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L'Esprit Créateur, Volume 48, Number 1, Spring 2008, pp. 32-44 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/esp.2008.0007

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An Uncommon Map for a Common World: Hajji Ahmed's Cordiform Map of 1559

Pascale Barthe

LATE FIFTEENTH- AND EARLY sixteenth-century travels steered Western Europeans very much to the East.[1] Not only did pilgrimages to the Holy Land continue to exert a strong appeal among Christians,[2] but economic and diplomatic voyages intensified between European lands, such as Venice and France, and the Ottoman Empire.[3] These voyages were the occasion for humanist scholars and scientists alike, as well as merchants and ambassadors, to engage with other peoples and traditions that have too often been conceived of as irreducibly opposite, menacing, and undesirable. Recent scholarship, however, has shown that sixteenth-century contacts between European Christians and Oriental Muslims translated less into crusading efforts and much more into reciprocal exchanges in the realms of the artistic, the literary, as well as the political. Gülru Necipoğlu, for instance, highlights the influence of Italians on the construction and decoration of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.[4] Studying tapestries, medals, and equestrian art, Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton view this period of intense collaboration as a pre-global market of sorts.[5] Moreover, Natalie Zemon Davis has recently investigated the turbulent and prolific life of one indefatigable traveler and scholar, al-Hasan al-Wazzan, otherwise known as Leo Africanus.[6]

Such cross-cultural dynamism and interaction also involve the cordiform maps created and perfected in the early sixteenth century by visionary cartographers of the West: Bernard Sylvanus, Petrus Apianus, Oronce Finé, and Abraham Ortelius.[7] These mapmakers have attracted the attention of modern scholars who have shed light on their practices and the milieus in which they operated. Less discussed are Hajji Ahmed and his mysterious cordiform map of 1559, a map that shares striking similarities with those of his predecessors, in particular Finé's, yet one that was carefully adapted to fit the Ottoman market for which it was meant. This essay focuses on Hajji Ahmed's 1559 cordiform map and highlights the resonances this map would have had with cultivated Ottomans of the sixteenth century by examining Ottoman scientific and literary traditions and productions at the time.

Finé's single cordiform map (figure 1) was printed in 1534 but is believed to have been developed as early as 1519. It has been hailed for its inclusion of the latest discoveries in the New World, its perfection of innovative and

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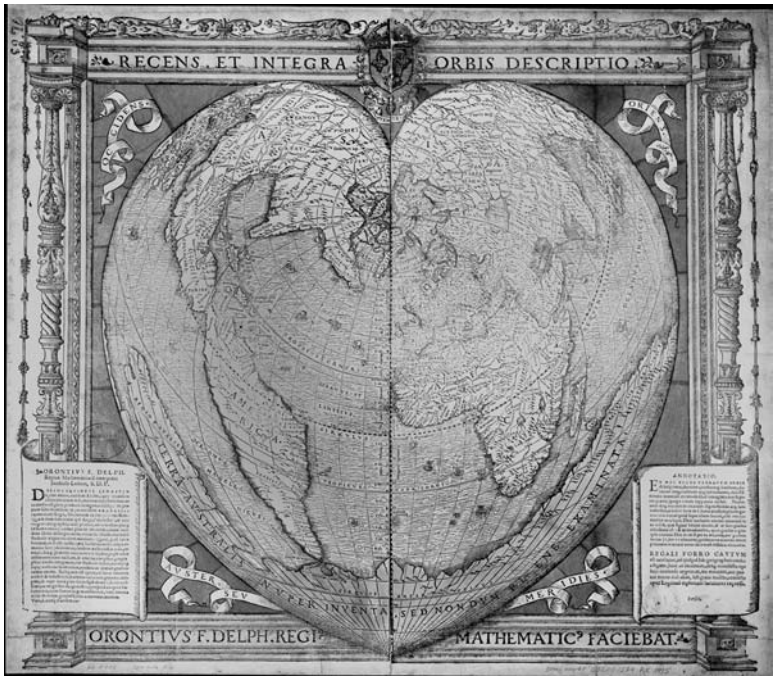

