The martyred sultan: Tuman Bay II in André Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés*

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Abstract The last ruler of the Mamluk dynasty, Tuman Bay II, was executed in 1517 by order of the Ottoman sultan Selim I. Although Tuman Bay's rule lasted only a year, his biography attracted the interest of numerous European scholars. He appeared in sixteenth-century biographical encyclopaedias, most notably those of Paolo Giovio and André Thevet. Where Giovio's portrait of Tuman Bay showed the sultan dressed in an outfit appropriate to his status, including an elaborate turban, the image in Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits* (1584) is more unusual. Thevet's illustration shows the sultan bound in ropes, bare-headed and looking upward in a beseeching manner that invites comparison with European representations of Christian martyrs. This article examines visual sources and primary texts (European and Arabic) for the representation of Tuman Bay in *Les vrais pourtraits* and in other works published by Thevet. It concentrates on the period of the sultan's captivity and execution, suggesting ways in which Thevet might have encountered popular reconstructions of these events in Egypt or Turkey.

Keywords Mamluk, sultan, martyr, Egypt, France

Introduction

The rising power of the Ottoman Turks was a major factor in the growth of representations, textual and visual, of Muslims in sixteenth-century Europe. Scholars produced historical surveys of dynasties and individual Islamic rulers, while more dramatic, but less historically accurate, depictions of Islamic rulers were penned by playwrights.[1] The popular interest in Muslims was also catered for in the creation of single-leaf woodcuts ranging from relatively neutral portraits and costume studies to emotive compositions, such as Erhard Schön's (d. 1542) *Ravages of the Turks* (1532).[2]

Another means by which members of the literate elite of sixteenth-century Europe could find information about the Islamic world was through biographical dictionaries. Chief among them was the *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* by the scholar and bishop Paolo Giovio (d. 1552). The first illustrated edition of the text was published in Basel in 1575 and contained woodcuts by Tobias Stimmer (d. 1584) made after the original paintings in Giovio's collection.[3] The book included a significant number of biographical accounts of Muslims, including all the sultans of the Ottoman dynasty,[4] the Ayyubid sultan Salah al-Din (Saladin, r. 1171–93), the Central Asian conqueror Timur (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405), and the Mamluk sultans, Qa'it Bay (r. 1468–96), Qansawh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16), and Tuman Bay II (r. 1516–17).[5]

Another prominent biographical encyclopaedia to exhibit an interest in non-European themes is André Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés Grecz, Latins et Payens, recueillez de leurs tableaux, livres, médailles antiques et modernes* (Paris: I. Kervert et Guillaume Chaudière, 1584).[6] Thevet (1516–90) was a Franciscan father who served as chaplain to Catherine de' Medici and later as court historian and cosmographer in Paris. He is best known today for the account he published in 1557 of his journey to Brazil, *La singularitez de la France antarctique*.[7] In many respects *Les vrais pourtraits* lacks the scholarly credentials of the *Elogia*; for example, Thevet freely plagiarized both Giovio and Fulvio Orsini (d. 1600).[8] Allowing for these limitations, Thevet's biographical work is still striking for its geographical scope. Relying upon personal experience, Thevet includes entries on indigenous pre-Columbian rulers of the Americas.[9] He is also known to have travelled around the eastern Mediterranean, including Greece, Istanbul, Syro-Palestine, and Egypt.[10] His treatment of the Islamic world largely follows Giovio's *Elogia*,[11] but with the addition of the Arab polymath Avicenna (Ibn Sina, d. 1037), the Sharif of Fez and Morocco, and Şehzade Mustafa, eldest son of Süleyman I who was executed at the sultan's order in 1553.

