal Molnár, "Jezsuiták a hódolt Pécsett (1612–1686)," in *Pécs a törökkorban. Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 7, ed. Ferenc Szakály (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1999), 171–265; Katalin S. Németh, "Die Disputation von Fünfkirchen," in *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century: Proceedings of the International Colloquium Held on the 400th Anniversary of Ferenc Dávid's Death in Siklós (Hungary), May 15–19, 1979*, eds.

Róbert Dán and Antal Pirnát (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1982), 147–55.

48   Gizella Cenner-Wilhelmb, "Ikonograpische Ruf der Familie Zrínyi," in *A Zrínyi család ikonográfiája*, ed. Gizella Cenner-Wilhelmb (Budapest: Balassi 1997), 26–36.

49   For the chronicle of events, see, for example, James Tracy, "The Road to Szigetvár: Ferdinand 1's Defense of His Hungarian Border, 1548–1566," *Austrian History Yearbook* 44 (2013): 17–36; Nicolas Vatin, *Feridun Bey—Les plaisants secrets de la campagne de Szigetvár* (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2010); for an iconographic survey, see Géza Fehér, "Hungarian History in Islamic Miniature Painting," in *The Muslim East: Essays in Honour of Julius Germanus*, ed. Gyula Káldy-Nagy (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1974), 108–16.

50   József Brüsztle, *Recensio Universi Cleri Dioecesis Quinque-Ecclesiensis* (Pécs: András Madarász, 1880), 4: 269–70; for the patron, see Mihály Haas, *Baranya földirati, statisticai és történeti tekintetben. Emlékirat, mellyel a Pécsett MCCCXLV aug. elején összegyült magyar orvosok és természetvizsgálóknak kedveskedik nagykéri Scitovszky János, pécsi püspök, és k. valóságos benső titkos tanácsnok, a' szépművészetek, bölcsészet és hittudományok' tanára, a' kir. magyar természettudományi római t. arcadiai társulat' tagja, a m. orvosok és természetvizsgálók VI. nagy gyűlésének elnöke* (Pécs: Lyceum, 1845), 99.

51   Gattermann, *Die Baranya*, 429.

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Portability, Mobility, and Cultural Transfers—Wooden Church Architecture in Early Modern Banat

The Case of the St. Paraschiva Wooden Church in Crivina de Sus

Diana Belci

When discussing the phenomena of cultural transfer, mobility, and portability[1] in the context of art and architecture in the Balkans and Northern/Central Europe, sacred vernacular architecture is among the most representative examples. Yet, during the time frame considered by this paper (circa the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries), vernacular architecture was simply considered poor and barbarian. Traditional houses were no more than a "dog's lair,"[2] and travelers never perceived the beauty or a sense of place—only poverty, backwardness, and estrangement from the civilized world. It was only in the nineteenth century that an interest in the vernacular as an expression of authenticity and locality emerged. As new nations were born, the vernacular became part of the nationalist and regionalist discourse: the recently united Romanian Principalities of Walachia and Moldova, an independent state after the Berlin Treaty in 1878, were yet to cement their national identity, while Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina, and Maramures, still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, joined the Kingdom of Romania in 1918–19.

Banat, in particular, possessed a rich and diverse multiethnic heritage that eclipsed that of its neighboring regions. Part of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Empires, Banat's vernacular architecture was the result of adaptation and influence, and sacred architecture was its highest expression. Having to survive in the theater of war between the East and the West for centuries, communities in Banat, as in other Romanian provinces, were often forced to move, either to escape conflict or because, against their will, their towns and villages were redesigned by authorities. Tons of wood circulated from the dark Carpathian forests to the Danube, the Black Sea, and from there to Istanbul or Vienna. Similarly, churches were moved on water or land, in one piece or dissembled, as communities were forced to move. In this process many churches vanished, but the few that survived keep the marks of this extraordinary voyage imprinted on their wooden epidermis. Perhaps the most interesting example in this paper is the oldest remaining wooden church in Banat: St. Paraschiva in Crivina de Sus (1677). Initially erected in Ilia, a stronghold on the Mureş River in Transylvania, the church was moved on rafts over water and then carried on land by oxen to finally reach its current location on top of a hill in the remote village of Crivina de Sus. As the rulings in Banat were shifting from the Ottomans to the Hapsburgs, and the churches that had turned into mosques became churches again, far away from the disputed cities of Timişoara, Caransebeş, or Lugoj, in a remote village this wooden church was an extraordinary unknown example of mobility, portability, and transfer, being simultaneously a symbol of physical transfer, on water and land, and of a spiritual/religious transfer, being consequently used by different communities and religious confessions (Fig. 14.1).

1 Traveling on Water and Land: Evliya Çelebi's Account of Vernacular Architecture

A popular Romanian legend tells us the story of Iovan Iorgovan[3] and the seven-headed[4] dragon. In one version[5] of the narrative, Iovan Iorgovan, a veritable Danubian Hercules, fights a giant snake that has transformed gradually into a multiheaded dragon by living in the thermal waters of the Cernei valley near the Danube and the modern-day city of Drobeta-Turnu Severin. The dragon terrorized the villages nearby. Iovan Iorgovan confronts and chases the beast to the shores of the Danube, where he subsequently severs several of its heads in a manner reminiscent of Hercules slaying the snake Ladon. The dragon is defeated, but upon its withdrawal, it shapes the hills and crags of the landscape with its long tail.

Some interpretations of this legend link Iovan Iorgovan with a haiduk who lived in the forests and caves of the Banat Mountains during the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[6] Other interpretations trace the source of the tale to Roman antiquity,[7] thus lending credence to the connection between Iovan Iorgovan and the mythological Hercules, and noting that the location of Valea Cernei is near the Roman thermal baths of Herculanum. Perhaps the most interesting account of this legend is that of Evliya Çelebi, a noted Ottoman traveler who explored Banat in the seventeenth century.[8] When describing the Danube's Iron Gates,[9] he tells of a strange and frightening place with narrow, steep rocks, famous among all sailors—whether from Anatolia, Arabia, Persia, or Europe. Evliya describes the difficult passage through the Iron Gates, recounting the many shipwrecks that ensued as merchant ships struggled to navigate between the dangerous cliffs as they emerged from the fast, white waters of the Danube. For this reason, wise merchants often decided to disembark and continue on land through the passage, dividing their merchandise among smaller boats. Evliya tells us that 1,000–1,500 men were needed to guide the ships with ropes that were pulled one by one until they crossed the Danube rapids, where they were once again loaded with their goods and crews. This whole operation lasted five to six days. Skilled locals were trained to help navigate ships through the Iron Gates, most of them from Moldova or Drenkova.[10] Mixing legend with historical facts, Evliya tells us of a legendary Ianovan, the brother of *Iancu bin Madeyan*[11]—the founder of Constantinople—who died upon witnessing the failure of his great engineering endeavor to tame the Danube. Evliya must have heard the Iovan Iorgovan legend in order to include him in the account, and thus gives a notable Byzantine twist to the story.

Traveling by both water and land, Evliya describes a lost world: a rich and mysterious Ottoman land where cities thrived—a landscape of legends and mystery, and of wilderness and danger, where the real and the magical mingle without inhibition. Evliya's accounts of Banat are found in volumes one, five, six, and seven of his *Book of Travels* (*Seyâhatnâme*). He describes in detail seven *sandjaks*, their fiefs, their dignitaries, and their revenues, and he refers to Timişoara, the capital of the *eyalet*, as an Eden-like paradise,[12] a powerful fortress surrounded by rose gardens.[13]

Our story about portability and mobility begins with the Danube and its legendary dangerous waters, since the Danube is the receptacle of most rivers that flow from the "dark forests"[14] of the Carpathians. Goods and merchandise, legends and crafts, and travelers and artisans crossed these dark forests, moving on dangerous roads and rivers, finally to reach the difficult passage of the Danube, from which they flowed into the Black Sea, and from there to Istanbul and beyond.

This essay ventures to understand the art of construction of the people who inhabited those dangerous lands and forests. While most essays in this volume focus upon "authored" and "high" art and architecture—that is, instances in which the name of the artisan and patron were known—this study seeks to understand the architecture of the nameless villager. The vernacular is difficult to record, due to a lack of sources and the less durable nature of the material used, be it wood, earth, or stone. Nevertheless, vernacular architecture is the truest expression of a place: it is created by the people who inhabited it; it is adapted to the climate, it uses the materials at hand, it is easy to modify and repair, and it is easy to leave behind if danger arises. Nevertheless, one form of vernacular architecture was *not* left behind. One that could be moved, paradoxically, that traveled, being both mobile and portable: the wooden church.

I focus here on vernacular wood architecture in a region where different dominions and conflicts facilitated—and necessitated—the mobility of entire communities. Banat was one of the few Romanian regions to become an Ottoman *eyalet*, and later, a Habsburg possession. There, at the meeting point of these empires that shaped history, lived anonymous communities, shifted by wars and rivalry. Their architecture, basic and poor, was rarely recorded by travelers, who considered them barbarians. Their *axis mundi* was the church, and when they had to move, that *axis* would become both mobile and portable.

The Danube defines the southern border of Walachia and Banat, as it links Vienna, Buda, and Belgrade with the Black Sea and Istanbul—the epicenter of the most powerful empire at the time of Evliya's storytelling. Contemporary Banat is a region divided between Romania, Hungary, and Serbia,[15] delimited by the Mureş River to the north, the Tisa River to the west, and the Occidental Carpathians to the east. Banat is often conflated with Transylvania, since both regions were part of

the Hungarian Kingdom from the eleventh and twelfth centuries until the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, when Suleiman the Magnificent conquered a large part of the Hungarian Kingdom, and shortly after Buda itself.

An important strategic location, Timişoara fell to the Ottomans in 1552 after a one-month siege. Due in part to this victory, the conqueror, Kara Ahmed Pasha became of the most influential figures in the Ottoman Empire and took the title of grand vizier under Suleiman the Magnificent. For 164 years, Timişoara was the capital of an Ottoman *eyalet*. A former fourteenth-century fortress erected by Charles Robert of Anjou,[16] Timişoara was built on an island in the middle of a large swamp generated by the many branches of the Timis and Bega Rivers. Timişoara evolved into a typical Ottoman city, with an organic street system, mosques, a bazaar, coffee houses, several bathhouses, and a Muslim elite brought there from different parts of the empire, especially from the Balkans.

From an administrative point of view, before 1552, the territory south of the Mureş River was divided in *comitate*, the first of which was first mentioned in 1156.[17] The Timis, Cenad, and Arad *comitate* in the Banat plain were transformed into an Ottoman *eyalet*, with their administrative center in Timişoara, ruled by a *beylerbeg*. The *eyalet* was divided into eight *sanjaks*: Timişoara, Lipova, Vidin, Alaca Hisar (Krusevac), Cenad, Arad-Gyula, Moldova, and Pâncota; and from the second half of the seventeenth century, Caransebeş, Lugoj, and Ineu. The Ottomans maintained most of the preexisting structures of the old Romanian districts when they divided the *sanjaks* into new *nahiye*.[18] While the Ottomans maintained some of the local Romanian rulers, *cnezi*, as mayors of the villages and allowed a number of local Romanian judges to retain certain powers, primary jurisdiction in the city was held by the Ottoman *kadii*.

Religiously, Banat was a multiconfessional space. There is little evidence of the Eastern Church authority over Banat until the sixteenth century; previously, there was probably a Serbian Orthodox monastic tradition, but with little institutional influence.[19] The first references to a formal institutional organization of the Orthodox Church dates back to the first half of the sixteenth century, when a Lipova bishop is mentioned.[20] From 1557 onward, Banat is included under the jurisdiction of the newly revived patriarchy of Ipek (Peč), whose first patriarch was Macarie, the brother of the powerful Ottoman grand vizier, Sokolu Mehmed Pasha.[21]

After the Habsburg conquest of Timişoara in 1716, the Ottoman city was demolished and rebuilt as a fortress in the style of the French military engineer Sebastien de Vauban. In fact, Ottoman Banat was wiped off the face of the earth: the mosques were abandoned and demolished; the swamp surrounding Timişoara, which protected the city from invaders more than its outdated fortification for many years, was drained; the rivers channeled; and the wild landscape tamed. New roads linked the Habsburg possession to its capital, Vienna, while settlements ensured the optimal exploitation of the natural landscape. The movement of coal and precious metals from the mountains, grains from the fertile plains, wood from the forests, and goods and merchandise changed direction, from East to West—from Istanbul to Vienna. The world described in Evliya's stories was erased from the popular imagination. Years of Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian dominion, and then Romanian and Communist rhetoric, painted the Ottomans as barbarian oppressors. This is an image that needs to be challenged. This essay seeks to sketch a world that has been intentionally and repeatedly erased by the subsequent rulers of Banat. Seeing it through the lens of the building traditions of the local people makes this task even more difficult. The Romanians were always an underrepresented majority in the region until the twentieth century, and as such, their architecture remained largely undocumented.

2   From the Dark Forests of the Carpathians to the Istanbul Saray

The subject of vernacular architecture in the early modern period in general, and wooden church architecture in particular, is difficult to research. On the one hand, the vernacular was, until very recently, considered less important than designed art or architecture, and consequently less documented. Only recent efforts have kept many of the traditions from becoming extinct. On the other hand, vernacular architecture is highly fragile, as it is by nature built from perishable materials and is prone to changes and reuse. As such, it is almost impossible to recover, even archeologically, once it is gone. Arguably the most fragile type of vernacular architecture is that made from wood. Wood is versatile as a construction material: it is easy to assemble and easier and cheaper to transport than stone, but less resilient over time and in

need of constant repair and maintenance. Nevertheless, due to the material's availability, wooden buildings were the most common in early modern Banat.

As Evliya Çelebi testifies, the materials used were not only a reflection of place but also of social hierarchy and wealth: the houses of the poor, covered in wooden tiles and reeds, were no better than a dog's lair or hole,[22] while the rich—regardless of ethnicity or religion[23]—had stone houses with beautiful gardens facing the Danube. Of course, limiting wood to the poor and stone to the rich is overly simplistic; there are many accounts of wealthy houses made out of wood. But the fact remains that the poor had neither the skills nor the means to build monumental architecture, and so their buildings—vernacular and basic—are a direct result of the materials and local craftsmen available. As such, vernacular architecture, whether residential or religious, was prone to cultural transfers and innovation. In Banat, these transfers occurred on many levels, from the mobility of craftsmen to the act of physically moving buildings from one place to the other, as in the case of wooden churches. The region's rivers played a major role in this process, and as a result, architecture absorbed sometimes rather distant influences despite ethnic and religious segregation.

A number of commonalities—including vast forests and rich traditions of wood construction—defined the shared experiences of the population in early modern Banat, as well as those regions such as Walachia, Moldova, and Transylvania. The regions that formed around the Carpathians, the Danube, and the Black Sea possessed endless woods crossed by dangerous roads, with remote rural communities practicing husbandry and logging. In 1694, Nicolo de Porta, an Austrian official in the service of the Moldavian Prince Constantin Duca, wrote of the Romanian forests:

"The country is covered by vast forests; between the forests small boroughs and villages are scattered, and if there are any boroughs and villages in the flat plain, they are surely in the vicinity of a forest where the people seek refuge and where they bury their provisions, tools and everything they possess. If an enemy army entered the darkness of those thick forests, they would have no means of subsistence. Only few people can move about in the forests and those few are most likely killed by peasants who hide therein and oblige the enemy to scatter about the plain."[24]

Agriculture was practiced in the lower plain areas in the western part of Banat, and in the southern and eastern part of Walachia and Moldova. The fertile land made these regions—especially Walachia and Moldova—an important grain provider for the Ottoman Empire. The rich pastures of the Carpathians would turn horses, sheep, and cattle from these provinces into one of the most important trading goods within the Ottoman Empire. As Nicolae Iorga noted almost a century ago: "In the times of Soliman-The-Great, for which we have documents, we [Romanians] were asked to provide wheat and barley for the Imperial stables or for the troop's horses, 6 *aspri* per kilo, and wood send to Reni, to Galați, to Chilia, and Brăila, where ships were waiting, at Nicopol with the payment of oarsmen, or in case of war to the West, to the Serbian Belgrade. Horses were required for the Caffa *beg* and other neighbouring chiefs."[25]

Wood was particularly precious for trade, with lumber from forests in the Carpathians reaching as far as Istanbul and beyond. The lumber was carried away by horse or oxen in valleys and then transported by raft on rivers. Almost all rivers from the Carpathians flow into the Danube, which in turn flows into the Black Sea, which meets the Mediterranean. In this way, wood, goods, and merchandise from Banat and the other Romanian principalities spread all over the world. In 1683 in Galați, one of the most important harbors on the Danube, commerce was flourishing: "Ships came here not only from Constantinople, but also from the Tartars harbors of Crimea and from the Southern coast of the Black Sea, from Trapezunt and Sinope, from Egypt and Barbaria, to load grain and wood due to the Turks, salt for the Empire, saltpeter for their troops, but also honey, wax, butter. More than 1,000 carts of fish from here go to Poland, and the governor (*Vornicul Țerii-de-Jos*) has his own fishermen to ensure his income."[26]

Rafting,[27] a prevalent occupation since antiquity on many rivers flowing from the Carpathians,[28] was also a way of moving goods, especially salt and wood. The Mureş River that borders the north of the Ottoman *eyalet* of Timişoara was also famous for active rafting-related activities. The water corridor consisting of the Mureş-Tisa-Danube network would transport salt and wood from Transylvania and Banat to Pannonia, the Adriatic Coast, and beyond,[29] providing salt for the sultan's kitchen.[30]

3   Portable Wooden Churches

Banat has always been ethnically diverse. Since the Middle Ages, the rural territory was inhabited by Romanians, Hungarians, and Serbians. Hungarians lived mostly in the plains and cities, but beginning with the reign of Sigismund de Luxemburg (1368–1437), Serbians were encouraged to settle in southern Hungary in order to protect its borders. Romanians were an overwhelming majority in the mountainous villages of Banat. South of the Mureş, there were few urban settlements and only four main cities: Timişoara, Lipova, Lugoj in the plains, and Caransebeş in the mountains. After the Ottoman conquest, the demographic landscape of Banat changed somewhat: Ottoman officials, Bosnian craftsmen, and Ragusa merchants moved to Lipova and Timişoara; Caransebeş and Lugoj continued to have a largely Romanian population; and the integration of the Banat region into the political and administrative realm of the Ottoman Empire caused many Hungarian aristocrats to flee to Transylvania.

Beginning in the Middle Ages, Hungarian noblemen controlled and owned the fertile plains of Banat, while the higher mountainous areas were inhabited by free peasants of Romanian ethnicity. After the Ottoman conquest of Timişoara in 1552, however, these lands gradually became part of the *timar*[31] state-ownership system. The higher border areas, more difficult to control, maintained a majority Romanian population and managed to maintain a certain level of local control despite being under Ottoman administration. After 1716, the Habsburg administration and the Austro-Hungarians that succeeded the Ottoman reorganized the land, built new roads, channeled the rivers, drained the fertile land, and reorganized the old villages and built new ones, populating these settlements with colonists brought from other parts of the empire. Local populations found it hard to adapt and would often be forced to move—moving their churches—as their villages were carefully redesigned by the empire's planners. The shifting of these European borderlands created the phenomenon of communities and architecture on the move. Hybridity was one consequence of such instability; mobility was another.

Assembling and disassembling the wooden church—or simply moving it as a whole, if small—was a unique characteristic of Romanian communities since early history. Indeed, since ancient times, rural communities in the Carpathians would move when resources became scarce, or in the case of danger. Communities would sometimes "swarm" like a beehive, either prompted by the necessity to divide and seek out new pastures or other natural resources or due to internal disputes.

When in danger, Romanians would leave their homes and seek shelter in the woods. There are several accounts discussing this seminomadic way of life; for instance, the Stahls[32] speak of communities where the carts had two axels in order to ensure a quick escape or a change of direction in case of danger. Leaving one's home and finding shelter in the woods was a means of survival extending from ancient times to the Communist resistance in the Carpathians mountains in the twentieth century. The Ottomans, however, limited this phenomenon of relocation in an attempt to ensure that the land was cultivated and taxes were collected accordingly. In order to discourage mobility, in 1695 some peasants were even given land that their offspring could inherit.[33]

There are numerous accounts regarding this practice, and the most impressive examples refer to the transfer of wooden churches. Nicolae Dabija[34] recounts a story he heard from local men about churches around the Bugeac River in Moldova. The design of wooden churches even incorporated wheels and an axle, so in the case of attacks from rebel groups of Tatars, Turks, or Kazaks the community could easily yoke together a few pairs of oxen, move the church, and seek shelter in the woods nearby. Churches were also sold or donated to poorer communities. Another account[35] talks about the movement of a wooden church built in 1748, from Chelmac to Tisa, on the Mureş River by raft. The community sold the wooden church to erect a new stone one. The church was moved sixty-five kilometers upstream by raft on the Mureş River, using the force of fifty oxen from the shore.

Moving churches was a common phenomenon not only in Banat but also in all the Romanian provinces,[36] and of course in many regions where there are wooden constructions. Indeed, churches in Banat were moved as often as three times.[37] As the villages would move, the church would follow the same pattern. Many were sold or donated, while others were simply moved to make way for new roads during the Austro-Hungarian systematization of Banat, and some were simply abandoned when the community acquired the means to build a stone church. At the end of the nineteenth century, some

200 wooden churches were documented in Banat,[38] though there were probably many more. Today, a little more than a tenth have survived—some of these vanished during the Austro-Turkish War of 1787–92, others caught fire, were sold, or were replaced by stone ones in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The majority of the churches that survived in Banat belonged to poor or remote communities that were unable to rebuild with stone.

Arguably, the oldest surviving church[39] in Banat is that of "St. Paraschiva" in Crivina de Sus, a village near Făget, in the border region between Banat and the county of Hunedoara in Transylvania (Fig. 14.2). According to a surviving inscription on the southern door of the narthex, the church, made of oak, was built in 1677 (Fig. 14.3). In the second half of the eighteenth century the church was brought to Banat from Ilia, in Transylvania, as a donation from a rich noblewomen to a small community of no more than ten houses.[40]

The church has a unique story. According to local tradition, in the absence of conclusive documents, it seems that it was built for a Romanian-Calvinist community, a tiny part of the Romanian population of Transylvania, which accepted the jurisdiction of the Calvinist Reformed Church. Probably, this small community, together with the archpriest, later converted to Greek Catholicism. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of Archpriest Daniel, who, along with other priests, signed the Manifesto of Union with the Church of Rome in 1700.

The church was built in a strong outpost, Ilia, a border town that controlled trade on the Mureş River. In the beginning, the church was a place of worship for Calvinist Romanians, then for Greek Catholics, and finally for Greek Orthodox Romanians, after reaching Crivina de Sus.[41] Local tradition tells us that the church was dismantled, transported by rafts along the Mureş River to Valea Mare-Căpâlnaş, and from there transported by oxen-pulled carts over the hills and valleys to Crivina de Sus. If these assumptions are true, this church is a symbol not only of a physical transfer but also of a spiritual one.

As is the case with other churches nearby, the structure in Crivina de Sus shares many characteristics with wooden churches in the Hunedoara County in Transylvania in terms of the typology of its plan, its dimensions, and the construction technique employed

in its realization. According to N. Săcară, there are three typologies of churches in Banat:[42] the *Blockbau* system, comprised of carved horizontal logs of massive oak beams bound together by a *swallow tail joint*; the *Fackwerk* system, derived from the first system, with intercalated vertical posts called *căţei*; and a third system, made with wattle work fastened with vertical posts and plastered with mud. The final typology was more common in plains where wood was scarce and, since those regions were extensively systematized by the Austrians in the eighteenth century, no examples survive.

The plan of the church at Crivina de Sus represents a combination of the first two typologies. The church rests on a solid oak sole, which is at once the most important and fragile part of the construction, given that it rests directly on the earth; accordingly, a sole cannot last more than 250–300 years.[43] As the church was brought from a different location, it was probably modified and adapted to the needs of the new community when reassembled on the site. In accordance with Orthodox/Byzantine customs, the interior is divided into three spaces: the altar, only entered by the priest; the nave or *naos*, where the males in the community stood; and the narthex, or *pronaos*, which was the designated space for women (Fig. 14.4). Some churches also included an *exonarthex*, which, along with the *pronaos*, serve as a sort of community court, where decisions were made and judgments were passed.[44]

The wooden church from Crivina de Sus has a hybrid plan. The polygonal shaped altar is built in a *Blockbau* system, from massive logs carved on four sides, bound by a *swallow tail joint*. The wall ends in chamfered beams that support the roof, resembling angel's wings. The *naos* is built in the *Fackwerk* style, with vertical posts intercalated along the wall. The *pronaos*, is *Blockbau*, but the logs are less massive. As a whole, the Orthodox Church is a metaphor for Noah's Ark. From afar, the Crivina de Sus church seems to be a coherent and balanced ark, shipwrecked on top of a hill where it is surrounded by luxuriant oak woods in the middle of a cemetery orchard. The ark seems to have traveled to this remote village situated on the bank of the Bega River. Here, metaphor meets reality, as the church has indeed traveled—but in pieces rather than as an intact whole. The log building systems ensures the structure is versatile; the pieces can be dissembled and reassembled. Carpenters used marks or

FIGURE 14.2   View from the altar, church "St. Paraschiva," Crivina de Sus, 2014

FIGURE 14.3   Inscription on the *pronaos* door, south façade, 1677, Crivina de Sus, photograph 2016

FIGURE 14.4   View of the interior, Crivina de Sus, photograph 2013

signs on each element—just like in a puzzle—to ensure that the church would be safely rebuilt on its new site.