Figure 1. Oronce Finé, *Recens, et integra orbis descriptio*, 1534. Courtesy The Newberry Library, Chicago.

ingenious conceptions of spatial distances, and its ideological ramifications. In recent years, several scholars have shed light on the French cartographer and underscored the distinct and unusual form Finé used in his map: the heart. Tom Conley has associated the rise of subjectivity with topographic design in Finé's works.[8] Anne-Marie Lecoq has shown the importance of the heart in Francis I's circle of thinkers as they developed an ingenuous program of political *concordia* for the king,[9] and Giorgio Mangani has demonstrated the esoteric quality of the heart in the Christian West and among the Jesuits in particular.[10] Finally, Scott Juall has stressed the striking echoes between François Rabelais's humanist and anti-imperial agenda and Finé's cartographic accomplishments and evangelical program.[11] For these scholars, sustained interaction between mapmakers and literary authors led to the spread of information from one medium to the other. Moreover, maps served as propaganda tools to support either a religious or a political agenda. I wish to continue and elaborate on this line of thought.

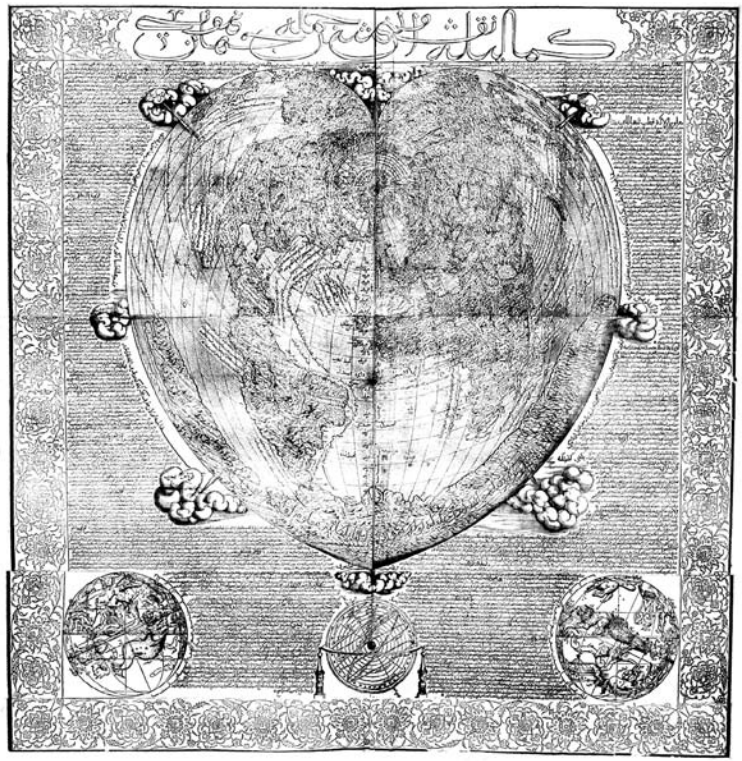

Figure 2. Hajji Ahmed, *The Representation of the Whole World in its Entirety*, 1559. Courtesy The Newberry Library, Chicago.

In 1559, a few decades after Finé elaborated and published his masterpiece, Hajji Ahmed created an equally stunning map (figure 2). Formed of six woodblocks and measuring 115 cm. by 111 cm., Hajji Ahmed's map however was never printed in the sixteenth century. Instead, the woodblocks were confiscated from the printer's shop, stored away in the archives of the Council of Ten in Venice, and somehow forgotten until the end of the eighteenth century when they were rediscovered. Twenty-four copies of the map were then printed, of which eleven survive today (Arbel 27, n. 2), revealing a cordiform shape surrounded by copious textual commentaries in Ottoman Turkish.[12]

Despite recent scholarship, the history of the 1559 map and its maker remain clad in mystery. All commentators thus far have maintained that the map, although signed by a man who identifies himself as Hajji Ahmed and claims to have been born in Tunis, is a pure product of the West. Antonio

