



New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade

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Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789 (Harlow, England, Longman, 2000), 20, 164, 208–9, 239, 282.

7. Specialists in Ottoman history have long since abandoned the old idea that the Ottoman Empire suffered a lengthy decline after the death of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in 1566. Evidence for continued Ottoman military strength in the 17th, and even into the early 18th, century can be found in a number of military and diplomatic histories, including those by Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare, 1500–1700* (New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1999); Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ivan Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade (1683–1739)* (Boulder, CO, East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1995).

8. László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 164, 166; Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1991), 6–23; Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, *Empire of the Gazis, The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1976), 184–87; Gábor Ágoston, 'Ottoman warfare in Europe, 1453–1826', in *European Warfare, 1453–1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999), 133–34; Virginia Aksan, 'Ottoman war and warfare, 1453–1812', in *War in the Early Modern World, 1450–1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (Boulder, CO, Westview Press, 1999), 158–60.

9. 'Hercegnovi' (see note 3); John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974), 55. The taking of Castelnuovo in Hercegovina was seen at the time as a tremendous exploit redeeming Spanish honour in the aftermath of Spain's naval loss earlier that year to the Ottomans at the Battle of Prevesa, which was fought south of the island of Corfu, off the coast of Epirus, near the town of Prevesa. In 1539, the Ottoman admiral Barbarossa, the victor at Prevesa, had retaken Castelnuovo in yet another amphibious assault. The events of 1538 at Castelnuovo, along with those of the following year, became sufficiently well known throughout Europe to be mentioned long after by Christian travellers in the region: see John Lok, 'The Voyage of M. John Lok to Jerusalem, anno 1553', in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1553, reprinted New York, Dutton, 1927), 3: 15; and William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures & Painefull Peregrinations* (1632, reprinted New York, Macmillan, 1906), 51.

10. 'Skadar' (see note 3); Dimitrije Djordjević and Stepen Fischer-Galati, *The Balkan Revolutionary Tradition* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1981), 13.

11. 'Klis' (see note 3); Ference Szakály, 'The Hungarian–Croatian border defense system and its collapse', in János Bak and Béla K. Király, *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (Brooklyn, N.Y., Social Science Monographs, Brooklyn College Press, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1982), 142–43. By the time the Ottomans finally captured Clissa, the fortress had been totally cut off for a number of years from any other Habsburg territory. Even then they had to defend Clissa in 1571 and 1572 from Venetian attempts to retake it, and again in 1583 against the Habsburgs.

12. Zdenko Zlatar, *Between the Double Eagle and the Crescent: The Republic of Dubrovnik and the Origins of the Eastern Question* (Boulder, CO, East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1992), 88–92. See also Bartl, *Albanien* (note 4), 68.

13. Peter Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen Spanischer Monarchie und Osmanischem Reich: Zur Türkenkriegsproblematik an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, Otto Hassarowitz, 1974), 99–103.

14. The most complete account of Tarnowskij's exploits is also the oldest, but it has the advantage of being based on primary sources extant at the time but now apparently lost; Fr. Mareš, 'Aufstandversuche der christlichen Völker in der Türkei in den Jahren 1625–1646', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* 3 (1882), 246–300.

15. The Priory of Vrana had formerly been the headquarters of the Knights of Malta in the Kingdom of Hungary, although the priory itself had actually been located in the Kingdom of Croatia, which was a part of Hungary. By the 17th century, it was in Ottoman hands and part of Ottoman Bosnia.

16. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan* (see note 13), 112–13; Fr. Mareš, 'Aufstandversuche' (see note 14), 249; and Heinrich Notflatscher and Elisabeth Springer, 'Studien und Quellen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Rudolf II und den bosnischen Christen', *Mitteilungen des oesterreichischen Staatsarchivs* 36 (1983): 44–46.

17. Bartl, *Der Westbalkan* (see note 13), 189. The most extensive discussion of Yahya, here called Jachia, and his connections with Tarnowskij is in Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350–1700* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1954), 220–36. Bartl describes Tarnowskij as a Pole, but this appears to be his attribution based on the form of the name; Bartl is also sceptical that Tarnowskij was related to Bertucci. Vaughan, however, like most others who mention him, believes him to be Bertucci's nephew. There was a prominent Polish noble family named Tarnowski in the sixteenth century. In fact, in 1574 an A. Taranowski had led a royal mission to visit Constantinople and 'to make plans of Turkish castles and towns' (Karol Buczek, *The History of Polish Cartography: From the 15th to the 18th Century*, 2d ed. (Amsterdam, Meridian, 1982), 51–52). I have, however, been unable to discover any Polish connection for Christofaro Tarnowskij. My thanks for their assistance here go to Dr Stephen Paczolt, Geography and Map Division of the United States Library of Congress, and Ronald D. Bachman, Area Specialist for Poland, United States Library of Congress.

18. Gunther Erich Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1960), 67; Mareš, 'Aufstandversuche' (see note 14), 249, 253–58, 267–70, 278.

19. On Rudolf II, see James Vann, 'Mapping under the Austrian Habsburgs', in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992), 159; on Philip II, see Peter Barber, 'Maps and monarchs in Europe, 1550–1800', in *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton*, ed. Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs and H. M. Scott (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 102. The spread of map consciousness is a major concern of the work of David Buisseret, as seen in his *The Mapmakers' Quest: Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003).