There are elements of originality in *Les vrais pourtraits*. One such novelty is the representation of the last Mamluk sultan, Tuman Bay II.[12] Engraved on a copper plate by an unknown artist,[13] Tuman Bay is depicted as a middle-aged, bearded man with his head tilted upward and eyes raised to the sky. Significantly, the sultan's balding head is left uncovered, and his hands and arms are bound with ropes (figure 1). This article examines these unusual features, suggesting reasons why this portrait diverges from the common modes employed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the representation of Muslim rulers, particularly the sultans of the Mamluk and Ottoman dynasties. I argue that the image should also be understood in the context of the European reaction to the expansion of the Ottoman empire during the sixteenth century. Tuman Bay's capture and execution were, therefore, potent reminders of the potential consequences of resisting Turkish military power. The last Mamluk sultan's fate was, however, represented in *Les vrais pourtraits* in a more positive light through the complex iconography of Christian martyrdom.

Mamluks in European art and the representation of Tuman Bay

Although images of Turks are more prevalent in the visual arts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there exist

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Figure 1. Portrait of Sultan Tuman Bay II, in André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés* (Paris: I. Kervert et Guillaume Chaudière, 1584), f. 639[r]. Cambridge University Library, U.7.11. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

numerous representations of inhabitants of the Mamluk sultanate, from sultans and high officials to soldiers and common people.[14] Erhard Reuwich's (fl. 1480s) woodcut illustrations in Bernard von Breydenbach's (d. 1497) *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* include images of different socio-political and religious communities in the Middle East. Reuwich had accompanied the author von Breydenbach on his travels. First published in Mainz in 1486, the book was reprinted numerous times in subsequent decades. Evidence of its impact on the visual arts can be found in Vittore Carpaccio's (d. 1525 or 1526) *Triumph of St George* in the Scuola S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice (*c.*1502–08), where adapted versions appear of the Dome of the Rock and the tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from Reuwich's panorama of Jerusalem.[15]

Venice was the conduit through which many European artists formed their image of the Mamluk elite and of other inhabitants of the Mamluk sultanate. Albrecht Dürer's (d. 1528) second visit to Venice *c.*1505–06 led him to incorporate distinctive Mamluk turbans—identifiable by the complex folding of the material—on characters in his series known as the *Small Woodcut Passion* (*c.*1509–11). Formerly, Dürer had employed the Turkish turban (formed from material wound around a conical cap known as a *tāj*) to lend his New Testament scenes an appropriately Oriental tone.[16] It is not known what sources Dürer had employed in his shift to the Mamluk turban, though there are somewhat later Venetian paintings that include Mamluk headgear. The best known of these is the anonymous work entitled *Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors* (dated 1511).[17] It is now believed that this work depicts the presentation in Damascus in 1508 of the proconsul Pietro Zen (d. 1539) to the governor (*nāʿib al-salṭāna*) of Syria.

Most pertinent in the present context is the representation of headgear worn by Mamluk soldiers and officials. The former group wear either the tall fur hat known as *tāqiyya* or the red bonnet (*zamṭ*), while the status of the different officials in the scene is indicated by the shapes of their turbans. The governor wears the six-horned turban (figure 2) known as *al-takhfīfa al-kabīra*, though a more popular name was *al-nāʿūra*, meaning 'the waterwheel'. The Egyptian chronicler Muhammad b. Ahmad ibn Iyas (d. *c.*1522) notes that, in 1496, the right to wear this elaborate head covering was extended to 'amirs of one thousand' (*amīr mīʾa muqaddam alf*). Formerly only the sultan had been permitted to wear it.

Other Venetian artists, such as Giovanni Mansueti (d. 1527), included the *nāʿūra* in their paintings as a means to connote Oriental authority.[18] By contrast, the illustration in Giovio's 1575 edition of the *Elogia* of the penultimate Mamluk sultan, Qansawh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16), has two forward-facing 'horns' on the upper part of the turban (figure 3). The top of the turban is cropped from the woodcut of Tuman Bay (figure 4) making it difficult to be sure about the overall shape. Nevertheless, the tall profile and the knotting of the lower section make clear that a distinction is being made between the Mamluk style and the Ottoman arrangement of material wound around a *tāj*. The woodcuts of last two Mamluk sultans in the *Elogia* were the visual sources employed by the several later European historians; similar images appear in Jean-Jacques Boissard's (d. 1602) *Vitae et icones sultanorum Turcicorum* (Frankfurt, 1596) (figures 5 and 6) and Richard Knolles's (d. 1610) *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603).[19] The closest correlate in the *Elogia* for the 'waterwheel' form seen in the *Reception* is the portrait of Saladin (figure 7).[20] The visual source for Giovio's image of the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty was apparently obtained from Donado da Lezze (d. 1526), a Venetian based in Cyprus.[21]