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Fabris, after summarizing the perceived Western influences on the map, claims that "this work is not the product of Moslem cartography, but of sixteenth century Europe" (Fabris 32). He further suggests that Hajji Ahmed may have been a pseudonym for Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the Venetian geographer and author of *Navigazioni e viaggi*, arguably one of the most important collections of sixteenth-century travel accounts (Fabris 37). More recently, Benjamin Arbel has highlighted the not so unusual practice of Ottoman princes to commission maps from Venetian artists, and he has argued that Hajji Ahmed's map may very well have been requested by one of Sultan Süleyman's three sons as each of them was competing for succession. While aptly stressing the complex and intense collaboration between artists and scholars in Venice and the Sublime Porte in the first half of the sixteenth century, Arbel, however, never considers the unique appeal the map would have had on the Ottoman mind. The following remarks attempt to fill this lacuna. They demonstrate that the Hajji Ahmed map of 1559 is anchored in a strong Ottoman view and practice of science, cartography, and art, while possessing undertones that would have resonated strongly in the Ottoman literary world of the sixteenth century, thereby suggesting the presence and participation of Ottoman scholars in the making of the 1559 map.

Mathematical, geographic, and cartographic accomplishments under the Ottomans have just begun to be recognized and assessed as such by modern scholars.[13] It is now accepted that the Ottoman world of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries perpetuated a strong scientific tradition that sprung from the heyday of Arab and Islamic science, itself largely influenced by scholars of the Greco-Roman world such as Ptolemy.[14] As much as it was infused by non-Muslim scholars of Antiquity, Ottoman science however was never entirely divorced from a religious understanding of the world.[15] Not only was geography considered *adab* (ادب), that is to say part of the general knowledge of an educated person,[16] but mathematics was an integral part of the Ottoman education as it was dispensed in the *medrese* (مدرسه) where the elite were trained in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The teaching in these *medrese*, which according to Sonja Brentjes were the "most widespread institutional form of higher education in the Ottoman empire,"[17] was divided into four categories: the calligraphic sciences, the oral sciences, the intellectual sciences, and the spiritual sciences, among which could be found the natural sciences and mathematics (Faroqhi 165). According to the conception of the world that was delineated in the *medrese*, all sciences were tightly interwoven so as to reflect a higher perception of the world, the ultimate goal for a *medrese* scholar being the knowledge of God.

Ottoman sultans were quick to take up sponsoring the arts and sciences, including mathematics and geography. In 1465, Mehmed II (ruled 1451-1481) had Ptolemy's *Geography* translated into Arabic by George Amirutzes of Trabzon. Mehmed's grandson, Selim (ruled 1512-1520), was "an avid collector of maps and geographical texts" (Casale 5). In 1513, Piri Reis dedicated to Selim a world map that has been hailed as a masterpiece of Ottoman cartography (Casale 6), and fifteen years later he presented an exquisite collection of Portolan charts entitled *Kitab-i Bahriye* or "Book on Navigation," depicting Mediterranean islands, cities, and coastline, to Süleyman (ruled 1520-1566) who carried on his ancestors' awareness and sponsorship of mathematics, astronomy, and geography.

Curiosity for all things scientific continued to excite Ottoman scholars and their sponsors throughout the late sixteenth century and beyond. This curiosity can be seen in a beautiful miniature depicting scientists at work in the Constantinople observatory around 1584, for example, and an astonishing (although less scientifically accurate) manuscript depicting the New World entitled *Tarih-i Hind-i garbi*.[18] Contrary to Bernard Lewis's theory that the Ottoman Empire was Islam-bound and impermeable to outside influence,[19] the Ottomans then, far from functioning in quasi-autarky, were neither oblivious nor indifferent to non-Muslim achievements, whether ancient or recent. Hajji Ahmed's map confirms the profound interest shared by Ottomans when dealing with geographic and scientific discoveries and developments coming from Western Christian lands.

