

Interpreting Otherness:
Picturing the Turk in Tintoretto's Venice

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

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Ottawa Ontario

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ABSTRACT

This thesis assesses the application and implication of the image of the Turk in paintings by Jacopo Tintoretto (1518–1594) and his contemporaries. In it, the signifiers that were used to connote otherness and the ways in which these identities were perceived by Venetian audiences are examined. This project tracks the development of visual trends by analysing contemporary sources such as costume books and travel narratives. A discussion of the works by Tintoretto shows that there was a notable shift in perceptions of the Turk at the end of the sixteenth century, an observation indicative of the relationship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire that was evolving throughout that period. The characterization of the Turk by Venetians represented admiration for and fascination with, as well as fear and misconceptions towards, the foreign cultures with which Venice was increasingly in contact.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the steadfast support of my supervisor, Dr. Randi Klebanoff. I am truly grateful for your support, guidance, patience, suggestions, and encouragement throughout the entire process. I would also like to thank my defence committee, Dr. Justina Spencer and Dr. Sonia Del Re, for their assistance throughout the research and writing process. Your attention and suggestions are greatly appreciated.

My many thanks are extended towards the faculty and staff members of the School for Studies in Art and Culture and the greater Carleton Community. Special thanks are necessary for the financial assistance that allowed me to complete research in Venice. A warm thank you across the pond to the staff at the Biblioteca Marciana and the Biblioteca Correr, for helping me with my first archival experience and making me feel warmly welcomed in their facilities. I am grateful to the fellow students, researchers, academics, and professionals I have encountered throughout my studies, whose wisdom and guidance helped cure the imposter syndrome of this graduate student.

Most importantly, I need to thank my friends and family for the immense amount of love and support they have showed me in the past few years. To my mum and dad, for always listening and learning with me, driving multiple cross-country road trips, editing my work, and inspiring my passion for art and history; to my brothers Gavin and Miller, for always making me laugh and smile when I needed it the most; to all my supportive, wonderful friends from all over, who constantly cheered me on and sent so many positive vibes; and to me, for persevering and completing this crazy, wonderful chapter of my life.

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INTRODUCTION

Cross-cultural contact has defined the character of Venice throughout its early-modern history. As a mercantile hub, its location on the Adriatic meant that goods and people traveling to and from foreign lands frequently passed through the bustling city. This cultural transfer proved to have influenced the cultural production within the city, affecting architecture, design, fashion, and pictorial representations. The movement of cultural knowledge and material occurred largely through mercantile activities, and accounts of the travels of Venetians to distinct trading centres, both literary and pictorial, have proven valuable sources of information. Because of the distinct presence of foreigners in Venice combined with the wide circulation of travel related texts and images, Venetians were increasingly familiar with their foreign counterparts, and this familiarity led to the consolidation of signifiers associated with Eastern identities.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Venetian relationship with one economic partner, the Ottoman Empire, grew and shifted as global political relationships developed. Responses to the Ottoman Empire ranged from fascination with the exotic, to wariness and fear. These responses were largely facilitated through a familiarity with travel accounts and costume books produced by travelers to the Ottoman region and circulated throughout Venice. What emerged from this are associations with identifiers, particularly of the diverse costume of these regions. Figures wearing elements of easily identified Eastern costume were therefore associated with the Ottoman Empire. Analysis of the methods of cultural transfer, the contemporary political and religious climate, and visual production in Venice in the sixteenth century indicates the shifts which occurred in the interpretive significance of Ottoman figures.

A few important terms need to be defined in order to present a concise analysis. The term ‘Turk’, in the early modern period, was generally used to identify a Muslim, not a specific ethnic identity.¹ Because of the vast expansion of the Ottoman Empire, the character of the Turk became representative of Ottoman Muslims from a wide and diverse range of territories. Sartorial analysis will show that while Venetians did acknowledge regional ethnic diversity, in nomenclature these figures were often generalized as Turks. The scope of this investigation begins in the late fifteenth century and includes the entirety of the sixteenth century. The territory of the Ottoman Empire expanded significantly during this period, but for the purpose of this study it is understood to encompass its reach 1520–1566 (fig. 1). References to ‘the East’ are thus referring to this geographical region. This study will be using the name Istanbul over Constantinople: while contemporary European sources use the Byzantine name, the Ottomans self-identified their capital as Istanbul, and I will follow as such.²

Finally, the visual analysis within this study will focus largely on one Venetian painter, Jacopo Tintoretto (1518–1594). While many other Venetian artists utilized similar visual devices, the choice to selectively focus on Tintoretto offers a targeted analysis of the development of the image of the Turk. The artist’s oeuvre spans the pivotal second half of the sixteenth century, so these artworks are representative of the visual shift in the art during that time. Moreover, unlike other Venetian artists, Tintoretto did not leave the city for external patronage. His art thus provides an excellent case-study for highlighting the uniquely Venetian consciousness. Finally, visual analysis will show that Tintoretto frequently broke from

¹ Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6.

² Marcus Keller, “Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations* and the Domestic Politics of Travel Writing.” *L’Esprit Créateur* 48, no. 1 (2008): 26. Keller explains that the refusal to acknowledge the Turkish name often came with connotations of the Turks as the ‘occupiers’ of a historically Christian city.

contemporary tradition and injected elements of Venetian life into his works, making his figures of the Turk indicative of the Venetian-Ottoman relationships at the time.

This study was informed by diverse sources which helped to establish my vocabulary on the Early Modern identification of the other. Together with primary sources and visual analysis, elements from these scholarly studies build the foundations for my research. In the study of the art historical context, cross-cultural contact between Ottoman subjects and Venetians has generally focused on the study of luxury trade objects within Venetian-centred images. The analysis of foreign figures within paintings concentrated on the eyewitness pictorial mode of artists such as Gentile Bellini (1429–1507) and Giovanni Mansueti (c. 1485–1526), active from the mid-fifteenth until the early sixteenth century. The work of art historian Patricia Fortini Brown has been integral to understandings of these visual precedents.³ Another valuable work is Julian Raby's *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*.⁴ He outlines the three 'modes' within Venetian art: Ottoman, Mamluk, and Carpacciesque – describing the variety of ways Oriental figures were incorporated into Venetian narrative painting. His arguments challenge the notion that Bellini was the 'father' of the Venetian Oriental Mode, asserting that Bellini did not in fact use much accuracy within his works, and rather conflated an image of the East based on a small selection of factual evidence from his journey to Istanbul. Raby's assessment of Ottoman and Mamluk costume in Venetian *scuole* painting was crucial to this study's analysis of the Turk in sixteenth-century Venetian painting.

³ Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁴ Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Islamic Art Publications, 1982); See also Raby, "The Serenissima and the Sublime Porte: Art in the Art of Diplomacy," in *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New York City: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007; New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007).

The seminal work of Deborah Howard informs on the Eastern influence on Venetian architecture from the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries. Her book *Venice and the East* locates sources of cultural translation, including but not limited to travel writing, and applies the analysis of this literature to the identification of Islamic elements within Venetian architecture.⁵ By analyzing the social implications of these cultural transfers, she outlines the responses to Islamic culture as seen in Venetian material production. This thesis develops from her discussion of cultural transfers from the Islamic world to Venice, extending it to the interpretation of Islamic identities in Venetian painting, addressing the alternative literary sources largely discussed in Chapters One and Two of this analysis.

Two art historians who focus on the works of Tintoretto and the theme of identity in his works are Tom Nichols and Frederick Ilchman. Nichols' *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* spans the oeuvre of Tintoretto, discussing the ways in which he breaks from traditional Venetian iconography and narrative.⁶ His analysis focuses on the personal and institutional impacts of Tintoretto's works on religious identity. Ilchman similarly discusses Tintoretto's breaks from tradition, focusing instead on the development of his style and the trends in his narrative choices.⁷ These arguments largely inform the base of visual analysis within this thesis.

⁵ Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100-1500* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); More precise case studies are discussed in Howard, "Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages: Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence," *Architectural History* 34 (1991): 59-74; Howard, "The Status of the Oriental Traveller in Renaissance Venice," in *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Howard, "Venice Between East and West: Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Palladio's Church of the Redentore," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 3 (2003): 306-25.

⁶ Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity*. (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).

⁷ Frederick Ilchman, "Jacopo Tintoretto in Process: The Making of a Venetian Master, 1540-1560," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014); Ilchman also contributed to the catalogue for *Tintoretto* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2007).

Bronwen Wilson's study of Venetian costume and portrait books offers informative analysis on the costume books that is key to analysis in Chapter One. Through visual and social considerations, her book *The World in Venice* suggests that Venetian identity was in part created through comparative association of foreign cultures and customs facilitated by costume books.⁸ Her discussion of the printed image of the Turk concludes that Venetian self-perception was largely connoted by the codification of the 'other'. This viewpoint largely shaped my interrogations of the affective impact of the image of the Turk.

In the study of transcultural relationships across the Mediterranean world, the works of Stephen Ortega and Eric Dursteler have proven the most valuable for this project. Ortega provides a comprehensive discussion on the cross-cultural contact that occurred between Ottomans and Venetians between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He outlines the vast extent of contact that occurred largely through the mercantile activities between the two Empires. This discussion gives evidence of the economic determinants that largely affected the lives of Ottomans and Venetians living in their respective counterparts' territory. His article "Ottoman Networks and Spaces in Early Modern Venice" details the lives of Ottoman merchants within Venice in the last decades of the sixteenth century, outlining the political and religious tensions faced by Ottoman Muslims there.⁹ Dursteler conversely focuses on the lived experiences of Venetians within the Ottoman capital, framing them within the social, political and economic relationships that shaped the transcultural landscape of the sixteenth and

⁸ Wilson, *The World In Venice*; Further studies by Wilson include "Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 no. 5 (2013): 705-723; Wilson, "Reflecting on the Turk in Late Sixteenth-Century Portrait Books," *Word and Image* 19 no. 1 (2003): 38-58; Wilson, "Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon," *Urban History* 22, no. 1 (2006): 39-64.

⁹ Stephen Ortega, "Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries: Ottoman Networks and Spaces in Early Modern Venice," *Mediterranean Studies* 18 (2009): 66-89; See also Ortega, *Negotiating Transcultural Relations in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014).

seventeenth centuries. His analysis of Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations*, discussed in Chapter Two, outlines the literary devices used to convey perceptions of identity by early modern travel writers. In "Bad Bread and the Outrageousness of the Turks," Dursteler discusses the negative associations Europeans like Nicolay made with the foodways of Turks.¹⁰ My thesis expands on their views of identity, place, and transcultural experiences with a more focused look on the ways these were represented in painting.¹¹

A number of exhibition publications proved valuable during my research. These feature examples of the material culture that emerged from the cross-cultural contact between Venice and the East. While many of them concern objects preceding the period covered in this study, they offered valuable insight into the methods of cultural transmission.¹² *The Sultan's World* (Brussels, 2015) presents visual depictions of the Sultan and the *seraglio* that spanned beyond the chronological and geographical scope of my investigation, but nonetheless provided valuable insight into visual representations of the lavish and exotic Ottoman courts.¹³ Notably, these exhibitions all focused on the Euro-centric perspective of cultural translations. The most valuable exhibition for my work was *Il Giovane Tintoretto* (Venice, 2019), the retrospective at the

¹⁰ Eric Dursteler, "Bad Bread and the 'Outrageousness of the Turks': Food and Identity in the Accounts of Early Modern European Travelers to the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of World History* 25, no. 2 (2014): 203-228; see also Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

¹¹ E. Natalie Rothman similarly discusses "trans-imperial subjects" and their roles in the shifting linguistic, religious, and geopolitical landscape of Venice and Istanbul in *Brokering Empires: Trans-Imperial Subjects Between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014); See also Rothman, "Between Venice and Istanbul: Trans-Imperial Subjects and Cultural Mediation in the Early Modern Mediterranean," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2006) and; Rothman, "Interpreting Dragomans: Boundaries and Crossings in the Early Modern Mediterranean," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 4 (2009): 771-800.

¹² Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, ed., *Bellini and the East*, (London: National Gallery Company, 2005); Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹³ Robert Born, ed., *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*, (Brussels: BOZAR; Berlin: Hatje Cantz, 2015).

Galleria dell'Accademia that celebrated the 500th anniversary of the birth of Tintoretto.¹⁴ I was fortunate to see this exhibition while researching in Venice and was therefore able to view in the flesh many of the works discussed in this thesis. The exhibition of his works truly allowed me to visualize this research project to its fullest.

My study draws from a number of primary sources, both literary and visual. Contemporary literary works include the written testimonies of European travelers to the East in the form of personal letters, manuscripts, and ambassadorial reports, some of which I examined in the flesh at the Correr and Marciana Libraries in Venice. Such papers document contemporary notions of otherness established largely through descriptions of foreign locations. The anonymous Venetian writer of the *Itinerario da Aleppo in Thauris* (1496) in the Correr Library describes for his readers the exotic and unique elements of life in Aleppo.¹⁵ This work my understandings of the perceptions Venetians would have held towards elements of Eastern culture, and I applied this analysis to the visual analysis of contemporary paintings. Contemporary costume books were also consulted, both for their textual and visual information. Cesare Vecellio's *De gli habiti antichi et moderni de diverse parti del mondo libri due* (1590) – the best known and most popular example of the genre – provided Venetian readers with a codified collection of costume depictions which established sartorial associations between place and identity.¹⁶ The accompanying textual descriptions informed readers on activities of the individual represented, largely shaping stereotyped behaviours associated with specific identifiers. An earlier publication, Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les Quatres Premiers Livres des Navigations et*

¹⁴ Roberta Battaglia, Paola Marini, and Vittoria Romani, ed., *Il Giovane Tintoretto* (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia: 2018); Another retrospective publication referenced is the Museo del Prado's 2007 exhibition. Miguel Falomir, ed., *Tintoretto* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2007).

¹⁵ *Itinerario da Aleppo in Thauris 1496* (anon.) Cod. Cic. 2727, fasc. 20, Biblioteca Correr, Venice.

¹⁶ Vecellio, Cesare. *De gli habiti antichi et moderni de diverse parti del mondo libri due* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590).

Pérégrinations Orientales (1567), provided another, continental European perspective on the ‘other’ that was later translated for Venetian readers.¹⁷ This source consists of literary accounts of Nicolay’s travels in Turkey and woodcut illustrations similar to those in a costume book. Such sources are invaluable for providing the basis of cultural analysis available to Venetian viewers of Eastern identifiers in paintings.

This study will reveal the societal connotations of place and identity that were informed by cultural translation and cross-cultural contact pervasive in sixteenth-century Venice. The following chapters consider written sources, visual representations, and the ways in which these means of production influenced the appearance and signification of the Turk in Venetian art. By loosely following a chronology of the oeuvre of Tintoretto, this study will show shifts in predominant cultural attitudes towards the Turk, from wonder, exoticism and luxury to more negative associations that emerged with the more antagonistic geopolitical climate of the region at the time of the Ottoman-Venetian wars and the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Chapter One will outline the significance of costume books for establishing interpretive horizons of and conditions for ‘Easternized’ figures in Venetian painting. Chapter Two will examine examples of contemporary European travel writing and how they conditioned cultural associations of place and identity in the paintings by Tintoretto and others. Building on this, Chapter Three identifies a shift in the interpretive signification of Eastern identified figures between Tintoretto’s earlier works and those produced in the years of the Ottoman wars of the latter sixteenth century.