When reassembled, such churches were tailored to the needs of their new communities. This seems to be the case with the St. Paraschiva Church in Crivina de Sus. For instance, the polygonal altar is comprised of logs from the sole, each of which is marked with signs, small points carved into the wood, beginning with one, that indicate the total number of logs making up the wall. In many cases, it is not a number but rather a letter, a line, or even a scratch that enables the pieces of wood to be rejoined like a puzzle (Fig. 14.5). These markings thus functioned as a secret alphabet, legible only to the carpenters—a phenomenon that is even more impressive given that the majority of them were illiterate and did not use drawings in their practice.[45] Even in instances where several systems of measurement were imposed on the local population, the carpenters employed a system based on human body parts and proportions: "the local yard (*pas*) is today approximated to

one meter [...] the ell (*râf* or *cot*), the hand (*palmă*) and the palm breath (*latul de palmă*)."[46]

In the case of the Crivina de Sus church, however, some elements seem to be out of place, as their positions do not correspond to the respective markings. Was there a mistake when the reassembly took place, or were some elements simply employed differently in order to allow the church—once rebuilt—to adapt to its new community? The hybrid building system raises further questions: given that the altar is built in the *Blockbau* technique, the *naos* in the *Fackwerk* technique, and the *pronaos* in the *Blockbau* (albeit with a different type of log), how much of the original church remains?[47]

Indeed, a significant proportion of the materials used to build the complicated structure of the tower were in fact reused from other architectural elements, and they still hold the marks of these former bindings; former beams, for instance, have been reused as wind bracings (Fig. 14.6). Similarly, although the church is not painted,[48] the back of the *tympanum* that separates the

naos from the *pronaos* bears traces of paint. Could it be that the coat of paint was so degraded that the local carpenters simply decided to flip the boards? In fact, the vertical elements that fix these boards and the *tympanum* in place are almost all reused; one of these vertical supports was previously a wooden cross dating from 1766, which traces its origins to the cemetery surrounding the church.

This church thus becomes the deepest expression of this community, for even if the inhabitants who used the space and the carpenters who built it remain anonymous, their memories are deeply carved into the wood of the church. Even their funerary monuments form part of the very skeleton of the structure: indeed, the façades are covered with crosses and wooden headstones, apparently, according to local tradition, belonging to local martyrs who died in the World Wars (Fig. 14.7).[49]

Mobility and portability are written on the outer layer of the wooden churches from this region, but only a few can read the signs of this extraordinary voyage. The movement of churches seems to have been the rule, rather than the exception. Indeed, Crivina de Sus was not a unique, eccentric example. A few kilometers upstream, the eighteenth-century wooden church from Poieni[50] also moved along with its community. Today, we can find it in the center of the village, close to the road, but a hill suggestively called *Valea Bisericii* (the valley of the church) recalls its original position (Fig. 14.8). Downstream, at Pietroasa,[51] an eighteenth-century wooden church stands proudly in the middle of a cemetery on the top of a hill, where it is surrounded by plum trees. Though it seems to have roots in this majestic setting, in reality, the church was moved here from the "Slăvești" valley when its village was reorganized.

Not far away, a few kilometers from Făget, we find the wooden church from Bătești, which was initially moved from Veța, a village that has disappeared but at one point was situated on the border between this area

FIGURE 14.6   The tower-building system, Crivina de Sus, photograph 2015

FIGURE 14.7   View of the altar, Crivina de Sus, photograph 2015

FIGURE 14.8   View of the interior, church "St. Paraschiva," nineteenth century, Poieni, photograph 2013

and Transylvania. The church is known to have been transferred on wooden logs carried by six pairs of oxen[52] sometime in the eighteenth century. When the local community in Greoni, a village on the Caras River close to the Serbian border, built a stone church between 1770 and 1780, its wooden church was sold to another village, Ticvaniul Mare. Later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the church was resold to Calina, a smaller rural community, where it remains to the present day.[53]

Examples are plentiful. The wooden church in Dragomirești, which was first constructed in 1754 in Zorlențul Mare, was bought and moved to its current location in the nineteenth century.[54] In Dubești, the church presumably dates from the seventeenth century. There, a local tradition recalls a fight between villagers, divided by two options, who had to roll the dice in order to decide where to move the church.[55] The eighteenth-century century wooden church St. Paraschiva in Groși was transferred to its current location from Căpâlnaș,

a village in the Mureș valley.[56] The eighteenth-century wooden church in Hezeriș,[57] the church in Hodoș,[58] and the eighteenth-century church in Margina,[59] were also all moved.

Many villages in Banat passed from one nobleman to the other, thus surviving under a series of regimes. In response, local communities adapted by building and owning their own churches. This is why so many documents include the expression to build "prin osteneala obștii satului"—to build through the efforts of the village community. The peasantry thus felt justified to sell and move such churches according to their own will. When transferred and reassembled, a church would gain value by absorbing different influences. The Baroque-Habsburg influences from the eighteenth–nineteenth centuries are easy to read in certain details, such as in ornaments or in bulb-shaped roofed towers. The challenge is to understand how this cultural transfer occurred before the arrival of Eugen of Savoy in Banat in 1716.

4 Cultural Transfers: The Wooden Mosque and the Wooden Church

In some cases, wood's portability and mobility accelerated the degradation of certain churches through constant innovation, while in others it saved the structures from disappearance. One way or another it was a frequent occurrence and a true phenomenon. Indeed, as Evlyia Çelebi tells us, Banat was a land of wooden architecture. Most of the cities he describes are *palankas*, wooden fortifications protected by mounds of earth. Evliya entered Banat from Belgrade on June 10, 1660, when he crossed the Danube on a wooden bridge at Hisardjik and headed to Panciova, a city with houses made out of wood and covered with reed roofs. He continued his trip to Timişoara, passing Jebel and Denta—another *palanka*—where he notes that "you couldn't find stones the size of a bean in these plains."[60]

In Timişoara, the capital of the *eyalet*, he describes the city in great detail, focusing on the vivid urban life and its architecture. Around the time of Evliya's travels in Banat, an Austrian spy traveled to Timişoara. He was one of the members of a Habsburg diplomatic mission led by Baron von Goes for the pasha of Belgrade. The mission arrived in Buda in December 1662 but only reached its destination in July 1663, as the Ottomans—understanding its motivations—delayed the mission by first sending it to Timişoara. Henrik Ottendorf accordingly spent six months in Timişoara in 1663 and wrote a detailed account of the city and the state of its fortifications, complementing his commentary with a map. Ottendorf's account recalls a famous saying of the Danube's Ottoman *beys*: "He who conquers Buda rules a city, / He who conquers Timişoara rules a country."[61]

Timişoara was considered impregnable because of the city's position in the middle of a large swamp, at the meeting point of the Timis and Bega Rivers, where it was surrounded by orchards and rose gardens. The natural topography might, in fact, have offered the city greater protection than its outdated wooden fortifications, wrought from oak and elm.[62] Evlyia Çelebi asked himself why the fortification was not made out of stone or brick, due to its strategic importance, but he answers his own question, acknowledging that stone must be brought from great distances, naturally making it expensive. Also, stone would likely sink in the swampy and unstable land.

In the eighteenth century, the Austrians accordingly found it impossible to pursue their plans to build a brick city without properly drying out the land first.

The Ottoman conquest imposed a Muslim administration system on a Christian population. In Timişoara, "churches were turned into mosques, bells were thrown as they started reading the ezan."[63] Similarly, after the conquest of Caransebeş, the main church was turned into a mosque. According to Çelebi, all of the four mosques of Cenad were in fact formerly churches. The integration of the Banat area into the political and administrative realm of the Ottoman Empire caused many of the Hungarian aristocrats to flee to Transylvania.[64] A new social elite was born—the *spahii*, Ottoman soldiers, and *timar* holders—though it was not equivalent in power and privileges to the former Hungarian aristocracy.

The Ottomans encouraged commerce and crafts, inspiring a large population from the south of the Danube to move to Lipova and Timişoara. Interestingly, the majority of the Muslim population that came to Banat was not Turkish but Bosnian. The Muslim population lived almost exclusively in cities. Because of their background, the Muslims maintained a good relationship with the Orthodox Christians but were more distant from the Catholics. As a result, the Orthodox Church prospered while Catholic institutions in the region gradually declined.

The neighborhoods of Timişoara were organized around Friday mosques, dervish communities (*zaviye*), and prayer houses (*mesdjid*). According to the *kadi*'s register, Timişoara included fourteen *mahalle* (neighborhoods) inhabited by Muslim populations, two with mixed populations, and two with Romanian and Serbian populations.[65] The seventeen wooden paved streets we find on Perette's map (drawn by a French captain in Eugen Savoy's army in 1717 and considered the most precise map of the Ottoman city)[66] are lined with small wooden houses with a single room on the ground level. At least two such houses were uncovered during the excavation in the central Sf. Gheorghe Square in 2013–14. The single room on the ground level was generally used as a shop or workshop. The most elaborate buildings in the Ottoman city of Timişoara were undoubtedly the eight mosques,[67] the four public baths, and the pasha's house—all of these features can be found on the Perette map and are mentioned by both Ottendorf and Çelebi.
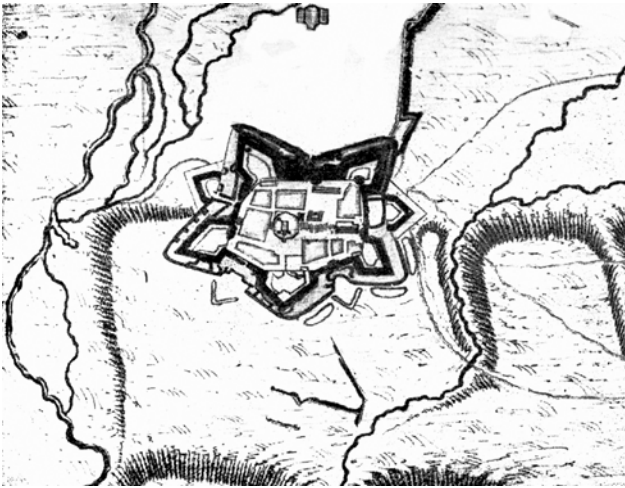
Their description is very short: "regarding the mosques in Timișoara, there are eight of them, large, with tall towers, built according to tradition, covered with ceramic tiles and the towers are covered with lead."[68] Most of these mosques were former churches and built in brick and stone, but on the outskirts of the city, there are three other wooden mosques with small minarets.

The towns of Lugoj, Jedvar, Cenad, Beșenova, Becicherec, Liubcova, Orsova, and Lipova are characterized by the very same type of wood and earth fortifications. Caransebeș and Peciu, in contrast, possess stone and brick fortifications, but they are both medieval citadels (Figs. 14.9a–b). Marsigli's[69] drawings from 1697 offer a clear picture of some of these fortresses.

From Çelebi's and Andrea del Gromo's[70] accounts, we learn that in the cities of Banat the predominance of residential wood architecture was not only due to the cost of stone but also stemmed from strategic motivations, at least until the sixteenth century. For instance, Caransebeș, which Gromo describes in the second half of the sixteenth century as a city where "all the houses were made of wood,"[71] was conquered only in 1658, prompting concerns that the Ottomans might hide in the stone houses, thus rendering the city defense vulnerable to attack. As a result, an interdiction of building with stone and brick was issued.[72] Prior to the Ottoman question, the fortification of Caransebeș is known to have contained a Catholic church, a Franciscan monastery, and some wealthy residences built of stone.
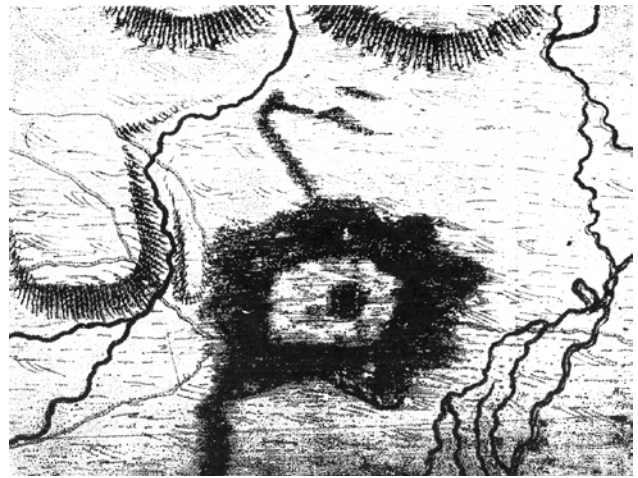
Although we have no description of what wooden mosques might have looked like—Ottendorf only mentions a small number on the outskirts of Timișoara—they were probably constructed using the same type of wood and the same techniques as those used for churches. Despite specific accommodations for religious rituals, the interior space would have been fundamentally the same. From Çelebi's accounts we know the Muslim population was from the Balkans, especially Bosnia,[73] and we know about the existence of a builders' *esnaf* (guild) in Timișoara, as well as a certain Radogna Meimar who served as chief architect. As these functions did not necessitate Muslim practitioners,[74] we have good reasons to believe that craftsmen worked together to build mosques and churches, and some of them might in fact have worked in both types of constructions.

Recent scholarship sheds some light on such cultural bidirectional influences.[75] As in the case of Buda, the *eyalet* of Timișoara, as well as the majority of the cities of the *eyalet* at large, were colonized by Muslim populations, which were overwhelmingly Bosnian or Balkan in origin. Significantly, those populations were dominated by craftsmen and merchants. Recent archeological excavations in the center of Timișoara have proven that

the technique used in the construction of Romanian wooden houses and churches was in fact the very same *Blockbau* technique used for the construction of Ottoman houses. Clearly, both undertakings depended on easily accessible materials and craftsmen, and were inspired by traditional shard techniques.

Extant examples from modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina enable us to reconstruct how the wooden mosques of Timişoara might have looked during the period. Typically, plans for wooden mosques were rectangular, echoing local residential architecture, while the minaret mirrored the features of wooden churches. Given these similarities, local and Muslim populations not only shared common typological models but also must have also employed the same craftsmen. Moreover, we can assume that these influences traversed the borders of the Timişoara *eyalet*—and transcended religious and ethnic differences—as the wooden churches in Banat are strikingly similar to those in Serbia and Bosnia.

The cross-cultural transfer of vernacular architectural models in the Ottoman *eyalet* of Timişoara demands further research. The razing of almost all Ottoman cities during the Habsburg period represents a serious impediment to these efforts, as does the lack of scholarly interest in this particular period of Banat's history. Historians have simply emphasized the urban nature of Ottoman culture in the region, assuming that transfers with the Romanian vernacular—decidedly rural in character—was infrequent. And yet, when churches were turned into mosques, and sometimes back again, more than influence was at stake. Cities possessed not only Romanian Orthodox wooden churches[76] but also Serbian examples, which could also be moved at will. Timişoara, for instance, was surrounded by ethnically and religiously mixed neighborhoods, where vernacular Orthodox churches and mosques or prayer houses stood side by side.[77] When the Muslims abandoned the wooden mosques, the wood was certainly reused. Unfortunately, no wooden churches from the plains of Banat, where the contact between cultures was direct, survive, as they suffered the same fate as the wooden mosques under the drastic Habsburg land reorganization. The historian Nicolae Iorga has attempted to read the feeble influences that Ottoman architecture must have had on sacred wood architecture in eastern Banat, brought to the region by migrants from Walachia:

"Mosques must have been very late, and only in big centers, as Turks didn't settle in the villages, and even if they did, they would have probably been in small numbers and wouldn't have thought of erecting a place of worship. From Turkish architecture, more of an influence is probably left in Walachia […] in the vaulted openings of some houses, or in some churches' porches that are not rested on columns, but on square pilasters of a rather vulgar character, found here and there, and mixed with local architecture where nothing precedes the front wall of the sacred place."[78]

5 The Vanishing Vernacular …

Evliya Çelebi traveled by land and water. His voyage started on the Danube, where he testified to how ships and their cargo moved, he walked on dangerous roads, and crossed the endless forests that covered the Carpathians. His journey, like his story of Iovan Iorgovan, is a symbol of transfer, mobility, and portability. Just as the Danube waters carried goods and merchandise, travelers carrying the story of Iorgovan adapted it to different times and settings. In these narratives, Iorgovan is a mythological figure, a Byzantine aristocrat, or a local haiduk that robs the rich Ottomans in Banat.

Sacred wooden architecture represents the perfect marriage between mobility and portability. It is not only an expression of high craftsmanship, which sometimes supersedes religion and ethnicity, but also the built expression of a community intrinsically linked with the forests and their legends. Just like the miraculous Banat from Evliya Çelebi's stories, the wooden architecture he describes slowly vanished. In Crivina de Sus, perhaps only ten to eleven traditional wooden houses remain, the majority of which have been abandoned. There were no more than ten houses when the church was donated almost 300 years ago. Traditional wooden architecture vanishes due to abandonment and ignorance, as do the woods themselves, which used to scare travelers with their supernatural grandeur (Fig. 14.10).

FIGURE 14.10   Window detail, church from Povergina photograph after 2015

Notes

1   Alina Payne, "Introduction: The Republic of the Sea," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill), 1–18.

2   Evliya Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, ed. Ali Mehmed (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976), 6: 647.

3   Gr. G. Tocilescu, *Materialuri folkloristice culese și publicate sub auspiciile Ministerului Cultelor și Învețămîntului Public*, Volumul I, Poesia poporană. Partea II (Bucuresci: Tipografia "corpului didactic." C. Ispasescu & G. Rbatanescu, 1900).

4   The number of heads varies from five to twelve in different versions of the legend, in some versions he fights a hydra, in others a giant snake.

5   There are more than forty-three versions of this legend according to Enache Nedela and Mihai Floarea, *Iorgovan—mit, legendă, baladă* (București: Casa Editorială "Cuget, Simțire și Credință," 1995).

6   In other versions, the dragon dwells in the forest of Muntenia or Oltenia in Walachia, but also in Moldova or Dobrogea.

7   I. Codru Drăgușanu, *Călătoriile unui Român ardelean în țară și în străinătate (1835–44).("Peregrinul Transilvan")*, ed. Constantin Onciu (București: Tip. Societății "Cultura Neamului Românesc," 1923), 93; I. Lupaș, *Cronicari și istorici români din Transilvania, Școala Ardeleană*, ed. N. Cartojan (Craiova: "Scrisul românesc"), 1: 172; Elena Niculiță Voronca, *Studii în folclor*, vol. 1 (Bucuresci: Tipografia G.A. Lazareanu, 1908).

8   From ca. 1651 to 1659 in Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 311–753; Mihail Guboglu, "Le voyage d'Evliya Celebi Efendi dans le Banat," *Studia et acta Orientalia VII* (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1968), 35–75.

9   Demir Kapu.

10   Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 697.

11   In Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 698, from *Seyahatname*, vol.7.

12   Guboglu, "Le voyage d'Evliya Celebi Efendi dans le Banat," 36.

13   Guboglu, "Le voyage d'Evliya Celebi Efendi dans le Banat," 42–46.

14   Constantin C. Giurescu, *A History of the Romanian Forest* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1980), 13, 33.

15   After 1918, Banat was divided: Romania with 66.5%, Yugoslavia with 32%, and Hungary with 1%.

16   Charles Robert of Anjou, or Charles I of Hungary, was king of Hungary and Croatia from 1308 to 1342; he moved his residence from Buda to Timişoara/Temesvar from 1315 to 1323.

17   Arad is the first *comitat* (county) mentioned from 1156; for Timis, Cenad, and Caras in the twelfth century, see Adrian Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiţionare, Reformă şi Islam în Banat (1500–1700)* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 39.

18   Cristina Feneșan, *Cultura otomană a vilayetului Timişoara (1552–1716)* (Timişoara: Ariergarda, 2014), 36–37.

19   Feneșan, *Cultura otomană a vilayetului Timişoara*, 46.

20   Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 30.

21   Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare*, 122. The patriarchy in Ipek had an immense jurisdiction, including Banat, the Balkans, and Ottoman Hungary.

22   Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 647, in Cenad.

23   Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, 695. He talks about *Rum keferesi* in Orşova and Greek and Valachs ethnic groups.

24   Giurescu, *A History of the Romanian Forest*, 33.

25   Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc. Epoca veche* (Bucureşti: Tipografia "Tiparul Românesc," 1925), 209 (my translation from Romanian).

26   Iorga, *Istoria comerțului românesc. Epoca veche*, 239 (my translation from Romanian).

27   Rodica Colta, Doru Sinaci, and Ioan Traia, *Căprioara. Monografie* (Arad: Mirador, 2011), 78–95.

28   Colta, Sinaci, and Traia, *Căprioara*, 81–87. There are traces of rafting on the Mureş River since prehistory. Numerous ruins of fortresses, dating back from Dacian and Roman times to the Ottoman and Austrian ones, prove the strategic importance of the Mureş River and salt commerce.

29   Colta, Sinaci, Traia, *Căprioara*, 78.

30   Colta, Sinaci, Traia, *Căprioara*, 30.

31   The state owned the land, and the peasant, in exchange for continually cultivating the land, had a lifetime of interest and could inherit it, but was not allowed to sell it; see Cristina Feneşan, *Vilayetul Timişoara 1552–1716* (Timişoara: Ariergarda, 2014), 45.

32   Henri H. Stahl and Paul H. Stahl, *Civilizaţia vechilor sate româneşti* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1968), 16.

33   Romanian peasants were given the same rights to own land as Muslims, leading to a massive Romanian migration. Up to 9,000 families moved to Banat from other neighboring regions in less than one year, despite later Habsburg procolonization claims saying that Banat was under populated, see Nicolae Săcară and Florin Ban, "Consideraţii administrativ-fiscale cu privire la perioada ocupaţiei otomane în Banat (1552–1716)," in *Vilayetul Timişoarei (450 de ani de la întemeierea Paşalâcului) 1552–2002* (Timişoara: Editura Mirton, 2002), 111–13.

34   Nicolae Dabija, *Biserica pe roţi* (Bacău: Vicovia, 2014), 121–27.

35   Colta, Sinaci, and Traia, *Căprioara*, 94.

36   Coriolan Petranu, *Bisericile de lemn ale românilor ardeleni* (Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff, 1934), 8.

37   Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn dispărute din Banat*, 8–9.

38   Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn dispărute din Banat*, 8.

39   The first mention of a wooden church in Banat is probably in a donation document from 1270, see Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 13.

40   Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 8–9.

41   Diana Belci and Ilieş Bogdan, *Studiu istorico-arhitectural: Reabilitarea bisericii de lemn cu hramul "Cuvioasa Paraschiva" din Crivina de Sus, Comuna Pietroasa, Judeţul Timiş*, May 2019, part of the documentation for the restoration of the church.

42   Belci and Ilieş, *Studiu istorico-arhitectural*, 16–17.

43   Belci and Ilieş, *Studiu istorico-arhitectural*, 14.

44   Ioan Godea, *Bisericile de lemn din Europa* (Bucureşti: CD Press 2008), 9.

45   Alexandru Baboş, *Tracing a Sacred Building Tradition: Wooden Churches, Carpenters and Founders in Maramureş until the Turn of the 18th Century* (Norrkoping, Sweden: Digital Print AB, 2004), 117.

46   Baboş, *Tracing a Sacred Building Tradition*, 118.

47 According to the dendrochronological study, compared to other wooden churches in the area, Crivina de Sus preserves a lot of its original material. However, the tower was built later, around 1779.

48 The wooden church from Crivina de Sus was known in literature as a church without interior painting. It was assumed that it was never painted, or that the painting had deteriorated during transport from Ilia to Crivina. In May 2019, during the restoration, an impressive painting scene was discovered on the wooden boards that form the iconostasis, accompanied by three inscriptions. In previous years, traces of painting were also discovered, which enforced the hypothesis that the church might have been painted originally but that it probably deteriorated during transport. The painted planks were simply turned face down and reused, being thus hidden from the eyes of the faithful and rediscovered 300 years later.

   The inscription remembers the same Daniel, archpriest of Ilia. The painting dates from 1698, being the oldest surviving painting from a wooden church in Banat. Currently this painting is being studied and preserved.

49 Some of these crosses date from the nineteenth and possibly even eighteenth century. So, in a way, even the cemetery moved.