Modern scholars have been quick to stress the Western influences Hajji Ahmed's map bears. The heart-shaped representation of the earth is inspired by Finé's 1534 map. According to V. L. Ménage, "placenames in the map—at least those for places outside the Moslem world—represent transliterations of the current European forms" (Ménage 302-03). Furthermore, Guillaume Postel may have influenced the section on Abu'l-Fida, whose work the French Orientalist allegedly brought to Venice and translated into Latin in 1553 (Fabris 37).[20] As for the making of the map per se, it has been advanced that it is almost entirely a Venetian enterprise presumably involving at least two interpreters (Michele Membré and Nicolò Cambi) and a cartographer (Giacomo Gastaldi who worked on Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi*) in addition to Ramusio himself (Fabris). In this light, it is tempting to view the 1559 map as referring to, and perhaps even praising, a group of industrious international scholars working harmoniously together on a common project. The map would then be, as Mangani claims, a "symbol of unity" (Mangani 28), an interpretation consistent with Postel's idea of a *concordia mundi*.[21] The map could also be seen as

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an open invitation from the Venetians to further the economic and artistic relationships they had long enjoyed with the Ottomans (Arbel 24). In other words Venetians could have been tapping into the Ottoman market where printing had not yet been introduced. Although archival research remains to be done in order to elucidate fully the identity of Hajji Ahmed and the partnership between the various artists who were involved in the project, the map was undoubtedly the fruitful result of close collaboration between western and eastern workers and intellectuals of various faiths, as is visible in works by Bellini for example.[22] However, far from being a "product of Western culture," the map did not necessarily convey "Christian values to the oriental world" (Mangani 68). Instead, the map is carefully directed at a Muslim, and particularly Ottoman, audience of the mid-sixteenth century.

"By means of this valuable work I have become the instrument for benefiting all the Moslems,"[23] claims Hajji Ahmed, the alleged mapmaker, in his textual commentary. The map, he adds, is "of value and essential to all the Moslems and their rulers."[24] A rich compendium of old and recent discoveries, the map indisputably holds a scientific as well as a literary value. Entirely aware of the originality and the usefulness of his map for Muslims, the mapmaker acknowledges his *autorités*: Plato, Socrates, Abu'l-Fida the thirteenth-fourteenth-century Arab geographer, and Luqman who is mentioned for his wisdom in sura 31 of the Qur'an. Situating himself within a line of renowned and diverse predecessors, Hajji Ahmed confirms, and at times corrects, prior geographical and scientific knowledge while augmenting it with fresh information, especially regarding the New World. In this respect, Hajji Ahmed's map is true to *taqlīd* (تقليد), the intellectual process by which, in calligraphy for instance, the budding Muslim scholar is expected to study and imitate the works of his masters, while defining and refining new methods of achieving perfection in his art.[25]

Hajji Ahmed's work is an all-encompassing map of the world whose title Ménage translates as "The Representation of the Whole World in its Entirety" (Ménage 293). Significantly, the title given by Hajji Ahmed, كماليله نقش اولنمش جمله جهان نمونسي, loses the temporal quality present in Finé's, *Recens, et integra orbis descriptio*. Although the map visually divides the world into two parts, one representing the New World to the West and the other depicting an updated Ptolemaic East, one single world is stressed here, a world united in its multiplicity by the heart shape chosen by the mapmaker to bring all parts of the earth together. Furthermore, the terrestrial world is related to and mirrored in the constellations seen in the two celestial hemispheres at the bottom of the map. Nor does the cartographer overlook geopolitical impli-

cations: the world, as Hajji Ahmed explains in his textual commentary, is divided into twelve geo-political entities and has seven great rulers whom he associates with the seven known 'planets' of the solar system. Ménage schematizes the list of 'countries' and rulers as follows (Ménage 295):

i. The Maghrib (Cancer)
ii. The land of the Blacks (Scorpio)
iii. Temistitan (Virgo)
iv. Peru (Aquarius)
    a. The Khan of Cathay and Khotan (the Moon)
v. Turkestan (Sagittarius)
vi. Arabia (Taurus)
vii. The land of the Monomotapa (Gemini)
    b. The Emperor of Abyssinia (Saturn)
    c. The Ottoman Sultan (the Sun)
    d. The Emperor of France (Venus)
    e. The Emperor of Spain (Jupiter)
viii. Italy (Leo)
ix. Portugal (Pisces)
x. 'Alaman' (Aries)
xi. Sarmatia (Capricorn)
    f. The Emperor of the Qizilbash (Mars)
    g. The Emperor of Bengal (Mercury)
xii. Malabar (Libra)