¹⁷ Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les Quatres Premiers Livres des Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales* (Lyon, 1567).

CHAPTER I

Costume & the Identity of the Turk

Costume books are key to understanding contemporary Venetian attitudes towards members of the Ottoman Empire. The images within, as well as the writings that accompanied them, demonstrate that Venetians held nuanced opinions towards their Ottoman neighbors across the Mediterranean. The image of the Ottoman Turk could elicit in a Venetian viewer fear, curiosity, desire, as much as distrust, and evoke political, ethnographic, and historical intrigue. Analysis of these images offers context for the visual representations of the Ottoman Empire in sixteenth-century visual culture. European costume books are invaluable, not only as a direct example of visual production, but also as sources for the visual traditions that would have inspired painters like Tintoretto and his contemporaries. While the books discussed below were largely produced after the paintings in question, they offer a glimpse at the costumes which would have been recognizable to Venetian viewers. The identifiers presented within these costume books, and in imagery circulated throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, would have been impactful for viewers long before their collation into these collections.

As Europeans became increasingly interested in their foreign counterparts, costume books became more and more popular. Continuous and long-standing movement of diverse cultures within the city made costume books and similar works to particularly relevant to Venetian society. These publications exposed Venetian viewers to the ‘other’, shaping their views of otherness and influenced other visual media like paintings.

Costume books in part developed out of the popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century of *album amicorum*, illustrated souvenir compilations created by travelers based on their observations abroad. In the *album amicorum*, descriptions of the lives of locals

were captured in great detail, including examples of transportation, festivals, work or leisurely activities, and civic or religious rites and ceremonies. Most important, they included detailed images of the costumes of locals.¹⁸ These were often finished with watercolour or gouache by local artists and designers and “reveal a keen attention to major fashion changes such as the cuts and designs of a garment, particular uses of fabric and trims, and luxurious accessories such as feathered fans.”¹⁹ These *album amicorum* were mostly compiled by students, merchants and travelers from north of the Veneto region, and Venetian artists and craftsmen were commissioned to contribute to them. In addition to costumes, these albums contained local mottoes and coats of arms of the regions visited.²⁰ Increasingly, costume became a visual signifier of the customs and identity of cities and regions. While these *album amicorum* typically did not contain entries from the Near or Middle East, they show an increased tendency to associate regional habits and customs with the costume of inhabitants.

By the late sixteenth century, Venice was one of the centers of costume book publication. The city was responsible for a third of the production of European costume books, with nine books produced between 1540 and 1610.²¹ As Margaret Rosenthal explains, “in a largely pre-literate society, people were read by and learned to read the value of [...] clothing as fixed signs of profession, wealth, social status, and geographical provenance.”²² These costume books are thus valuable for discerning the ways Venetians would have associated identifiers like clothing with visitors to their cities. They were a way to arrange people’s clothing according to their own rank, gender, ethnicity, and geographical origin. The desired skill was therefore to be able to

¹⁸ Wilson, “Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon,” 59.

¹⁹ Margaret Rosenthal, “Clothing, Fashion, Dress, and Costume in Venice (c. 1450-1650),” in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric Dursteler (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2013), 900.

²⁰ Wilson, “Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon,” 58.

²¹ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 70.

²² Rosenthal, “Clothing, Fashion, Dress, and Costume in Venice,” 893.

distinguish the wearer's manners, behaviours, and customs based on the way they dressed. As Rosenthal explains, "costume, as derived from the Latin word *consuetude*, implies the customary function or use of dress in multiple cultural contexts."²³ The costumes highlighted in these collections were different from those in any publication that denoted popular 'fashion' (such as pattern books for seamstresses, lace makers, or tailors) because they affirmed the social and cultural realities of those who were depicted. These depictions were not meant to represent specific individuals, but rather served to "establish archetypes."²⁴

Costume books were therefore used to dichotomize identity, to create a sense of individualism by distinguishing oneself from what they were not – the 'other'. They simultaneously served to domesticate otherness by making it an object of unambiguous knowledge. By comparing the identifiers of foreigners with local costumes, behavioural assumptions became embedded in sartorial analysis. The bodily customs and behaviours of foreigners and Venetians were outlined in the text accompanying woodcut illustrations in costume books. Clothing was therefore linked to behavioural habits and consolidated a person's identity. Costume was regarded as a determinant of identities, particularly related to class, gender, and religion.²⁵ When combined with travel accounts, stemming from either real voyages or fabricated tales, the habits associated with costume are given more authenticity and authority.

Evidence shows that costume as a marker of identity was universally accepted in sixteenth-century Venice. As Stephen Ortega explains, "clothes were indicative of important social markers [in Venice ...] clothes were a way of ensuring that social boundaries were maintained."²⁶ Sumptuary laws were established not in an attempt to curb luxuries, but to control

²³ Rosenthal, "Clothing, Fashion, Dress," 895

²⁴ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 104.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

²⁶ Ortega, "Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries," 79.

“social stability and preserve hierarchies.”²⁷ Rosenthal explains that “officials attempted to control fabrics, their colours, and their weaves and cuts not only to enforce equality among citizens, affirm gender prescriptions, and curtail excessive spending but also to protect precarious economies.”²⁸

Clothing was also used as evidence during the prosecution of Venetians or visitors accused of heresy, particularly during the Inquisition.²⁹ Travelers often changed their clothes in an attempt to make their voyages easier. Often, Venetian merchants and ambassadors would dress in Ottoman clothing during their voyages to the East as protection from pirates or other threats. But travelers needed to be wary of dressing in a way that was not synonymous with their religious identity. Bronwen Wilson explains that “costume was evidence of having *acted* as a Muslim, and clearly legislated religious identity required correlation between one’s faith on the interior and how one appeared to others on the outside.”³⁰ Particular terminology existed in regard to costume which allowed a Christian wearer to ‘pass’ as Muslim: they needed to assert to authorities that they were simply appearing Muslim (*far turca*), but still devout Christians.

Costume was used to “decide their real identity, and to condemn them if it conflicted with their primary, sacramental identity.”³¹ Wilson continues, “The distinction between dressing as a Muslim (*da turco*), appearing as one (*far turco*), and turning into a Muslim (*farsi turco*) were crucial.” Within visual culture, figures depicted in Eastern clothing would have represented Muslim Turks (*da turco*): in context, they were frequently shown alongside non-Turks in an effort to dichotomize the roles of each character and the ways they are interpreted.

²⁷ Rosenthal, “Clothing, Fashion, Dress,” 895.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ortega, “Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries,” 67.

³⁰ Wilson, “Reflecting on the Turk,” 49.

³¹ Ibid.

Costume Illustration: Vecellio, Nicolay, Bellini

Costume was evidently incredibly important for the creation of identity within Venice. The most important costume book publication was compiled by Venetian engraver and painter Cesare Vecellio (c. 1530–1601). The first edition of Vecellio's costume book, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni de diverse parti del mondo libri due*, was published in 1590 by Damian Zenaro. Vecellio's volumes consisted of 415 woodcuts by German printmaker Christoph Krieger (d. 1590), presented with his own commentary on the habits and customs of the person depicted, usually on the verso of the woodcut. Widely popular, it was quickly republished in 1598 with a total of 503 woodcuts, offering the most comprehensive information on the costume and customs of most of the known world at the time.³² While many European costume books represented one city by one figure, Vecellio included a variety of figures to represent cities and regions.³³ Vecellio did not, however, travel to any of the Near or Middle Eastern locations depicted within his book.

Vecellio's costume book, following the tradition of other books, organized figures based on their regional identity, gender and social class. The male figures are presented first, followed by their female counterparts. Male figures are organized by profession – the Doge and the Sultan are the first in their respective sections. Women are identified by their marital status and organized based on their husbands' professions (fig. 2).³⁴ The book begins with an account of ancient and modern Roman costume, followed by historical and contemporary Venetian clothing. This ensured that Venetian readers analyzed the foreign costumes with a comparative lens of their own. The implications of the costumes, that is the customs and habits represented

³² Rosenthal, "Clothing, Fashion, Dress," 894.

³³ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 72. Venice alone was represented using approximately sixty woodcuts.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 97. The first woman shown in the section on Venice is the Dogressa, the wife of the Doge.

within, are therefore compared between the Venetians and the ‘other’, be it historical or territorial.

The composition of illustrations within costume books remained relatively consistent between authors and chapters. The figures were typically presented in a format similar to scientific illustration books.³⁵ There is always a single figure, centred on the page. Individuals are presented standing on a low platform or unidentifiable area of ground, with no background. The figures are fully decontextualized from their geographical origins, affirming the idea that their costume equally represents geographical identity. Similar to scientific illustration books, readers must rely on the accompanying text and labels to distinguish the habits of the figures associated to their costumes.

Additionally, all figures in the Vecellio publication are framed by decorative borders (fig. 2–3). As Wilson asserts, “the use of frames emphasizes the isolation of the figures and focuses the viewer on the vestments.”³⁶ No frames appear to be identical, but there are similarities throughout. They all feature fanciful architectural designs, often including false cornices and volutes, as well as sculptural busts. The upper and lower edges of the frames include *mascaron* portraits, either angelic or grotesque. These frames are indeed theatrical, and certainly evoke the contemporary assertion that Venice was “theatre of the world.”³⁷

A visual precedent for many of the woodcuts within Vecellio’s book was the illustrated travel account of French geographer Nicholas de Nicolay (1517–1583). His *Quatre Premiers Livres des Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales* was published in 1567, fifteen years after his travels to Istanbul with the French ambassador.³⁸ The book proved so popular that it was

³⁵ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 100.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Wilson, “Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon,” 39.

³⁸ Keller, “Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations*,” 18.

reissued quickly in English, Dutch, German, and Italian.³⁹ The intent of Nicolay's trip was to gather intelligence through detailed cartographic studies, but his resulting writing successfully documents the customs and cultural practices of the growing Ottoman Empire. His descriptions of Ottoman life, including Islamic religious rituals, and the goings on within the Ottoman court. These accounts and how they affected contemporary Venetian consciousness of otherness will be closely examined in Chapter Two. Importantly, the book contains sixty engravings by Louis Danet based on original in situ drawings by Nicolay himself.⁴⁰

Similar to Vecellio, Nicolay's illustrations create an idea of the habits and customs of the diverse peoples within the Ottoman Empire. Unlike Vecellio's illustrations, these accompany descriptions of his real travels to Istanbul. This creates an illusion of authenticity for the reader, who would attribute a truthfulness to the figures and the characteristics they represent. Nicolay says in his preface that the figures were drawn from life – asserting his authority on the pictorial accuracy of the renderings.⁴¹ But later, Nicolay admits to “staging illustrations,” particularly of women at the Ottoman court (fig. 3).⁴² His assertion of accuracy, which cannot be taken at face value today, may have greatly affected Venetian consciousness and contemporary associations of costume with custom.

The well-studied drawings of Gentile Bellini's trip to Istanbul also serve as a visual precedent for the costumes in Vecellio's book. These “anthropological studies,” as Caroline Campbell calls them, depict the sartorial diversity within Istanbul.⁴³ Very detailed in their rendering of fabrics and shape, Bellini seems interested in capturing the likeness of the sitter and

³⁹ Dursteler, “Bad Bread,” 205.

⁴⁰ David Brafman, “Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's *Travels in Turkey*,” *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009): 153.

⁴¹ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 77.

⁴² Brafman, “Facing East,” 155.

⁴³ Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 99.

their costume. Because they are decontextualized, without a define setting or identity, they provide a sense of ethnography dissimilar to the woodcuts in Vecellio's book. Unlike the latter or Nicolay's, Bellini's drawings were private objects, not circulated with pointed discussions on the identity of the sitters or their roles within Ottoman society. In fact, Bellini's own account of his travels were not codified to be circulated with his drawings at all.⁴⁴ It is as though the drawings themselves were meant to represent fully his experience within Istanbul.

In *Seated Janissary* (fig. 4), Bellini appears to make every effort to show the individualized characteristics of the sitter. Unlike the figures in the later costume books, drawings such as this one are apparently intended to accurately describe the clothing worn by the soldier. Evidence of Bellini's dedication to accuracy is found in the image of the *Seated Woman* (fig. 5). The scientific precision with which he depicts her costume is evident in the annotations labelling aspects of her outfit.⁴⁵ Once again, there is evidence of individualization, an element missing in the later woodcuts of Nicolay or Vecellio's publications (fig. 2–3), which are concerned solely with the sartorial significance of the costumes. While Bellini most likely would not have been given a private audience with a woman unveiled, the efforts to depict the intricacies of her costume attach to it a sense of authenticity.⁴⁶ This notion of truthfulness is similar to the Venetian eyewitness style of which Bellini was an important practitioner. Like the eyewitness style, these drawings seem concerned with a "taste for positing and apprehending [historical significance]."⁴⁷

Bellini's studies differ from the prints within costume books because they still make efforts at capturing the individual within the costume. While the images are decontextualized

⁴⁴ Alan Chong, "Gentile Bellini in Istanbul: Myths and Misunderstandings," in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London: National Gallery Company, 2005), 108.

⁴⁵ Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 99.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁴⁷ Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 96.

from setting, they give an impression of a true likeness of the sitter. The complete removal of the individualism of figures in costume books creates a simple representational stand-in for the cultural group they represent. This individualism is also missing in painterly depictions of Turks by artists like Tintoretto: the figures serve as active influencers in the interpretation of the works, unlike the eyewitness style of Bellini. Generalized, costumed figures seen in paintings and later costume books serve to represent archetypes of groups through accurate costume.

These illustrations, as well as those in Vecellio's costume book, could therefore serve as devices through which European audiences compared and contrasted their own customs and habits to those of their Ottoman contemporaries. These illustrations were valuable for European armchair travelers because "the reader [could] view the women unveiled just as the Sultan might in the *seraglio* or their high-ranking husbands might at home."⁴⁸ For Venetian readers increasingly familiar with the customs and habits associated with sartorial imagery, they would be able to create a juxtaposition between figures of the Ottoman courts and Venetian nobility.

One such example is the comparison between the symbolic characteristics of the Dogressa and Sultana, the two most powerful women of their respective empires. Representations of the Doge's wife (fig. 2) served as allegorical symbols of "domestic virtue, a personification of the apex of patrician luxury, constancy, and the ideal wife."⁴⁹ The Dogressa and other representations of Venetian women mirrored the self-image and moral values of Venice itself, "as modest, veiled, exotic, sober, and austere."⁵⁰ In contrast, Ottoman women like the Sultana (fig. 3) exemplified the growing assumptions of the Sultan's court as a space void of

⁴⁸ Brafman, "Facing East," 156.