50 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 95.

51 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 92.

52 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 8–9.

53 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 33.

54 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 58.

55 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 61.

56 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 63.

57 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 66.

58 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 69.

59 Săcară, *Bisericile de lemn ale Banatului*, 84.

60 Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, 695.

61 Henrik Ottendorf, *De la Viena la Timisoara, 1663*, Academia Română Filiala Timişoara, Institutul de cercetări socio-umane "Titu Maiorescu" (Timişoara: Banatul, Artpress, 2006), 8.

62 Guboglu, "Le voyage d'Evliya Celebi Efendi dans le Banat," 42–46.

63 Mustafa Ğelalzade, "Tabakat Al-Memalik Ve Daradjat Al-Mesalik," in *Cronici turcesti privind ţările române, vol. 1, Sec. XV–mijlocul sec. XVII*, eds. Mihail Guboglu

and Mustafa Mehmed (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1966), 276.

64 Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, 533–34.

65 Feneşan, *Cultura otomană a vilayetului Timişoara*, 104–5.

66 His signature on the 1716 map is: "Sieur Perette, Capitaine Ingenieur, En Chef au Service de Sa Majesté Imperial Et Catolique dans Les fortresses de Raab et de Temesvar."

67 Feneşan, *Cultura otomană a vilayetului Timişoara*, 135–45.

68 Henrik Ottendorf, *De la Viena la Timişoara, 1663* (Timişoara: Editura Banatul, Editura Artpress), 14–15.

69 Count Luigi Fernando Marsigli (1658–1730), traveled to Banat and drew some of the fortresses he found there in 1697, before they were demolished by the Habsburgs. His major work *The Danubius Pannonico—Myscius Observationibus geographicis, astronomicis, hydrographicis, historicis, physicis perlustratus* was published in Amsterdam in 1726 in six volumes, more than twenty years after it was completed. See Gheorghe Sebestyen, "Unele cetăţi ale Banatului şi desenele lui L.F. Marsigli," *Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor, Monumente Istorice şi de artă* 1 (1984): 41–49.

70 Andrea del Gromo traveled to Transylvania and Banat between 1564 and 1565, see Sebestyen, "Unele cetăţi ale Banatului şi desenele lui L.F. Marsigli," 42.

71 Sebestyen, "Unele cetăţi ale Banatului şi desenele lui L.F. Marsigli," 42.

72 Sebestyen, "Unele cetăţi ale Banatului şi desenele lui L.F. Marsigli," 44.

73 Çelebi, *Călători străini despre Ţările Române*, 648, 699.

74 Feneşan, *Cultura otomană a vilayetului Timişoara*, 91; Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 158.

75 Klara Hegyi, "Balkan Garrison Troops and Soldier-Peasants in the Vilayet of Buda," *Archeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary* (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 23–40; Feneşan, *Vilayetul Timişoara*, 89–118.

76 There is mention of an orthodox "Saint Apostles" wooden church in the Răduţilor *Mahala* neighborhood around 1652, see Ioan Haţegan, *Vilayetul de Timişoara*, Academia Română Filiala Timişoara, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane "Titu Maiorescu," Cronologia Banatului II/2. (Timişoara: Banatul, Artpress, 2005), 199.

77   Ferenc Csortan, "Otoman Architecture in the Vilayet of
      Timișoara," *Archeology of the Ottoman Period in Hungary*
      (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), 194.

78   Nicolae Iorga, *Arta românească în Banatul muntos*
      (Vălenii de Munte: Datina Românească, 1940), 1–5 (my
      translation from Romanian).

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Ottoman and Persian Luxury between Fashion and Politics

The Armenian Merchant Network and the Making of Sarmatian Culture
in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania

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In recent decades, scholarly interest in the phenomenon of Polish Sarmatism as well as in the impact of Middle Eastern art on early modern Polish culture has grown significantly. However, these studies still lack a comprehensive interdisciplinary focus.[1] Art historians focus on the object itself, usually disregarding luxury as a social phenomenon, while intellectual historians consider Sarmatism as part of the humanist tradition and as a political doctrine, and generally neglect its material implications. For economic historians, Ottoman and Persian luxury goods are just some of the many factors that caused the efflux of money from Poland. Hence, they are not interested in public discourse on Ottomanized fashion, or its connections with Sarmatism and the disputes between royalists and noble republicans. Overall, the existing scholarship has overlooked subjects such as: the multiple reinterpretations of Middle Eastern luxury by social estates; sumptuary legislation; the various aspects of transporting Ottoman and Persian commodities from the Middle East and supplying them to consumers (e.g., commissioning of certain goods, logistics, legal conditions of transcultural trade, or merchant networks); attitudes toward the intermediaries or social agents of cultural transfer in the host societies; and the impact of Ottoman and Persian luxury goods on local manufacturers.

Generally, scholars consider Sarmatian fashion to be a noncontentious sociocultural phenomenon that contributed to the making of premodern Polish national identity. For instance, in his brilliant essay on Ottomanizing fashion in early modern Eastern-Central Europe, Adam Jasieński focuses his attention on the self-representation of Poles in Western Europe and their perceptions of the Ottomans in the context of diplomatic relations.[2] While rightly pointing to the Middle Eastern attire of the Polish and Hungarian nobility as an expression of their anti-absolutist political commitments, Jasieński does not give a voice to the royalist camp. Thus, by leaving aside alternative attitudes, Jasieński presents Polish society as allegedly homogeneous and constant in its perception of Ottoman and Persian luxury goods.

Another missing topic is the role of Armenian traders and merchants in the circulation of goods and culture between Eastern and Western territories. Indeed, Armenians were the principal suppliers of patterns and materials from abroad, as well as producers of high-quality objects in local workshops. Despite a large body of scholarship on trade by Armenian merchants between the Middle East and Poland,[3] it was Zdzisław Żygulski (1921–2015) who emphasized the role of Armenians in shaping Polish Sarmatian culture, albeit in an introductory manner.[4]

By uniting the history of goods with the history of ideas, this essay examines processes of early modern cultural exchange. Specifically, it combines an analysis of cultural transfer with the history of consumption and mobility studies and considers controversial attitudes to luxury, Middle Eastern trade, and its intermediaries, the sociocultural phenomena of Polish Sarmatism and its implications for the political allegiances, and social advancement in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The principal aim of this essay is, therefore, to study how Ottoman and Persian luxury goods influenced the social, political, and cultural dynamics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. How were objects divested of their original meanings and to what reinterpretations were they subject in the host culture? This essay starts with a discussion of how the consumption of Ottoman and Persian luxury goods shaped the development of the Polish Sarmatian political identity. It explores how Ottoman and Persian luxury was perceived by different social groups in Poland-Lithuania before and after the interregnum of 1572–76, as well as before and after the political crisis of 1648–60. In particular, it highlights how certain goods penetrated the public discourse in

Poland-Lithuania and how they became metaphors. Finally, it examines how a perception of the Armenian diaspora was reflected in competing discourses on luxury consumption, social advancement, and the moral or economic decline of the Commonwealth.

1 Oriental Luxury and the Making of Sarmatian Identity

The American social anthropologist Arjun Appadurai proposed that luxury goods should be regarded

"not so much in contrast to necessities (a contrast filled with problems), but as goods whose principal use is rhetorical and social, or goods that are simply incarnated signs. The necessity to which they respond is fundamentally political. Better still, since most luxury goods are used (though in special ways and at special cost), it might make more sense to regard luxury as a special "register" of consumption (by analogy to the linguistic model) than to regard them as a special class of things."[5]

According to Appadurai,

"the signs of this register, in relation to commodities, have some or all of the following attributes: (1) restriction, either by price or by law, to elites; (2) complexity of acquisition, which may or may not be a function of real "scarcity"; (3) semiotic virtuosity, that is, the capacity to signal fairly complex social messages (as do pepper in cuisine, silk in dress, jewels in adornment, and relics in worship); (4) specialized knowledge as a prerequisite for their "appropriate" consumption, that is regulation by fashion; and (5) a high degree of linkage of their consumption to body, person, and personality."[6]

In addition to Appadurai's definition of luxury, some of the ideas employed in this paper were inspired by Ina Baghdiantz McCabe's work on exoticism in early modern France. According to Baghdiantz McCabe, between the reigns of Francis I and Louis XIV in France, "the consumption of silk, cotton cloth, spices, coffee, tea, china, gems, flowers and other luxury goods transformed daily life and gave rise to a new discourse about the 'Orient' which in turn shaped ideas about economy and politics, specifically absolutism and the monarchy."[7]

In this same period, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Ottoman and Persian goods—imported mostly by Armenian merchants—were used by the nobility (*szlachta*) in a different way: to reduce the king's power, which in turn led to the establishment of the so-called "Republic of Nobles."

This republic was based on the ideology of Sarmatism. Initially, Sarmatism emerged as a response to the expansion of the Holy Roman Empire and was subsequently used to legitimize the nobility's dominance over the serfs. The nobility was believed to have originated from the Sarmatians, ancient nomad warriors who invaded the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire, whereas the serfs were thought to be the descendants of the conquered natives. In the late sixteenth century, in reaction to the unsuccessful efforts of the Habsburgs to be elected as Polish kings, Sarmatism acquired two new features: xenophobia and the rejection of absolutism. Finally, after the Zebrzydowski mutiny of 1606–8, Sarmatism was transformed into a conservative aristocratic republican ideology.[8] The myth of a Sarmatian origin was also employed to unite multiethnic (Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, and Prussians) and multiconfessional (Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox) noble elites of the Commonwealth.[9] Ottoman and Persian luxury goods were used by the nobility to enforce their Sarmatian Polish identity as non-Western in order to maintain their "Golden Liberty" and to reject any efforts to establish a Western absolutist monarchy. A more Middle Eastern appearance[10] was seen as more Sarmatian, and therefore more republican. Thus, a taste for a hybrid aesthetic was shaped. Thanks to the humanists' publications of Herodotus, Strabo, and Ovid, it was already known in the sixteenth century that the Sarmatians were relatives of other nomads—the Scythians. Since the Turks were considered by the humanists as the peoples of Scythian stock,[11] the Ottoman attire, arms, carpets, and horses were retrospectively attributed to the legendary Sarmatian ancestors of Polish nobility.

In sixteenth-century Poland, Ottomanizing fashion was just one sartorial option available among many, and more a matter of taste than of politics.[12] However, by the late sixteenth century, the clothes and armory of Polish nobility were largely Ottomanized (Fig. 15.1). One can connect the rise of this fashion mania to the new political model introduced in Poland-Lithuania after the extinction of the Jagellonian dynasty in 1572,

FIGURE 15.1   Unknoqwn artist, portrait of Łukasz Opaliński, ca. 1640
                NATIONAL MUSEUM IN KRAKÓW, POLAND

an elective monarchy wherein the king's power was checked by the nobility. In contrast to Western Europe, where absolutism was successfully established and the aristocracy gradually lost its old privileges, the Polish nobility escaped what they saw as a "despotic trap." The military invasions by the Habsburgs—Emperor Maximilian II in 1576 and Archduke Maximilian III in 1587–88—who were candidates to sit on the Polish throne, affirmed the Polish nobility's anti-absolutist stance. The Western garments worn at the royal court in Poland promoted Sarmatian fashion among republican noblemen, who came to associate Western fashion with the absolutist aspirations of some of the elected kings. Middle Eastern attire, thus, became an expression of loyalty to the republican values and Sarmatism—if one employs Appadurai's terminology—a "specialized knowledge" necessary for the "appropriate consumption" of Ottoman and Persian clothes, armory, carpets, tents, harnesses, and horses.

Contemporary observers were attuned to the importance of these sartorial expressions of loyalty. When traveling to the West for personal purposes, Polish noblemen commissioned Western attire, while Polish ambassadors to European courts dressed in the "native" Sarmatian style. Young aristocrats ordinarily traveled to Western Europe to gain experience at the royal courts, universities, and battlefields, which was necessary for their future careers (a form of *peregrinatio academica*, or the Grand Tour). For instance, a powerful Lithuanian magnate, Prince Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–55), in September 1628 departed on a four-year voyage spent in Germany and the Netherlands. In 1632, he commissioned his portrait from David Bailly (1584–1657), a Dutch painter, who painted Radziwiłł in European attire. Another portrait of Radziwiłł, commissioned in 1654 at the height of his career on the occasion of his appointment as commander in chief (*hetman*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, depicts Radziwiłł dressed in accordance with the "native" Sarmatian style. Prince Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski (ca. 1616–56) provides another example: after his return from the Grand Tour across Italy, France, and the Netherlands in 1632, Zasławski-Ostrogski commissioned his portrait from the German painter Bartholomäus Strobel the Younger (1591–1650), who depicted the prince in accordance with contemporary European fashions. In a copy of another portrait, the elderly Zasławski-Ostrogski is dressed as a Sarmatian, thus demonstrating that early portraits that were executed following Grand Tour voyages manifested the new experiences and sensibilities acquired abroad, while later ceremonial Sarmatian portraits expressed loyalty to the political order of the Commonwealth.

The princes from different parts of Europe who were elected Polish kings adopted the rules of the game. First in this line was French Prince Henry of Valois, who ruled Poland from February to June of 1574. Upon learning of the death of his brother, King Charles IX (1550–74), Henry left Poland and returned to France, preferring to be the ruler of an absolutist monarchy (as Henry III) rather than of the freedom-loving Sarmatians. Nevertheless, in a commemorative engraved portrait executed much later by the Flemish painter and engraver Peter de Jode II (1606–74), Henry was represented dressed in a Polish Sarmatian costume consisting of a *żupan* (a long robe-like garment), with a soft silk sash and a *delia* (an overcoat worn over the *żupan*) lined with ermine fur, which was buttoned in the center with a splendid brooch.[13]

This French "black sheep" was followed by Transylvanian Prince István Báthory, who was elected king of Poland in 1576 and came to be known as Stefan Batory (1576–86). He gave preference to military campaigns over court life and was later regarded by the Polish nobility as the ideal mercenary king. As the prince of Transylvania, he was accustomed to the Ottomanized style of dress, in which he was depicted by Martin Kober (ca. 1550–98) in 1582. The elected kings of the Swedish Vasa dynasty, Sigismund III (1587–1632) and his sons Władysław IV (1633–48) and Jan Kazimierz (1648–68), were sometimes condemned by the nobility for their absolutist aspirations. In order to calm their Polish subjects, the Vasa kings commissioned portraits in which they were depicted in European attire—a nod to their status as the titular kings of Sweden—as well as portraits in Sarmatian dress. Thus, the wearing of Sarmatian dress by the elected kings was seen by the Polish nobility as a sign of the adoption of the Polish political system and an eschewal of absolutism.

In later years, this appropriated and reinterpreted Middle Eastern attire was perceived as the Polish national costume by both Poles and by foreigners alike. When King Michał Wiśniowiecki (1669–73), a native of Poland-Lithuania, dressed constantly in accordance with European fashions, he was criticized in the Polish Diet

(*Sejm*): "Why [does] His Royal Majesty, being of our flesh and blood, shuns the clothing of the Polish nation, and favors foreign fashion that was abhorred by our ancestors; it is as if he disgraces the Polish nation?"[14] Given that Michał Wiśniowiecki married Eleanor Habsburg in 1670, his Western attire might naturally have been interpreted by his political opponents as an expression of his absolutist aspirations.

The Sarmatian mode reached its peak during the rule of Jan III Sobieski (1674–96), famous for his victories in the Polish-Ottoman Wars of 1672–76 and 1683–99. The kings of the Wettin/Saxon dynasty—August II (1696–1733) and August III (1733–64)—also commissioned portraits in the Sarmatian mode. By the late eighteenth century, however, Sarmatism was burdened with negative associations, designating the uneducated and unenlightened, and was understood as a derogatory term for those conservatives who opposed the reforms of the "progressives" (pro-Enlightenment) led by King Stanisław Poniatowski (1764–95).[15]

2 "The Redundant Extravagancies": Alternative Attitudes to "Sarmatian" Opulence

The perception of Sarmatism in Polish society was not homogenous well before the Enlightenment. Criticism of the "redundant extravagancies" of the flamboyant "Sarmatians" had in fact already taken place in the late sixteenth century. In that context, anti-Sarmatian attitudes were tied to a number of factors, including the Counter-Reformation, the introduction of an elective monarchy, the active involvement of Poland in a globalized economy, and the growing activity of trading diasporas in the Polish market. What shape did this anti-Sarmatism take? To find alternative attitudes to "Sarmatian" opulence, it is necessary to look beyond the nobility. The Catholic clergy and some intellectuals—mostly professors at Kraków University—radically criticized Ottoman and Persian luxury, along with the nobility's social egoism and its economic cooperation with non-Catholic trading diasporas. In doing so, these polemists also expressed the grievances of the Catholic townspeople, who disapproved of the growing competition with foreign merchants protected by the aristocracy.

The antiluxury alliance between the Church and the burghers was not a uniquely Polish phenomenon. In 1614, there was a similar "meeting of the minds" between the clergy and the Third Estate in Paris to ban luxury; they asked the king to repress luxury and to reduce the efflux of money from the kingdom to pay for foreign commodities.[16] Around the same time, a large number of anonymous pamphlets appeared, which urged the widespread prohibition of foreign goods. An anonymous pamphlet, entitled *Avis au roy en l'occurrence des états généraux*, advocated a complete ban on luxury goods imported from the Levant and the establishment of French manufacturers to prevent the efflux of five out of the seven million *écus* in gold exported yearly to Ottoman markets.[17] However, Cardinal Richelieu saw no reason to avoid Ottoman and Persian luxuries if they were bought by French merchants. Richelieu accordingly approved previous sumptuary legislation and levied further limitations, including stipulations that Middle Eastern goods were forbidden to all but the nobles. As the exclusive prerogative of the aristocracy, foreign goods became synonymous with these upper echelons of society.[18]

In Poland, attacks on Ottoman and Persian luxury, excessive consumption, and the selfishness of the nobility were part of a more cautious criticism of "the republic of nobles," since the Catholic Church and townspeople had aligned themselves in opposition, on the side of the royalist camp.

In his *Preaching to the Diet* (1597), Piotr Skarga, a Polish Jesuit and court preacher of King Sigismund III, criticized the nobility's display of luxury (*zbytek*). Specifically, in a sermon entitled "The tyrants for themselves" (*Sami sobie tyranowie*), Skarga argues that the nobility abused its wealth (*zbytek z dostatku*), creating rifts and rivalries within the noble estate that resulted in the oppression of certain noblemen by their more powerful counterparts. Skarga expressed his devotion to the monarchy with a quotation from Homer's *Iliad*: "A host of leaders is no wise thing; let us have but the one king."[19] The concept of "tyranny" was frequently used by the Sarmatian republicans in order to attack the real or imagined absolutist aspirations of the kings. Thus, in this rhetorical reading of luxury, Skarga set the concept of "tyranny" on its head and used it to criticize the nobility itself. According to Skarga, the noblemen should put their wealth to more appropriate use than ostentatious luxury: to make donations to the Church and to strengthen Poland's defenses in order to defend the Commonwealth from its foreign enemies.[20]

In his 1632 description of Poland, which was devoted to Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644), the Polish intellectual and Catholic priest Szymon Starowolski (1588–1656) complained that the Polish nobility easily fell prey to foreign habits.[21] Starowolski condemned the nobility in particular for the excessive consumption of Western and Middle Eastern commodities.[22] Their engagement in trade was considered by Starowolski to be especially harmful to the royal cities. Along with innkeeping and criminal offenses, commerce was, he argued, one of the main grounds on which to deprive a nobleman of his privileged social status.[23]

3   Crisis and Identity: Challenges and Responses

The political and military crisis of 1648–60, during which Poland-Lithuania was attacked by Ukrainian Cossacks, Crimean Tatars, Russia, Sweden, Prussia, and Transylvania—in alliance with different factions of the Polish nobility—fueled debates over luxury consumption and moral decline. For Starowolski, the extreme social and political egoism of the Polish nobility was the main cause of the Commonwealth's general decline and recent military losses. In a pamphlet entitled "Poland is ruled by the Private [interest]" (1649), Starowolski cast his main character—Sir Private (*Pan Prywat*)—as an average nobleman endowed with many negative features: "I am Sir Private, Privation is my father, Avarice is my mother, Stubbornness is my brother, and my sisters are Hate, Envy, and Practice."[24] In his treatise, "Reformation of the Corrupted Contemporary Polish Habits" (ca. 1653), Starowolski criticized the Polish nobility for "the new habits, not just foreign, but heathen, Tatar, Muslim."[25] He also mentions the "buzzed head with Tatar-style fuzz" (*wygolona ordynska czupryna*)[26] as among the attributes of contemporary Polish noblemen, thus pointing out the janissary-style hairstyle then fashionable among the nobility.

Following the crisis in the mid-seventeenth century, some noblemen also sought to reframe their positions on oriental luxury. In 1674 Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700), a nobleman and historian of the time, published a volume of poems under the meaningful title "Not idling idleness" (*Niepróżnujące próżnowanie*). Included in the compendium was "Hussar" (*Husarz*),[27] a poem written

in 1655 when Kochowski himself was a twenty-two year-old hussar in the royal army. The main character of the poem is a young nobleman going into military service. When describing a hussar, Kochowski paid more attention to his appearance than to his personal qualities. The verse could be studied as a brief encyclopedia of his sartorial splendor—Middle Eastern clothes, armory and harness—which characterized his Sarmatian identity. Among the nineteen features Kochowski highlighted in the hussar's attire, twelve could be identified as Middle Eastern, and at least seven had names borrowed from Ottoman Turkish: the saber,[28] dagger,[29] battle hammer,[30] horsecloth,[31] saddle,[32] overcoat,[33] silk sash,[34] boot,[35] and big boot.[36] Egret feathers are attached to the hussar's cap, his helmet is edged with sable fur, his coat is lined with lynx or sable, he wears a golden chain, his armor is gilded, and even his horse is lavishly decorated with gold.

Although Kochowski finished the poem by concluding that "Temper, appearance and horse make a hussar so attractive [as] to enamour Bellona and even Venus,"[37] he nevertheless considered all the luxury he described as redundant—a hussar needs only arms and ammunition to defeat his enemies. In another verse addressed to "the waster youth" (*nikczemna młodzież*), which was probably inspired by the Polish-Ottoman War of 1672–76, Kochowski attacked sybaritic young noblemen. Here, the Ottomanized attire is used rhetorically to blame those who prefer to spend their time banqueting and dancing rather than fighting the Ottomans. The very title of the poem, "Wasted expenditures of Polish youth on burka" (*Marnotractwo Młodźi Polskiey na Burku*), includes a reference to Ottoman dress. The *burka*, a hooded great-coat, was worn by warriors during incursions as protection from cold weather; instead, the "the waster youth" wore the *burka* on dates with urban women. *Burka* is a Turkish/Tatar loanword, and Kochowski evidently plays with its etymology, since in Polish "burkliwy" means "churlish": "Burka is not churlishness but, rather, it could be snatched off a Turk defeated in combat or taken from his Tatar brother."[38]

Nevertheless, being a moderate royalist, Kochowski did not blame the Sarmatian mode and Sarmatian way of life as such;[39] instead, he attacked irresponsible republicans in a verse entitled "A Curse on the Sons of the Crown who Break *Sejmy* [Polish Diet]."[40] Kochowski

offered no solution other than moral exhortation and prayer after the first two parliaments were broken by the veto of a single deputy in 1652 and 1654.

Interestingly, neither Kochowski nor the Catholic polemists blamed the nobility for using Ottoman and Persian goods that were manufactured by Muslim artisans for their infidel compatriots rather than for good Catholics. Conversely, the Catholic hierarchs in Poland-Lithuania, Hungary, and Transylvania frequently used Ottoman and Persian textiles woven by Muslim tailors for making liturgical garments (chasubles), as communion kerchiefs, and as covers for communion tables, pulpits, and lecterns.[41] Rugs were used by Muslims for prayer inside or outside the mosque. Each rug of the so-called *namazlik* type was embroidered with a stylized arch (*mihrāb*) and a lamp, both of which were intended to direct prayers to the qibla. These highly decorated rugs of various types were imported by Armenian merchants to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where they were used to decorate walls in houses and palaces, and were even donated to churches.

Moreover, the Catholic clergy followed the patterns of the appropriation of Ottoman and Persian luxuries practiced by their noble compatriots. For instance, Polish kings and aristocrats commissioned Armenian merchants to procure Middle Eastern carpets produced in Ottoman and Persian workshops emblazoned with their personal coats of arms (Fig. 15.2). Shortly thereafter, this trend was adopted by the Catholic bishops. For instance, Jan Zamoyski, the Catholic archbishop of Lviv (1604–14), commissioned twenty carpets decorated with his coat of arms from workshops in Istanbul in order to display them in the nave of the Lviv Cathedral. The next Catholic archbishop of Lviv, Jan-Andrzej Próchnicki (1614–33), similarly ordered the so-called "carpet with birds"[42] from a certain Ottoman workshop.[43] Ordinarily, expensive carpets of this type were commissioned by kings and aristocracy.[44] Próchnicki's coat of arms with a bishop's crosier and forked cap was put at the center of the carpet along with the Latin inscription "Ill(ustrissimus) Andreas de Prochnii Arheaep(iscopus) Leopolii" (Fig. 15.3). The fact that some letters appear reversed provides further evidence that this carpet was made by artisans unfamiliar with the Latin alphabet.