The correspondence that Hajji Ahmed underscores between cosmological and geographical entities derives from Antiquity, when it was common to understand land, or a city, as being under the influence of a Planet or House. It is obvious though that the system put forward by Hajji Ahmed has been revisited to fit the Ottoman political and religious context of the sixteenth century according to which the leading military power was resolutely Ottoman and for which the 'lingua franca' was Turkish. Centered on the Canary Islands, the map follows the organization of most cartographers (d'Avezac 29), but the accompanying text provides the reader with a second center: the Sultan. Consequently, the map was written "in Turkish, for this language is the most dominant in the world" (Ménage 298).

Nonetheless, the map does go beyond these geographical and political markers and points to a more abstract reality. As with the frieze surrounding the heart and its textual ally (figure 3), the map allows the eye to focus and zoom out simultaneously. The frieze frames and thereby limits the topographic project, yet its seemingly endless repetition reminds the viewer of nothing other than a divine infinity.

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Figure 3. Hajji Ahmed, *The Representation of the Whole World in its Entirety*, 1559, detail. Courtesy The Newberry Library, Chicago.

The motifs in the map's decorative frieze are reminiscent of ornamental calligraphy found in Ottoman manuscripts, textiles, and pottery as well as in ceramics and book binding decorations.[26] The motifs form a mix of the three most commonly used motifs in Ottoman art: *yaprak*, the leaf motif; *penç*, the stylized drawing of a flower seen from a bird's eye view; and *hatâyî*, the semi-stylized vertical sections and botanical forms of flowers. Although the heart is not used as such in any motif, it can sometimes be seen subtly imbedded in larger floral patterns. Significantly, this last motif, the *hatâyî*, was introduced in Anatolia via Iran (Birol 67) and was widely used in the adornment of Qur'anic suras as well as in the illuminations of poems such as those written by Sultan Süleyman (Birol 114).

The unusual shape of the map and the form of the heart in general have great significance in Islam. The heart occupies an important place in Islamic theology and among Muslim mystics in particular. According to the Hanafi school of thought, the dominant one for the Ottomans, the heart is understood as the seat of knowledge, thinking, and reason. It is also viewed as the mirror of *Rabb* (رب), one of the names of God, meaning the Sustainer. In the heart, the believer sees him- or herself and God simultaneously. It is therefore the heart, which represents the inner self, to which Muslims are encouraged to listen in order to find answers to questions, be they moral or scientific.

The Sufis have long made the heart one of their strongest symbols. Nizam ad-Din Awliya authored a treatise entitled *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad* (فوائدالفؤاد) or

Morals for the Heart (ca. 1325). Throughout the entire Muslim world, medieval Sufi masters such as Ibn al-Arabi, Jalāloddin Rumi, and Shams ud-Din Muhammad Hafiz sang of the aching heart of the believer. This mystical poetry has greatly influenced the Ottoman *gazel* (غزل). As Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli have recently shown, *gazel* poetry was a favorite among the Ottomans, including the sultans, who enjoyed not only listening to but also producing poetic verses.[27] The *gazel* is where art and politics on the one hand, and gender and religion on the other, intersect in the most profound and complex ways. It speaks of relationships between the lover and the beloved. Often, the lover is a man who laments the indifference or cruelty of his beloved—often a woman, but not always—who is associated with the ruler of the heart's domain. Separation is a *topos* that commonly allows the lover-poet to express the agony that the heart goes through while trying to reunite with the beloved. The *gazel* also often makes explicit references to the inherently ambiguous slave-master relationships that characterize a poet and his ruler, the Sultan. Furthermore, Ottoman poetry does not shy away from associating the Sultan with the divine, and Andrews has found that two of the most commonly used terms in the *gazel* are *şah* (شاه), the word for 'ruler' in Ottoman Turkish, and *dil* (دل), one of several expressions used to refer to the 'heart' (*Poetry's Voice* 46, 43.)