⁴⁹ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 114.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

European-held morals.⁵¹ The behaviours of women were also stereotyped to corroborate the fabricated tales of loose women and lascivious activities of the Sultan's harem.⁵²

The images in costume books served to dichotomize the East from the West. They demystified the Ottoman Empire but also created a very distinct identity that was in opposition to the lives and practices of European readers. Assumptions created by the sartorial representations within costume books and the text that accompanied them translated into other means of cultural production, including painting.

Sartorial Identifiers

Costume as objects of performative identity translates into the diverse media in which figures from the Near and Middle East are embodied. Sartorial identifiers, particularly headdresses worn by male and female figures, serve as representations of both class but also geographical difference. As Wilson explains, “the foreignness of distant lands [was shown] by depicting an array of protruding appendages and headdresses that contrasted with the smooth contours of European attire.”⁵³ The silhouettes of Ottoman clothing, particularly in the turban and beards of high-ranking men, represented the otherness of these figures and their cultures. These signifiers are further found in the costume representing an array of regions like Persia, Armenia, Egypt, and Moorish Africa, signaling their ‘exoticness’.

The turban as a major identifier of otherness is important throughout Venetian pictorial representations: it illustrated to Venetian readers what made Ottoman Turks (and other foreign headdress wearers) so different. It was an identifier of the difference of Ottoman culture, particularly the differences in religion and social structure. Vecellio's discussion on the costume

⁵¹ This was supported by Nicolay's accounts, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

⁵² Brafman, “Facing East,” 156.

⁵³ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 77.

of Turkey begins with a woodcut of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–1595) (fig. 6). Without the additional context of the caption, readers would have no indication of the individual identity of the figure. This is because of the use of generalized silhouettes and unindividualized facial features. The scepter topped with a crescent is the object that distinguishes this figure's uniqueness from the subsequent otherwise almost identical figures. Scepters are purely European indicators of power – the decision to depict the Sultan holding a scepter asserts the idea that these woodcuts were intended not to accurately represent the person, but to represent their status and identity to the Venetian audience.⁵⁴ The standardised silhouettes of figures such as turbaned men are comparably identical, and it is the detailed objects that serve as identifiers for specific social differences (fig. 6–7). These figural similarities are a result of the trend of direct copying and tracing within costume books. Within one book, and across different publications and authors, the silhouettes of figures remained the same. This was important because “it contributed to the meaning and didactic effects of the images.”⁵⁵ The behaviours associated with costume existed in Venetian consciousness throughout the sixteenth century, and these traits would have been applied to readings of other media.

Costume books acknowledge the regional diversity of headgear, including the Mamluk horned turbans, the janissary *börk* (fig. 8), and the (significantly smaller) Ottoman turban wrapped around a cap (*taj*).⁵⁶ This diversity, I argue, is lost in sixteenth-century pictorial representations by artists like Tintoretto, who conflate Eastern identity, to be represented almost solely by the Ottoman turban. Chapter Three will further discuss the ambiguity employed by Tintoretto to heighten the self-reflection required by the viewers to fully engage with his works.

⁵⁴ Wilson, “Reflecting on the Turk,” 41.

⁵⁵ Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 82.

⁵⁶ Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 40. The horned turban is known as the *al-takhfīfa al-kabira* in Arabic.

Even with seemingly vague associations with the East through generalized costume, Venetian viewers would have interpreted these identifiers through their own sartorial analysis.

Sartorial Analysis of Tintoretto

Identifiers of dress that came to stand for the broad category of the Oriental ‘Turk’ are used within painting to create meaningful associations for viewers. Some examples in Tintoretto’s oeuvre that are informed by interests in identity characteristic to costume books and illustrations utilize the inclusion of Eastern costume to demarcate place and feelings of luxury and exoticism. In some Old Testament religious paintings, he used Eastern-inspired costume to delineate place in the Holy Land. In *Esther before Ahasuerus* (c. 1546–47) (fig. 9), many of the figures wear generalized, exotic costume that alludes to their foreign locations. The women in Esther’s entourage in particular wear bejeweled headdresses and garments reminiscent of depictions of the Sultana. The “over-tunics with fringed borders, puffed sleeves, held by jeweled bands which do not match the fabric of the undersleeve” and the high headdresses are in fact very similar to clothing worn in portraits of Sultan Suleyman’s wife Roxelana, which were circulated widely both as paintings and as woodcuts.⁵⁷ The detailed clothing in *Portrait of Sultana Roxelana* by Titan’s workshop (c. 1545–55) (fig. 10) is almost identical to those seen within Old Testament narratives.⁵⁸ The vagueness of these references is important to note: while these costumes are meant to evoke ideas of the Holy Land, they are in fact derived from Persian traditional costume. Later publications like Vecellio’s *De gli habiti antichi et moderni* outline the geography of these costumes more precisely.

⁵⁷ Robert Echols, *Tintoretto*, 264.

⁵⁸ Daniela Sogliani, *The Sultan’s World*, 194.

Similar sartorial analysis can be applied to works like *Christ with the Adulterous Woman* (c. 1555) (fig. 11 by the workshop of Tintoretto). The women are similarly adorned in elaborate headdresses, and the male figures wear characteristically Ottoman turbans. The combination of Persian and Ottoman headgear into one generalised identity to delineate setting is indicative of the generalization of Eastern culture for Venetian audiences. In many circumstances, these cultural identifiers are used as indicators of place and time, thereby linking them to the intrigue and pleasure of perusing costume books. In this painting, the Eastern locale is further emphasized with the use of a classicized architectural setting. Pseudo-caryatids are used on the temple structure, evoking ideas of the Greco-Roman antiquity in the East. The combination of costume and architectural setting which creates a beautiful, imagined hybrid of Greco-Roman past and Eastern locale.

These allusions to the East are often synonymous with notions of luxury and authority. In Old Testament narratives of sixteenth-century Venetian art, the crowds are more often than not situated within a court setting. In Tintoretto's *Esther before Ahasuerus* (fig. 9), the women represent her accompanying court maidens. In *the Queen of Sheba before Solomon* (1544–45) (fig. 12), the diverse array of figures, including the Persian-esque women in the center, give the impression of a varied Ottoman court, satisfying a fascination in Venice with the *seraglio*. While costumes place the episode in the East, the architecture sets the story in a more familiar Venetian context. The columned structure in the central background is reminiscent of the portico of the Piazzetta; the staircase evokes the Giant's Staircase at the Palazzo Ducale; and the servants unloading gifts could be mistaken for merchants unloading goods for trade at the Bacino.⁵⁹ Irrespective of the setting, the figures contribute to the identification of a meeting between two

⁵⁹ Vittoria Romani, *Il Giovane Tintoretto*, 165.

flourishing kingdoms. Further examples of the combined use of architecture and costume will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Costume held an important role in the associations of exoticness, identity and difference according to geographical origin. Visual trends well-established in social frameworks affected the reading of paintings and were codified in the publication of costume books and prints. Figures depicted following these trends were important for the creation of regional identity, and the establishment of cultural stereotypes by Venetians towards their Ottoman counterparts. Often these images were intended to be viewed against images of European individuals, further emphasizing their indicative otherness for the viewer. Further discussion will show that this sartorial analysis, combined with select historical determinants, lead to nuanced interpretations of paintings produced within Venice in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER II DETERMINING OTHERNESS

Travel Literature as Sources

Early-modern travel narratives are essential to the understanding of Venetian and Italian perceptions of Turkish ‘otherness’ in the sixteenth century. Travel writings have historically been valued within Venetian culture, and these texts went hand in hand with the importance of trade within the Empire. Thus, travel and trade were well documented by Venetian travelers. Their encounters with other cultures were described in detail throughout their writings. As Deborah Howard explains, “merchant handbooks, ambassadors’ reports and pilgrims’ chronicles,” along with journal entries, together created a collection of knowledge that was subsequently circulated throughout the city.⁶⁰ The printed descriptions within costume books like those discussed in the previous chapter also offered vivid details on European travelers’ perception of other cultures. As with the costume books discussed in the previous chapter, the sixteenth century marked a pivotal point for the publication of many of these travel narratives. With a growing interest in the diverse cultures across the Mediterranean and a steady trade with the East, readers were interested in collated accounts of the goings on of their neighbours.

There are three tiers of travel writing: those which were intended for private correspondence, political reports, and wider public consumption. Merchant and ambassadorial correspondence is a more limited source for contemporary popular conceptions of Near and Middle Eastern regions because it is typically restricted in elaboration of the socio-cultural activities of where their authors were stationed. During primary research, I observed that official *relazioni*, reports by returning diplomats, offer limited evidence of a meaningful observation of

⁶⁰ Howard, “The Status of the Oriental Traveller,” 29.

the cultural practice in these foreign cities because of their preoccupation with the political and mercantile activities abroad. That said, the government provided formally codified advice to traveling dignitaries that showed an acknowledgement of the need for these travelers to be respectful of foreign cultural and religious customs, without detailing what these activities were.⁶¹ While there is attention to socio-cultural activity, the detail is shaped by a limited scope of interests pertinent to mercantile trade. Missing from these accounts are details on religious rites and practices, foodways, and other fundamental socio-cultural activities which ultimately define the ‘otherness’ of these regions.

It is in private correspondence where a reflection of the nuanced opinions of the ‘otherness’ of these foreign lands is articulated. These letters contain evidence of considerable consideration towards Muslim merchants, and especially towards local *trucimano* or dragoman, facilitators and translators for Venetian merchants. Within letters home, travelers praise their *trucimani*, and express sorrow and loss when they are no longer in their employ.⁶² Despite this, there was still negativity expressed towards merchants’ counterparts in the East. One example highlighted by Howard is a letter by Benedetto Sanudo to his brother Andrea (1473–74), in which he warns his brother against the lure of foreign women, in efforts to protect his personal health and honour.⁶³ While Sanudo explains in detail the riches of life in the East, he still expresses a wariness towards the character of the locals. This evidence points to complex conditions in which xenophobia and tolerance coexist within Venetian considerations of the East.

We know of Venetian integration into local customs because of requests by visiting travelers and pilgrims to Venetians for inside knowledge on travel within the Levant. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Venetian *fondachi* (similar to a trading post or mercantile

⁶¹ Howard, *Venice and the East*, 44.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 18.

inn) were well established in trade centres such as Damascus, Cairo, Alexandria, and Istanbul. However, in cities like Damascus, Venetians were allowed to live outside the *fondaco* and pay rent like locals; documents like wills and home inventories show the extent to which Venetians lived integrated within local culture.⁶⁴

Another genre of writing, private journals covering periods of residence in Eastern lands, were valued as family heirlooms and personal mementos which could be shared with immediate family and friends. The Venetian merchant Alessandro Magno purposefully copied his journals from a series of voyages between 1557 and 1562 and bound them in vellum to ensure they could be enjoyed by his family in memorium.⁶⁵ As he explained, “there being nothing more enjoyable, for those seeking the world, than the memories of past events. I have decided for this reason and as a relaxation to write up the details of my journey.”⁶⁶ Efforts such as this show how a collective memory of travels could be created through the sharing of personal memories in writing.

While these private accounts are important for interpreting the transmission of cultural understandings of the Near and Middle East for Venetians, the most valuable sources for the dissemination of this information is in travel accounts which were intended for a wide, public audience. These writings were a self-conscious commitment to capture memories and observations of travels in the East and share them with a European readership.

⁶⁴ Howard, *Venice and the East*, 38. Howard explains that knowledge requested included “how to hire animals, to dress, equip and defend themselves when travelling overland.”

⁶⁵ Magno would have re-written his journal entries onto a more durable paper with legible writing, purposefully ensuring the manuscript would survive for his descendants to enjoy.

⁶⁶ Alessandro Magno, *Account of his journeys to Cyprus, Egypt, Spain, England, Flanders and Germany, and of Brescia*, 1557-1565, MS V.A. 259 (=de Ricci 1317/I), Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., quoted in Howard, *Venice and the East*, 44.

That travel writings were abundantly consumed in Venice was a known fact. Popular travel accounts by mainland Europeans, such as French geographer Nicolas de Nicolay, were translated to Italian and published within the city. An anthology of travel writing edited by Fracanzio da Montalboddo, originally released in Vicenza in 1507, was republished in Venice in 1517. This book “seemed to address a more specifically Venetian readership, for the title page [was] largely taken up by a woodcut of the centre of Venice.”⁶⁷ Members of literate Venetian circles, many of whom would not have traveled to these faraway places, would still have the opportunity to experience ‘otherness’ through these publications. The anonymous author of *Itinerario da Aleppo in Thauris* from 1496 certainly intended his writings to be read by an external audience, for he apologizes for his incorrect language.⁶⁸

The anonymous writer of the *Itinerario* acknowledges the reader by claiming knowledge of over five languages, and by underlying his long-term residency in the East. As he explains, “after many visits to those parts, and having lived there for eight years and eight months, I have seen, understood and comprehended as much as I could. [...] Whatever I tell you will be true because I have seen it with my own eyes.”⁶⁹ I suggest that by highlighting his skills and tenure abroad, this author confers his authority over the information he is about to offer the reader.

To legitimize their accounts, some authors aid readers in the visualization of the places being described. Howard discusses travel authors’ tendency to use comparative devices to describe distant cities such as Cairo, Damascus, or Istanbul. Authors would compare elements of foreign topography and cultural practices to those of Venice, “allowing the reader to retain a basis of credibility within which to locate the amazing and the new.”⁷⁰ As many of these trade

⁶⁷ Howard, “The Status of the Oriental Traveller,” 35.

⁶⁸ *Itinerario da Aleppo in Thauris 1496*, Biblioteca Correr, Venice.

⁶⁹ Howard, *Venice and the East*, 46-7.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

centers are served by bodies of water, I observed that comparisons between their waterways and the canals of Venice were frequently evoked to allow readers to visualize the locales. The Bosphorus and Nile were frequently compared to the Grand Canal and the distance between Venice proper and the mainland coastline or specific islands within the lagoon were used as comparative distances.⁷¹

This comparative lens was especially valuable for the explanation of architecture, and subsequently the vivid descriptions from the travel accounts permeated into visual production within Venice. For example, columns were compared in size or order to those within the Piazza San Marco or Piazzetta. By doing this, authors helped readers imagine the spaces described and also created a bond between these and Venice. Therefore, visual art scenes that included certain architectural elements could potentially be dually understood as Venetian or Eastern locales.

This is observable in depictions of Alexandria, and in particular images of the translation of the relics of Saint Mark. In Jacopo Tintoretto's *modello* for *The Removal of the Body of Saint Mark by Christians* (c. 1547) (fig. 13), the architectural scenery could be read as the waterfront of Alexandria, and equally as an evocation of Venice as the pre-determined final resting place for Saint Mark's body.⁷² The ambiguity of setting allows for deeper reading from the Venetian audience. In this composition, Tintoretto makes a greater effort to contextualize the setting as Venice; the locale is more indicative of an arrival at the Bacino than a departure from Alexandria. The only suggestions of the canonical setting are the secondary figures in Ottoman costume, easily identified by their generalized turbans. By dressing the group of pagans in an

⁷¹ *Itinerario da Aleppo in Thauris 1496*, Biblioteca Correr, Venice.