In the late seventeenth century, the painter Łukasz Ziemecki introduced depictions of rugs of the so-called "Transylvanian" type in his depictions of biblical scenes in the frescoes in the Piarist monastery in Rzeszów. For instance, one fresco depicts Jesus Christ "breaking bread" with his two disciples in Emmaus (Luke 24:30–31) at a table covered with a double-niche rug (Fig. 15.4). Another fresco represents the twelve wise men dressed as contemporary Polish noblemen and sitting at a round table covered with a similar double-niche rug (Fig. 15.5).[45]

Thus, the notion that goods made and used by "infidels" are incompatible with true Christian faith was absent from public discourses in Polish society as well as elsewhere in Europe. It also means that the critics of extensive luxury consumption took for granted the fact that the nobility must be distinguished in appearance from the lower classes. By the mid-seventeenth century, Ottoman and Persian arms, clothes, harnesses, carpets, and other objects were so deeply embedded in Polish Sarmatian identity that it was impossible to abandon or uproot Middle Eastern luxury goods without harming the identity of the nobility.

4 The Armenian Merchant Network and Its Trade in the Middle East

Of course, cultural transfer could not be performed without mediators, as objects—like ideas or customs—could not travel by themselves. As Stephen Greenblatt points out, "a specialized group of 'mobilizers'—agents, go-betweens, translators, or intermediaries—often emerges to facilitate contact, and this group, along with the institutions that they serve, should form a key part of the analysis."[46] Mediators must have special skills in order to exercise their function. Armenian merchants possessed those skills, as well as networks of partners and fellow believers across Europe and Asia.[47] Moreover, by transporting certain goods, they not only stimulated cultural changes in the host society, but were themselves equally affected by those changes, as well as by their mobile transcultural way of life more broadly.

In the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth, some Armenian merchants settled in the multiethnic city of Lviv, in the territory of the Galicia Principality (modern-day western Ukraine). After the Polish conquest of Galicia in 1349, the local German townspeople (*cives catholici*) became

FIGURE 15.2   So-called "Wiesiołowski carpet," ca. 1635–37
ZAMEK KRÓLEWSKI NA WAWELU, KRAKÓW, POLAND

FIGURE 15.3   "Rug with birds" with the coat of arms of Archbishop Jan-Andrzej Próchnicki, early seventeenth century
MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES (MEDELHAVSMUSEET),
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

FIGURE 15.4   Jesus Christ "breaking bread," Piarist monastery in Rzeszów, Poland

the dominant community. The rights of other urban "nations" were guaranteed and confirmed by the Polish King Casimir/Kazimierz III in 1356, when the city was granted the German law—the so-called *Magdeburger Recht.* Thus, Lviv was transformed into Lemberg (also known as Lemburga or Leopolis). By the late fourteenth century, an Armenian community was also established in the city of Kamianets-Podilskyi.[48] Armenian merchants were used as royal interpreters, diplomats, or spies, and were protected by the Polish kings. These merchants frequented the markets of the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia and provided the Polish nobility with the Middle Eastern luxuries fashionable at the time. Following the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty in 1572 and the attendant decline of the king's power, the trading diasporas—Jews, Armenians, and Scots—gradually established closer ties with the dignitaries as their new protectors and business partners. Polish dignitaries invited foreign merchants to their private towns, where they were granted many

privileges.[49] By the 1670s, a dozen new Armenian communities existed in their domains.

Armenian merchants from the Polish kingdom, organized into big, well-armed parties or convoys (caravans), regularly traveled as far as Adrianople (present-day Edirne) and Constantinople (Istanbul). The caravans also engaged in trade in Ankara, Tokat, Erzurum, and Gümüşhane, and some individuals even reached as far as the Persian capital city of Isfahan.

Caravanserais dotted the main trade routes in both the Ottoman domains and Persia, providing merchants with lodging and food. Nonetheless, travel in these regions remained unsafe due to the presence of gangs and thieves who ambushed caravans, especially in the mountains. According to Martin Gruneweg, the Danzig-born young German who served as a scribe and secretary for Armenian caravans in 1582–88, before the Armenian merchants set off on a journey, they fasted for a week, confessed, and took communion as if preparing for death.[50]

FIGURE 15.5   The biblical wise men, Piarist monastery in Rzeszów, Poland

Both merchants and their property were protected by treaties between the Ottoman sultans and the Polish kings. These treaties also emphasized the particular role and significance of the Armenian merchants in the trade between the two states. For instance, the capitulations, sent in 1577 by Sultan Murad III to Polish King Stefan Batory, read: "[…] when Armenians and other infidel merchants living under the royal hand [i.e., the subjects of the Polish king] want to come to Moldavia and my other well-protected dominions and practice trade, they should not travel through deserted and wild areas or use hidden roads, but they should come by the direct public road which has been customarily traveled by merchants."[51] By openly requiring that the merchants use the public roads, Ottoman authorities ensured that the merchants would not evade the payment of custom duties. Secondly, the public roads were safer from robbers, as they were frequently traveled and patrolled.[52]

In the 1580s, Martin Gruneweg wrote in his diary that the Armenian merchants had at their disposal the charters for free and safe passage (*salvum conductum*) granted to them by the Ottoman sultan, the Polish king, and the city of their permanent residence or citizenship.[53] Every new sultan granted the Armenian merchants the privileges for free and safe passage. These charters were then kept in the Armenian civil courts in Kamianets and Lviv. Before a caravan left for the Ottoman Empire, the elected leader of the caravan, known as the *caravanbashi*[54] (*karban başi* or *kervan başi* in Ottoman), went to the Armenian city hall—*ratusz*—and requested these charters to assure his group a safe journey. The *wójt*, the mayor of the autonomous Armenian community in Kamianets, would then give him these so-called "Turkish privileges" on eight sheets in one carrying case. The *caravanbashi* was obligated to use these privileges to defend his companions during the course of the journey and then return the documents upon its conclusion.[55]

The *caravanbashi* had authority over cases concerned with trade, the inheritance of dead merchants' property, and certain criminal issues. Polish and German merchants who joined the caravan, as well as other travelers, were also under the jurisdiction of the *caravanbashi*.[56]

Each caravan consisted of several dozen merchants and servicemen at their disposal. Every merchant had his merchandise loaded on several carts. As a rule, merchants recruited cart drivers, generally Poles who were residents of suburbs in Lviv and Kamianets. All of the caravan members were armed with guns and sabers. In order to protect themselves from robbers' attacks and the fiscal abuses of customs officers, caravans also joined Polish embassies going to and from Constantinople. An ordinary embassy consisted of several dozen or hundreds of people, even up to 1,200, as in the case of Prince Zbarazski's embassy in 1622. On the other hand, the Armenian merchants were helpful fellow travelers. They were bearers of indispensable practical experience in how to deal with the Ottoman authorities and the local Muslim population, how to arrange travel in different segments of the route, how to travel through the mountains, where to find pasture for horses, and many other issues. The Polish ambassadors lacked this knowledge, because their journeys tended to be their first—and last—missions to the sultan's court. Travelogues and diplomatic reports reveal many examples of services provided by Armenian merchants to Polish ambassadors. The Polish nobleman Erasm Otwinowski recorded an unofficial diary of the embassy led by Andrzej Bzicki in 1557. According to Otwinowski, Polish nobles traveling through Ottoman territories provoked a conflict with a Turkish shepherd, which escalated into a big altercation. The shepherd was killed and several Poles were arrested by the Ottoman judge (*kadi*). When crossing a river in the Balkans, the Poles were not careful enough and the precious jerid of the ambassador was stolen by two Ottoman horsemen. In both cases, Otwinowski describes the active deeds of brave Armenian merchants at arms,[57] who were accustomed to dealing with such conflicts as they shuttled between Lviv and Constantinople.

Moreover, Poland had no permanent representative at the Ottoman court, while Armenian caravans traveled from Poland to Istanbul on a regular basis.

Because of that, the *caravanbashi* also performed the function of a royal courier. Indeed, some Armenian *caravanbashi*s were appointed as royal envoys and even as so-called "little ambassadors."[58] In 1601, Sigismund III commissioned the Armenian merchant Sefer Muratowicz as a private royal envoy to the court of the Persian Shah Abbas I to resume a dialogue with a potential ally against the Ottomans.[59] The parliament of the Commonwealth, which had the exclusive right to determine the nation's foreign policy, consistently avoided open war with its powerful Ottoman neighbor. For this reason, the pro-Habsburg Sigismund III did not send an official ambassador, but rather an Armenian merchant under the pretext of buying carpets, tents, and other goods in Persia for the royal court. In the Persian city of Kashan, Muratowicz "ordered for His Majesty the King a few carpets of silk and gold to be made, as well as a tent, and a damascene saber."[60] Muratowicz managed to gain access to the shah's person due to his familial ties to a certain Vizier Tachmas—a Georgian or Armenian by origin—who had never before met Sefer, but had "[...] heard all good things about [him] from [his] brothers, who [were] good friends."[61] Muratowicz's mission resulted in two Persian embassies, which arrived in Poland in 1605 and 1609, along with the shah's proposal for a multinational anti-Ottoman coalition. Muratowicz himself returned to Poland in 1602 with six Persian carpets, some of which were embroidered with the royal coat of arms (Fig. 15.6). Sigismund III awarded Muratowicz the title "servitorum ac negotiatorum," which placed him under the direct juridical governance of the king and allowed him to import Tatar, Persian, and Turkish goods without duties, as long as the royal court was allowed to purchase selected items before any other buyer. Muratowicz was also granted the title of "servitor regius" and citizenship of Warsaw. In 1642, Sigismund III's daughter Anna Katarzyna Konstancja Vasa (1619–51) married the Elector Palatine Philipp Wilhelm of Neuburg (1615–90). She brought a considerable dowry, including several of the carpets brought from Persia by Muratowicz forty years prior.

In order to meet the growing demand for Ottoman and Persian goods during the seventeenth century, Polish manufacturers increased the production of luxury goods, all of which were patterned on Middle Eastern models.[62] Armenian merchants had noted

FIGURE 15.6 So-called "Polish carpet" ("Polenteppich"), ca. 1601–2
BAYERISCHEN SCHLÖSSERVERWALTUNG, MUNICH RESIDENZ MUSEUM, MUNICH, GERMANY

the growing demand for Ottoman and Persian luxury goods and facilitated the migration of Armenian artisans from the Middle East to Poland, where they settled in royal and private towns.[63] The most popular occupations among Armenian artisans were as skinners, shoemakers, saddlers, tentmakers, goldsmiths, armorers, and fletchers.[64] In 1757, Prince Michał Kazimierz

Radziwiłł (1702–62) invited the Armenian Jan Madżarski (Yovhan Madzhareants) of Istanbul to begin production of silk sashes, saddlecloths (*dywdyki*), and tapestries (*makaty*) of Persian style in the recently established factory (*persjarnia*) in the cities of Nieśwież and Slutsk, in present-day Belarus.[65]

5 Armenian Merchants and Middle Eastern Luxury in the Rival Public Discourses

Though many Greeks, Italians, Jews, Turks, and merchants of other ethnic backgrounds were involved in the trade between Poland and the Middle East, in public discourse the trade was almost exclusively associated with Armenians. Initially, the assessment of the Armenian merchant network was quite positive. For example, Maciej Miechowski (ca. 1457–1523), a professor at Kraków University (Jagiellonian University), royal physician to King Sigismund I, and founding father of the myth of Sarmatism in Polish humanism, stated in his "Treatise on the Two Sarmatias" that the Armenian merchants from Lviv and Kamianets-Podilskyi "are the best merchants who reached Caffa [in the Crimea], Constantinople, Alexandria in Egypt, al-Kair, and Indian countries to bring goods."[66]

However, at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the alliance between the nobility and the Armenian merchants became evident, two rival discourses emerged: one positive, expressed by the nobility; and one negative, propagated by the Catholic clergy and townspeople.[67] The noblemen ordinarily described Armenian trade as a positive phenomenon, as Armenian merchants supplied them with the Ottoman and Persian commodities they needed to affirm their Sarmatian identity, and thus to reinforce their republican values.[68] Leonard Gorecki (ca. 1530 to post-1582), a Polish nobleman, described the Armenian trade of Ottoman and Persian goods in this manner: "Malmsey" wine from Turkey to Poland is taken by Armenians through Moldavia, as well as other commodities— pepper, crocus, precious flavorings, and carpets, which are accessories of luxury."[69] He did not blame Armenian intermediaries for the temptation of Polish consumers by supplying them with luxury. Likewise, in his pamphlet, *Defense of Poland* (1648) written in response to these foreign criticisms, Łukasz Opaliński (1612–66),

a Polish magnate and the court marshall of the crown since 1650, considered the importation of Ottoman and Persian merchandise by Armenian merchants to be a positive phenomenon: "It is needless to say regarding Asian merchandise—that is, Turkish and Persian—in what quantities the Armenians import it to us [in Poland]."[70] The nobility saw the conspicuous consumption of these goods as a sign of Poland's prosperity and superiority.

His brother Krzysztof Opaliński (1611–55), on the other hand, was a leader of the noble opposition to King Władysław IV and King Jan Kazimierz, and in 1655 he joined the invading Swedish army led by King Charles Gustav. In his *Satires, or the Warnings Related to the Reform of Government and Mores in Poland* (1650), Opaliński criticized excessive consumption, but made no references either to Armenian or to Middle Eastern commodities. His main criticism was directed instead at Italians and Germans for what he considered unfair trade and destructive exportation of currency out of Poland.[71] In the chapter entitled "On the corrupted mores of the female estate" (*Na zepsowane stanu białogłowskiego obyczaje*), Opaliński admonished women for "buying the German jewels from Jews."[72] Since women took no part in politics, their Western-style attire was not important to their Sarmatian identity and was thus criticized by noble satirists.

Even some outspoken clerical and burgher authors fiercely attacked Armenian merchants for supplying the Polish market with "redundant extravagancies" and, therefore, for contributing to the economic decline of the cities and the moral decline of the noblemen. Their criticism of Armenian merchants was much stronger than that of the noble Sarmatian consumers of Middle Eastern luxury. Both Catholic clergymen and burghers tried to convince their powerful Sarmatian readers to make changes in their politics. And the Armenian "mobilizers" became the principal target of the anti-luxury rhetoric in order to make the polemists' arguments more eloquent and, at the same time, inoffensive to noble readers. The same model was simultaneously used by the Polish Catholic pamphleteers who fiercely attacked Jews, as the Church was fighting a larger battle to eliminate or neutralize by all feasible means any group perceived as a challenge to its hegemony.[73] They also tried to persuade the noblemen to cut off their economic symbiosis with Jews.[74]

The extensive consumption of foreign goods—foods, wines, clothes, carpets, armory, and jewelry—by the upper classes was seen by contemporary Catholic intellectuals as a sign of moral decline, caused not only by the sinful human nature but also by the intervention of foreign merchants. In his anti-Armenian pamphlet of 1605, Sebastian Petrycy (1554–1626), a professor of medicine at Kraków University, accused Armenian merchants in the following way: "They bring to the Kingdom the redundant extravagancies—cotton handkerchiefs, linen headscarves, and towels—though many could live without it. And Persian rugs are recently brought to Poland by them (Armenians)."[75] Petrycy returns to the issue of Armenians and Middle Eastern rugs in a poem published in 1609. In a different chapter of the poem entitled "Outrageous luxury" (*Zbytek nieprzystojny*), Petrycy described his beloved motherland as being attacked by foreign goods and exotic food. In this apocalyptic narrative, Petrycy reserves two lines for Armenian merchants and Middle Eastern rugs, mentioning them among other signs of moral decline of the Polish aristocracy as opposed to their virtuous ancestors who "never dealt with foreign Armenians for hanging the rugs on the walls."[76]

In a report to Rome written in 1622, Jan-Andrzej Próchnicki, the Catholic archbishop of Lviv, clearly juxtaposed the fair trade of the Catholics with the unfair practices of the Armenian merchants, though he gave no examples of either: "Only our Catholic circumspection does not allow them (Armenians) to trade by deception and fraud, to buy by falsity and to gain profit by destroying their soul. For our Catholics [are] also doing their trade, but they keep their conscience safe, and don't suffer losses."[77] As Bishop Piotr Gembicki (1585–1657), chancellor of Poland, pointed out in his instructions to the Polish ambassador sent to the sultan in 1640: "It is impractical for our Commonwealth to have our [permanent] representative [in Istanbul, as Western nations do]. Though there are several Armenian carts going to Turkey, they did more harm to the Commonwealth, than good."[78]

As William Bouwsma has argued, "social identity depended on the boundaries between communities and classes, within which the individual was contained and at home. [...] Anxiety was thus transmuted into a fear of transgressing the boundaries defining the cultural universe."[79] The response to the growing demand

for luxury goods in Poland is an example of trade anxiety: it was seen as dangerous to the established social order since some representatives of the lower groups could use money and luxury for their social advancement.[80]

6 Conclusion

Luxury, and Middle Eastern luxury in particular, became the focal point of public discourse in seventeenth-century Poland. Throughout early modern Europe, sumptuary laws restricted luxury to the elites, while the Catholic clergy made efforts to reserve luxury goods solely for the royal court and churches.[81] And the Catholic patricians in the royal cities attempted to prohibit luxury to plebeians as well as to non-Catholic groups of townspeople. This caused an evident dilemma, because in the Commonwealth Middle Eastern luxury was encouraged in order to demonstrate national identity, political unity, and the power of the ruling elite. Yet, neither legislation nor pamphlets and sermons of clergymen and intellectuals could prevent social distinctions from being transgressed. Luxury knew no law, and rising anxieties about weakening social cohesion were reflected in the numerous works on the moral, military, political, and economic decline of the Commonwealth.

The complexity of luxury acquisition was underpinned by the regular caravan traffic between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, as well as by the migration of some artisans to Poland and the establishment of workshops there. Thus, Middle Eastern luxury goods became available to some economically privileged representatives of the lower estates seeking social advancement. And Armenian merchants were active in all these endeavors, which made them one of the principal targets of the antiluxury polemic.

Middle Eastern luxury signaled fairly complex social messages. For the nobility, it was an expression of its anti-absolutist political values, of a social identity as a privileged elite, and later of national identity. For the elected kings, the adoption of Sarmatian attire—and its representation in gala portraits—signaled either a genuine or an insincere adoption of the "rules" of the political game as played in their new motherland. For the Catholic clergy, Ottoman and Persian commodities

ordered in the Middle East, donated by benefactors, and even imitated in frescoes were expressions of the Church's power and splendor in accordance with the Counter-Reformation ideology. At the same time, Ottomanized Sarmatian attire and the excessive Sarmatian way of life were convenient targets of criticism—a fundamental part of the Church's strategy to reestablish control over the nobility that had been lost during the Reformation. For the city patricians, the consumption of Ottoman and Persian commodities expressed their aspirations for ennoblement, although, as in the case of the Church, their attitude was also ambivalent. The Catholic patricians blamed the Armenian trading diaspora—as well as that of the Jews—for being the "mobilizers" of the nobility's excessive consumption, which in turn caused the economic decline of royal cities. Since Ottoman and Persian commodities became signs of high social status, their consumption by non-Catholic groups of townspeople caused anxiety among patrician and Catholic intellectuals alike. And Armenians dressed in Middle Eastern garments were among the principal targets of their criticism.

Sarmatism as a complex system of political values, cultural signs, and behavioral strategies became a specialized knowledge, which anyone needed as a prerequisite for the appropriate consumption of luxury. Sarmatism, along with its material attributes, was appropriated in multiple ways by representatives of various social groups. The political and military crisis of 1648–60 had fueled discussion over the political system and excessive consumption in the Commonwealth. However, Sarmatism and its luxurious image only strengthened its position as an expression of Polish uniqueness.

Sarmatism also provided a high degree of connection between luxury consumption and the body, the person, and their personality. From the late sixteenth century on, garments, armory, furniture, and horses and their harnesses, as well as hairstyles, gala portraits, donations to churches, and panegyrics at funerals (*pompa funebris*), became expressions of individual allegiances. Ultimately, through their connection to the imaginary Sarmatian ancestors, and thus to national and social identities, as well as religious and political allegiances, these goods lost any reference to their Ottoman and Persian manufacturers.

Notes

1   For the ongoing debates on the definition of "Sarmatism," see Stanisław Cynarski, "The Shape of Sarmatian Ideology in Poland," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 19 (1968): 5–17; Anke Heynoldt, "Die Bedeutung des Sarmatismus für das Nationsbewusstsein und die Kultur des polnischen Adels zwischen dem 16. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Kultursoziologie* 7, no.1(1998):6–57;"DiepolnischeKulturgeschichtsschreibung und das Problem Sarmatismus," *Kultursoziologie* 8, no. 1 (1999): 29–68; Joanna Dziubkowa, *Szlachetne dziedzictwo czy przeklęty spadek. Tradycje sarmackie w sztuce i kulturze, katalog wystawy, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu* [The noble patrimony or accursed heritage. Sarmatian traditions in art and culture. Exhibition catalogue of the National Museum of Poznań] (Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe, 2004); Karin Friedrich, "History, Myth, and Historical Identity," in *Early Modern Europe: Issues and Interpretations*, eds. James B. Collins and Karen L. Taylor (Oxford: Malden, 2006), 41–54; Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, "Sarmatismus— Zur Begriffsgeschichte und den Chancen und Grenzen als forschungsleitender Begriff," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 57, no. 3 (2009): 402–8; Beata Biedrońska-Słota, ed., *Sarmatyzm: Sen o potędze* [Sarmatism: A dream of power] (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2010); Magdalena Długosz and Piotr O. Scholz, eds., *Sarmatismus versus Orientalismus in Mitteleuropa / Sarmatyzm versus Orientalizm w Europie Środkowej* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013); Robert Born and Sabine Jagodzinski, eds., *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16 bis zum18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014).

2   Tadeusz Majda, ed., *Arcydzieła sztuki perskiej ze zbiorów polskich* [Masterpieces of Persian art in Polish collections] (Warszawa: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2002); Mirosława Zygmunt, "*Persica*: A Brief History of Polish-Persian Relations," *Polish Libraries Today* 6 (2005): 96–105; Waldemar Deluga, ed., *Ars Armeniaca: Sztuka ormiańska ze zbiorów polskich i ukraińskich. Katalog wystawy* (Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie, 2010); Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołów and Jerzy Malinowski, eds., *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships between Poland and Islamic Countries* (Kraków: "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology, 2011); Paulina Banas, "Persian Art and the Crafting of Polish Identity," *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art and Contemporary Art of Teheran*, ed. Axel Langer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 118–35; Robert Born and Michał Dziewulski, eds., *The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Culture: Papers from the International Conference at the National Museum in Krakow June 26–27, 2015* (Kraków: The National Museum in Krakow, 2015); Robert Born, Michał Dziewulski and Guido Messling, eds., *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art. Exhibition Catalogue* (Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts; Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 2015).

3   Adam Jasieński, "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe," *Muqarnas: Middle East and Islamic Studies* 31, no. 1 (2014): 173–205.

4   Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie Zamojscy i ich rola w wymianie handlowej i kulturalnej między Polską a Wschodem* [Armenians of Zamość and their role in the commercial and cultural exchanges between Poland and the Orient] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 1965); Mirosława Zakrewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w Dawnej Polsce* [Armenians in Old Poland] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1982); Eleonora Nadel-Golobic, "Armenians and Jews in Medieval Lvov: The Role in Oriental Trade, 1400–1600," *Cahires du Monde russe et soviètique* 20 (1979): 345–88; Andrzej Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu: Handel między Polską a imperium Osmańskim w XVI–XVII wieku* [On the routes of the Orient: Trade between Poland and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries] (Wrocław: Fundacja na rzecz Nauki Polskiej, 1998); Alexandr Osipian, "Trans-Cultural Trade in the Black Sea Region, 1250–1700: Integration of Armenian Trading Diaspora in Moldavian Principality," *New Europe College Black Sea Link Yearbook* (2012–13): 113–58.

5   Zdzisław Żygulski, "Armenians in Poland: A Foreign Culture Incorporated," in *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships Between Poland and Islamic Countries*, eds. Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołów, and Jerzy Malinowski (Kraków: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2011), 317–36; Beata Biedrońska-Słota, *Ormianie polscy: Odrębność i asymilacja* [Armenians of Poland: Distinctiveness and assimilation] (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 1999).

6   Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 38.