Not content with sponsoring scientific projects, Sultan Süleyman valued poetry and wrote poetical *gazels* himself.[28] The following poem signed by Süleyman exemplifies the multi-faceted dimensions of Ottoman poetry and establishes a direct link with Hajji Ahmed's map:

> Listen, my heart, don't crave silver and gold like a highwayman;
> Don't spruce yourself up with satin and trinkets like a woman […]
> Don't stand there, stiff, chest puffed up, like a wrestler's lion.
> Never cherish wealth or high office. Don't brag: "I'm better than everyone!"
> Others have their own rights: don't stick out your tongue at them like an iris. (5)
>
> You might conquer far-flung lands and seas and rule them as their sovereign king:
> Even if your reign on the imperial throne becomes everlasting,
> Don't be taken in: One day, a hostile wind is bound to blow and bring
> To your land of beauty heaven's misfortune and worst suffering.
> Don't blow up your chest like a proud sail; shun arrogance and malice. (10)
>
> If you aspire to God's compassion, kindness should come from you too:
> Be sure to offer your benevolence and mercy to people of virtue.
> If you hope to reach the gardens of Paradise to find Love and grace
> Instead of terrifying destruction when the end comes to you,
> Humble yourself like a skirt, bow at the sage's feet and rub your face. (15)

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If you are wise, don't gather all those loves without gain;
Refrain from taking upon yourself the pain of riches and the combat of crowds.
O heart of hearts, even if you strive to bring together this world and the hereafter,
One day, the wind of death will scatter it like a heap of grain.

The wise never consort with the old witch of the world; (20)
A hero denies the coward and the traitor his company.
A breath of blessing is followed by a thousand sighs of grief and torture.
Lover, this world is full of lies: it shows no loyalty,
It just tries to parade itself like a woman decked with jewels.[29]

In this *gazel*, Süleyman's narrator attempts to enable the heart to distinguish between terrestrial and spiritual worlds, between material and unworldly gains. In a monologue addressed to himself in a gesture of mirroring self-reflexivity, the narrator speaks of futile acquisitions and impermanence. Similarly, Hajji Ahmed's cordiform map points to territorial conquests while referring to a higher objective, the hereafter mentioned in the poem on line 18: "O heart of hearts, even if you strive to bring together this world and the hereafter." Praising effacement, both the map and the poem play with their audience by showing and at the same time hiding a certain reality in order to demonstrate more clearly divine Truth.[30]

Hajji Ahmed's map, and in particular the figure of the heart on the map, carries a multiplicity of referents that clearly recall the *gazel* poetry and its numerous, and at times conflicting, possibilities of interpretation. The world on the map is encompassed, visually and literally, by a heart that could represent the beloved, in other words for Hajji Ahmed, his protector, the Ottoman Sultan who appears as the Sun and by extension as God, who illuminates all lands.[31] Yet, as Süleyman the poet stresses in the aforementioned *gazel*, his ownership in this world can be only temporary, and the believer—including a political leader of his stature—should strive rather to attain the heart that represents the divine seat of knowledge sought by the Sufis. Sultan Süleyman may not have been a mystic; after all he was an aggressive military conqueror, and the Ottoman empire reached its peak during his reign. Yet his poetry demonstrates a knowledge and an understanding of the mystical approach to life as evoked in Sufi literature and *gazel* poetry. This could help explain what has been described as the Ottomans' allegedly singular approach to Empire. Why did the Ottomans not seek to expand their territorial possessions in the New World or even to the East the way the Spanish and with lesser success the French did? Could it be because Sultan Süleyman, keenly aware of a Sufi tradition of universalism and worldly renouncement that focused on the here-

after, knew the futility of excessive territorial domination although he took part in it?

In more ways than one, religion was an integral part of the Ottoman culture of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and, up to a point at least, it supported scientific endeavors and fluidity of not only ideas, but also goods and people, like Hajji Ahmed most certainly. Of course, the early modern Christian world also was deeply influenced by religion. In fact, it may have shared a lot of its symbolism with Islam and other religious systems. According to René Guénon, "*everywhere* the heart is considered to be the center of the being, a center that in many aspects of this symbol is both divine and human."[32] The correlation between sun and heart is stressed by the scholar who points out that the heart as the seat of intelligence is common to all traditions (Guénon 399-400).[33] Finé, Hajji Ahmed, and Sultan Süleyman were clearly men from the same world, despite each having his own specificities.