⁷² Roberta Battaglia, "Attorno al Miracolo dello Schiavo," in *Il Giovane Tintoretto*, 92. Venice was understood as the predestined resting place for the body of Saint Mark. This understanding is integral to the cult of Saint Mark within Venice.

assortment of contemporary Venetian and Turkish clothing, Tintoretto calls to mind a crowd that could be seen on the streets of sixteenth-century Venice.

As explained above, the architectural setting further frames this scene as taking place within contemporary Venice. Roland Krischel cites the architecture on the left and the right as Sansovino-esque references to the architecture of the Piazzetta and Loggetta.⁷³ The temple structure in the background is a reference to Bramante's Tempietto, another effort to situate the *Theft* in the sixteenth-century West.⁷⁴ This structure, however, is also reminiscent of antiquity in the Middle East through associations via the Holy Sepulchre or Dome of the Rock.⁷⁵ The multiplicitous architectural references are akin to the ambivalent representations of the turbaned figures within the painting: they serve to represent not only the East, but also contemporary Venetian life. More examples of this dual symbolism will be explored in Chapter Three.

Architectural descriptions within travel narratives were also used to capture the unique and exotic East. The anonymous traveler from 1496 first introduced above used embodied comparisons to explain the unique elements of Islamic architecture to readers. For instance, he explained the size of columns by how many men it would take to embrace it with their outstretched arms. His description of the minaret of the Great Mosque in Tabriz is that it was "too high to be reached by an arrow from a good bow."⁷⁶ This comparison acts as not only a physical measurement, but as an elaboration on the capabilities of Eastern architectural feats. In this case, it is not only admirable that the minarets are taller than the reach of the best bowmen,

⁷³ Roland Krischel, "Tintoretto and the Sister Arts," in *Tintoretto*, ed. Miguel Falomir (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2007), 130.

⁷⁴ Battaglia, *Il Giovane Tintoretto*, 207.

⁷⁵ Howard, *Venice and the East*, 200-09. Howard writes extensively on the associative references to the Holy Sepulchre and Dome of the Rock.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

but this fact could also evoke an appreciation or wariness of the superior capabilities of their technologies.

These visualisations, as well as informal sketches included with letters or circulated in costume books or other writings, were valuable in capturing the topography of cities artists had not visited. Marc'Antonio Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador to Istanbul 1568–73, highly regarded Islamic architecture, and frequently referenced the building campaigns of Sultan Selim II and members of his court.⁷⁷ Architectural analysis shows that his descriptions of the architect Mimar Sinan's mosque construction directly influenced construction projects within Venice.⁷⁸ Paintings with realistic architectural depictions show that artists used these descriptions to create pictorial representations of cities. An oft-cited example of this is *Reception of a Venetian Delegation in Damascus* (1511) (fig. 14) by an unknown Venetian artist. The artist accurately depicts the cupola of the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and the minarets are proportionate to the true mosque complex.⁷⁹ The precision of this type of pictorial depiction is juxtaposed against other uses of architecture within Venetian paintings evoking the East, because of the attention to detail and commitment to accuracy. In other such works, architecture is used to transpose the idea of Venice into an Eastern locale, shortening the distance between the subject of the painting and the Venetian viewers. Chapter Three will include further discussion of the nuanced approaches to architecture.

Comparative Cultures

In addition to visual aids, authors also employed comparisons to other cultural signifiers when explaining the cultural activities within foreign lands. Food habits are often cited as a

⁷⁷ Howard, "Venice Between East and West," 309.

⁷⁸ See Howard's "Venice Between East and West."

⁷⁹ Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*, 58.

means of articulating the distinction between themselves and their foreign counterparts. In practice, similarities characterized trustworthy and safe allies, and differences were representative of larger distinctions between the cultures. In *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des Navigations et Peregrinations Orientales*, Nicolas de Nicolay cited food habits in his discussions on the Ottoman Empire. Eric Dursteler explains that Nicolay's emphasis on Ottoman cuisine "sets up a dichotomy not only between good and bad food, but also between civilization and barbarity."⁸⁰ This example is indicative of the overall ways in which comparisons were used to create an understanding of the other.

Correlations between food and civility originated in classical and medieval conventions of barbarity versus civility. Travelers conversant in humanist studies were familiar with the Greco-Roman understandings of food, namely that "what one ate, how it was prepared, and how it was eaten were all significant markers of the boundary between 'civilized, sedentary farmers [...] and uncivilized, pastoral nomads.'⁸¹ This classification was based largely on the consumption of meat, as well as the drinking of water and perceived over-indulgence in alcohol. While Europeans did consume meat, it was the quantities and the method of preparation that made Ottomans and other non-Europeans uncivilized. Venetian ambassadorial reports described Sultan Selim II as a glutton and criticized his consumption of alcohol.⁸² In his 1539 account *Libri tre delle cose dei Turchi*, Benedetto Ramberti categorized the foodways of Ottoman Turks as "dirty and very disorderly" partially because "he eats on the ground [...] and does not have a designated time for this, rather he eats at night, during the day, and always without rules, without

⁸⁰ Dursteler, "Bad Bread," 206.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 211. Travel narratives commented frequently on the existence of taverns and the excessive drunkenness of Turkish men on the city streets.

style, with no delicacy whatsoever, but rather like animals do.”⁸³ The analysis of foodways was just one of the methods employed by authors to create a dichotomy of ‘us vs. them’.

These observations built on the classical notion of barbarism – which was originally developed to describe Germanic peoples – and medieval and early-modern fears of Islam. With the increasing threat of Islamic incursions on Christian territory, Turks were easily classified as a barbarous enemy that was incompatible with Christian, European civilization. Nancy Bisaha extensively analyzes the historical establishment of the conflation of Turks as ‘new barbarians.’ She explains that “‘Easternness’ [...] became synonymous with a host of unbecoming and threatening qualities, which served to offset the mythical greatness of the West.”⁸⁴

These pre-conceived opinions frequently coloured discussions of the East. Nicolay’s discussion of the Ottoman Empire in his *Navigations* compares them to the political and social order of the French monarchy. As Marcus Keller explains, “by offering his readers alternative models of political order, cultural diversity, and religious practices [...] Nicolay indirectly advocated a political agenda that favours loyalty to the monarchy, religious moderation and tolerance, and [national] unity.”⁸⁵ While the book offers some of the best and most accurate descriptions of Ottoman life, it is also coloured by elaborations of exoticism, particularly in his descriptions of court life.⁸⁶

Nicolay’s descriptions of a variety of Mediterranean cities he visited included accounts of their histories, and tales of bazaars and other foreign concepts that would have entertained the

⁸³ Ramberti, *Libri tre delle cose dei Turchi* (Venice: Aldus, 1539), quoted in Dursteler, “Bad Bread,” 216.

⁸⁴ Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 87.

⁸⁵ Keller, “Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations*,” 19.

⁸⁶ Brafman, “Facing East,” 153. The most exaggerated elements included life within the Sultan’s harem, and the activities of Islamic sects such as the dervishes. His assertion of truthfulness cannot be accepted completely, and it is known that many of his accounts came from a eunuch named Zaferaga who he befriended at the court.

armchair traveler. The delight received from ethnographic details would have been counterbalanced by pointed referrals to political events that painted the Turks in a negative light. After explaining a circumstance when an Ottoman representative refused to release Christian slaves to the French ambassador, Nicolay calls Turks “the most barbarous, stingy, and cruel nation in the world.”⁸⁷ This story is presented early on in Chapter one, asserting this negativity before any of the further discussion of political, cultural, or social practice. While the book offers valuable descriptions of intriguing foreign cultural practices, through both textual and pictorial content, through the inclusion of political and military events, “the Turks emerge as a danger to Western and Christian civilization.”⁸⁸

Travel narratives became a source for the transmission of cultural knowledge of the East. Through them, armchair travelers could explore faraway places and experience cultural diversity. However, they were also used as methods of renewing and upholding the negative cultural stereotypes that were already pervasive in the minds of Europeans. The dichotomous perspectives towards Ottoman Turks transmitted through travel literature inform our understanding of depictions of Ottoman Turks in sixteenth-century Venetian painting.

Ottoman Presence in Venice

While travel literature is valuable, it is not fully representative of the opinions held by all Venetians, as they would not have been accessible to all. The existence of trade within Venice meant that those who did not travel and did not have access to the writings of those who had been abroad, still had contact with the East. This was through relations with foreigners, the sharing of experiences of Venetian travelers, and goods brought home. As Howard asserts, “a

⁸⁷ Keller, “Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations*,” 25.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

crucial factor in the effectiveness of east-west cultural transmission was the Republic's policy of insisting that goods purchased in the east should be sold at the Rialto," the public marketplace of Venice.⁸⁹ Oral narratives were also key to the collective travel memory of the Venetian people. They could be shared easily across boundaries of gender and class, and thus could be communally appreciated. This "public memory" allowed the experiences of those abroad to be "transmitted by returning travelers and propagated by continual discussion within the community."⁹⁰ Any member of Venetian society could have been exposed to the exotic and unfamiliar of Eastern culture as a consequence of trade within Venice.

While encounters with Eastern cultures in the open marketplace could have fostered interest and familiarity, other documentation of the experiences of Ottoman Turks in Venice attests to systemic tensions. The Ottoman presence within Venice was at its height in the sixteenth century. This period included both times of peace between the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire, and multiple instances of war, when relationships could shift from uneasy to outright hostility. This presence was mostly composed of foreign male merchants and their households who were within the city for an extended period of time completing trades and establishing relationships for increased mercantile networking. While evidence shows a consistent presence of either Ottoman Turks within Venice or a mercantile influence of the East, the experiences of these persons within the city shows that the relationship between Venetians and Ottomans in the city was not always positive.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Venetian Republic and Ottoman Empire had multiple conflicts that culminated in the Ottoman-Venetian Wars. These conflicts are important because they would have been the catalyst for a possible shift or alteration in the shared attitudes

⁸⁹ Howard, *Venice and the East*, 62.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

of Venetians towards the Ottoman Turk. Under conditions of conflict, the shifts were not positive, as evident in contemporary primary documentation. Legal complaints, letters, and transcripts for legislative meetings, for instance, show that Turkish ambassadors and envoys for merchants were increasingly requesting additional protection from the Venetian Senate. As Ortega explains, “treaties protecting Ottoman subjects in Venetian territories dated back to 1419.”⁹¹ In a later example, a representative of the Ottoman Sultan’s Grand Vizier, known only as Mustafa, wrote to the Senate in 1573 claiming that a group of men had attacked him without provocation. His associate maintained that he could no longer stand on his balcony because of verbal harassment, being called names such as “goat, horned cuckold, and dog.”⁹² The Venetian government took these and other complaints seriously, because notices were subsequently posted warning locals of “severe consequences if they assaulted or harassed Ottoman guests.”⁹³ These attacks serve as evidence for a stratum of xenophobic opinions held by the Venetian citizenry.

Tensions were at their highest in the 1570s following the third Ottoman-Venetian conflict. Contemporary reports of the number of arrests of Ottoman subjects after the outbreak of the war in 1570 show just how significant the mercantile presence was: according to one from 1570, a total of seventy-five Ottomans were arrested by the Venetian authorities.⁹⁴ Cemal Kafadar notes that mercantile activities resumed around May of 1571, but there were growing instances of violence against the Muslim residents of the city.⁹⁵ This would have peaked in October of 1571, after the Venetian-won Battle of Lepanto, the campaign fought between the

⁹¹ Ortega, “Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries,” 72.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Cemal Kafadar, “A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima,” in *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 1996), 106. Jewish merchants were also arrested during this period.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

Holy League and Ottomans over the valuable island of Cyprus.⁹⁶ Many Turkish merchants had to take refuge within their accommodations, fearing “stone-throwing youths.”⁹⁷ When peace was declared in March 1573, there was a noticeable increase of Ottoman-Muslim merchants within the city. This growth, along with the continuance of conflicts between merchants and Venetian locals, led the Venetian authorities to consider the need for a permanent space for these visitors.⁹⁸ Through much lobbying, a sort of embassy, the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, was established in 1621.

The rise in conflicts between the two Empires was due to trade and expansionist policies. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made it a threat to Venice’s own colonial efforts in the Mediterranean, which were driven by the “increasingly lucrative trade between Europe and the East.”⁹⁹ Istanbul’s navy grew larger after the 1453 conquest of the city, and the Sultan took greater control of trade by moving merchants who traveled by sea into the capital and providing them with tax incentives to encourage trade.¹⁰⁰ In the face of Ottoman political and economic expansionism, the Battle of Lepanto was therefore largely celebrated as a confirmation of Venetian identity as a naval power during a time of general decline for the Republic. This win was celebrated through a variety of commemorations: processions and votive masses, publications, paintings, and prints.¹⁰¹

In light of the many military campaigns which put Venetians and the Ottoman Empire at odds, as well as pre-conceived fears of Islam and Ottoman Turks, the characterization of

⁹⁶ Benjamin Paul, “‘And the Moon Started to Bleed’: Apocalypticism and Religious Reform in Venetian Art at the Time of the Battle of Lepanto,” in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery Before Orientalism*, ed. James G Harper (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing: 2011), 67.

⁹⁷ Kafadar, “A Death in Venice,” 107.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Andrew C. Hess, “The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth-Century World War,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4, no. 1 (1973): 59.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 62.

¹⁰¹ Paul, “And the Moon Started to Bleed,” 67.

Ottoman-Muslims as the military enemy is evident and understandable. Tintoretto's *Abduction of Helen* (c. 1578–79) (fig. 15) is the most explicit of Tintoretto's characterization of Ottomans as a military enemy. He depicts Helen being forcibly taken to a ship while a violent battle ensues in the background. Depictions of the abduction of Helen by Tintoretto's contemporaries follow two trends: either as a consensual departure or as a kidnapping. Miguel Falomir posits that Tintoretto may have followed a composition by Raphael at the Palazzo Capodiferro, which was engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (fig. 16) and reproduced in a drawing by Andrea Schiavone.¹⁰² The artist moves away from contemporary representations of Helen by depicting the scene as a battle between Turks and Christians, a shift which is discernable through sartorial analysis. While Raimondi's engraving conforms to a tradition of depicting the conflict over Helen in historical clothing, Tintoretto substitutes the former for contemporary Venetian and Ottoman clothing. While the print offers little sartorial evidence to distinguish between the Trojans and Spartans (a few of the soldiers in the foreground have helmets), Tintoretto creates a clear dichotomy between Venetians and the Ottoman assailants. Turning the scene into a political allegory, it has been said that Tintoretto's Helen stands in as a personification of Venice itself, one that needs to be protected from Ottoman aggression.¹⁰³ It is not unreasonable to interpret the *Abduction of Helen* as a response to the conflict with the Ottomans at Lepanto.