7   Appadurai, "Introduction," 38.

8   Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism and the Ancien Regime* (New York: Berg, 2008), in chapter 10, "Orientalism, Despotism, and Luxury."

9   Cynarski, "The Shape of Sarmatian Ideology in Poland."

10   Friedrich, "History, Myth, and Historical Identity."

11   Except for a turban, which was considered a sign of being Muslim.

12   Nancy Bisaha, "'New Barbarian' or Worthy Adversary? Humanist Constructs of the Ottoman Turks in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other,* eds. M. Frassetto and D. Blanks (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 194; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 68.

13   Jasieński, "Savage Magnificence," 177.

14   Kazimierz Kozica and Janusz Pezda, eds., *Imago Poloniae: Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego* [Old Polish Commonwealth on maps, in documents and old prints in the collection of Tomasz Niewodniczański], vols. 1–2 (Warszawa: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza A. Grzegorczyk, 2002) cat. H8/1.

15   "Czemuż JoKMć będąc *caro de carne, os de ossibus nostris, abhorret* narodu Polskiego *vestitum*, a cudzoziemską sobie, iakoby *opprobrio gentis Polonae*, ktorą przodkowie nasi *fastidio* mieli, upodobał modę?"; Franciszek Kulczycki, ed., *Diariusz Seymu Warszawskiego w styczniu roku 1672* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1880), 9.

16   Franciszek Bohomolec, *Małżeństwo z kalendarza: Komedia* (Warszawa: w Drukarni J.K.M. i Rzeczy-Pospolitey w Kollegium Societ. Jesu, [1775]); Franciszek Zabłocki, *Sarmatyzm: Komedya w pięciu aktach*, ed. Ludwik Bernacki (Kraków: Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, [1928]); Mieczysław Klimowicz, *Oświecenie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2012), 246–48.

17   Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*, 265–66.

18   Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*, 266.

19   Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism*, 267.

20   "Mala est pluralitas principum, sit ergo unus rex"; *Iliad*, II, 198–99.

21   Piotr Skarga, *Kazania sejmowe* (Skultuna: Ligatur, 2008), 39.

22   Szymon Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia królestwa Polskiego* (Gdańsk: Tower Press, 2000), 101–102; originally published in Latin as Simonis Starovolsci, *Polonia sive status Regni Poloniae descriptio* (Coloniae: Apud Henricum Crithium, 1632).

23   Starowolski, *Polska*, 111.

24   Starowolski, *Polska*, 102–3, 104.

25   Szymon Starowolski, *Prywat Polską kieruie po nim stateczny sługa Rzeczypospolitey, następuie* (n.p., 1649), A4.

26   Szymon Starowolski, *Reformacya Obyczaiow Polskich. Wszytkim Stanom Oyczyzny naszey, teraźnieyszych czasow zepsowanych barzo potrzebna* (n.p., ca. 1653), 37.

27   Starowolski, *Reformacya Obyczaiow*, 30.

28   Wespazjan Hieronim Kochowski, Nieproznujące proznowanie ojczystym rymem na lirica i epigrammata polskie rozdzielone y wydane (Kraków: w Drukarni Woyćiecha Goreckiego, 1674), 50–51.

29   *Denuszka* or *Demeszka*—a Turkish saber made of Damask steel. The sabers and sheaths were decorated with gold, silver, and precious stones. In this case, a saber was decorated with turquoises (*Turkusy*).

30   *Andzar* (from Arabic *khanjar* and Turkish *Hançer*)—a short curved dagger shaped like the letter "J" that resembles a hook.

31   *Nadźiak*—a kind of battle hammer or blade with a beak that was used to break the enemy's helmet and armor. *Nadźiak* was also seen by contemporaries as a symbol of high social status, that is, a man of quality. In the poem, Kochowski wrote that the *nadźiak* of the hussar was made of gold.

32   *Czołdar* (from Turkish *çuldar*)—a Turkish horsecloth or saddlecloth.

33   *Siodło Rumelskie*—Rumelian saddle, that is, a saddle made in the Ottoman province of Rumelia (southern part of present-day Bulgaria).

34   *Teley* (*delja, deljura, telej, telet,* from Turkish *tellu, telli*)—a fabric made with golden threads. In early modern Poland, *teley* or *delja* was a cloth made out of Middle Eastern textiles and worn over a shirt.

35   *Pas w Karmażynie Sekiemską robotą*—a silk sash (Turkish—*kuşak*) of a dark red color (from Turkish *qırmızı*—"red") made on the island of Chios.

36   *But z Turska wielki*—a Turkish boot of bigger size.

37   *Baczmagi* (from Turkish *başmag, başmak*)—Turkish footwear, the cavalry soldier's boot, made with soft tops, of variable height but typically knee high, and

with a semicircular heel. The fancy version used gold or red morocco (*saffian*) or embossed (*kurdybanowych*) leather.

38   Kochowski, *Nieproznujące proznowanie*, 51.

39   Kochowski, *Nieproznujące proznowanie*, 214.

40   Many times Kochowski defined the Polish warriors as "Sarmatians" (*Sarmata*), for instance, when describing the war between Poland and Sweden (1655–60).

41   Kochowski, *Nieproznujące proznowanie*, 289–91.

42   See also Emese Pásztor, "Ottoman Turkish Textiles in Christian Churches—Particularly in Transylvania and Royal Hungary," in *The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Culture. Papers from the International Conference at the National Museum in Krakow June 26–27, 2015*, eds. Robert Born and Michał Dziewulski (Kraków: The National Museum in Krakow, 2015), 193–214.

43   In fact, the design is a floral pattern of leaves attached to rosettes.

44   Beata Biedrońska-Słota, "The Place of Ottoman Art in Polish Art during the Renaissance," in *The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Culture. Papers from the International Conference at the National Museum in Krakow June 26–27, 2015*, eds. Robert Born and Michał Dziewulski (Kraków: The National Museum in Krakow, 2015), 218, ill. 2.

45   In 1585, King Stefan Batory commissioned, for the embellishment of the royal castle in Kraków, "carpets with birds of the kind commonly made in Turkey"; Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Nakł. Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności, 1935), 22–23; Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, "Art of Islam in the History of Polish Art, in *The Orient in Polish Art. Catalogue of the Exhibition*, ed. Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa (Kraków: National Museum in Kraków, 1992), 15.

46   Beata Biedrońska-Słota, "Kobierce Islamu w polskim malarstwie. Przyczynek do ikonografii tkanin orientalnych," *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Seria Nowa* 1 (1999): 119–20.

47   Stephen Greenblatt, "Mobility Studies Manifesto," in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 251.

48   Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530–1750)* (Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1999); Edmund Herzig, "Venice and the Julfa Armenian Merchants," in *Gli Armeni e Venezia. Dagli Sceriman a Mechitar: Il momento culminante di una consuetudine millenari*, eds. Boghos L. Zekiyan and Aldo Ferrari (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004), 141–64; Sushil Chaudhury and Kéram Kévonian, eds., *Armenians in Asian Trade in the Early Modern Era* (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2008); Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa, Isfahan, 1605–1747* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); René Arthur Bekius, "The Armenian Colony in Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Armenian Merchants from Julfa Before and After the Fall of the Safavid Empire," in *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age*, eds. Willem Floor and Edmund Herzig (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co, 2012), 259–84; Olivier Raveux, "Entre réseau communautaire intercontinental et intégration locale: La colonie marseillaise des marchands arméniens de la Nouvelle-Djoulfa (Ispahan), 1669–1695," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 59, no. 1 (2012): 83–102.

49   For more details on Armenian judicial autonomy, see Alexandr Osipian, "Legal Pluralism in the Cities of the Early Modern Kingdom of Poland: The Jurisdictional Conflicts and Uses of Justice by Armenian Merchants," in *The Uses of Justice in Global Perspective, 1600–1900*, eds. Griet Vermeesch, Manon Van Der Heijden and Jaco Zuijderduijn (London: Routledge, 2019), 80–102.

50   Andrzej Wyrobisz, "Attitude of the Polish Nobility towards Towns in the First Half of the 17th Century," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 48 (1983): 90–91; Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, "Polityka handlowa Jana Zamoyskiego i jego następców," Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio F, Historia 38/39 (1983/1984): 93–114.

51   "Wen die Armenier auff diese reyze wegfertig sein, fasten sie etliche tage, auch eine gantze woche vor dem ausstzuge, beichten, comunitzieren, gleich goltte es ihnen tzum thotte"; Almut Bues, ed., *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562–ca. 1618): über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), bd. 2, 687.

52   Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahd-names and Other Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 278.

53   Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Polish-Ottoman Trade Routes in the Times of Martin Gruneweg," in *Martin Gruneweg*

(*1562–after 1615*): *A European Way of Life*, ed. Almut Bues (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 168.

54 "Die Armenier haben alletzeitt diesem wege tzugefallen etliche Pasbriewe untter sich, sowol vom Turckischen Keyser als Polnischen Könige oder ihrer Statt;" Bues, *Die Aufzeichnungen*, 686.

55 For more details on the *caravanbashi* office, see Alexandr Osipian, "Voting at home: Elections of Mayors and *Caravanbashi* by Armenian Merchants in Poland and the Ottoman Empire, 1500–1700," in *Cultures of Voting in Pre-Modern Europe*, eds. Serena Ferente, Lovro Kunčević and Miles Pattenden (London: Routledge, 2018), 310–28.

56 These privileges were mentioned in the records of the Armenian court in Kamianets at least twice—eight charters in 1604, twelve charters in 1615, and five more charters issued to cross the border over the Dniester River; Central Historical Archive of Ukraine in Kyiv, fond 39, holding 1, file 20, fol.50; file 26, fol.40, published in Oleksandr Garkavets, *Virmeno-qypchatski rukopysy* [Armenian-Qipchaq manuscripts in Ukraine, Armenia, Russia: The catalogue] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1993).

57 Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu*, 36–37.

58 Erasm Otwinowski, "Wypisanie drogi tureckiej, gdym tam z posłem wielkim wielmoznym panem Andrzejem Bzickim, kasztelanem chełmskim, od króla Zygmunta Augusta poslanym roku pańskiego 1557 jeżdzil," in *Podróże i poselstwa polskie de Turcyi a mianowicie; podróż E. Otwinowskiego 1557, Jędrzeja Taranowskiego komornika j.k.m. 1569, i poselstwo Piotra Zborowskiego 1568*, ed. Ignacy Kraszewski (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Polskiej, 1860), 33–36.

59 Janusz Dorobisz, "Epilog wielkiej legacji Krzysztofa Zbaraskiego do Stambułu—misja Krzysztofa Serebkowicza z 1623 roku," in *Region nadczarnomorski w polityce europejskiej. Przeszłość—dzień dzisiejszy*, ed. Tomasz Ciesielski and Wiaczesław Kusznir (Odessa, Opole, Wrocław: n.p., 2008), 66–70.

60 *Relacya Sefera Muratowicza Obywatela Warszawskiego Od Zygmunta III Krola Polskiego Dla Sprawowania Rzeczy Wysłanego do Persyi w Roku 1602.* (Warszawa: w Drukarni J.K. Mci y Rzpltey Mitzlerowskiey, 1777); Tadeusz Mańkowski, "Wyprawa po Kobierce," *Rocznik orientalistyczny* 17 (1953): 184–211; Maria Szuppe, "Un marchand du roi de Pologne en Perse, 1601–1602," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien, XVIᵉ–XIXᵉ s.* 3 (1986): 81–110; Michał Połczyński, "The Relacyja of Sefer Muratowicz:

1601–1602 Private Royal Envoy of Sigismund III Vasa to Shah 'Abbas I," *The Turkish Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (2014): 59–93.

61 Połczyński, "The Relacyja of Sefer Muratowicz," 26.

62 Połczyński, "The Relacyja of Sefer Muratowicz," 27.

63 Biedrońska-Słotowa, "The Art of Islam," 14.

64 Andrzej Janeczek, ed., *Album Civium Leopoliensium: Rejestry przyjęc do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1388–1788* (Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskiego Tow. Przyjaciół Nauk, 2005), 1,:303, 307, 327, 331.

65 For instance, in the list of Armenian community members in Lemberg, composed on August 15, 1669, the artisan occupation was recorded for fifteen men. There were five goldsmiths (*złotnik*), four fletchers (*lucznik*), a dyer (*falbiersz*), a shoemaker (*szwiec*), and a capmaker (*czapnik*); see *Protokul spraw regiminis Armenorum Leopoliensium ab anni 1668 ad 1686* (National Library of Ukraine in Lviv. Department of Manuscripts), fond 5, holding 1, file 1723 II: fol. 17–17v; Władysław Łoziński, *Ormiański epilog lwowskiej sztuki złotniczej* (Kraków: Druk. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1901).

66 Janina Poskrobko-Strzeciwilk, "The 18th-Century Polish Silk Sash and Its Oriental Prototypes," in *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships between Poland and Islamic Countries*, ed. Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow and Jerzy Malinowski (Kraków: "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology; Warszawa: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2011), 337–46; Anatoly P. Gritskevich, "Armianskaia manufaktura v Belorussii v kontse XVIII veka," *Vestnik obshchestvennykh nauk AN Armianskoi SSR* 4 (1967): 44–53.

67 "Hi sunt mercatores peritissimi, ad Caffam, Constantinopolim, ad Alexandriam Aegypti, ad Alkairam et partes Indiae penetrantes et merces afferents"; Mathias de Miechow, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Europiana et Asiana et de contentis in eis* (Augusta Vindelicorum: S. Grimm, M. Wirsung, 1518), 40.

68 Alexandr Osipian, "Between Mercantilism, Oriental Luxury and the Ottoman Threat," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 116 (2017): 171–208.

69 "Malmaticum vinum ex Turcia, & id genus alia in Poloniam Armenii per Valachiam aduehunt: piperitem, crocum, preciosa aromata, peristromata, quae sunt instrumēta luxuriae"; Leonhard Gorecki, *Descriptio belli Ivoniae, Voivodae Valachiae quod anno 1574 cum Selymo II Turcarum imperatore* (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1578), 19.

70   Łukasz Opaliński, *Obrona Polski*, trans. Kazimierz Tyszkowski (Lwów and Warszawa: Książnica Polska T-wa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych, 1921), 26. Originally published as Łukasz Opaliński, *Polonia defensa contra Joannem Barclaium* [Defense of Poland to John Barclay] (1648).

71   Krzysztof Opaliński, *Satyry* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich—Wydaw; Warszawa: De Agostini Polska, 2005), 180.

72   Krzysztof Opaliński, *Satyry albo przestrogi do naprawy rządu i obyczajów w Polsce należace, na pięć ksiąg rozdzielone* (Kraków: Universitas, 2004), 45.

73   Magda Teter, *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 133.

74   Teter, *Jews and Heretics*, 32, 80–82, 91–92.

75   Sebastian Petrycy, *Polityki Aristotelesowey, to iest rządu Rzeczypospolitey z dokładem ksiag osmioro* (Kraków: w Drukarni Symona Kempiniego, 1605), cxxxii.

76   Sebastian Petrycy, *Horatius Flaccus w trudach więzienia moskiewskiego*, ed. Adam Trojak (Kraków: TAiWPN Universitas, 2004), 60.

77   *Litterae Episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600–1900)* (Roma: PP. Basiliani, 1972), 1:87–89.

78   Adam Przyboś, ed., *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 roku* (Kraków: PWN, 1985), 175.

79   William J. Bouwsma, *A Usable Past: Essays in European Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 171.

80   Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie*, 102–3.

81   Skarga, *Kazania*, 39.

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Sociability Seeps through the Lower Danube

The Introduction of Coffee to Moldavia and Wallachia in the Seventeenth Century

Daniela Calciu

"O Coffee, thou dost dispel all care, thou art the object of desire to the scholar. / This is the beverage of the friends of God; it gives health to those in its service who strive after wisdom."[1]

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Many have celebrated the majesty of the Danube as a field of virtuous battles, a witness to grandiose reigns, a parent of numerous dramatic landscapes that fostered artistic movements and styles, and a home to the architectural and urban magnificence of the Baroque and the Rococo. However, these grand narratives and gestures are more common to the upper and middle sections of the river and less evocative of its final reaches between the Iron Gate and the Black Sea. These lands speak in less resonant voices, and their sites are less revealing to the visitor.

Recalling his 1769 voyage along the Danube through the areas of Banat and Oltenia, the Austrian Johann Friedel writes that "the entire land that stretches along the shore is not inhabited by people. You might think that you are headed towards a fantastic world where the wizard has chased everybody away. You can sail half a day without seeing a Romanian village. And they are only half an hour away from the banks, in the hidden valleys of the river."[2] A later account, by the Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga at the beginning of the twentieth century, offers a less romantic view of the absence of man in this desolate landscape, in which, "like an enduring memory of terrible old times, when blood was tainting the waters with iron sheen, the house is afraid to appear, as if the robber, the Danube pirate, would still be lurking to attack. Even with all the changes and transformations, an ancient state of eternal war still seems to be encumbering these waters that divide countries and nations."[3]

Iorga recalls the tormented history of this uncanny place between empires, where the harbors were small and geared to military needs rather than to commercial opportunities. Conversely, accounts recall a more intense presence on the waters of the Danube further East, past the city of Vidin and especially around Silistra and Brăila. This proximity is evoked by the Moldavian folklorist Elena Sevastos in a letter to her friend Electra Mortzun on August 28, 1887 from Măcin, describing her voyage from Brăila to Dobrudja, on the Danube "with ships, boats, and all its finery. [...] As dwarfs we passed by the feet of the beautiful *Marseille*, the powerful *Nelson* and *Lavrio* [...] From our left, *Middlebrough* and *Milano* were looking at us with dignity; and on the bottom of the green Danube, between the moving and shimmering waves, sunken shipwrecks were becoming discernible."[4]

Such tales of the river point to the uncovered world of remains embedded in the riverbed, which could provide unique evidence for trade and commercial relations, as well as for the day-to-day existence of the "some 1,500,000 'Greeks'—as the Balkan merchants were commonly known to contemporaries regardless of their ethnicities" that Gábor Ágoston estimates "were involved in this profitable trade [between 1650 and 1850], exporting mainly Ottoman textiles, garments, and other 'oriental' goods from Ottoman territories to Habsburg lands."[5] Such evidence could complete the image and the imaginary of the early modern Danube not only as the line of containment between the Ottoman and Habsburg lands but also as the backbone of Europe's waterways and waterborne trade routes, which met the Black Sea through the ports of Varna and Constanța and carried ships traveling to or from Constantinople, and beyond the Aegean and the Adriatic, to Ancona or Ragusa.

The significance of "the greatest river to flow into the Black Sea from Anatolia and Rumelia, after collecting the waters of seven hundred smaller rivers, and passing through two hundred and five citadels and cities" did not

escape the attention of the mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who paid particular attention to the rivers that flow into the lower Danube "from its left": the Tisza, Sava, Drava, Mureș, Bega, Timiș, Sebeș, Olt, Palosuz, and Ormancea; the Prahova, Ialomița, Buzău, Rîmnic, and Focșani; and the Putna, Siret, Bârlad, and Scînteia, among others.[6] The valleys of these tributary rivers allowed the establishment of trade routes between the Carpathians and the Danube, at first locally, and which subsequently developed into regional roads linking Buda to the Black Sea through Transylvania and Wallachia.[7] They also engendered the formation and growth of urban centers, at first in their upper reaches, toward the protective topography and forests of the Carpathians, and later advancing south, toward the Danube. Besides the geographical determination of these lands, the mountains and the river acted as core elements in shaping the popular conscience and identity of the Romanian Principalities, as illustrated by two maps produced at the turn of the eighteenth century, by Constantin Cantacuzino for Wallachia and Dimitrie Cantemir for Moldavia, respectively (Figs. 16.1 and 16.2).

Modern interpretations of the layered history of Eastern and Southeastern Europe have added to the multifaceted imaginary of the Danube. Norbert Krebs has argued for its role as a "cultural border" between "Central Europe" and the "Orient" as a prolongation of the Sava,[8] while Răzvan Theodorescu has written on the "cultural corridors" of Southeastern Europe formed by the rivers that flow into the Danube, ensuring the circulation of "cultural goods, ideas, innovations, troops, intellectuals, as many ferments and germs of civilization, linking Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, and the Romanian Principalities, but also the Dalmatian, or the Polish-Lithuanian worlds, in a sole, vivid and active, cultural organism."[9]

Despite the growing scholarship on the subject, a great deal of information remains to be uncovered about the complexity of the diffuse translations and the constant negotiations between the various dominant religious, social, political, and economic worlds that blend into these borderland territories. In addition, there is still much to glean about the everyday life and person-to-person points of contact that extended along and across the vivid commercial corridor engendered by the Danube, which served as an important link between the Ottoman and the European economic systems throughout the early modern period.

To that end, this essay seeks to follow the trail of coffee, another fluid that played an important role in the emergence of early modern ideas and contours of urbanity around the Mediterranean, as well as around Europe. Specifically, I consider the temporalities and the extent to which the world of coffee penetrated, by way of the Danube, into the societies of Moldavia and Wallachia in the late seventeenth century, while seeking clues to new dimensions of the cultural exchanges between the East and the West in these peculiar borderlands (if not a rift) between the "Occidental" and the "Oriental" cultural landscapes.

Coffee consumption and its preferred setting, the coffeehouse, flourished in seventeenth-century Europe as an alternative setting of sociability, a forum of free expression distinct from that of universities or the courts, a space of unrestricted interaction and lively conversation that fostered the "rise of the public man" as discussed by Sennett,[10] and a site for the formation of "the public sphere" as proposed by Habermas.[11] Similarly, coffee and the coffeehouse had formed part of urban life in the East ever since the early sixteenth century, when the first *kahvehâne* were set up as places for religious and social meetings, and storytelling, as thoroughly presented by Evliya Çelebi and recently documented by authors like Hattox,[12] Kafadar,[13] and Boyar and Fleet.[14] In both worlds, this new type of voluntary sociability made possible by the coffeehouse acted as a significant agent of emancipation that helped pave the way for the new intellectual environments of the eighteenth century, which Dominique Poulot rightfully calls the age of "the sociable city."[15] Albeit with different temporalities and physiognomies in the East and the West, the consumption of coffee was also an important part of what David Courtwright calls the "Psychoactive Revolution," which he traces back to the sixteenth century with the spread of tea, chocolate, coffee, and tobacco, and the political and economic forces that have combined to "transform the everyday consciousness of billions of people and, eventually, the environment itself."[16]

The development of the public consumption of coffee supported the differentiation of the social structure, which Simmel described as the transition from a concentric model of "group affiliation"—guided by the direct experience of the world and by military,

FIGURE 16.1   Constantin Cantacuzino, map of Wallachia drawn between 1694–99, published in 1700 at Padua, in Anton Maria del
                 Chiaro, *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*, Venice, 1718
                 SOURCE: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

FIGURE 16.2   Dimitrie Cantemir, *Tabula Geographica Moldauiae—Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae*, Frankfurt und
                 Leipzig, 1771
                 SOURCE: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE

economic, or political interests—to a model based on common intellectual interests of people who come from very diverse social groups.[17] It also sustained the rise of the bourgeoisie and its way of life by contributing to the reformation of manners and conduct, engendering new settings and forms of civility and civilian manifestation, and contributing to the refinement of urban lives and spaces. Despite the formal differences and nuances, the public consumption of coffee and its associated practices became a type of urban occurrence that is common to how the Ottoman and the Western European city dwellers shaped their social and spatial nets. Coffee, as a phenomenon, thus played with new temporalities and fostered new figures of urbanity.

The questions of when and how coffee arrived in certain territories and was adopted by different societies are manifold, providing a foundation for the growing international interest in the geographies of the travels and metamorphoses of coffee and the physiognomy of its settings and habits between the Middle East and Europe. The topic is yet more compelling in the context of the burgeoning historiographical tradition that seeks to trace the daily life and genealogies of the social, cultural, or political practices of modernity. In particular, following the trail of coffee into the Romanian Principalities opens up new avenues of inquiry into the slow rise of modern Wallachia and Moldavia in the midst of the feverish changes and exchanges at the turn of the eighteenth century. Historians concur over the meager urban tradition before this time: Murgescu and Bonciu, for instance, have demonstrated the peripheral condition of the urban economy of the principalities in relation both to the Ottoman and the Central European ones;[18] while Pompiliu Eliade has written of the boyars' disregard for commerce and crafts, leaving "the former to be dominated by foreigners, and the latter by slaves"[19]—an attitude that is similar to the one among the Crimean aristocracy of the time.[20] However, the "cultural renovation" under the Phanariot regimes evoked by Kitromilides,[21] or the new sensibility described by Lemny,[22] find precedents in the advancements of the seventeenth century, and in the heterogeneous absorption of cultural models from the various sources surrounding these borderlands. What, then, is the chronology of coffee's arrival in the Romanian Principalities, and what does it tell us about the wider spectrum of their political, economic, and social relations to the dominant centers of power?