With the exception of Necipoğlu, Davis, and Jardin and Brotton, few scholars have fully examined the lives, stories, and productions of those who participated in the development of scientific and artistic ideas around the Mediterranean in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Hajji Ahmed's map is one result of the "common world"[34] that characterized this period, one that on many occasions saw various cultures interact and even intersect, while at the same time retaining their own specificity. This was a period that, in Ottoman lands, saw universalism in religion as no obstacle to scientific developments and cross-cultural collaboration. Hajji Ahmed's cordiform map therefore could openly integrate Western elements and still resonate strongly among the educated Ottoman audience of the sixteenth century, an audience whose rich poetic tradition of the *gazel* encouraged a polysemy of meaning, an audience for whom science, as did poetry, navigated around the sultan and at the same time circumvented him as well as religion and the Western world, while depending on all of them. As reflected in Hajji Ahmed's map, traveling in the sixteenth century meant encountering and negotiating many physical, literary, artistic, and religious routes that had more in common than has generally been acknowledged.

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Notes

1. It is generally assumed that Eastern travelers to the West were considerably less numerous than their European counterparts discovering the Orient. However, researchers have yet to investigate fully the seemingly punctual stays of the Ottomans in Western Europe. This arti-

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cle offers a point of departure in this direction. I wish to thank Scott Juall for his intellectual rigor, tireless curiosity, and thorough feedback on the first version of this article. I am also indebted to Carla Zecher who brought the map studied here to my attention.

2. For a discussion of the enduring appeal of Jerusalem, see Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: "The Undiscovered Country"* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), and F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2007).
3. I do not include in my discussion here the numerous contacts between Europe and Safavid Persia, Mameluk Egypt or Mogul India, but informed Renaissance Europeans were of course very much aware of the complexity of the Islamic East.
4. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: MIT P, 1991), 14.
5. Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 2000).
6. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006). Also of interest is Eric D. Dursteler's study of the economic and political contacts between Venetians and Ottomans in Constantinople in the seventeenth century, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins U P, 2006).
7. George Kish gives an excellent overview of sixteenth century cordiform maps in "The Cosmographic Heart: Cordiform Maps of the 16th Century," *Imago Mundi*, 19 (1965): 13-21.
8. Tom Conley, *The Self-Made Map: Cartographic Writing in Early Modern France* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996. See also Martine Sauret's *Voies cartographiques* (Lewiston: Mellen P, 2005).
9. Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François I^er^ imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), 369-91 and 427-33.
10. Giorgio Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection," *Imago Mundi*, 50 (1998): 59-83.
11. Scott D. Juall, "Early Modern Franco-Ottoman Relations: Utopian Mapping of Imperialist Encounters in François Rabelais's *Pantagruel*," *Études rabelaisiennes*, 44 (2006): 79-110.
12. Hajji Ahmed's map was most certainly created in Venice where Bernard Sylvanus's cordiform map was produced in 1511. For additional information on the map and its complex history, see Antonio Fabris, "The Ottoman Mappa Mundi of Hajji Ahmed of Tunis", *Al-Majallah al-t'ar'ikk'iyah al-'Arab'iyah lil-dir'as'at al-'Uthm'an'iyah*, 7-8, (1993): 31-37; V. L. Ménage, "'The Map of Hajji Ahmed' and its Maker," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 21 (1958): 291-314; M. d'Avezac, *Note sur une mappemonde turke du XV^e^ siècle* (Paris: Martinet, 1866); George Kish, *The Suppressed Turkish Map of 1560* (Ann Arbor: Williams L. Clements Library, 1957); Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700* (London: The Holland P, 1983), 118-19; Benjamin Arbel, "Maps of the World for Ottoman Princes? Further Evidence and Questions Concerning 'The *Mappamondo* of Hajji Ahmed'," *Imago Mundi* 54, (2000): 19-29.
13. See Kemal Özdemir, *Ottoman Nautical Charts and the Atlas of Ali Macar Reis*, L. Mary Isin, trans. (Istanbul: Creative Yayincilik ve Tanitim, 1992); J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 1 (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1992); Brotton, *Territories*, chapter 3.
14. On Arab scientific accomplishments, see *The Oxford History of Islam*, John L. Esposito, ed. (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2000), 155-213. Giancarlo Casale has nuanced the knowledge of Islamic geography by the Ottomans in "The Ottoman 'Discovery' of the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century: The Age of Exploration from an Islamic Perspective," http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascpes/casale.html (accessed 8 Oct. 2006).
15. Halil Inalcek, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1973), 173-76.
16. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 196.
17. Sonja Brentjes, "Pride and Prejudice: The Invention of a 'Historiography of Science' in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires by European Travelers and Writers in the Sixteenth and Sev-