The artist's use of light and shadow enhance the busy and chaotic composition and imparts a sense of drama and violence. This disorder is heightened by the convoluted bodies within the mid- and backgrounds. The large masts which divide the painting were the final element added over the whole scene, and this "indicates the degree to which his main concern

¹⁰² Falomir, *Tintoretto*, 348.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 349.

was the relations between the different characters.”¹⁰⁴ The masts turn the melee into an evocation of a sea skirmish that would have brought to mind the recent Battle of Lepanto, identifying the turbaned figures as a military enemy. This representational shift is not unique to Tintoretto, but an example of the more systemic trend of negative representations of Turks post-Lepanto which will be discussed in Chapter Three.

The battles of the 1570s added to the wariness of Christians towards Islam. As has proven to be a theme in discussions above, the function of Turks in contemporary paintings was to enable the formation of a distinct Christian-Venetian identity. For many Venetians, the victory over the Turks was representative of the divine appreciation for Venice. Other Venetians saw the conflict and the Turkish threat more broadly, as a punishment for Venice’s lack of faith.¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Paul’s discussion of apocalypticism in post-Lepanto Venice asserts that “Turks [did] not represent opposed counterparts, but rather [were] the tools of God’s scourging of Venice, their very presence implying that the Venetians must change their habits in order to regain his good graces.”¹⁰⁶ Post-Lepanto images embody the dual rapport of Venetians to Ottomans, who stood as both military and religious counter-examples. In Chapter Three, I will analyse this pictorial duality.

Religious Tensions within Venice

Ottoman Muslim spaces were always heavily policed by Venetian authorities, regardless of the conflicts between the two empires. Issues with Ottoman merchants were indeed both political and religious, but generally more intensely felt because of fears of Islam. As Ortega explains, “the debate over housing Muslims needs to be understood as a struggle between the

¹⁰⁴ Falomir, “The Final Years,” 348.

¹⁰⁵ Paul, “And the Moon Started to Bleed,” 68.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

power of the Venetian state to segregate people according to their religion and the power of different Ottoman merchant groups to use residential locations as spaces for cross-cultural contact.”¹⁰⁷ Ottoman merchants were indispensable to the Venetian government because of the lucrative trade between the nations, but they also represented a threat to the Christian ideals of Venice, and authorities did not want to allow more contact between Ottoman-Muslims and Venetians than necessary. From the middle of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, members of this Ottoman community, although concentrated in select areas, were still dispersed throughout the city. The concentration of foreign nationalities in certain residences, however, “attempted to place people in specific spaces,” particularly within inns or lodging houses.¹⁰⁸ These establishments presumably had accepted both Christian and non-Christian patrons because, after the *Fondaco dei Turchi* was established in 1621, they were banned from accepting Ottoman Muslims.¹⁰⁹

Earlier cross-cultural contact in common residencies had become unacceptable by 1621, and indeed, problematic long beforehand. One Greek trade broker complained in 1574 that Ottoman Muslims were “ruining Venice’s reputation as a good Christian state.”¹¹⁰ This broker was later instrumental in the establishment of the *Fondaco dei Turchi* on the Rialto, and further legislation that banned Ottoman Muslims from staying anywhere other than specified locations such as the *Fondaco*.

One of the biggest issues for Venetian authorities was that Muslim merchants often traveled with Christian servants or slaves.¹¹¹ While much of this discomfort was due to an unease

¹⁰⁷ Ortega, “Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries,” 68.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 74.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 66. A well cited complaint, by this and other complainants, was that Muslim men were having sex with Christian women.

¹¹¹ Ibid. 76.

with this dominance of Islam over Christianity (for Christian Venetians still had Christian slaves and servants), it was heightened by the potential corruption of these Christian servers' souls. Cohabitation of Muslims and Christians, whether within the same households or in Venetian inns posed a serious threat. There was a fear that eating with Ottoman Muslims would inevitably lead to the corruption of Christian foodways and Western notions of civility.¹¹² While authorities were wary of cross-cultural contact between Muslims and Christian Venetians, religious groups were intent on converting the 'other' within the city. One such institution was the Catecumeni, concerned with converting Jews, Muslims, and pagans residing within Venice to Catholic Christianity.¹¹³ As we will see in Chapter Three, painted depictions of passive Ottoman characters may be "presented as exemplary subject[s] for Christian charity and conversion."¹¹⁴

The increasing contact between Ottomans and Christians over the sixteenth century was a contested situation. As trade connections developed, so did the exposure to more diverse cultures. New and pre-conceived notions of class and race were laid on older culturally Christian ideas of ethics and civility, as a way to understand and make sense of the 'other'. The Ottomans were both admired and feared, as Venetians showed in writings about their travels abroad. Elements of Ottoman culture were critiqued, but also adopted and adapted to benefit the creation of Venetian cultural production, and subsequently, identity. In this chapter, the increase in hostilities due to military conflicts leading to the Battle of Lepanto was shown to create the ground for antagonistic images of the Turk as seen in Tintoretto's *Abduction of Helen*. The subsequent chapter centers on the pictorial shift from earlier representations of the Turk as an

¹¹² Ortega, "Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries," 77.

¹¹³ Paul Kaplan, "Black Turks: Venetian Artists and Perceptions of Ottoman Ethnicity," in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery Before Orientalism*, ed. James G Harper (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing: 2011), 55.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

intriguing and exotic other, indicating place and time to evocations of nuanced interpretations as the relationship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire grew more complicated.

CHAPTER III

PICTURING THE TURK IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTINGS

The last two chapters have outlined the ways in which the Venetian public perceived, learned about, and subsequently behaved with Ottoman Turks. These historical determinants show the reasons behind the hostility and fear, but also the respect for and curiosity about subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century, cross-cultural contact within Venice and abroad meant that Venetians were familiar with the figure of the Turk. The following chapter examines visual themes of the Turk that were pervasive in Venetian art, particularly in the works of Tintoretto. With a focus on religious narratives, elements like costume, architecture and setting, and historical context will be analyzed to view the ways Ottoman Turks were depicted in Venetian art. I will argue that images show a shift in attitude toward the Ottoman ‘other’ after the impactful Battle of Lepanto (1571).

The Venetian Saint

Imagery of the Turk became popular in the Venetian *scuole* cycles of the fifteenth century. As so many of these *scuole* commissioned depictions of patron saints who were active in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, the cycles are often set in Eastern locales and feature costume from the Ottoman, Mamluk, and Persian Empires. The eyewitness style paintings that were produced during this period together represent what Julian Raby has named the ‘Oriental Mode’.¹¹⁵ Within these paintings were realistic looking depictions of Eastern costume and Islamic architecture that created imaginary Eastern settings in which the Christian saints appeared. These pictures were modelled after the descriptions of travelers and visitors as

¹¹⁵ Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 17.

discussed in Chapter Two. Three artists at the forefront of this Orientalist movement were Bellini, Mansueti, and Vittore Carpaccio.

One example of art within this Oriental Mode is *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (1504–07) (fig. 17) by Bellini. The Eastern costumes within this composition are considered accurate; the men wear characteristically Mamluk turbans, recognizable for the height and lack of *taj* (cap) seen in Ottoman turbans.¹¹⁶ While characters are accurately costumed, the setting is an amalgamation of a wide selection of recognizable Islamic and Christian buildings. The central structure, meant to represent the temple of the ancient Egyptian goddess Serapis, can be read as a transported, Islamicized version of Saint Mark’s Basilica in Venice.¹¹⁷ Instead of five arched doors, the façade is reduced to three. Raby proposes that the façade may also be an allusion to Bellini’s time in Istanbul; the fenestrated tympana and buttresses are reminiscent of the façade of the Hagia Sophia.¹¹⁸

Other references to Ottoman Istanbul include the obelisk to the left of the building, recalling the obelisk of Tutmosis III in the Hippodrome.¹¹⁹ Real Islamic architecture is also depicted: the Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo and its recognizable exterior staircase sits beside the left-most dome, and the tower of Bab Zuwayla from the old Cairo walls, second from the right. The dwellings with roof terraces and small windows are typical of contemporary Egyptian buildings.¹²⁰ This imaginary cityscape represents the beginnings of a tendency to blend Venetian

¹¹⁶ Charlotte Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 64. Many of the costumes presented within these Orientalist paintings are accurate to historical costume preserved in contemporary institutions.

¹¹⁷ Caroline Campbell, “The Bellini, Bessarion and Byzantium,” in *Bellini and the East*, ed. Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong (London: National Gallery Company, 2005), 55.

¹¹⁸ Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 21.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, “‘Orientalist’ Painting in Venice, 15th to 17th Centuries,” in *Venice and the Islamic World, 28-1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni (New York City: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007; New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007), 128.

and Eastern settings to aid the viewer in their interpretations of the image. Similar efforts are made in later works, as will be discussed below.

The story of Saint Mark is central to understandings of Venetian consciousness, Venetian identity, and Venetian expressions of piety. Because of the location of his mission and martyrdom in Alexandria, the inclusion of Eastern elements makes sense. In late fifteenth-, early-sixteenth-century eyewitness style, Venetian artists like Bellini included detail to attest to the veracity of the events depicted.¹²¹ By Tintoretto's time, pictorial allusions to the East that make claims to accuracy much less frequent; the artist made no effort to set narratives within the correct geographic or historical contexts. Instead, he breaks with tradition and moves settings to imaginative hybrids evoking Venice, allowing for greater engagement between the viewer and the narrative presented.

One striking example of the role of the Ottoman Turk in the story of Saint Mark is Tintoretto's *Miracle of Saint Mark Freeing the Slave* (1548) (fig. 18). In this composition, Tintoretto depicts the moment when Saint Mark intercedes on behalf of the Christian slave, who is about to be killed for practising his Christian faith. The saint is saved when the tools of his martyrdom break in response to Saint Mark's intervention. The central Turk is shown holding the broken tools in astonishment. The Turks, seen in the left-center grouping (fig. 19), are more complicit in the narrative than the passive viewers in Bellini's *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria*. The Turks in the painting wear intricate costumes that would have appealed to an exotic fascination. Rather than singled out as aggressors, they are mixed in with a crowd of Western observers in contemporary dress. The diversity of the crowd is indicative of

¹²¹ Brown, *Venetian Narrative*, 97.

cohabitation and cross-cultural contact which, as discussed in Chapter Two, was a reality of life in Venice throughout the sixteenth century.¹²²

In the central group of figures (fig. 19) two types of turbans known in Venice are visible. As large, structured turbans (fig. 6–7) were reserved for the elite, the Turks here can be identified as laymen, and would have been a common sight in the city streets. The figure in blue in this composition is wearing headgear similar to the *zamt*, a characteristically Mamluk-Egyptian red bonnet with long tufts.¹²³ The other figures wear Ottoman turbans identified by the wrapped red *taj* with vertical lines.¹²⁴ This attention to detail, particularly in dress, shows Tintoretto's interest in depicting a more diverse milieu for the story. These figures are not shown as the main aggressors but share the wonder of witnessing Saint Mark's miracle. The choice to include such a varied crowd might have been made to communicate Venice as the predestination for Saint Mark's body.¹²⁵ Furthermore, this episode may also have shown the power of the miracle to convert the non-Christians pictured.

Tintoretto dramatized the scene through the composition, colour, and use of light and darkness. Robert Echols notes that the “strong diagonal movement” combined with the billowing drapery on Saint Mark's clothing causes the viewer's eye to move along the image towards the commotion below.¹²⁶ A visual link is created between the slave and Saint Mark by posing them at parallel diagonals, juxtaposed against the vertical bodies of the remaining figures.

Interestingly, the eyes cannot avoid the turbaned Turks in the composition. The figures of Mark and the slave are uniquely isolated against the sky and the ground respectively. The slave owner

¹²² Battaglia, *Il Giovane Tintoretto*, 215.

¹²³ Raby, *Venice, Durer and the Oriental Mode*, 29. The Mamluk Empire was absorbed by the Ottoman Empire in 1517, but regional differences in headgear would have still existed.

¹²⁴ Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West*, 18.

¹²⁵ Battaglia, “48,” 215.

¹²⁶ Robert Echols, “Tintoretto the Painter,” in *Tintoretto*, ed. Miguel Falomir (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2007), 38.

and the Turk with the hammer are the only other figures isolated similarly. This figural treatment, as well as the pointed use of chiaroscuro, emphasises the four most important characters in the story. It is therefore extraordinary that Tintoretto would choose to make one of those figures a Turk. The colourful Oriental costume must have increased the wonder and excitement for the viewer.

The most pronounced areas of chiaroscuro – the slave’s naked body and Saint Mark’s head radiating light – further emphasize the connection between the two subjects. Chiaroscuro is also used to heighten the drama of the scene by giving the allusion to a theatrical production. The classical architecture in the background, combined with telamons and anonymous Eastern figures on the balcony in the top left corner, connote a more foreign locale. However, Krischel notes that Venetian viewers would have recognized the reference to Sansovino’s newly completed Loggetta in the columns on the left.¹²⁷ The ambiguous setting alludes to the possibility of this episode happening either locally or abroad. By housing this miracle in a hybrid setting, Tintoretto extrapolates the events and situates them in contexts familiar to their own lives. The inclusion of Venetian architectural references and diverse crowds that evoke the conditions of cross-cultural contact in Venice result in an image to which the viewers could relate. The viewer would be fascinated with the description of exotic costume and identify it with the Ottoman in their midst, all while seeing that the dramatic Christian miracle vanquishes even the Turk, who witnesses what is happening in amazement.

Other images from the Saint Mark cycle use characters and ambiguous settings as means of creating a sense of place. In *Removal of the Body of Saint Mark* (1562–66) (fig. 20), the vagueness of the location is the element that allows for the religious message to be fully received

¹²⁷ Krischel, “Tintoretto and the Sister Arts,” 127.

and appreciated by a Venetian audience. In this instance, allusions to the East constructed through tertiary background characters contextualize this event within Alexandria. In this case, this offers ‘historical’ accuracy to the composition but does not contribute to the narrative of the piece. In fact, the more pointed significance within this painting lies in the implications of the architectural choices. While the men are intended to be saving Saint Mark’s body from the funeral pyre in Alexandria, the architectural surrounds are much more indicative of the Venetian cityscape. In fact, the venue is representative of a piazza similar to that of San Marco: the portico to which the turbaned figures flee recall Sansovino’s Procuratie Nuove, and the church is similar to that of San Geminiano, which was at the west end of the square in the sixteenth century.¹²⁸ In this case a connection between viewer and the story is reinforced by the inclusion of what would be familiar architectural elements in that foreign location.

The depictions of Saint Mark discussed above are notable because they break with Venetian pictorial tradition to some degree. Tintoretto’s use of geographical ambiguity is important, because it allows viewers to insert their own perceptions to create the overall impactful narrative. Fredrick Ilchman situates this strategy within the larger context of sixteenth-century contemplative manuals and religious dialogues. He explains that traditional books like *Meditationes vitae Christi* “enjoined readers to imagine as vividly as possible the stories of the Gospels and the saints, with the aim of inspiring empathy and a greater emotional involvement.”¹²⁹ Most importantly, “readers were instructed to meditate systematically on the events of Christ’s life, as if they were present themselves.”¹³⁰ These notions could easily be applied to the interpretation of paintings, and in fact to the approaches taken in many of the

¹²⁸ Frederick Ilchman, “Tintoretto as a Painter of Religious Narrative,” in *Tintoretto*, ed. Miguel Falomir (Madrid: Museo del Prado), 81.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

subsequently discussed works. Tintoretto expands on this principle by inserting figures and settings that evoked Venetian familiarity with the Turk, exploiting contemporary attitudes towards them to forward the messages of the stories. While the eyewitness style of early sixteenth-century artists used Oriental figures to allude to an Eastern setting, the evocation of Turks *within* Venetian space gave them a more impactful role in the narratives.