The purpose of this essay is thus to build a scaffold for this complex investigation to come, mainly by gathering and sorting through the earliest references to coffee by foreigners traveling through the principalities on their way between Western or Northern Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This focus was prompted by two reasons. First, the travelogues are among the most significant sources employed by Romanian historiography, as they supplement the scant tangible and documentary traces with information concerning diplomatic interactions, the state of travel, details concerning the state of the roads, and descriptions of towns and villages, customs, hospitality (ceremonies and banquets), people, and the economic conditions. Secondly, this approach highlights another dimension of the traveler, perceiving him not only as a carrier of ideas, fashions, or objects but also as a recorder of differences and a keen observer of the lands through which he journeys.

•••

In April 1657, the envoy of the Swedish king Karl x Gustav to Sultan Mehmet IV and the Sublime Porte, Claes Brorson Rålamb, traveled across Transylvania and Wallachia in the company of his secretary Johan Ulrich Wallich and the young Conrad Jacob Hiltebrant. The mission was recorded by Rålamb in his private diary, which "entered rapidly the already well-established tradition of travelers' accounts of the Ottoman world," as well as by Hiltebrant, although in a "less detailed and captivating way."[23]

According to Rålamb's diary, he and Hiltebrant left the mountain town of Brașov on April 23, crossed over the Carpathians and into Wallachia, and reached the princely court of Constantin Șerban in Târgoviște on April 26. The scenery of his reception discloses the diversity of fashions borrowed from the neighbors: the *Logofăt* addresses him in Latin while receiving him with an escort of 200 noblemen dressed in Polish style and riding on Turkoman horses. After the meeting with the prince, he writes that he received a kaftan with gold thread weft, which was a sign of the highest benevolence "by the Wallachian customs." Indeed, offering this kind of garment at reception ceremonies was an Eastern court formality that was well incorporated into the Wallachian practice at that time. This ritual of hospitality was followed by a day-long banquet on April 27, which was even more memorable due to the

many glasses of wine drank in honor of the sultan, the Swedish king, Rákóczi, Khmelnytsky, and the Moldavian prince, Gheorghe Ștefan.

Continuing his journey, Rålamb records that on April 28, "I came to the Danube, over against a town called Silistra Drestor or Silistra, where the said river separates Wallachia from Turkey. I crossed it in ferry boats, and so set my foot out of Christendom into Turkey."[24] Here, the pasha honored him with coffee, warning him to be cautious lest he burn himself. According to Sten Westerberg, "this is the first time a Swede tastes coffee, or at least writes about it,"[25] and finds its taste disgusting, comparing it to a "brew of fried peas."

This is a first indication that, if coffee did exist in Wallachia before 1657, it was not served publicly. The hypothesis is reinforced by Rålamb's notes about the numerous taverns he sees along his journey, which must not have served coffee: "On the roads, one can travel for days without coming across a village. But every two miles, there is a small tavern, built of reeds and covered with straws (thatched roof), which serves wine and food."[26] The number of taverns also impressed Paul of Aleppo, who traveled there between 1654 and 1656 as he accompanied his father, Macarios III Zaim, patriarch of Antioch, on his journeys to Constantinople, Wallachia, Moldavia, Ukraine, and Russia:

"We were much surprised at the multitude of the troops in Wallachia: they make tribes and tribes. At the same time, there are, in this country, thousands of houses for sale of wine and spirits, beer etc.; and all the military drink; but we never saw, on any of the four days, either intoxication among them, or wounds, or murder, or any wicked act; on the contrary, they were walking sober and upright, or sitting like persons in their full senses."[27]

Paul of Aleppo's descriptions of the habits and hospitality at the Moldavian and the Wallachian courts resemble Rålamb's account. The Ottoman traveler writes about crystal glasses, silver and porcelain cups that are used to serve wine, spirits (raki) and beer, recalling especially the significant role of wine during the day-long banquets, when at least one glass is poured for every honored person: the prince, his guest, the ruler whom the guest represents, the sultan, God, and so on, and at the end of the meal, each guest is offered the usual kaftan, of various qualities according to their rank.

The lack of any mention of coffee in these two very detailed accounts, and especially Rålamb's first encounter with this drink in Silistra, support the image of the Danube as a boundary that kept this germ of sociability away from the Romanian Principalities, at least until the West began to accept and embrace it in the 1650s. This assumption is supported by the patterns of coffee consumption in Hungary, recorded as early as the 1570s in Pécs but spread only in the territories found under Ottoman rule. Iván Szántó writes that "by the turn of the seventeenth century coffee in Hungary had assumed a widespread popularity—there were coffee stalls in Buda, and possibly elsewhere in the occupied area, while outside the conquered parts they were still not seen."[28] We find similar confirmation of the public consumption of coffee across the Danube from the principalities in the accounts of Evliya Çelebi, who traveled to these lands on various occasions between 1651 and 1666 along with the Ottoman troops sent to defend the borders or to fight against the anti-Ottoman rebellions in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania.[29]

During his travels, Evliya records and surveys the various types of buildings in the cities he visits, offering an image of the public amenities and spaces that made up the urban life on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, he writes about coffeehouses in Temesvár (Timișoara) and Olosig, as well as coffeehouses and boza houses in Oradea, although he does not seem to be particularly touched by their number or by the artistic or intellectual power that they emulate. These establishments mirror the regular occurrence of coffeehouses across the central regions of the Ottoman Empire; indeed, following the opening of the first coffeehouse in Istanbul in 1554–55, this habit spread quite rapidly, and the coffeehouse did make its way into these peripheral cities as part of the Ottoman customs and structures of the daily life that colonized even small and medium-sized towns of Anatolia, as well as of the Balkans, by the turn of the seventeenth century.[30]

In addition, Evliya's account of his 1651 journey to Bulgaria and Dobrudja supports the well-established view of the role of coffeehouses within the urban infrastructure all the way to the Danube, the border of the empire. For instance, he writes that the pasha of Silistra had paved the streets that lead to the river banks with

FIGURE 16.3   Stadt und Festung Hîrșova: Bulgarien. Lithograph by A. von Saar, 1826 after a drawing by Erminy
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SERBIA, HTTPS://CLASSIC.EUROPEANA.EU/PORTAL/EN/RECORD/402/URN_RS_NAE_F19890E1
_DE1C_4506_8DBE_18B16A27E259CHO.HTML. IMAGE EDITED BY SERIOJA BOCSOK

stones and had built a large coffeehouse and many other shops as a waqf (endowment) for the maintenance of the roads. He counts seven coffeehouses in Mangalia, a place of trade inhabited by many merchants, mostly Lazs, Greeks, and Jews, and the main Muslim center in this region, and describes the Ismihan Sultan Mosque as surrounded by seven schools, three khans, about 300 shops, a small bazaar, and a small bath. According to Evliya, there are eight coffeehouses in Babadag, a city estimated at about 3,000 houses, with a great mosque surrounded by three madrasas, twenty primary schools, and eight khans, with three public baths, seventy private baths, a tannery, and 390 stalls dominated by Ragusan textile merchants. Karasu (Medgidia) has two coffeehouses and three boza houses for a total of about 1,000

households divided in three neighborhoods (*mahalle* in Ottoman Turkish, *mahalale* in Romanian), as well as a small mosque, a khan, a bath, seven schools, seven water cisterns, and forty–fifty other shops. Asterabad (Ester) appears similarly vibrant, with 1,500 households and many churches, courtesy of the pasha, as well as numerous khans, coffeehouses, boza houses, and about 200 stalls.[31] In the fortress of Hârșova, Evliya writes about a coffeehouse at the gate toward the Danube, which appears consistent with the Ottoman practice of colonizing the waters with various economic or leisure activities (Fig. 16.3).

Besides, the "mini-glacial age" of the seventeenth century in Europe documented by Geoffrey Parker allowed various types of sociability to pour into the waters of the

Danube throughout the year. In the "landmark winter" of 1657, when the "rivers froze so hard that people rode their horses on the ice across the Danube in Vienna, across the Main in Frankfurt and across the Rhine in Strasbourg, while barge traffic along the rivers and canals of the Netherlands were replaced by sledges."[32] Evliya witnessed the celebrations on the frozen Danube at Silistra, where people put up their tents and gathered to eat, drink, and do winter sports. In his account, he adds that the festival was already a custom, which became even more ample when it coincided with the *Bayram*, and the *Bayram* swings provided one of the great attractions of this festivity, inciting people to "pour onto the streets in a carnival of enjoyment."[33] Then, when spring arrived and the ice on the Danube began to break, an intendant from Istanbul rented fishing spots on the Danube (administered by the pasha of Silistra), and ordered the construction of a *dalyan*, in the age-old tradition from the Black Sea, Marmara Sea, and Aegean Sea dating from the pre-Byzantine era.[34] Over 2,000 laborers and several hundred craftsmen, *reaya*, from Wallachia and Moldavia, brought pine, oak, and hornbeam pillars from the woods of Galați, which they drove into the riverbed, starting on both sides of the Danube and working their way toward the middle, and then they welded a weir from vine branches. In the middle, they left a gate that only opened to allow the passing of ships (Fig. 16.4).

"By this gate, the intendant orders the construction of several lodgings and a coffee room, with interiors and exteriors that are worth seeing. He lives here, in this *serai*, with his one or two hundred men. The intendant has his special room by this strait, besides the *dalyan*."[35]

Evliya paints a similar picture a few years later at Chilia, once again amazed by the technique and the complexity of this temporary structure done and undone each year. Undoubtedly, such an experience was not something to be ignored by the hundreds of Romanians involved, and it provided an occasion for them to come into direct contact with coffee and the attendant customs. Evliya's story of the coffee room in the middle of the Danube thus confirms the widespread dissemination and non-elite consumption in the Ottoman Empire of this "drug," which, besides acting as a social catalyst in diverse settings, was thought to stimulate the mind

FIGURE 16.4　Map of the Dobrudja Plain, Istanbul, eighteenth century
BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞIVI DAIRE BAŞKANLIĞI, HRT.0044, IN VIRGIL COMAN, AHMET YENIKALE (EDS.), *DOBROGEA ÎN IZVOARE CARTOGRAFICE OTOMANE (SEC. XVI–XIX)*. BUCHAREST: EDITURA ETNOLOGICĂ, 2015. SCANNED IMAGE EDITED BY SERIOJA BOCSOK

and provide vigilance. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that the Romanians remained indifferent to any of these dimensions of coffee, beginning with the laborers of the *dalyan* and continuing with the merchants estimated by Evlyia to have made up a major part of Silistra's population. However, having knowledge of coffee, and even the experience of it, does not automatically imply its (public) acceptance.

Throughout Evliya's accounts of his travels around Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, he gives no

indication of coffee or coffeehouses, insisting rather on the cellars that sell wine, boza, various honey-based spirits, raki, Horelka, or Piva. In addition to the absence of any type of document that might attest to the presence of coffee or any of its associates prior to the 1660s, travelers' accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries challenge the assumption expressed by the Romanian historian Constantin Giurescu[36] that the first coffeehouses might have appeared as early as the sixteenth century in Bucharest, under the growing influence of Constantinople on the principalities. On the contrary, they corroborate Szántó's observation of the "early public consumption of coffee inside the Empire, and not outside its borders [...] [due to] the fact that coffee was still regarded as 'Islamic' at the time."[37] The religious association does seem to be the key factor in the matter, as coffee was being sold publicly in Crimea,[38] also a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, like Moldavia and Wallachia, but it was Islamic, unlike the other two principalities.

Traces of this perception appear as late as 1681, in a story related by Giovanni Battista de Burgo among the fragments of his travels from Moscow to Constantinople through Moldavia in the company of a group of Dutch merchants who owned a warehouse in Galați and had a correspondent in Chilia. The narrative concerns the exchange of gifts between the Dutch merchant leader and the agha in Neamț, in which the Dutch offered a kaftan lined with sable (*samur*) and the agha responded with wines and domestic animals and birds: "Then, the Calvinist Dutch gave order to separate the Turks and the Moldavians in two separate rooms and honored them according to their culture: the Turks were served coffee, sweet sherbets and a quarter of a *Scud*. And the Moldavians, as Christians, were served the strong wines that he had received from the Agha."[39]

It is difficult to estimate the attitudes and the patterns of consumption of the lower classes, but there is ample evidence that the elites of the principalities had been building their identities as border defenders of Christendom ever since the Ottomans had reached the Danube in the late fourteenth century. To them, these religious associations would have been a strong reason not to accept coffee—perceived as an "infidel" substance—before the rest of the Christian world, even if they might have been familiar with, and had easy access, to it.

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However, once the religious association faded and coffee reached the courts and the public realm of England, France, Italy, Holland, Germany, and so on, its penetration into the Romanian Principalities followed rapidly and intensely, becoming an important part of elite consumption in Wallachia soon after 1659–60, when the capital was moved from Târgoviște to Bucharest by Gheorghe Ghica. Originally a merchant of Albanian descent coming from Greece, from the village of Köprülü, same as the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmet Pasha (1656–61), Ghica had made his way up the court of Vasile Lupu in Moldavia (1634–53) and then as a *Kapikihaya* in Constantinople. After Mihnea Vodă's attacks on the Ottoman *reaya* of Giurgiu and Brăila in 1658 and 1659, Ghica took the throne of Wallachia with the support of the Sublime Porte. This represented the end of the long vacillation of Wallachian rulers between the residences of Târgoviște and Bucharest, usually driven by pro-Ottoman or pro-Christian choices, as well as by economic concerns or by personal preferences.[40]

Despite the economic hardship that confronted the entire country in 1660, a period of peace began in Bucharest, enabling the city to sustain economic, social, cultural and urban development; as a result, the city became an important center in Southeast Europe. During his visit in 1664, Evliya counts 12,000 houses, about 1,000 stalls with cellars, seven khans, and several custom houses, and two years later, he notes that "currently, this city is growing by the day."

Throughout the principalities, this was a time of advancement for crafts and commerce,—guilds were formalized—and the acknowledgment of personal virtues as markers of nobility (*blagorodie*) supported the gradual refinement of manners and the diffusion of politeness and civility. The cultural accumulations from the previous decades began to blossom, and the local aristocracy, rooted in the agrarian tradition, became aware of the refinements of the city in comparison with the countryside; the earliest testimony in this respect appears in a letter sent by the Moldavian boyar Ion Hăbășescul to Nicolae Buhuș around 1680, which laments their condition as "rustics."[41]

Benefiting from this urban energy, coffee managed to find its place within new infrastructural systems, though there is no indication of the extent to which it

contributed to the development of a meaningful foundation for the new cultural and intellectual relations between urbanites before the mid-eighteenth century. One effect that we are able to pinpoint, however, is the manner in which coffee changed the hospitality rituals at the courts of both Wallachia and Moldavia.

1   Coffee at the Courts of Wallachia and Moldavia

When the vicar-general of the archbishop of Sofia for Wallachia, Anton Stepančič, arrived in Bucharest to oversee the construction of a Catholic church during 1672 and 1677,[42] he recorded the duties of the cupbearer of the court, an officer who supervises sugar candies, sugar sherbet, coffee, spirits, and all the sweets, while wine still held a privileged position under the care of the high cupbearer.[43]

From a later account by Luigi Fernando Marsigli, we learn about the different functions of wine and coffee during a diplomatic visit at the court of Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714). In his report to Leopold I about his travels from Adrianople to Vienna through Wallachia and Transylvania in 1691, Marsigli writes that he was received with great honor at the princely court of Constantin Brâncoveanu, "in a beautiful room" where, behind closed doors, the prince assured him of his support for the emperor. This conversation was followed by the usual banquet, which included orthodox archbishops, as well as several court officers and boyars. They were served delicacies and expensive wines, all of which came from the country, and the music that announced each course—which was deemed rather pleasant in its diversity—was Christian, Turkish, and Persian. After the feast, the prince and Marsigli retired to another room, where they sat down on cushions laid on the floor, according to the Turkish custom, and talked for two hours over coffee and tobacco.[44]

Thus, in two decades, coffee managed to gain its rightful place in the cultural and social melting pot of Wallachia at the turn of the seventeenth century, which is described in detail by Anton Maria del Chiaro, "son of the late Signor Simon of Florence, instructor of Italian and Latin to the prince of Wallachia." He was the secretary of Constantin Brâncoveanu from 1709 until the prince's beheading in 1714, and subsequently continued his activity under Ștefan Cantacuzino (1714–16) and Nicolae Mavrocordat (1716) in the cultural landscape of the Orthodox cultural center of Bucharest at its turn to the Phanariot regime.[45]

Regarding the court banquets, del Chiaro writes that before the meal, guests were entertained by the host in his room, with spirits and water to wash their hands. After the meal, they returned to his room, where they again washed their hands and mouths with water brought in Turkish brass jugs from Saray in Bosnia. Coffee and tobacco pipes were brought for those who wished, and others might drink another glass of wine before coffee. A similar picture again appears during the Easter banquet at the court. Following the Sunday service, the prince and the patriarch went into the audience room, where they were joined by the other prelates, and they had coffee while waiting for the other seventy-eighty guests to arrive for the banquet.[46] The generalized use of coffee at Constantin Brâncoveanu's court is confirmed by a treasury inventory from July 7, 1696, which includes fifteen oca of coffee.[47]

According to del Chiaro, Brâncoveanu's predecessor Șerban Cantacuzino (1678–88) used coffee, sherbet, scents, and perfumed water to receive the Turks ("civilita consueta fra Turchi"). There is no indication whether this hospitality ritual entered the court as a special treatment for the Ottomans, but if this was the case, then it was rapidly extended to all the guests, no matter their culture or religion. Meanwhile, the other elites of Bucharest began to employ it as a luxury good for special occasions, such as a gift brought to the godparents' house for the ceremonial first haircut of a recently baptized child.[48]

The rapid integration of these practices might find its origins in the more general preference for a life of leisure and refinement, as promoted by Brâncoveanu and the Cantacuzinos. They appropriated the best fashions from both West and East, in architecture and urban planning, as well as in luxuries, such as fabrics, embroidery, carpets, furniture, and various objects, in an open field of aesthetic exploration and experimentation.

One eloquent example in this respect is the unique and intriguing church, Fundenii Doamnei, founded by Mihail Cantacuzino in 1699, on the shore of the Fundeni Lake along the Colentina River, near the orchards where, according to Evliya, Muslims and non-Muslims met to revel together (Fig. 16.5).

FIGURE 16.5 *Bathers in the Colentina River*, watercolor by Amedeo Preziosi, June 21, 1869
The original album of watercolors that is signed by Preziosi is in the Museum of Bucharest Fine Arts Collection [in Adrian-Silvan Ionescu, *Preziosi în România* (Noi Media Print, 2003)] Scanned image edited by Serioja Bocsok

Born from this spirit, the church is a combination of local tradition, Western Baroque, and Eastern ornament that samples the cultural and aesthetic advancements of the time, in full development of the Brâncoveanu architectural style. Mihail Cantacuzino's extensive visual culture was acquired during his studies in Constantinople and travels to Italy (Padua and Venice) and Asia Minor (to Jerusalem and Sinai). He shared Brâncoveanu's appreciation for the art of stucco, employed particularly to enrich the interiors of palaces or the prince's rooms in monasteries (like the Humor Monastery). Not far from the Fundenii Doamnei church, Evliya recorded a princely pavilion "made entirely of gypsum," a site for celebrations in the orchards on the Colentina River (Fig. 16.6). There is no visual trace of such a pavilion, or of any other constructions from that time, to give more context to the mesmerizing three-dimensional decoration of the church, filled with playful and uplifting recreations of the atmosphere of an Ottoman *köşk*, with fruits, fish, flowers, and cypresses, composed around a coffee table (Figs. 16.7 and 16.8). Older accounts mention that it used to be painted with cinnabar red, cobalt blue, and golden green,[49] colors that were commonly used in Turkish and Persian miniatures, ceramics, and other decorative arts at the time (Figs. 16.9 and 16.10).

G.M. Cantacuzino, the first modern architect to become interested in Fundenii Doamnei, in 1921, found that the atmosphere given by the ornaments recalled the Song of Solomon, which would suggest that it might

have been erected for a princely wedding.[50] Besides, an important celebration might have been the best pretext for transferring such lush ornamentation from the interior and the exterior, and from the secular to the ecclesiastical. The architect also observed the spontaneity with which the decoration might have been executed, thus supposing that the motifs must have been very familiar to the artists, who were able to translate them from miniatures or textiles into stucco and adapt or adjust them according to the Wallachian church façade's composition scheme. This does not automatically imply that the workers were Ottoman, given the amplitude of Brâncoveanu's support for cultivating local craftsmen. If this is the case, then the decoration can also be interpreted as a visual codification of what represented the "good life" in the eyes of the Wallachian elites at the time, penetrating the secular and the clerical realms.

We do not know when coffee was absorbed by the clerics, but to this day, the hospitality ritual in a monastery in Wallachia and Moldavia includes Turkish coffee and sugar sherbet or confectionary jam.

• • •

Around the same time, we find an indication that coffee had also made its way to the Moldavian court. During his travels to Turkey, Syria, and Greece, Cornelio Magni allegedly traveled to Moldavia in July and August of 1672, relating the story of how Mehmet IV was invited

FIGURE 16.6   South-east view, Fundenii Doamnei church, Bucharest
PHOTOGRAPH BY SERIOJA BOCSOK, MAY 2021

by Prince Gheorghe Duca for coffee at the palace on June 12, 1672 during his campaign against Poland.[51] There is no other record of this meeting, but the integration of coffee as a hospitality ritual at the court is plausible and additionally supported by Mehmet's trust in Prince Duca, whom he appointed Hetman of Ukraine in 1681 to reestablish order and to repopulate the abandoned towns on the right side of the Dnieper.[52]

In any case, the custom was well established by 1700, when Rafael Leszczynski arrived at Iași on his way back from the Sublime Porte for the ratification of the Carlowitz treaty. The envoy reached the Moldavian border on February 18, crossing the frozen Danube right before it began to melt. Ten days later, the mission was honored by the Moldavian prince Antioh Cantemir with a typical banquet, which lasted seven or eight

FIGURE 16.7 Stucco motifs, South facade, the köşk, Fundenii Doamnei church, Bucharest
PHOTOGRAPH BY SERIOJA BOCSOK, MAY 2021

FIGURE 16.8 Stucco motifs, South facade, Fundenii Doamnei church, Bucharest. Measured detail drawing, 1944
ARCHIVE OF THE "ION MINCU" UNIVERSITY OF ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN PLANNING BUCHAREST. IMAGE EDITED
BY SERIOJA BOCSOK

FIGURE 16.9   Carved motifs, Cakaloğlu Hanı Çeşmesi, Gaffarzade, Izmir
ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE KANÇAL-FERRARI, 2016; IMAGE EDITED BY SERIOJA BOCSOK

FIGURE 16.10   Motifs on exterior wall, Mosque in Berat, Albania
ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLE KANÇAL-FERRARI, 2014; IMAGE EDITED BY SERIOJA BOCSOK

hours. According to Leszczynski's relation, they drank wine for about three hours, raising each glass in the honor of someone: the king, Alexander the Great, and so on. Then Antioh subsequently requested some Polish music in order to please his younger brother Dimitrie Cantemir, as well as his guests. Before and after the banquet, Leszczynski and the prince retired to the back room, where they were served "coffee, sherbet, spirits, and perfumed water for the hands," and discussed the treaty and the mutual respect for the religions of the two countries.[53]

Traveling to Moldavia in 1708, Erasmus Heinrich Schneider von Weismantel also relates the rituals of the audience to Nicolae Mavrocordat, who sits on a high

chair dressed like a prince and with his head covered with a sable fur cap (*kučma*) that follows the Eastern customs. Next to the chair is a Turkish bench, upon which the guests always sat to drink coffee or sherbet[54]—similar to how this Turkish custom was also practiced on the northern Black Sea coast.