Identified as 'Tomombet, dernier soldan d'Égypte', Thevet's depiction of Tuman Bay is quite unlike that in Giovio's *Elogia* and the later portraits in the works of Boissard and Knolles. Without the explanatory title there would be little in this image to signal that the subject was from the Middle East. The

Figure 2. *The Reception of the Venetian Ambassadors*, detail showing the governor's turban, Venice, *c.*1511. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Drawing: Marcus Milwright.

patterned brocade of his closely fitted jacket is somewhat similar to extant Mamluk silks, and comparable textiles may also be seen covering Oriental figures in paintings by Carpaccio and others.[22] Tuman Bay's outfit can hardly be described as distinctively Mamluk, however; the same vocabulary of patterned brocades existed in contemporary Europe and the Palaeologan phase of the Byzantine empire.[23] What would have functioned much more effectively as a token of his status as a Mamluk sultan was, of course, the *nā'ūra*, or another form of the *takhfifa kabīra*.

Figure 3. Portrait of Sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri, in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel: Peter Perna, 1575), p. 222. Cambridge University Library, O.7.16-1. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Figure 4. Portrait of Sultan Tumanbay II, in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel: Peter Perna, 1575), p. 225. Cambridge University Library, O.7.16-1. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Figure 5. Portrait of Sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri, in Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum Turcicorum* (Paris: Theodor de Bry, 1596). Cambridge University Library. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Figure 6. Portrait of Sultan Tumanbay II, in Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum Turcicorum* (Paris: Theodor de Bry, 1596). Cambridge University Library. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Accounts of the capture and execution of Tuman Bay (see below) give no indication that he was stripped of his turban prior to being hanged, and it is worth reflecting upon the potential significance of this omission from Thevet's image. The importance of this visual theme is reinforced by the fact that the woodcut image of the sultan being led to his execution in his *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) is also bareheaded (figure 8).[24]

A popular *ḥadīth*, variously ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad and to the caliphs ʿUmar ibn al-Khattab (r. 634–44) and ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (r. 656–61), reads: 'the turban [*al-ʿamāʾim*] is the crown of the Arabs'.[25] This saying encapsulates the status of the turban as a Muslim garment, as well as implying its potent political symbolism within Islamic society. A brief survey of European representations of Turkish and Mamluk sultans reveals that the symbolic roles performed by the turban were relatively well understood. The turban worn by a sultan was equated with the crown of a European Christian monarch in the sense that it was recognized as an attribute of kingship. This visual linking of the turban and the crown is seen vividly in the painted portrait and the medal of Mehmed II Fatih (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) produced by the Venetian artist Gentile Bellini (d. 1507). The medal produced by the same artist has the portrait on the obverse and three crowns on the reverse (figure 9).[26] The visual evidence suggests that some of the Ottoman sultans sought to employ the symbolism of the crown in diplomatic exchanges; Süleyman I even commissioned an elaborate jewelled hat from Venice combining elements of European imperial crowns and papal tiara.[27]

At a more prosaic level the turban was an essential component of the public appearance of a Muslim man, and the lack of a proper headcovering was, at least, indecorous and, at most, compromised his masculinity. The fact that Tuman Bay is bound in ropes only adds to the sense in which he is reduced as both ruler and man. Thevet explores this latter theme in an image of Atabalipa (i.e. Atahualpa, d. 1533), the last sovereign emperor (Sapa Inca) of the Incas, prior to the Spanish conquest (figure 10).[28] In this case the ruler is bound in chains, though he retains his ceremonial headgear. An intriguing, though less likely, line of interpretation relates to the removal of the turban as a sign of conversion to Christianity. This is suggested by Carpaccio's painting of *St George Baptising* in the Scuola S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni (*c.*1502–08) where those accepting baptism have set their turbans aside on the ground and kneel bareheaded before the saint (figure 11).[29]