The Ubiquitous Other

Turks were often used in compositions to represent the ‘other’, particularly in Biblical scenes. In these, turbaned figures stand in for diverse ‘others’ including pagan, Jewish, pre-Christian and Semitic peoples contributing to the perceptions of the foreign space of biblical lands. Their very presence, either as ambiguous characters indicating place or time, or as recognizable characterizations, is evidence of their significance to Venetian viewers.

The use of Ottoman Turks to signify the ‘other’ is evident in two depictions of the *Crucifixion* by Tintoretto from 1558 (now at the Gallerie dell’Accademia) and 1568 (*in situ* at the Scuola di San Rocco). Both paintings include figures on horseback as well as figures throughout the backgrounds. In the Accademia composition (fig. 21), the image of the Turk is much less prominent and individualized than the later version. While Tintoretto includes one turbaned Turk in the mid-ground (supporting the ladder), the others are limited to the background. By situating the majority of them past the three crosses, the Turks are on a separate plane from the Christian mourners in the foreground, asserting the difference between the Christians and non-Christians. This dichotomy is also represented in the San Rocco *Crucifixion* (fig. 22). Here, the Turks are more discernable than in the earlier version, where their juxtaposition with Christian figures in the foreground also establishes their ‘otherness.’ Many

figures, particularly those to the right of Christ on horseback, are fully elaborated and clearly characterized as Ottomans. Even figures in the far middle-ground are given individualized costume indicative of Tintoretto's familiarity with Ottoman fashion. While most of these figures wear the typical Ottoman turban, some wear the janissary *börk* or headgear more characteristic of the Mamluk *zamt* (fig. 23).¹³¹

Many of the figures in the two *Crucifixions* evoke traditional Ottoman equestrian portraits, widely circulated throughout Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³² The image of the turbaned Turk on horseback was generally reserved for figures in power, such as the Sultan or Grand Vizier.¹³³ Tintoretto's turbaned men on horseback command respect and draw the viewers' attention. This characterization brings into question how Tintoretto had intended Venetian viewers to interpret his prominently placed Turkish riders.

I assert that the equestrian figures in the foreground are certainly the 'other' of the narrative because they are at Christ's left, the sinister side. But these foreground figures are not looking or acting aggressive, nor are they solely Ottoman: the San Rocco composition includes a variety of men in contemporary Italian clothing and the main figure on horseback with the naked torso in the Accademia version is reminiscence of ancient Rome. More telling of the Turkish figures' characterization as the negative 'other' in the San Rocco composition is their juxtaposition with contemporary Venetians on the right side of Christ. *Scuole* viewers would identify with the figures on the left like Girolamo Rota (fig. 24) – seen in the left on the white horse – the 'Procurator of the Ornaments' for the *scuola* and a central figure in Tintoretto's

¹³¹ Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design*, 65. Many resemble the red hats mentioned by Jirousek.

¹³² Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton write extensively on the significance of the Ottoman equestrian portrait and its connotation of power in *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

¹³³ Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*, 151.

commission.¹³⁴ The Ottoman equestrian figures in the foreground to the viewers' right, which one would suppose would be compared unfavourably with Rota in the opposite corner, however, do not act aggressively, command more attention than Rota and certainly take up more space. Therefore, while these figures are on the wrong side of Christ, they are neither characterized as aggressors nor are they visually demonized. I believe the Venetian fascination with the Ottoman equestrian as an image of exotic power was perhaps more useful to Tintoretto in this image as an ethnographic marker of the biblical Middle East.

Oriental characters, in the background of both compositions, also allude to the setting of the crucifixion at Golgotha in the Holy Land. As outlined in Chapter One, Old Testament biblical stories often included Oriental figures who connote an exotic ancient Middle East. Charlotte Jirousek explains that "biblical settings long included depictions of accessories, especially turbans [and other headgear], and garments of contemporaneous Muslim inhabitants of formerly Roman biblical lands."¹³⁵ Tintoretto's background figures follow suit, their silhouetted headgear contributing to the setting of the painting. In the San Rocco painting, an obelisk in the upper left corner (fig. 24), further cements the locale as a pre-Christian, Eastern setting.

One further instance of the Turk connoting a biblical 'other' is in their representation as individuals known to be non-Christian others.¹³⁶ In *Christ Carried to the Tomb* (c. 1560) (fig. 25), Nicodemus is represented as a Turk.¹³⁷ This figure is characteristically shown in a turban with *taj*. What is important here is that the costume identifies Nicodemus as a Pharisee. The implication of the figure as an Ottoman Turk is non-extant, because he is still able to have

¹³⁴ Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity*, 196.

¹³⁵ Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West*, 63.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5. Jirousek's visual references include the Magi and Jews in Old Testament stories.

¹³⁷ Blake De Maria, *Becoming Venetian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 79.

physical contact with the body of Christ. Were the costume meant to evoke a contemporary Ottoman, this contact would not be possible. This figure is therefore indicative of the representational use of Turks in biblical art, one which can be both in reference to place, time, or ‘otherness’.

The Possible Convert

Visual analysis in Chapter One and above shows that Eastern figures were often used to connote foreign setting, luxury and exoticism. Old Testament scenes such as *Esther and Ahasuerus* (fig. 9), used sartorial associations of wonder and intrigue to create a sense of the East. Conversely, narratives set in domestic settings do not portray Turks in lavish costume nor do they use Eastern costume to depict luxury. In fact, I observe that Turkish figures are quite generally pushed to the periphery of domestically set narratives. Quite often the Turk is present but not invited to participate in the sacred event. In Veronese’s *Last Supper* (c. 1581) (fig. 26), the sacred scene unfolds on the left-hand side of the composition, while a lone Turk is served his dinner outside the space. Figures such as the latter may be “presented as an exemplary subject for Christian charity and conversion, though [they are] kept at a secure distance from the central sacred event.”¹³⁸ This division of space within pictures is echoed by the Venetian government’s control of the movement of Ottoman merchants within Venice, discussed in Chapter Two.

Another example of this segregation can be seen in Tintoretto’s *Marriage at Cana* (1561) (fig. 27). The Ottoman figures are pushed as far as possible from Christ’s miracle, under the three arches in the background and outside of the perceived domestic space. They are easily identified by the silhouettes of their turbans. Only a few of them at the right-hand side of the

¹³⁸ Paul, “And the Moon Has Started to Bleed,” 55.

painting near the doors serve rather than interact with guests within the covered space. This inclusion in the Christian domestic sphere possibly identifies them as converts. The isolation of Christian from Muslim figures shown in a domestic setting might relate to the unease Venetian legislators felt towards Muslim merchants with Christian servants.¹³⁹ The fear for these servants' souls could be represented here as a chance to convert the Muslim servers to Christianity. Efforts of organisations such as the *Catecumeni*, which actively sought to convert Jews, Muslims and pagans within Venice to Catholicism throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, prove that the conversion of Muslims was an important goal for some Venetians.¹⁴⁰ While cohabitation and cross-cultural contact demonstrate that many Venetians were ambivalent towards the presence of the Turk in Venice, institutional mistrust and eventual military conflicts led to shifts in pictorial representation.

Post-Lepanto Iconography

As discussed in Chapter Two, one event that served as a significant catalyst for a shift in Turkish representation in sixteenth-century Venetian art was the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. After a series of defeats throughout the first half of the 1500s, the Venetians led the Holy League to a victory over the Ottoman Turks over the island of Cyprus. The campaign was celebrated as a mass victory for Venetians, and commemorative events took place throughout the city.¹⁴¹ Images such as the *Rape of Helen* (fig. 15) were produced in this context, substituting traditional allegorical iconography for images of the militarized Turk, resulting in symbolic representations of the superiority of Venice. But beyond a military campaign, Lepanto was seen as a single

¹³⁹ Ortega, "Across Religious and Ethnic Boundaries," 76.

¹⁴⁰ Kaplan, "Black Turks," 55; See also Rothman's *Brokering Empire* (2014) for analysis of the conversion efforts of the House of Catechumens.

¹⁴¹ Paul, "And the Moon Has Started to Bleed," 67.

victory in a larger war against Islam. Some religious art subsequently referenced Lepanto, both explicitly and implicitly.

One of the most overt instances of the shift in roles for the figure of the Turk in post-Lepanto images is the *Martyrdom of Saint Justina* (c. 1573) (fig. 28) by Paolo Veronese. Justina perfectly represents Venice's campaign against the Turks: she was one of the patron saints of Padua, and her feast day, October 6, coincided with the date of the Battle of Lepanto.¹⁴² Veronese creates a pointed dichotomy between the Turkish executioners and the Venetian patricians on either side of Saint Justina, who is highlighted by her visual identification with the pure white columns in the center. While the Venetians stand in the light, the Ottomans on the viewer's left are in shadow. Benjamin Paul asserts that this use of light and dark comes to a climax in the central pair of the saint and her dark-skinned executioner: "the confrontation of a dark-skinned Turk and the pale saint, echoes the dichotomy between good and evil."¹⁴³ This contrasting juxtaposition starkly delivers a message of Venetian moral superiority. The viewers' eyes are led to the Venetian patricians, who, without the presence of a divine saviour, implicitly represent Justina's saviours. Instead of representing Justina as the saviour of Venetians, the narrative is flipped and "the Venetians [are placed] into a position in which *they* function as *Justina's* patrons and protectors."¹⁴⁴

While the Ottomans at the far left now seem familiar, with their turbans and characteristic facial hair, the black Turk is shown differently. Paul Kaplan highlights the figure's red hat as an identifier common in representations of Turks in art from the 1530s to the 1580s.¹⁴⁵ It seems to

¹⁴² Paul, "And the Moon Has Started to Bleed," 69.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Kaplan, "Black Turks," 54.

be a combination of the janissary *börk* and the Mamluk *zamt*.¹⁴⁶ Kaplan asserts that “most European images of Turks [did] not distinguish them by the colour of their skin”; as discussed in Chapter One, costume was the most recognizable characteristic used to distinguish place of origin within art.¹⁴⁷ When the Ottoman Empire took over the Mamluk Empire in 1517 however, there was a noticeable increase of black Turks in Venetian art.¹⁴⁸ Some well-known examples of visibly racialized Ottoman figures include Titian’s *Pesaro Altarpiece* (1519–26) and Veronese’s *Marriage at Cana* (1562–63).¹⁴⁹ In *Martyrdom of Saint Justina*, the role of the black Turk as the executioner may reflect a notable public procession which celebrated the victory at Lepanto. According to Kaplan, “a float representing the Ottomans was rowed by a figure of Charon played by a naked ‘moor’ (probably a black African) equipped with horns and wings, while the sole passenger was dressed as a Turk.”¹⁵⁰ It can therefore be signified that the black executioner is more devilish than the turbaned Turks to the left of him, a characterization reflected in the demonization of the black figure from the commemorative procession. This combination of race and geopolitical identity highlights an increased association of racialized Ottoman characteristics with an anti-Christian identity, one that became more pervasive after the Battle of Lepanto.

Lepanto resulted in an establishment of new iconography that demonized the Turk. One such image is the Turk and Islam as a conquered dragon. This depiction is symbolic of the association of the Turks with the Antichrist, which emerged after Lepanto in groups that viewed the event as an apocalyptic trial due to Venetian impiety. In Cesare Vecellio’s woodcut, *Portrait of Doge Alvise Mocenigo with Allegorical Border* (1570s) (fig. 29), Doge Mocenigo is

¹⁴⁶ Jirousek, *Ottoman Dress and Design*, 65. Similarities can be seen between the red hat and representations discussed in Jirousek.

¹⁴⁷ Kaplan, “Black Turks,” 45.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

characterized as a sort of Crusader, dressed in armour and brandishing a sword. The entire composition commemorates Mocenigo's role as Doge during the Battle of Lepanto. The surrounding border showcases two conquered Turks and a dragon. The two Turks are identifiable by their characteristic facial hair and headdresses. The one on the left wears a janissary *börk* while the one on the right dons a traditional turban.¹⁵¹ The dragon with the arrow through its neck evokes Venice's role as the victors during the battle. Prints like this one are incredibly valuable because they were widely circulated, and therefore were instrumental in dispersing such iconography throughout Europe.¹⁵²

Finally, the idea of the Ottoman Empire as antichrist was given form in post-Lepanto depictions of Saint Michael the Archangel. In Tintoretto's *Portrait of Sebastiano Venier as General of the Venetian Fleet* (c. 1571), Saint Michael vanquishes the Turkish fleet during the battle. This divine intervention symbolizes the understanding that the Ottomans were sent as divine punishment for Venetian impiety, but that in the end, Venetians' Christian values saved them. Another example analyzed by Benjamin Paul is *Saint Michael Combating Satan* (c. 1582) (fig. 30), a pointed characterization of a Turk as Satan himself in which the devil sports characteristically Ottoman facial hair. The patron, Michele Bon, looks up towards Saint Michael in an acknowledgement "of the eschatological dimensions of the struggle."¹⁵³ The Ottoman characterization comes not only from the facial hair, but also from iron shirt, which was "standard issue in the Ottoman army."¹⁵⁴ Paul even posits that Satan's horns may have deliberately evoked the Ottoman symbol of the crescent moon, indicating his associations with the Muslim country. As an altarpiece in Bon's private chapel at the church of San Giuseppe di

¹⁵¹ Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 40.

¹⁵² Wilson's "Reflecting on the Turk" offers valuable analysis of the prints, particularly of the Sultan, which circulated in the late sixteenth century.

¹⁵³ Paul, "And the Moon Has Started to Bleed," 87.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Castello, this painting serves as proof of Bon's piety, through his association with the vanquishing of the Turk as Satan. Paul explains that "Michele Bon's blatant pursuit of private concerns in Tintoretto's altarpiece thus exposes the constitutive role of the Turks in the dialectical process of the construction of identity at the time of Lepanto."¹⁵⁵ While mercantile activities resumed quickly after the end of the War of Cyprus, the self-congratulatory celebrations of Lepanto continued long after.

In these post-Lepanto depictions, the image of the Turk was explicitly used to demonstrate Venetian military and religious fervour following the important battle. This serves as a dramatic shift from earlier representations of Turks as part of the city, meant to evoke place and 'otherness' for Venetian viewers. Initial curiosity in Turks transformed into fear and wariness after Lepanto. While the Turk continued to connote exotic foreignness, pictorial trends shifted as cross-cultural contact turned into conflict.