enteenth Centuries," in *Religious Values and The Rise of Science in Europe*, John Brooke and Ekmeleddin I˙hsanoğlu, ed. (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2005), 230.

18. The Newberry Library possesses a copy of this manuscript (VAULT Ayer MS 612), which was one of the very first texts printed by Ibrahim Müteferrika, the geographer who set up the printing press in the Muslim world in the early eighteenth century. Thomas D. Goodrich has translated and analyzed the manuscript in *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i garbi and Sixteenth-century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990).
19. Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong: Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2002) and *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: Modern Library, 2003).
20. See also Marion Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel: Prophet of the Restitution of All Things, His Life and Thought* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 96, n. 309. Postel published *De la république des Turcs* in 1560 in Poitiers.
21. Postel's goal was to encourage contacts between East and West, with the ultimate purpose of religious homogeny however.
22. See *Bellini and The East*, Caroline Campbell, Alan Chong, Deborah Howard, and J. Michael Rogers, eds. (New Haven: Yale U P, 2005.)
23. Cited in Ménage, p.297. A complete translation of the map remains to be undertaken.
24. And elsewhere, "in order that those who peruse it, of high or low degree, may draw great benefit from it." Short of naming a possible patron, Hajji Ahmed nevertheless seems to refer to, if not sultan Süleyman himself, his sons or other influential people of the court. The textual commentary starts in this way with an unidentified *destinataire*: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: O ye wise and O ye learned, the blessings of God may be upon you! Be it known unto you that I, this poor, humble and feeble creature, who stands in need of the mercy of his Generous Lord, Hajji Ahmed from the city of Tunis, had from my childhood."
25. For a concise definition of *taqlīd*, see *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1995), 4:187-89.
26. İnci A. Birol and Çiçek Derman, *Motifs in Turkish Decorative Arts* (Istanbul: Kubbealti, 1991); Azade Akar, *Treasury of Turkish Designs: 670 Morifs from Iznik Pottery* (New York: Dover, 1988) and *Authentic Turkish Designs* (New York: Dover, 1992).
27. Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke U P, 2005). See also Walter Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 1985).
28. *Nightingales and Pleasure Gardens: Turkish Love Poems*, Talat S. Halman, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse U P, 2005) includes poems by Süleyman, while *Süleyman the Magnificent Poet* (Istanbul: Dost, 1987) by the same editor is devoted exclusively to the Sultan's poetry.
29. Translated by Halman (*Süleyman* 36-37.)
30. In this complex game of veiling and revealing, is it surprising that the identity of Hajji Ahmed still eludes us?
31. Significantly, Sura Al-Nur, speaking of how humans perceive the divine, affirms that "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth" (24:35).
32. René Guénon, *Symbols of Sacred Science* (Hillsdale: Sophia Perennis, 2004), 21. Guénon's text was originally published in French as *Symboles fondamentaux de la science sacrée* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962).
33. This notion is shared by Christian mystics and particularly Orthodox Christians. See Kalistos Ware, "How Do We Enter the Heart," in *Paths to the Heart: Sufism and the Christian East* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2002), 22-23, and Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Prayer of the Heart in Hesychasm and Sufism," in *Orthodox Christians and Muslims* (Brookline: Holy Cross Orthodox P, 1986), 195-203.
34. I borrow the expression from Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire* 210.