The same patterns of hospitality are recorded in the palace of Constantin Duca in Constantinople, which served as a waiting place for the imperial mission to the Sublime Porte for the Carlowitz treaty, comprised of Count Oettingen, president of the Aulic Council, Count Leopold von Schlick, commander in chief on the Theiss, with Colonel Count Luigi Marsagli as border commissioner, and Till, a member of the council of war, as secretary and protocolist. The journal of the Benedictine abbot Simperto, chaplain of the count of Oettingen, relates how Duca welcomed the envoy in a large hall arranged in the Turkish fashion and invited him to sit on a velvet armchair, while the prince sat on a cushion according to Turkish customs. They stayed for one hour and were served coffee, rose water, and nargileh (*Rauchwerk*) until the emissary (*çavuș*) arrived to escort them to the sultan for the hearing on February 13. The scene was repeated on their return on February 16, at which time the delegation was escorted by the emissary to the palace of the Moldavian prince, where they were received with "beautiful" confectionary, expensive wines, sherbet, coffee, and "Ambre-Rauch" and then honored with a seven-hour banquet.[55]

There are several other accounts reiterating this scene, which demonstrate the influence of Turkish customs on the rituals of the courts in Wallachia and Moldavia. Those practices resemble the ones described by the mission of Michael Teleki and Janos Papai at the pasha of Temesvár (Timișoara, in Banat) in 1709,[56] as well as the ones described by Michael Eneman, pastor of the Lutheran church in Constantinople, guest of the pasha of Ismail in 1709.[57] The changing manners at the courts follow the overall strengthening connections between the Romanian elites and the Sublime Porte, which were also reflected in the number of properties bought by various princes (Vasile Lupu, Gheorghe Duca, Șerban Cantacuzino, and Dimitrie Cantemir) and even boyars of lower ranks in Curu-Ceșme or Fanar. The same occurred along the road linking the Danube to Edirne and Istanbul, where these individuals took advantages

of the facilities offered by the sultan, who viewed this act as a guarantee of the owners' loyalty.[58]

Besides its obvious presence at the court, coffee entered the collective imaginary as a symbol of the political connections between the principalities and the Sublime Porte. Among the forty-two legends and oral histories gathered by the Moldavian chronicler Ion Neculce between 1732 and 1743, one tells about the *Logofăt* Ion Tăutu, who was sent to pay the tribute after the death of Ștefan cel Mare (Stephan the Great) in 1504, the emblem of the resistance against the Ottomans. After "submitting the country to the Turks," the legend says Tăutu was offered coffee ("cahfè") and, not knowing how to sip it, he raised the cup to "the Sultan and the Vizier" and drank it "like other drink."[59] Aurel Decei has already proven the anachronism of this tale, as Tăutu died in 1511, six years before Selim I first brought coffee to Constantinople as part of his booty from Egypt.[60] In fact, the legend is more relevant for the time in which it was disseminated—in the first half of the eighteenth century—during which period the country was discontented with the new Phanariot regime and the growing dominance, both political and cultural, of the Ottoman Empire over the principalities. It also speaks to the deep incorporation of coffee into the popular customs at the time, in which capacity it was "old" enough to become part of oral histories and contentious enough to be a pretext for irony.

Just as coffee attained an image as the seal of political submission, so too did it become the mark of independence through another story about the 1860 visit to the Sublime Porte by Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the first ruler of the united Wallachia and Moldavia—the modern state of Romania. The suite included Dimitrie Bolintineanu, named minister of foreign affairs the following year, who writes that the Ottoman officers brought them coffee cups with barely any liquid in them and that the one he received was completely empty.[61] Beyond Decei's interpretation of this gesture as a symbolic end to the Ottoman dominance over the now-united principalities, the story supports the common association between coffee and the cultural imports from the Ottomans, though in reality the principalities may not have accepted it before Western Europe. Interpreted in the broader context of relations to the Sublime Porte, these tales exemplify the ambivalent attitudes of the

principalities toward the Ottomans, perceived equally as an oppressor and a source of modernization.

2   The Public Consumption of Coffee

The earliest proof of the existence of a public coffee-house in Bucharest—as opposed to private uses at court—dates back to 1667. The establishment, which belonged to a former seaman from Topcapi called Kara Hamie, was in the center of the city, on land owned by the Cotroceni Monastery.[62] Upon Kara Hamie's death in 1691, his properties went to the public treasury, and the coffeehouse was bought by Ivaz for sixty-five lei,[63] who in turn gave it to the abbot of the monastery for thirty lei in 1693. It is difficult to estimate if there were any other coffeehouses at the time in Bucharest, or at which point they began to flourish.

Del Chiaro writes that: "In Wallachia there aren't restaurants (*osterie*) like in other countries in Europe, and especially in Italy, instead wine can be bought from underground taverns (*criccima*) kept by loose women [...] in an atmosphere of promiscuity and questionable morality."[64] As in most European countries, this rejection of establishments that sell wine or beer is indicative of a changing morality that required new settings and new aesthetics—spatial as well as gestural. In that capacity, coffee managed to create new spaces of alternative conviviality, not only in the new coffeehouses themselves but also by contaminating existing structures of daily life, such as fairs or public baths. The initial vendors of coffee in the market, and the keepers of coffee rooms inside the public baths, were Jews, Turks, and Armenians, but they were later joined by Romanian coffeehouse keepers, like Oprea *cafegiul* (the coffee-maker), who is documented in December 1741 as having moved his coffeehouse to a more central and larger shop; Gheorghe *cafegiul* is recorded in February 1734, while Stanciu *cafegiul* is recorded in June 1746, and Ion *cafegiul* in June 1755.[65] The business very likely grew under the Phanariot rule, which began in 1715, especially given the influx of men of letters from Greece, as well as Armenian, Jewish, Greek, and Turkish merchants, who sold coffee, sugar, spices, textiles, and Persian rugs, mainly originating in Constantinople.[66]

Nonetheless, evidence that coffeehouses became places of social or political disturbance prior to the mid-eighteenth century have yet to be identified. The reaction of the rulers is usually a strong indication of the power of coffeehouses to foster debate and the rise of public opinion, demonstrated by the repeated bans on coffeehouses, boza houses, and wine houses in the Ottoman Empire. There, the first such ban was passed a few years before 1600, and became a recurring act in the following centuries, as Cemal Kafadar describes: "Coffeehouses within that half-century between the chronogram and the letters of Koca Sinan Pasha turned into places where political matters were debated, negotiated, or subjected to myriad diversions and subversions [...] What is banned, in other words, is people congregating (outside the licit forms of congregating for religious ritual); coffeehouses are simply a superb venue for that dangerous habit."[67]

On the contrary, the earliest known ban on coffeehouses in Wallachia dates from September 1, 1782, when Nicolae Caragea ordered the agha to take measures against those who spoke against the ruler, also to stop the rumors and political debates in coffeehouses.[68] The following bans belonged to Nicolae Mavrogheni, in 1787 and again in 1789, with the very same purpose of ebbing the tide of gossip that originated in and spread among the coffeehouses. Indeed, the French merchant Hortolan, who settled in Bucharest with his partner Pellet and his employee Jeaume, records that coffeehouses were filled with Polish, Hungarians, and Greeks who came from nearly everywhere; they were deemed mostly revolutionaries, *des sans-culottes*, who participated in Romanian translation of the Human Rights Act.[69]

Besides the dominant presence of foreigners, the quick ascension of the coffeehouse in Bucharest toward the end of the eighteenth century was also supported by the lowering prices of coffee. The price of an *oca* dropped from the equivalent of eight and a half days of field labor in 1793 to five days of field labor in 1836, and then to less than three days of labor in 1858.[70] Moreover, the earliest mention of the guild of coffee-makers only appears after 1788.[71]

It took a century for the administration of Wallachia to worry about these venues of sociability, and this only occurred around the time of the French Revolution,

when the entire international scene was already fermenting. Additionally, Constanța Ghițulescu remarks that the edicts given by Caragea are very similar to those passed by the sultans,[72] which corroborates the assumption that the bans enforced by the Romanian rulers might have been prompted, or at the very least inspired, by the recurring edicts in the Ottoman Empire.

Hence, the chronology of the public consumption of coffee seems to confirm theories about the delayed and feeble development of the public sphere in the principalities, while also demonstrating that there were precedents that catalyzed the overall leap toward modernization: reticently before the 1700s, insidiously in the eighteenth century, and more determined after the 1830s.

One hypothesis at the origin of this essay was that the official arrival of coffee in the principalities occurred only after the West accepted it. Indeed, the first European coffeehouse opened in Oxford in 1650, and we have seen that, in all likelihood, coffee was still not sold publicly in 1657 in the principalities, but a coffeehouse was already recorded ten years later in Bucharest. If nothing more, the arrival of coffee in the principalities was part of the overall refinement of spaces, objects, arts, and the body, with aesthetics that verify the conceptualized image of this region as "a sort of halfway house between the 'Occident' and the 'Orient'":[73]

"Come and enjoy the company of coffee in the places of its habitation; for the Divine Goodness envelops those who partake of its feast.

There the elegance of the rugs, the sweetness of life, the society of the guests, all give a picture of the abode of the blest."[74]

The narrative of its rapid integration into the diplomatic and private life of the elites confirms the fluidity of cultural exchanges that were occurring among these marginal territories, where borders vigorously display their dual nature as political and military dividers as well as cultural, economic, and social connecters. Their king, the Danube, was not only a symbolic anchor in the Romanian leaders' self-representation as "defenders of Christendom" but also a lenient margin between Wallachia and the Ottoman Empire, traversed apace by the enjoyment of coffee.

Notes

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3 Nicolae Iorga, *Peisagii* (Cluj: Dacia, 1972), 95–96.

4 Elena Didia Odorica Sevastos, *Călătorii prin Țara Românească* [Travels through Wallachia] (Iași: Tipografia Națională, 1888), 21st letter, 133.

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6 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* (Istanbul, 1896–1938), trans. Mustafa Ali Mehmet, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. 6 (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1976).

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16　David T. Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

17　G. Simmel, "The Web of Group-Affliations," in *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, trans. Reinhard Bendix (New York, NY: Free Press, 1955), 137.

18　Bogdan Murgescu and Florin Bonciu, "Consideraţii asupra abordării mondiale a proceselor istoricoeconomice," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «A.D. Xenopol»—Iaşi* 30 (1993): 541.

19　Pompiliu Eliade, *De l'influence française sur l'esprit public en Roumanie, Les Origines* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1898).

20　Verbal communication from Nicole Kançal-Ferrari.

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36　Constantin Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până în zilele noastre* (Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1967), 326.

37　Szántó, *Safavid Art*, 82.

38　Evliya mentions coffee shops in Caffa, Bahçesaray, and other towns on the peninsula.

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41　Violeta Barbu, *De bono coniugali. O istorie a familiei din Țara Românească în secolul al XVII-lea* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 2003); Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri, scrisori de domni* (Vălenii de Munte: Datina românească: 1925), lxi.

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48   Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle modern revoluzioni*, 77, 138.

49   Corina Popa and Dumitru Năstase, *Biserica Fundenii Doamnei* (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1969).

50   G.M. Cantacuzino, "Fundenii Doamnei," in *Boabe de grâu* (March 3, 1931), 151–54.

51   Cornelio Magni, *Quanto di più curioso, e vago hà potuto raccorre Cornelio Magni nel primo biennio da esso consumato in viaggi, e dimore per la Turchia* (Parma: Galeazzo Rosati, Alberto Pazzoni, e Paolo Monti, 1679–92).

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53   *Legatia illustrissimi Raphaelis Leszczyński*, 1700, manuscript 523 of the Czartoryski Library in Cracow; cited in P.P. Panaitescu, trans., *Călători poloni în Țările Române* (Bucharest: Cultura Națională, 1930): 79–119.

54   Samuel Ebbe Bring, *E.H. Weismantells dagbok, 1709–1714* [*historischer Extract auss meinem gehaltenen Compagnie Journal*], Historiska handlingar 28, 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1928), 70.

55   Simpertus von Neresheim, *Diarium, oder ausführliche curiose Reiß-Beschreibung von Wien nach Constantinopel und von dar wieder zurück in Teutschland, des Herrn Wolfgang, Grafens zu Oettingen …* (Augsburg, 1701; Oettingen: Lohsens, 1735); translated in Holban, *Călători străini* [Foreign travelers], vol. 8: 147–156.

56   Gróf Teleki Mihály és Pápai János Nándorfehérvári követségi naplója, ed. Thaly Kálmán (Budapest: Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores, vol. 27, 1875); translated in Holban, *Călători străini* [Foreign travelers], 8: 252–255.

57   Carl Uno Nylander, *Resa i Orienten 1711–1712* by Michael Eneman (Upsala: Schultz, 1889), trans. Constantin Karadja, in *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* 6, nos. 10–12 (octobre–décembre 1929): 365–372.

58   I. Panait, "Proprietăți ale Cantacuzinilor români la Istanbul," paper presented at the Romanian-American Colloquium *Cotrocenii în istorie*, Bucharest, July 15–17, 1993.

59   Ion Neculce, *O samă de cuvinte* (1743), x.

60   Aurel Decei, "Logofătul Tăutu nu a băut cafea," *Magazin istoric* 6, no. 63 (June 1972): 58; see also Mihai Maxim, "Istanbul în epoca lui Soliman Magnificul," *Magazin istoric* 9, no. 126 (September 1977): 46.

61   Dimitrie Bolintineanu, "Călătoria Domnitorului Romînilor la Constantinopol," in *Proză* 1 (Iași: Editura Librăriei școalelor Frații Șaraga, 1895): 192.

62   Gheorghe Ionnescu-Gion, *Istoria Bucurescilor* (Bucharest: Stabilimentul Grafic I.V. Socecu, 1899), 690.

63   George Potra, *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului București 1634–1800* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1982).

64   Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle modern revoluzioni*, 39–42.

65   Potra, *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului București 1594–1821*.

66   Del Chiaro, *Istoria delle modern revoluzioni*, 110.

67   Kafadar, "How Dark," 252–54.

68   Gheorghe Parusi, *Cronologia Bucureștilor* (Bucharest: Compania, 2007).

69   Documente Privitoare la Istoria Românilor—colecția Hurmuzaki, supl. 1, vol. 3 (Bucuresci, 1893): 95–101.

70   Irina Stahl, "Le café au croisement des deux mondes. Exemple d'une acculturation volontaire dans la ville de Bucarest au XIXème siècle," *Ethnologia Balkanica* 15 (2011): 63–92.

71   Ionnescu-Gion, *Istoria Bucurescilor*, 132.

72   Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *Patimă și desfătare. Despre lucrurile mărunte ale vieții cotidiene în societatea românească 1750–1860* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2015), 304.

73   Alan Dingsdale, *Mapping Modernities: Geographies of Central and Eastern Europe, 1920–2000* (London: Routledge, 2002), 26.

74   "Coffee Companionship," *c.*1511, collection of verses in Abd-al-Kâdir's manuscript [1587], Bibliothéque Nationale de France, Paris, "Arabe, 4590," in Ukers, *All About Coffee*, 544.

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On the Road to the "New Empire"

The Afterlife of Roman and Byzantine Porphyry and the White Marble Tradition in Central Europe during the Early Modern Era

Michał Wardzyński

The three centuries of the early modern era found the Balkans and the southern part of Central Europe in a state of tremendous geopolitical crisis, destructive military conflicts, and the related revision of state borderlines. The process was preceded by fundamental changes, most importantly the extinction of the successive local dynasties: the Trpimirovićs in Croatia (1091); the Babenbergs in Austria (1246); the Árpáds in Hungary (1301); the Přemyslids in Bohemia (1306); the Piasts in Poland (1370), whose thrones and states became a battling field with the French Angevins (from 1290); the German Luxembourgs (from 1310); and the Wittelsbachs, the Lithuanian-Polish Jagiellons (from 1385). Ultimately, in the early sixteenth century, all the aforementioned dynasties were succeeded by the Habsburgs (from 1526 in Hungary, Croatia, and Bohemia under Emperor Ferdinand I), with the continued influence of "national" rulers—Matthias Corvinus (1443–90) being the most prominent among them. All of these new dynasties sought to legitimize their reign among the social elite of each respective state by exercising measures that included deliberately continuing their predecessors' patronage.[1] First and foremost was the construction or renovation of the grand royal gravestones of the Přemyslids, the Árpáds, and the Piasts, funded by Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg at Hradčany in Prague (post 1352–70) and by the Angevins in Székesfehérvár and at Wawel in Krakow (1370–82).[2] This deliberate policy contributed to the *longue durée* of a medieval artistic tradition from the Middle Ages during the early modern era. The far-reaching repercussions of the Ottoman invasions of Serbia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina (during the reign of Sultan Mehmet II, 1459–81), and Hungary (during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, 1526–66), compounded by the death of King Louis II Jagiellon in 1526 during the Battle of Mohács and the subsequent collapse of the kingdom, as well as the

transformation of neighboring Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania (1541) into Turkish dependencies, affected the entire European region in question and involved all the bordering countries both diplomatically and militarily. These events also represent a watershed in the history of the region's early modern art and culture. The subsequent conflicts over a united Hungary between loyalists gathered around the Habsburgs and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire on the one hand and the national faction supporting the efforts of John and John Sigismund of the Zápolya dynasty (1526–71) and, in turn, the successive princes of Transylvania on the other, were brought to an end by the victorious Battle of Vienna in 1683 and the War of the Holy League (1684–99), which resulted in the reunification of Hungary under the reign of the Habsburgs. Simultaneously, Dalmatia and the Mediterranean became a theater of hostilities between the Venetian Republic and the Ottomans, causing the former to undergo a progressive economic and political decline beginning in the early eighteenth century, which the Habsburgs took advantage of.

Given these fraught sociopolitical conditions, construction and artistic projects were only possible during brief intervals of peace and relative prosperity. A major breakthrough in victorious Austria under Emperor Leopold I, as well as in Croatia, Dalmatia, and Upper Hungary occurred only in the 1680s and 1690s, and Baroque marble sculpture began to flourish only in the eighteenth century.[3] From early on, the scope and dynamics of stone carving were determined by the type of material used and the accessibility of its source, whether directly from quarrying sites or indirectly via affordable and convenient modes of transportation. Careful scrutiny of the entire sculpture production in the Balkans and Hungary between the thirteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century demonstrates that figural works were sculpted from two groups

of ornamental rock available throughout the region: reddish nodular limestone[4] and white and whitish marble and tight limestone.[5] This essay concentrates on the circulation of these materials and the shifting iconographic associations associated with them and their availability in these regions. Since early modern empires always looked back to previous empires for legitimation and symbolic devices, not only forms but also the selection of stone for dynastic monuments became laden with meaning. At the crossroads between red (local) limestone and white (Mediterranean) marble, the dynasties bordering the Danube fashioned varying narratives.

1 Porphyry and Red Stone

These materials were first quarried in the second century AD when the Roman provinces of Pannonia and Noricum on the Danube, Tardos near Esztergom,[6] and Adnet near the future city of Salzburg (Roman Iuvavum)[7]—all of which were located in the immediate vicinity of the Danube and Salzach Rivers—witnessed the commencement of quarrying of local deposits. These produced red varieties of Jurassic nodular limestone of the *ammonitico rosso* type and conglomerates,[8] which due to their lively color and easy carving—they were treated as marble by contemporaries—were perfectly suited for figural and architectural sculpture. Due to their visual properties, mainly color and texture, this stone could be considered a local equivalents of African porphyry,[9] which enjoyed an elite status in the Roman Empire and was customarily reserved for the imperial family from the first century AD.[10] Concurrently with Tardos and Adnet, the quarrying of white and whitish marble was launched by the Romans at Laas (Lasa) and Sterzing in South Tyrolia (the Roman province of Raetia)[11] and at Sölk in Styria,[12] while several varieties of light-beige Jurassic limestone were quarried at Untersberg (Fürstenbrunn) near Salzburg.[13] All of these materials could successfully imitate the famous white Apuan marble from Carrara, hardly available on the Danube, which was commonly used in the buildings and sculptures of Ancient Rome from the second century BC. In Istria and Dalmatia the same function was fulfilled by whitish-beige Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone present along the coast of the Adriatic Sea, which was obtained from the quarries between Rovinj and Poreč from the area of Trogir and the isles of Brač

and Hvar.[14] In subsequent centuries, the region supplied significant quantities of construction and ornamental stone to Venice[15] and several other Italian cities on the Adriatic coast: Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ancona.

The scale of the exploitation of the individual quarries depended on the fame of the stone which they supplied, and of course, on transportation costs. Owing to the sheer tonnage of the blocks, water transport (by sea or by river) had been preferred since antiquity. In both cases, transfers of shipments occurred at selected strategic sites, including major ports, such as Venice, Trieste, Pula, and Ragusa, or at the bifurcation of the main rivers at Passau, Linz, Vienna, Hainburg, and Esztergom. The great popularity of the aforementioned materials depended also on the unique features of the drainage basin of the Danube and other rivers of the Balkans and the southern part of Central Europe. In the west, these waterways ran in a latitudinal direction as determined by the lines of the consecutive ranges of Alpine and Dinaric Alps formations, and in a largely longitudinal direction in the northern and eastern regions (with their upper reaches curving eastwards) due to the Carpathian arc and the location of the Apuseni Mountains (in the Western Romanian Carpathians). The sea and river ports involved in the economy of stone were also the starting points for overland transport of materials and finished works. These continued north, for example from Passau to Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate, or from Hainburg and Esztergom down the Morava and Gron Rivers to Moravia[16] and across the depression of the Moravian Gate or the Carpathian passes to Krakow in the province of Lesser Poland, and further into Poland.[17] Elite gravestones and marble epitaphs from the famous South German studios at Solnhofen and Eichstätt, as well as those produced by Netherlandish and Italian masters based in Gdańsk (Danzig) and Krakow were sent in the opposite direction, southwards or southeastwards, to the Balkans and Upper Hungary and to Transylvania, down the Danube or up the Polish Vistula and San Rivers respectively and then across the mountain passes of the Carpathians.[18] For example, the epitaphs commissioned in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century for four Transylvanian princes of the Báthory, Bethlen, and Rákóczi dynasties, and which were destined for the cathedral in Gyulaféhérvar (modern-day Alba Iulia in Transylvania),[19] are unprecedented in the region for the length and logistic complexity of the route covered.

The Ottoman conquest and the ultimate collapse of Hungary after 1541 disrupted a centuries-old tradition, as the great quarries at Tardos, Piszke, and Siklós near Pécs became part of an Ottoman pashalik. The Italian Renaissance workshops that had been operating in the region were accordingly forced to move to the neighboring countries. Beginning in the 1540s, efforts were made in Upper Hungary (ruled by the Habsburgs) to compensate for the deficit of limestone from Tardos (and from Siklós on a local scale) with local replacements from Marmon near Stará Ľubovňa in the Polish Spiš region,[20] in Borzova near Košice (present Slovakia),[21] and from the quarry in Novosielitza near Tachov on the Tisza River (present-day Ukraine),[22] then part of the Principality of Transylvania. Until the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century the production originating from those centers, which were located mainly in the mountains with inadequate access to a navigable network of rivers, was targeted mainly at local clients in Upper Hungary and Poland, particularly in Krakow and Lvov in Ruthenia. In contrast to those peripheral regions, in the areas closer to Austria and the metropolitan city of Vienna, Tardos limestone was replaced by analogous reddish stone from Adnet and from Kramsach in Tyrolia and from Spital am Pyhrn in Styria as early as the 1530s and 1540s, a phenomenon that coincided with the first imports of whitish limestone from Untersberg (Fürstenbrunn) and Solnhofen. Quantities of limestone were floated to Vienna and Pozsony (Pressburg, present-day Bratislava) down the Altmühl, Salzach, Inn, and Danube Rivers. The new masonry-sculpture tradition nurtured by South German and Austrian artists and craftsmen was preserved here as late as the close of the seventeenth century.[23]

The aforementioned supremacy of reddish, and to a much lesser extent whitish, ornamental stone in Hungary and in the neighboring states of Central Europe in the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries was not simply a matter of the geological structure of the area in question or of the accessibility of the specific "marble" varieties described. The imperial preference for red limestone from Tardos, Adnet, and other locations within the context of figural and ornamental sculpture was profoundly semantic, closely tied to the symbolic value of red and purple. As early as the Egyptian Ptolemaic dynasty, these colors had been identified with the holy fire of the cult of deities and the holy blood of the reigning family, and more broadly, with the universal symbol of holiness

and inviolability of dynastic power. The first mausoleum crafted in this precious material was thought to have been the second tomb of Alexander the Great in Alexandria, known as Mnema, built in c.215 AD by the Ptolemy II Philadelphus, King of Egypt.[24] In the elite (albeit puritan) patrician circles of the senate in republican Rome, porphyry gradually acquired new meaning as a symbol of luxury and success, which, in conjunction with the ostentatious political propaganda of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero ultimately gave rise to an association between the color purple and the figure of the emperor. Purple was similarly representative of the state cult, and the emperor as an absolute ruler and deity, values that were already developed in the Roman Empire's heyday during the reigns of the Antonines, Trajan, and Hadrian, and subsequently, the rulers of the Syrian (Severan) dynasty.[25] Emperor Constantine I the Great is credited with introducing a new official meaning for purple as part of a religious reform movement and the granting of privileges to Christians, and the color was subsequently associated with senior clergy, pertaining to the hierarchies of the state apparatus of the empire. Gradually, purple began to be symbolically linked to the torments and the royal blood of the crucified Christ, an interpretation that was fueled by early Christian theologians.[26] Beginning with Constantine's reign, all successive emperors in Rome, Milan, and Ravenna, as well as Nicomedia and Byzantium (Constantinople) decorated all state and public structures that they commissioned with porphyry. In addition, porphyry became the principal material in which statues and other imperial likenesses were cut.[27]

Following the demise of the Western empire, the Roman and Byzantine color purple and porphyry—with its abundant elitist political and religious meanings—became the symbol of antiquity and the lofty political legacy of Rome. It was thus an ideal artistic tool in the *renovatio Imperii* process between the fourth and tenth centuries and mirrored the case of Carrara marble, which experienced a similar popularity. Pretenders—conscious of the importance of elitist trappings in legitimizing and sacralizing a new monarch's authority—exploited these associations of the material, which was also used by the Rome-crowned Emperors Otto I the Great and Otto II in Magdeburg Cathedral,[28] as well as by Henry VI and Frederic II of Hohenstaufen and King Roger II of Sicily in Palermo, who created

their own mausoleums in those locations with the use of numerous porphyry *spolia* originating mainly from Rome: sarcophagi, columns, and architectural details.[29]

Two hundred years later, this tradition was reprised by the consecutive rulers of the Holy Roman Empire from the new Habsburg dynasty in their own prestigious artistic initiatives: Frederick III, crowned in Rome by Pope Nicholas V as the last ruler of the Reich, and his son Maximilian I. One of the core ideas favoring the legitimation of Frederic—an heir of the Wittelsbachs and Luxembourgs, who had previously ruled the Reich and, temporarily, Bohemia and Hungary—was an emphasis on the special family connections with the distinguished twelfth-century Swabian dynasty of the Hohenstaufen. The most significant material expression of those efforts was the commission given in 1467 to Niclaus Gerhaert van Leyden, then famous across the Reich, to craft his monumental marble tomb in Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral. The project was to be carried out in the characteristic *Rot-grau Scheck* conglomerate from Adnet, and its sophisticated architectural and sculptural program made indirect references to porphyry forms of imperial sarcophagi in Rome, Constantinople, and Palermo. Maximilian I, in turn, is credited with entrusting Hans Valkenauer of Salzburg in 1514 with the construction of a unique tholos-shaped tomb in the cathedral of Speyer, a red-marble imperial monument intended to simulate porphyry, which commemorated the rulers of the Reich buried in the imperial vault situated under the cathedral's floor.[30] The private commemorative foundations of the individual lines of the Habsburg dynasty once again exploited the iconography of imperial porphyry at the close of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century in the consecutive mausoleums of the three different lines of the dynasty—in Innsbruck (Archduke Ferdinand III of Tyrolia),[31] in the Escorial (Emperor Charles V and King Philip II),[32] and in Graz (Archduke Charles II of Styria)[33]—where local "marble" equivalents from Adnet, Kramsach, Tirol, and Espejón were used to imitate porphyry.