The representations of the Turk were never one-sided: evidence shows that there would have been multifaceted interpretations of the Turk in Tintoretto's earlier art. Earlier works like *Miracle of Saint Mark Freeing the Slave* alluded to the wonderment and exoticism associated with the image of the Turk. By including ethnically diverse characters recognizable to the Venetian viewer, Tintoretto built on the trans-cultural associations with these figures and used them to his advantage. The figure of the Turk was representative of a historical other, and often placed in a narrative in a foreign locale. But as the socio-political relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Venice shifted, so too did the inclusion of these figures in pictures. After the Battle of Lepanto, images like the *Saint Michael Combating Satan* show that the Turk became increasingly associated with the political and religious tensions of the late sixteenth

¹⁵⁵ Paul, "And the Moon Has Started to Bleed," 87.

century. These images were self-reflexive tools through which Venetians could contemplate their own piety and political standing in relation to their Turkish counterparts.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the implications and meanings of representations of the Turk in sixteenth-century Venetian paintings, especially Tintoretto's. Evidence has shown the way that the Turk figuratively stands for the place of the East as simultaneously exotic yet familiar. Elements of Tintoretto's oeuvre illustrates otherness as something to be feared but irresistibly exotic. In the late sixteenth century, explicitly aggressive military and religious motifs tipped the balance from cross-cultural complexity to fear. Analysis of associations with the Oriental other and the ways those were transmitted – namely through travel literature and costume books – shows how perceptions of the 'other' were created, disseminated, and developed. Costume books encouraged sartorial analysis by Venetian readership. They fostered associations of place, identity, and behavior with regional costume. Travel literature captured for Venetians the admiration and fascination of, as well as fear and misconceptions towards, the foreign cultures with which they were increasingly in contact.

Through discussions of the cross-cultural contact across the Mediterranean, I have shown there was a noticeable shift in the pictorial representations of the Turk. The shifts in the ways the Turk could be interpreted reflected of the social and political relationship between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. I made my case by limiting this study to the works of Tintoretto, a shift is observable: from allusions of foreignness and wonder in *Miracle of Saint Mark Freeing the Slave* to the explicit military antagonism displayed in the *Abduction of Helen* or religious opposition as displayed in *Saint Michael Combating Satan*. These works, in concert with other examples of visual production, show clear correlations between the lived experiences of contemporary Venetians and the ways they perceived their foreign counterparts.

References to the East and the ways they were interpreted are not limited to the sixteenth century. This trend extended far into the nineteenth century. The image of the Turk continued to connote a variety of emotions for Venetian and European audiences. The role of the Oriental other in later periods of modern imperial expansion and consolidation of colonial power, has attracted attention in the scholarly field. By focusing on the sixteenth century, this study expands the field, by contributing to the lesser-known areas of early modern Euro-Eastern contact in Tintoretto's paintings.

The cultural and contextual history of Venice made it a hub of transcultural art. But this cross-cultural contact is not only evident in the art production of the city. Further research could be completed on the translation of other elements of Eastern cultural production into the West through Venice. This study has shown that fashion was a key signifier of ethnic, socio-economic and political identity, and built on recent scholarship that expressions the ways that Oriental costume was adopted into the European fashion stream, as well as research on the transfer of Islamic architectural elements into Europe through Venice. A larger scope of research would allow for the analysis of more methods of cultural production, capturing a more comprehensive view of the ways Ottoman-Venetian contact affected European material culture.

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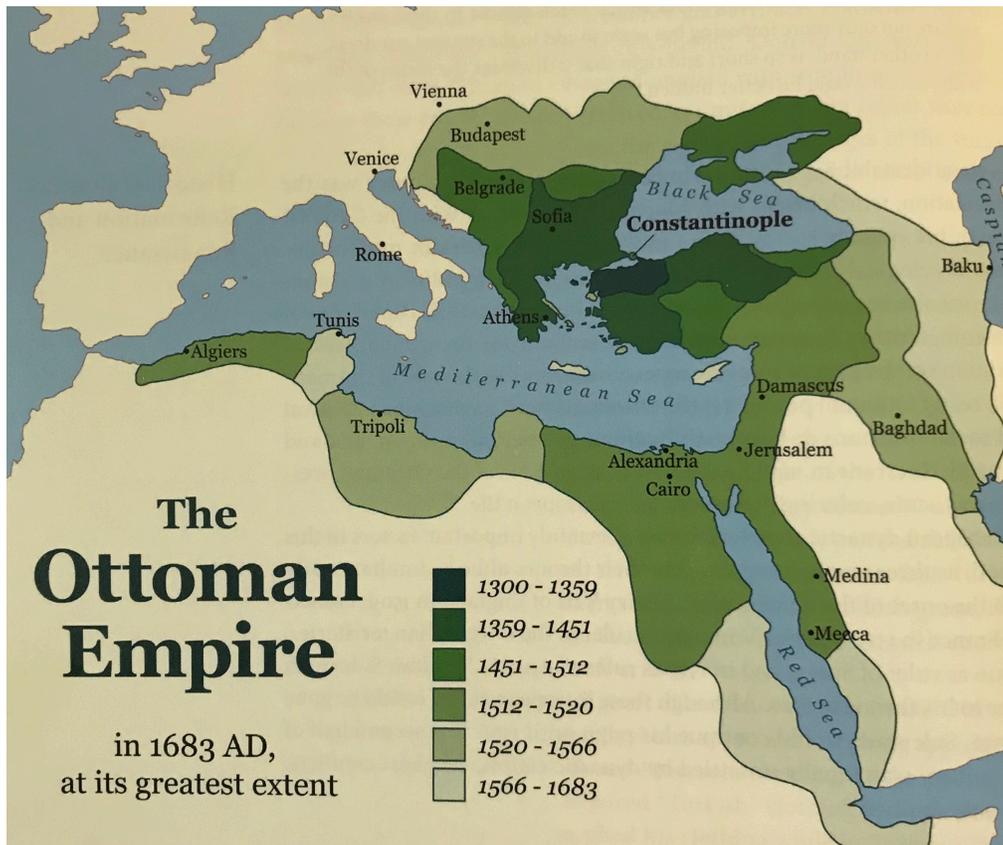


Figure 1: “Map of Ottoman Empire Acquisitions, 1300–1683” in *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019): 90. Photo: Semple 2019

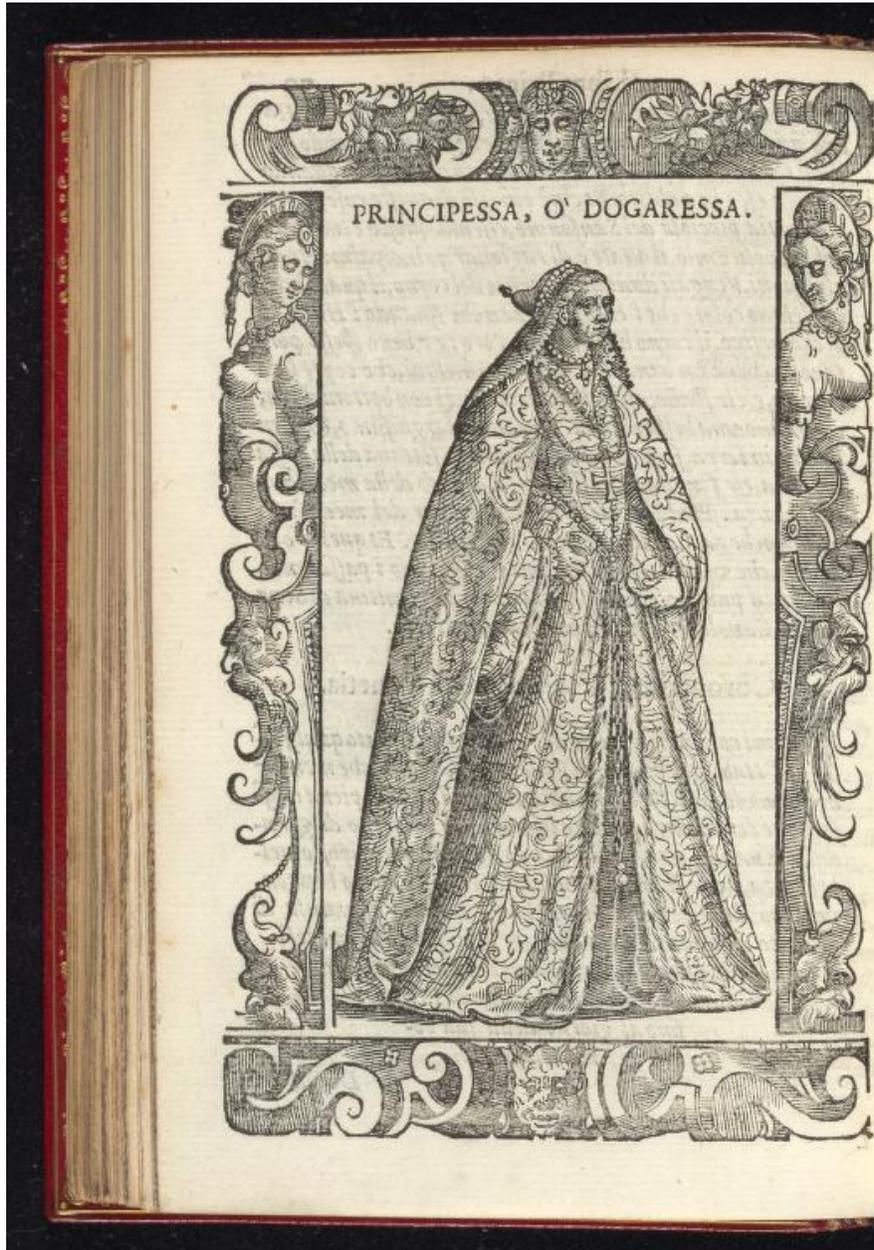


Figure 2: Cesare Vecellio. *Principessa, O' Dogaressa, De gli abiti antichi et moderni* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590). Woodcut. 16.7 x 12.5 x 5.2 cm. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012247702/page/n211



Figure 3: Nicolas de Nicolay. *Grand Dame Turque*, *Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1568). Woodcut. Getty Research Institute https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_HCvt8ztoKBIYC/page/n99



Figure 4: Gentile Bellini, *Seated Janissary*, 1479–81, Pen in brown ink, 21.5 x 17.5 cm, The British Museum, London (PP.1-19) © CC BY-NC-SA 4.0



Figure 5: Gentile Bellini, *Seated Woman*, 1479–81, Pen in brown ink, 21.5 x 17.6, The British Museum, London (PP.1-20) © CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

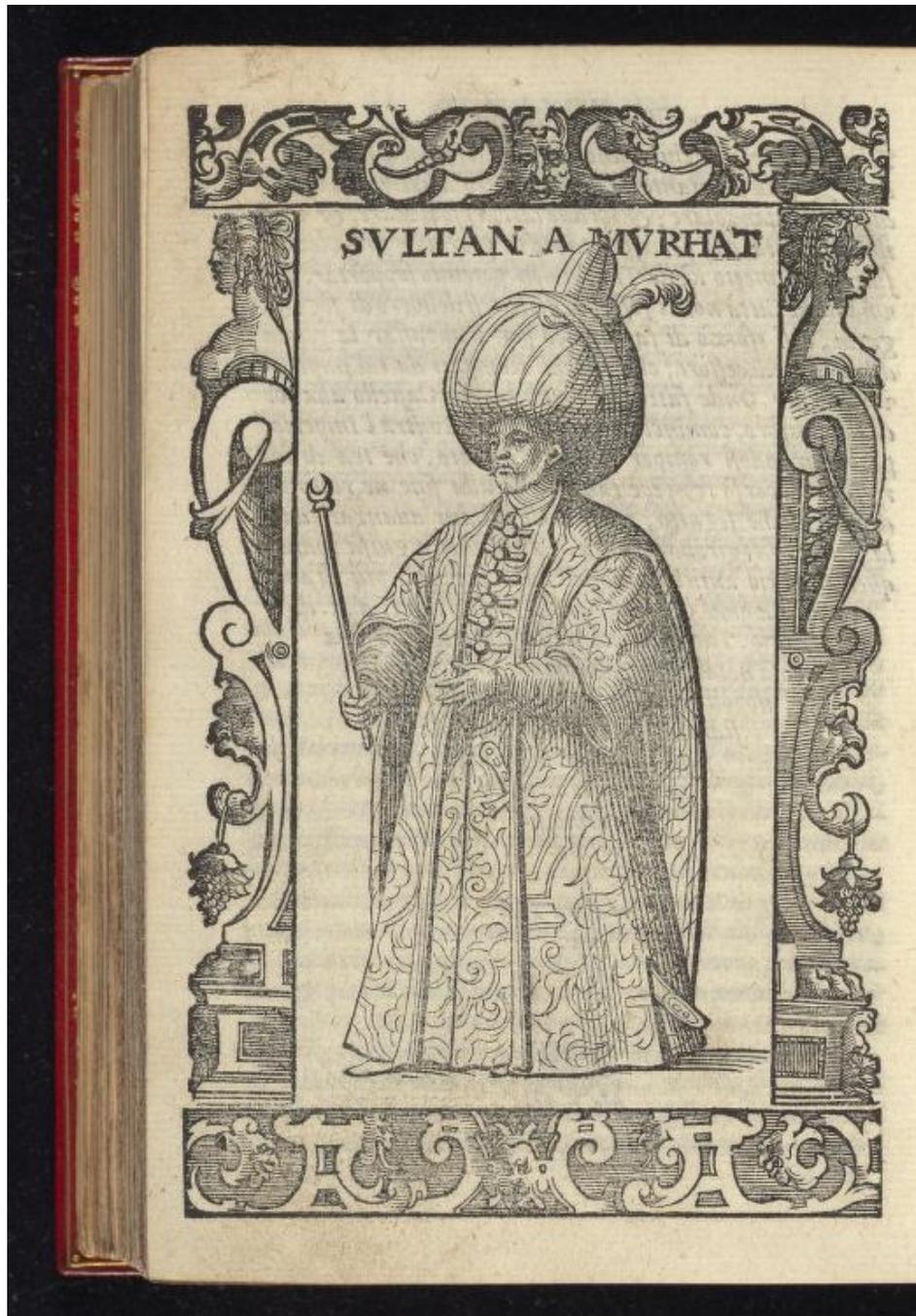


Figure 6: Cesare Vecellio, *Sultan A Murhat*, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590), Woodcut, 16.7 x 12.5 x 5.2 cm. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012247702/page/n803