Figure 7. Portrait of Saladin (Salah al-Din), in Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel: Theodor de Bry, 1575), p. 29. Cambridge University Library, O.7.16-1. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

A somewhat different reading of the image is suggested by a combination of the binding of Tuman Bay's arms and aspects of his pose; to a sixteenth-century European viewer familiar with the conventions of Catholic religious art, the depiction of the Mamluk sultan must have looked like that of a martyrdom.[30] Tuman Bay's upward gaze is commonly adopted by Christian martyrs in paintings and prints, including commonly represented saints such as Agatha, Stephen, George and Sebastian.[31] The last of these is additionally relevant in that St Sebastian is normally shown bound to a tree or column, though usually his hands are either behind his back or above his head. Early paintings of this popular theme include those of Andrea Mantegna (1456–59, 1480 and 1490), Piero del Pollaiuolo (*c.*1475), and Antonello da Messina (1477–79).[32] The martyrdom of St Sebastian remained a popular image for painters and printmakers through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it is not implausible that aspects of the iconography of this scene informed the production of Thevet's image of Tuman Bay. The tilt of the head and the upward gaze are encountered in images of the saint, including the panel produced by the Umbrian Master of the Greenville Tondo *c.*1500–10 (figure 12).

More direct parallels for the bound hands and arms of the Tuman Bay image can, however, be found in representations of the Passion of Christ. Sixteenth-century versions of *Ecce Homo* (from John 9:15) commonly show Christ with his hands tied in front of him, whether he is seen within a larger urban

Figure 8. Sultan Tumanbay being led to his execution, in André Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1575), I: f. 37^{v}. Cambridge University Library, Rel.bb.57.1. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Figure 9. Obverse and reverse of a bronze medal made for Mehmed II Fatih by Gentile Bellini, 1479. British Museum, London, Department of Coins and Medals, 1883.3.1.

setting or in closer focus, usually half-length. Numerous painted examples exist prior to the publication of *Les vrais pourtraits* in 1584, though none offers close comparison to the image of Tuman Bay.[33] In most cases, however, the gaze of Christ is directed at the viewer or toward the ground, while the hands are slanted downwards. A woodcut, dated 1511, by Hans Baldung Grien (figure 13) offers a different pose, the upturned head of Christ having been derived from a chalk drawing by Dürer.[34] The Man of Sorrows is a closely related, even synonymous theme, the emphasis in this case being upon the

Figure 10. Portrait of Atabalipa, in André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés* (Paris: I. Kervert et Guillaume Chaudière, 1584), f. 64[1]r. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

depiction of the tortured body, usually with the instruments of the Passion.[35]

While these lines of interpretation may seem a little far-fetched at first sight, it is worth noting that one of the engravers employed by Thevet adopts these conventions in his depiction of the influential Christian apologist Justin, martyred by beheading in 165 CE (figure 14).[36] Among the visual similarities with the Mamluk sultan are the upward gaze, the furrowed brow, and the arrangement of the fingers of the right hand. Furthermore, one can detect a note of sympathy, even pathos, in Thevet's image of the Mamluk sultan (qualities that are much less apparent in the treatment of Atabalipa in the same publication). Some explanation for this sympathetic quality may be sought in the last days of Tuman Bay, and, more importantly, in the ways those events were recast in the textual traditions of Egypt and Europe during the sixteenth century.