Concurrent with the imperial foundations during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the reception of porphyry and red marble as both concept and material experienced a dramatic rise in the Kingdom of Hungary. The origins of that process can be traced to the aftermath of the highly prestigious marriage between the future King Béla II Árpád of Magyars and Croatia and the Antiochian Princess Anna de Chatillon, the younger sister of Mary,

Emperor John I Komnenos's wife, celebrated sometime between 1168 and 1172 in Constantinople. The queen brought many elements of Byzantine imperial ceremonial to the Hungarian court. The propaganda associated with the couple's reign, which consciously exploited artistic means to express their power and glorify their dynasty, coincided with the commencement of the most intense mining of limestone at Tardos, which soon earned the title of "royal stone," thus deliberately alluding to imperial porphyry.[34] The material reached the peak of its popularity in the latter half of the fifteenth century and in the early sixteenth century under the reign of Matthias Corvinus, who possessed high political ambitions as well as sophisticated artistic sensibilities drawn from his deep humanistic learning. He extended his patronage to several renowned Renaissance masters from Italy and Dalmatia, including Ivan Duknovič (Giovanni Dalmata) (active in Buda from 1488–90),[35] Giorgio di Lorenzo,[36] and the Fiorentino brothers. Under the aegis of Ladislaus II Jagiellon, a proposal to erect a monumental *all'antica* column in Buda Castle finally materialized around 1520 to commemorate his famous predecessor. The porphyry column of Emperor Constantine I the Great, erected on his eponymous forum in Byzantium, provides a clear model for that intervention.[37]

The prestigious "royal stone" began to be more commonly used in art and architecture throughout the vast territory of the Kingdom of Hungary only around 1500 thanks to numerous works crafted in the Esztergom workshop of Giovanni Fiorentino. The artist garnered fame by executing an excellent chapel of the Primate of Hungary Tamás Bakócz in Esztergom (see fig. 17.1)[38] as well as a number of works in Buda Castle, while simultaneously crafting numerous gravestones, *sacraria*, altars, and architectural details for a range of clients across Zagreb in Croatia, Upper Hungary, and Transylvania.[39] Fiorentino is also associated with the origins of a Renaissance stylistic mode in the Polish city of Krakow, where his younger brother Francesco (d. 1516) was admitted to the royal service.[40] Afterwards, the position of the chief builder and sculptor of Sigismund I Jagiellon was taken over by another collaborator with Giovanni Fiorentino and Andrea di Piero Ferrucci from Buda and Esztergom, Bartholomeo Berrecci da Pontassieve from Florence, the author of Sigismund's Chapel.[41] The red "royal stone" used in this remarkable mausoleum clearly proclaims the Jagiellons as the sovereign rulers

process, however, was gradual and multifaceted, and its protagonist was Venice, the most important recipient of the material in the Adriatic and the center of trade and processing in the region. The Venetians' extensive trade networks across the Mediterranean Sea guaranteed the low cost of the marble's sea freight from the dispatching ports of Pisa, Genoa, and Livorno.[43] The republic's political control over Istria and the Dalmatian coast during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries soon resulted in the exchange of both stone and artists and craftsmen, thus permanently incorporating Pola (Pula), Fiume (Rijeka), Zara (Zadar), Sebenico (Šibenik), Spalato (Split), the maritime Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Perast, Cattaro, and Durazzo (in today's Albania) into the orbit of Renaissance art and culture on the Italian Peninsula, especially in Venetian and Florentine circles. It must be noted, however, that renowned artists such as Georgius Matthei Dalmaticus (Giorgio Dalmata),[44] Niccoló di Giovanni Fiorentino (see fig. 17.2)[45] and Ivan Duknovič (Giovanni Dalmata)[46] and the like did not use Carrara marble, instead making recourse to the wealth of the highly accessible local deposits of Istrian stone (a whitish limestone). The first Venetian imports featuring marble from the Italian Alps accordingly arrived in the region only in the mid-seventeenth century.[47]

The presence of talented sculptors from Venice and Florence and their local imitators in fifteenth-century Dalmatia greatly influenced the development of the early Renaissance in the Kingdom of Hungary. The artists who arrived in Buda and Esztergom from the Adriatic in the closing years of the sixteenth century included Ivan Duknovič from Trogir, Gregorio di Lorenzo (see fig. 17.3), the Fiorentino brothers, and Andrea di Piero Ferrucci, all of whom brought a taste for Carrara marble to the court of King Matthias Corvinus.[48] Such efforts were accompanied by the purchase of ancient sculpture and fragments made of the same material for royal collections, as well as by prestigious commissions from Andrea del Verocchio, the most lauded Florentine master of the day.[49] These artists determined the style of the Hungarian Renaissance until 1526, indirectly affecting its further growth in Poland and Upper Hungary until the seventeenth century.

It is worth noting, however, that prior to the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century, the presence of Carrara marble in the capital cities of Vienna and Prague was predominantly incidental, and its scarce

FIGURE 17.1   Giovanni Fiorentino's workshop, Primate Tamás Bakócz's funerary chapel, general view of the altar niche, cathedral, Esztergom/Gran (Hungary), 1507–9. *Marmo ammonitico rosso* of Tardos (interior), *marmo statuario* of Carrara (altar)
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2009

of Poland—a political message that makes reference to antiquity and the Roman Empire, thus invoking the family's most important foundations. The choice of this particular material for the royal gravestone influenced the assimilation of Italian Renaissance and mannerist sculpture throughout the country until the latter half of the seventeenth century.[42]

2   White Stone and Marble

In the western Balkans and historic Hungary, the early modern period witnessed the beginning of the importation and dynamic growth of the artistic use of the famed Apuan marble from Massa di Carrara. The

FIGURE 17.2   Andrea Alessi and Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino with workshops, Chapel of the Blessed
Giovanni Orsini, Trogil Cathedral, 1468-88, Trogir/Trau (Dalmatia/Croatia)
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2014

FIGURE 17.3
Giorgio di Lorenzo, attr., Madonna with the Child,
(Báthori Madonna), 1526. Magyar Nemzeti Gáleria,
Budapest, Hungary. Dalmatian whitish limestone
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2011

examples—dedicated to members of the political elite of the Habsburg monarchy—represent imports from outside of Austria dating to as late as the latter half of the seventeenth century and the early seventeenth century. The basic materials intended to imitate Carrara marble in figural sculpture were the whitish limestone from Solnhofen (the work of Loy Hering from Eichstätt)[50] and Untersberg, which German and Italian-Swiss masters from Salzburg (see fig. 17.4), Linz, and Vienna, typically combined with limestone from Adnet, Kramsach, and other locations in Tyrolia to produce a bicolored whitish-red range of materials.[51]

As heirs to the throne of Corvinus and the Jagiellons in Hungary and Bohemia, the Habsburgs inherited this tradition—fundamental to the history of culture and sculpture in the early modern period—of utilizing "antique" white marble to promote their own imperial power and dynasty. This tradition, however, emerged

only in the early 1560s, in the form of designs to erect two marble mausoleums of the emperors Maximillian I at the Hofkirche in Innsbruck (see fig. 17.5) and Ferdinand I in Prague's cathedral. As the attempts to purchase Carrara marble in Italy had failed, the Netherlandish sculptor Alexander Colijn of Mechelen—then the court sculptor of the Tyrolian capital—decided to use South Tyrolean marble from Laas (Lasa) instead. The worked blocks intended for the latter memorial were floated from there down the Inn River to the Danube and to Passau, from which they were transported to Prague on special sleighs in winter.[52] In the 1580s and 1590s, Colijn and the Italian-Swiss sculptor Sebastiano Carlone, employed by the Styrian line of the Habsburgs, used the same variety of marble in the four mausoleums of the archdukes of the same dynasty in Innsbruck and Seckau in Styria.[53]

The very same preference for the use of "antique" white marble for the funerary monuments of crowned

FIGURE 17.5   Alexander Colijn of Mechelen and workshop, sarcophagus of Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg, Hofkirche, 1563–83, Innsbruck, Austria. Black homogenic limestone of Dinant, white marble of Laas (Lasa) in Tirol and a reddish limestone of Kramsach.
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2012

rulers can also be traced to the eastern part of Hungary, a region ruled by the "national" kings from the Zápolya dynasty. For instance, the mannerist tombstones of John I's wife Isabella Jagiellon and their son John Sigismund in the capital cathedral in Gyuláféhérvar (Alba Iulia) in Transylvania were cut in the local white-grey marble quarried in Gyergyószárhegy (Lazarea).[54] In the case of other memorials from the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, local artists—led by the Netherlandish artist Elias Nicolai—made do with less expensive whitish alabaster from Poland's Podolia and locally available limestone and sandstone, which were richly polychromed and gilded.[55]

The year 1683—during which the empire and Poland emerged as victors in the battles of Vienna and Párkány (Esztergom)—marks the major turning point in the history of quarrying and the artistic use of the Hungarian "royal stone" and white marble in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy. As early as 1686, Buda and the area of the Gerecse Mountains with Tardos were ultimately recaptured due to the offensive of the Austrian army, allowing for the resumption of quarrying and the regional trading of the material shortly thereafter; indeed, in 1689 and 1700–01 shipments to Krakow and other destinations were already on their way.[56] As a result of the general changes in Central European Baroque art, which developed dynamically from the end of the Thirty Years' War under the obvious influence of papal Rome and Venice, the conceptual resonance of the "royal stone" dissipated, and the material accordingly never regained its former position in the creation of figural sculpture. Foremost among these shifts were the inspiration of white marble sculpture of the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic,[57] the political supremacy of the Habsburgs in the entire region by the late seventeenth century, and last but not least the overwhelming influence of the political idea of absolutism derived from the Versailles court of Louis XIV.[58]

By that point, the main capitals of the region—Vienna, Prague, and Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava)—had witnessed the dominance of white marble sculpture inspired by the tradition of antiquity. Its equivalent in the domestic sphere was precious ivory.[59] That fundamental change was credited to the South Tyrolean artist Paul Strudel (d. 1708), who was appointed to the position of court sculptor of the emperors Leopold I and Joseph I.

FIGURE 17.6   Paul Strudel, bust of Emperor Leopold I of Habsburg, c. 1690–95, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. White marble of Laas (Lasa) in Tirol
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2017

Strudel was the brother of the renowned painter Peter and the cofounder of the first private Academy of Fine Arts in Habsburg-reigned territories, which was modeled on the professional and scientific society of St. Luke in Rome and the Royal Academy in Paris. Inspired by Bernini's work, Strudel, together with other renowned sculptors employed at the court of Vienna, including Matthias Rauchmiller from Rhineland and Matthias Steinl from the area around Salzburg, restored white marble from Laas (Lasa)—a material with which he was closely familiar in Tyrolia, where it constituted the basic medium of figural and portrait sculpture (see fig. 17.6).[60] It reached Vienna by means of wheeled transport across the Brenner or Reschen passes to Innsbruck and then down the Inn and Danube Rivers. An especially notable achievement in this context is the famous Apotheosis of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1718–21), carved in a block of

Carrara marble by Balthasar Permoser, of Salzburg origin but active in Saxon Dresden. The block was transported from Amsterdam and down the Elbe River,[61] which in the seventeenth century represented the greatest center of trade in Carrara marble across Central Europe and Scandinavia.[62]

Carrara marble began to be regularly supplied to Vienna as late as the 1710s, which came as a result of a stylistic shift in the court of Charles VI (r. 1711–40). As a result, a number of renowned Venetian masters settled in Vienna and other cities of the empire, including Ljubljana, Rijeka, and Trieste.[63] Two of those transplants—the imperial court sculptors Lorenzo Mattielli and Antonio Corradini[64]—began a new chapter of late Baroque sculpture across Central Europe, which reached as far as Prague, Dresden, Warsaw, and St. Petersburg in the 1730s and 1740s. In Vienna itself, the scarcity of Carrara marble persisted throughout the eighteenth century, and the individual blocks were thus reserved only for the most prestigious imperial commissions (see fig. 17.7).[65] At this time a fashion emerged for simulating Carrara marble in sculptural works intended for the façades and interiors of palaces and churches, as well as for decorating gardens. Indeed, the surfaces of works wrought in the local sandstone or conglomerates (Eggenburg, Zogelsdorf, and Császárkőbánya/Kaisersteinbruch near Vienna)[66] were often covered with a special layer of polished white lime mortar several millimeters thick, which was known as *Weißschlämme* or *Bleiweißfassung*.[67] This distinctive technique of "refining" stone sculpture—inspired by the work of Swiss-Italian stuccoists influential in the Habsburg land at the time—became popular in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as in Silesia and Hungary, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, subsequently reaching Prussia and Poland thanks to sculptors trained in Vienna and Austria at large.[68] Figural stone sculpture with white polychromy, which was gradually supplanted by *stucco lustro* beginning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, became an integral feature of Habsburg and, more widely, Central European *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Another general change in the choice of materials at the Viennese court occurred only in the 1740s and the 1750s, heralding the arrival of Rococo academic idealism propagated by Georg Raphael Donner and Balthasar Ferdinand Moll, whose ideas were largely materialized in bronze and the tin-lead amalgam casting technique.[69] A renewed interest in white marble in the empire would

also be experienced during Neoclassicism, during which period Laas marble reestablished itself as the basic sculptural medium from the late eighteenth century to the state's collapse in 1918.[70]

The above-described migration of the most talented sculptors from Venice and Veneto, which came as a result of the republic's serious political and economic crisis in the early eighteenth century, did not only benefit the Habsburg-controlled territories. In Dalmatia itself, which remained under Venetian rule until 1797, such changes were first heralded by the presence of Francesco Penso, also known as Cabianca, in Ragusa and Cattaro, who lived in the region from 1698 to 1708, during which period he was responsible for introducing the late Baroque style and post-Bernini tradition of altar architecture in local monuments. The consecutive visits and longer stays of the leading Venetian sculptors Antonio Viviani (see fig. 17.8), Antonio Corradini, Paolo Callalo, Marino Gropelli, Francesco Robba, and Giovanni Maria Morlaiter in the first three decades of the eighteenth century in Istria and Dalmatia were the result of commissions in the republic's metropolis and the overall dip in commissions beginning in the late seventeenth century.[71] Accordingly, new markets were sought, guaranteeing access to white marble from Carrara for these clients, which remained the most luxurious material across the region. During the very same period, Dalmatia and Habsburg-owned Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria were the only regions in this part of Europe to embrace the tagliapietra (intaglio) and pietra dura techniques, present mainly in Florence, Venice, Naples, and Sicily—an act of appropriation that was orchestrated by the generation of Venetians working in these regions.[72] The techniques involved the use of several dozen different varieties of colored marble and ornamental stone, often of exotic origins. Due to the lack of an assortment of colored marble, in Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and Poland the material was generally replaced by stucco simulacra and pietra dura rendered in a cheaper gypsum-formed scagliola.[73]

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This general analysis of the transformation of material-related traditions in stonemasonry and sculpture of the Western Balkans and the southern part of Central Europe allows us to reconsider the unique status of the region across the entire Continent with respect to

FIGURE 17.7
Antonio Corradini, statue of
Emperor Karl VI of Habsburg,
1731, Prunksaal, Hofburg, Vienna,
Austria. White marble of Laas
(Lasa) in Tirol, Untersberger
Gelb limestone of Untersberg
(Fürstenbrunn)
PHOTOGRAPH BY
M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2011

FIGURE 17.8   Antonio Viviani and Francesco Penso vel Cabianca of Venice, view of side altar of the Holiest Sacrament, cathedral, Zadar (Dalmatia), Croatia, 1718–19. *Marmo statuario and ordinario di Carrara,* colored varieties of marble and limestone from Italy and the French Pyrenees
PHOTOGRAPH BY M. WARDZYŃSKI, 2014

the variety of phenomena and processes that defined local artistic culture. The changes that occurred during the period in question revolve around the ideological (political) and artistic (determined by cultural and stylistic transformations of the Italian Renaissance) confrontation between the semantic tradition of African porphyry as the "royal stone," dating back to the Roman Empire and developing concurrently in Hungary and the German Reich countries, with a rising fashion for "antique" white marble from Carrara transplanted from Renaissance Italy via Venice (and indirectly, Florence and Dalmatia). The distance and associated high cost of land transportation contributed significantly to the limitation of its distribution to the Adriatic coast (Istria and Dalmatia) and to Habsburg-held Carniola, where Venetian sculptors worked from the sixteenth century onwards. Only incidentally did Carrara marble reach the interior across the natural barrier formed by the Alps and the Dinaric Alps, where it was instead more often replaced by the local varieties of similar marble from Laas (Lasa), Sterzing, and Sölk, as well as by limestone from Solnhofen and Untersberg (Fürstenbrunn). The great popularity of those materials in Vienna, and across Austria and Upper Hungary, was due to the convenient location of their source in the Danube basin.

The magnitude of this confrontation between white and red stone traditions is most clearly seen in the commemorative foundations of the individual lines of the Habsburg dynasty in Austria, Tyrolia, and Styria. The force of the attachment to the postmedieval custom of carving figures of late archdukes in "red marble," still cherished in the early seventeenth century, is exemplified by the sarcophagus in Graz executed by an Italian artist. Paradoxically, white marble was not promoted in elite circles by Italians but rather by the Antwerp-trained Alexander Colijn of Mechelen, who set the trend for the black-red-white *op Nederlandse manier* material range in Tyrolean and Austrian sculpture.[74] That determined the style and materials employed in sculpture in the Habsburg monarchy until the close of the seventeenth century.

The confrontation witnessed a final turning point only at the end of the seventeenth century as Leopold I Habsburg's imperial patronage began to flourish in the wake of a series of victories of the Holy League against the Ottoman Turks, as a result of which the bulk of the territory of the former Kingdom of Hungary had been regained and the empire's political, military, and economic stability reestablished. White marble from Laas (Lasa) in Tyrolia continued to play the main role, since the import of Carrara marble to Vienna by land across the Alps via Venice, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria—a route used extensively only beginning in the 1710—continued to pose an exorbitant cost. The latter was used exclusively in the restricted elite circles of imperial and aristocratic patrons, who were served mainly by artists from Venice and northern Italy until the 1740s. In the remaining sculptural commissions of the leading *Reichstil* trend—which comprised the typical Habsburgian (Central European) *Gesamtkunstwerk*—both sculptors from the empire and the neighboring countries were forced to imitate luxurious white marble by "upgrading" plain sandstone or limestone with white layers of plaster and lime, and solely with *stucco lustro*.

Notes

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3 Manfred Koller, *Die Brüder Strudel. Hofkünstler und Gründer der Wiener Kunstakademie* (Innsbruck-Wien: Tyrolia, 1993), 73, 75, 78, 81–82, 85–86, 185–86, 189, 196–97, 199; Matej Klemenčič, "'In partenza per lo Stato Imperiale.'

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4 Pál Lővei, "A tömött mészkő—'vörös márvány'—a középkori magyarországi művészetben (Der dichte rote Kalkstein—der 'rote Marmor'—in der Kunst des mittelalterischen Ungarn)," *Ars Hungarica* 20, no. 2 (1992): 3–29; Pál Lővei, "Routes and Meaning. The Use of Red Marble in Medieval Central Europe," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*. The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art (CIHA), The University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing, 2009), 477–81; Pál Lővei, "Renaissance in Red and White. The Use of Coloured Stone in Hungary Art at the Turn of the 16th Century," in *Bonum et pulchrum. Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, eds. Livia Varga et al. (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010), 433–42; Farkas Pintér et al., "The Provenance of 'Red Marble' Monuments from the 12th–18th Centuries in Hungary," *European Journal of Mineralogy* 16 (2004): 619–29.

5 Nicolas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* (New Heaven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 58; *La pietra d'Istria e Venezia: Atti del seminario di studio, Venezia, 3 ottobre 2003*, ed. Nedo Fiorentin (Venezia: Sommacampagna, 2006); Gergely Buzás, "A diósgyőri oltár," in *Reneszánsz látványtár. Virtuális utazás a múltba*, ed. Tibor Kovács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 473, cat. 92–93, fig. 1; Lőveí, "Renaissance in Red and White," 438, note 12; Goran Nikšić, "The Influence of Building Materials on Architectural Design: Dalmatian Stone at the Cathedrals in Korčula and Šibenik," in *Dalmatia and the Mediterranean: Portable Archaeology and the Poetics of Influence*, ed. Alina Payne (Boston: Brill, 2014), 396–99, fig. 12.

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7 Alois Kieslinger, *Die nutzbaren Gesteine Salzburgs* (Salzburg: Bergland-Buch, 1964), 209; Frantz Kretschmer, *Marmor aus Adnet. Heimatbuch Adnet*, 2nd ed. (Adnet: Gemeinde Adnet, 1990), 31–32, taf. vii–viii; Christian Uhlir, *Adneter Marmor. Entstehung, Material, Abbau, Geschichte*

und seine Bedeutung als Kulturerbe, 2nd ed. (Salzburg: Books on Demand, 2011), 32–33, abb. 28–29.

8 Alois Kieslinger, *Die Steine von St. Stephan* (Wien: Herold, 1949), 74–75; László Trunkó, *Geologie von Ungarn. Beiträge zur Regionalen Geologie des Erde* (Berlin-Stuttgart: Gebr. Borntraeger, 1960), 8: 198–99; Lővei, "A tömött mészkő," 4–7, 26–27. According to the most famous variety of *ammonitico rosso* limestone from the Verona district, cf. Giovanni Albertini, "The Geology of Veronese Marbles," in *Marble in Verona*, ed. Fabrizio Rossini (Verona: ASMAVE, 1987), 28–33.

9 Pál Lővei, "'Virtus, Es, Marmor, Scripta' Red Marble and Bronze Letters," *Acta Historica Artium Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae* 42 (2001): 39–55; "Salzburg und Gran *versus* Krakau, Gnesen und Wilna: Die Lieferung des Rotmarmors im Fernhandel Mitteleuropas," in *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, eds. Dietmar Popp and Robert Suckale (Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2002), 411–13, abb. 1–7; Michał Wardzyński, *Marmur i alabaster w rzeźbie i małej architekturze Rzeczypospolitej. Studium historyczno-materiałoznawcze przemian tradycji artystycznych od XVI do początku XVIII wieku* [Marble and alabaster in sculpture and small-scale architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. 16th–early 18th-century transformation of artistic traditions through the lens of history and materials science] (Warszawa: Fundacja "Hereditas," 2015), 132–33.

10 Dario Del Bufalo, *Porphyry: Rosso imperiale; potere e religione* [Porphyry: Red imperial porphyry; power and religion] (Torino: U. Allemandi & C., 2012), 20–22.

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