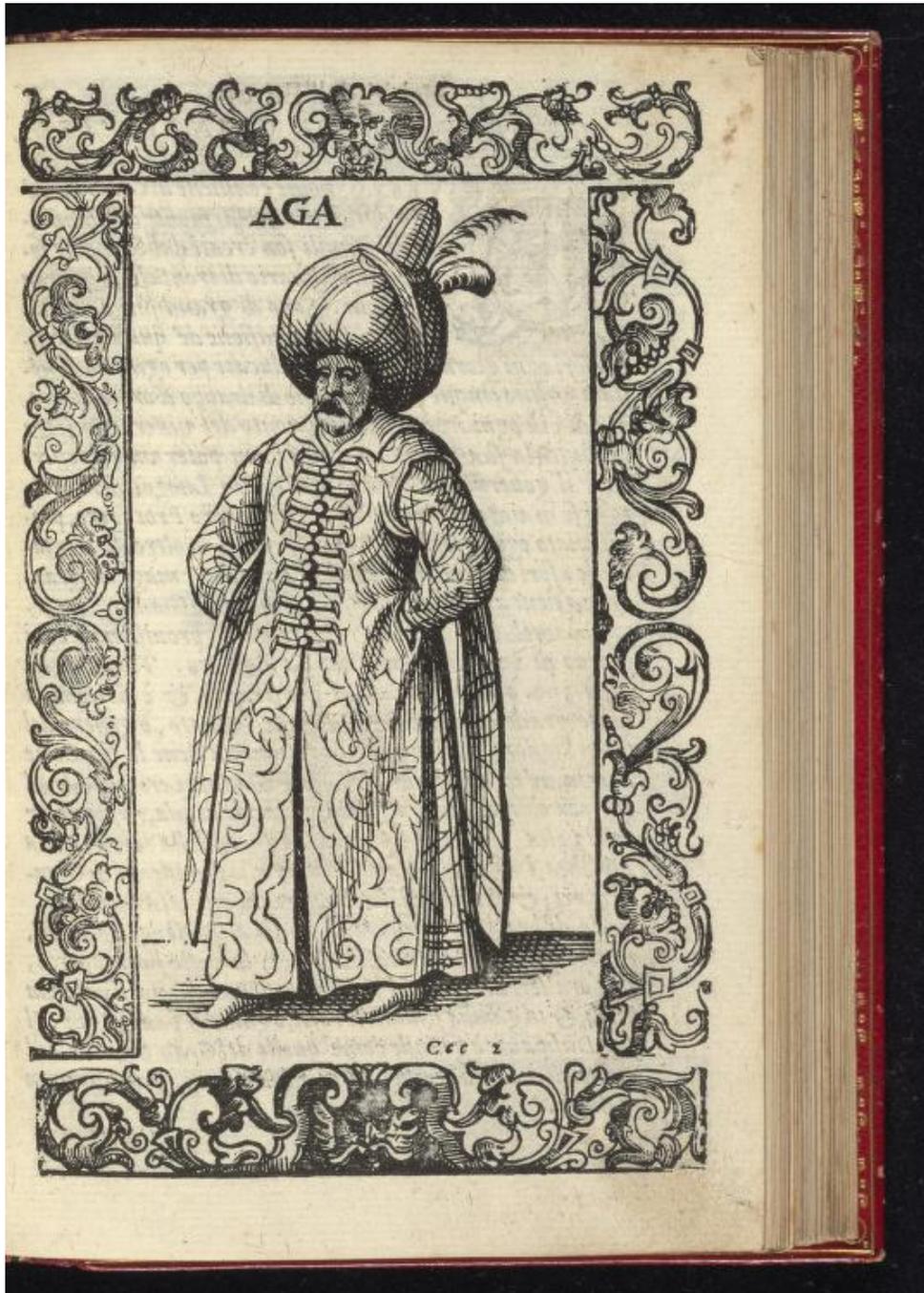


Figure 7: Cesare Vecellio, *Aga*, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590), Woodcut, 16.7 x 12.5 x 5.2 cm. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012247702/page/n807

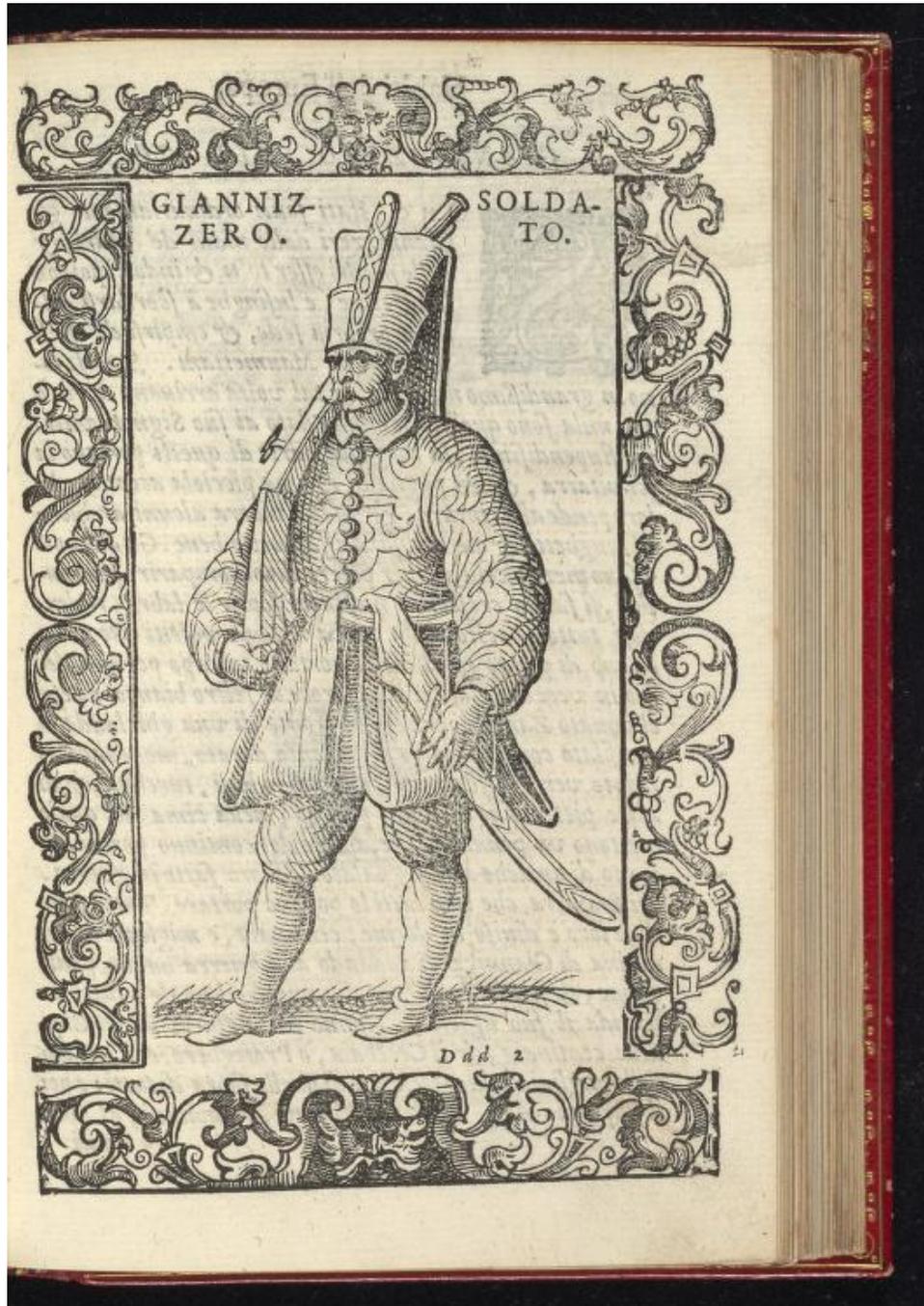


Figure 8: Cesare Vecellio, *Giannizzero Soldato*, *De gli habiti antichi et moderni* (Venice: Damian Zenaro, 1590), Woodcut, 16.7 x 12.5 x 5.2 cm. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125012247702/page/n823



Figure 9: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Esther and Ahasuerus*, c. 1550, oil on canvas, 208 x 275 cm, Royal Collection Trust, London (407247). © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019.



Figure 10: Titian (workshop), *Portrait of Sultana Roxelana*, c. 1545–55, oil on canvas, 96.5 x 76.2 cm, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (SN58). © Ringling Museum of Art.



Figure 11: Jacopo Tintoretto (workshop), *Christ with the Adulterous Woman*, oil on canvas, 160 x 225 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Public domain.



Figure 12: Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Queen of Sheba before Solomon*, 1544–45, oil on wood panel, 29 x 157 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. © Erich Lessing/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. Artstor.



Figure 13: Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Removal of the Body of Saint Mark by Christians*, ca. 1547, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 125 cm, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels in *Il Giovane Tintoretto* (Venice: Gallerie dell'Accademia, 2018), 206. Photo: Semple 2019.



Figure 14: Anonymous Venetian artist, *Reception of a Venetian Delegation in Damascus*, 1511, oil on canvas, 158 x 201 cm, Louvre-Lens, Lens (INV 100) © RMN-GP (Louvre Museum) / Thierry Le Mage in *Ottoman Dress and Design in the West: A Visual History of Cultural Exchange* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), 45. Photo: Semple 2019.



Figure 15: Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Abduction of Helen*, 1578–79, oil on canvas, 186 x 307 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid (P000399). © Museo Nacional del Prado



Figure 16: Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Abduction of Helen*, n.d., engraving, 28.8 x 41.1 cm, National Galleries Scotland, Edinburgh (P5339). © CC by NC.



Figure 17: Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria*, 1504–07, oil on canvas, 347 x 770 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. © 2006, SCALA, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y. Artstor.



Figure 18: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Saint Mark Freeing a Slave from Torture*, 1547–48, oil on canvas, 416 x 544 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (no. 42). © University of California, San Diego. Artstor.



Figure 19: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Saint Mark Freeing a Slave from Torture* (detail), 1547–48, oil on canvas, 416 x 544 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (no. 42). © University of California, San Diego. Artstor.

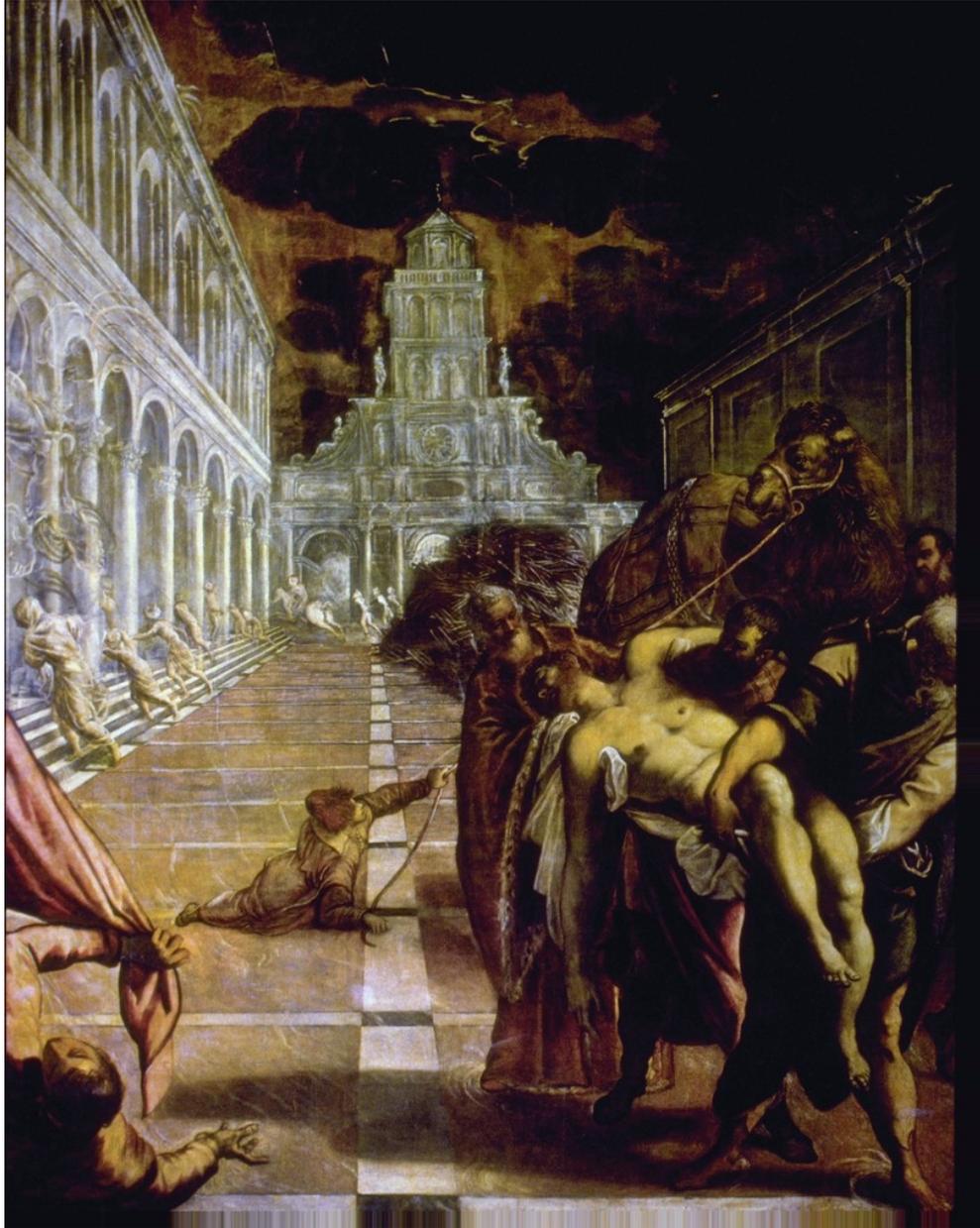


Figure 20: Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Removal of the Body of Saint Mark*, 1562–66, oil on canvas, 397 x 315 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (no. 831). © University of California, San Diego. Artstor.



Figure 21: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, 1558, oil on canvas, 282 x 445 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Image by Didier Descouens, via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 22: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, 1565, oil on canvas, 1224 x 536 cm, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice. © Scuola Grande di San Rocco.



Figure 23: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Crucifixion* (detail, right), 1565, oil on canvas, 1224 x 536 cm, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice. © Scuola Grande di San Rocco.



Figure 24: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Crucifixion* (detail, left), 1565, oil on canvas, 1224 x 536 cm, Scuola di San Rocco, Venice. © Scuola Grande di San Rocco.



Figure 25: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Christ Carried to the Tomb*, late 1550s, oil on canvas, 164.0 x 127.5 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh (NG 2419). © Antonia Reeve | CC by NC.



Figure 26: Paolo Veronese, *Last Supper*, after 1581, oil on canvas, 220 x 523 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. © 2006, SCALA, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 27: Tintoretto, *Marriage at Cana*, 1561, oil on canvas, 435 x 535 cm, Santa Maria della Salute, Venice. Image by Web Gallery of Art, via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 28: Paolo Veronese, *Martyrdom of Saint Justina*, c. 1573, oil on canvas, 103 x 113 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. © 2006, SCALA, Florence/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Figure 29: Cesare Vecellio, *Portrait of Doge Alvise I Mocenigo with Allegorical Border*, c. 1570–72, woodcut, 37.7 x 25.8 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. © Rijksmuseum | Public Domain.



Figure 30: Tintoretto, *Saint Michael Combating Satan* (Bon altarpiece), c. 1582, dimensions not found, San Giuseppe di Castello, Venice in *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery Before Orientalism* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 88. © Cameraphoto Arte, Venice/Art Resource NY | Photo: Semple 2019.