Tuman Bay in fact and fiction

Al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu al-Nasr min Qansawh al-Nasiri Tuman Bay (*c.*1474/75–1517) enjoyed a relatively distinguished career before his brief tenure as sultan of the Mamluk state.[37] Much of his biography can be reconstructed from the chronicle written by the Cairene scholar Ibn Iyas. Nephew of the penultimate sultan, al-Qansawh al-Ghawri (r. 1501–16), Tuman Bay was bought by his uncle and presented to sultan Qa'it Bay, in

Figure 11. Vittore Carpaccio, *St George Baptising*, Scuola S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, *c.*1502–08. 285 × 141 cm. Credit: Alfredo Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY.

Figure 12. *St Sebastian*, Master of the Greenville Tondo, Umbria, *c.*1500–10. 75.9 × 52.7 cm. Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation to the New Jersey State Museum; transferred to the Princeton University Art Museum, 1995-330.

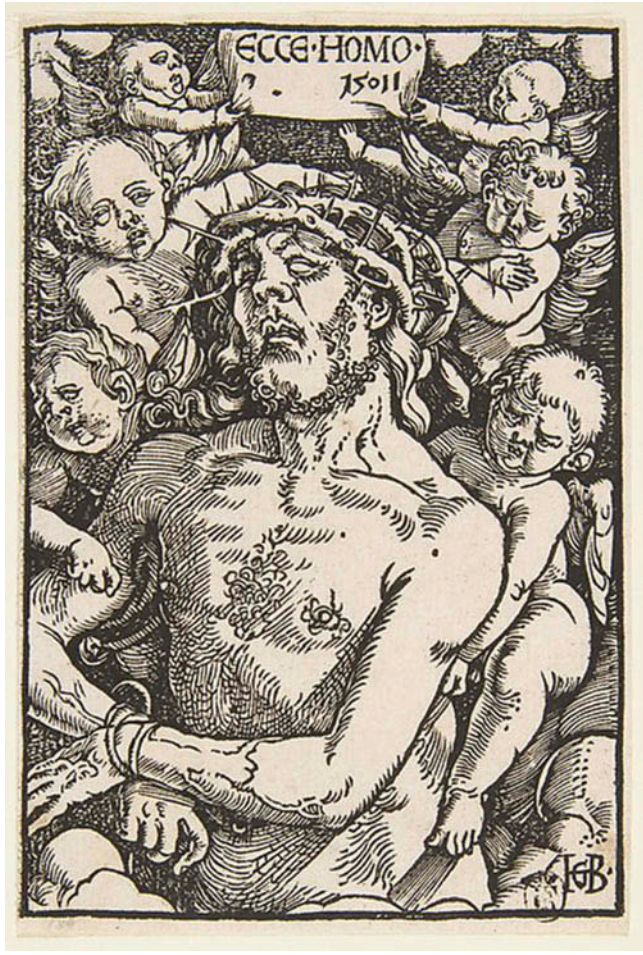

Figure 13. Hans Baldung Grien, *Ecce Homo*, 1511. Woodcut. 12.8 × 8.6 cm. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 26.106.1. Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum.

whose court he served as a mamluk. Manumitted during the sultanate of Qaʾit Bay's son, al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1496–98), Tuman Bay began to hold high offices of state during the rule of Qansawh al-Ghawri.[38] His military and administrative abilities were recognized with his appointment as supervisor of the annual pilgrimage to the Holy cities of Mecca and Medina (*amīr al-ḥājj*) in 1511, and regent of the sultan in his absence (*nāʾib al-ghayba*), first in 1514, and again in 1516 when sultan al-Ghawri led the Mamluk army to Syria to face the forces of the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20). The battle at Marj Dabiq on 25 Rajab 922/24 August 1516 was a catastrophic defeat for the Mamluks; al-Ghawri was killed, his forces were scattered and soon all Syria was annexed by the Ottoman sultan. The way was opened for the Turkish forces to march on Egypt. It was in these perilous circumstances that a delegation of the most powerful amirs proposed that Tuman Bay assume the sultanate. Tuman Bay initially refused this offer, only relenting when he had received a signed pledge of loyalty from the amirs.

Ibn Iyas provides a generally positive commentary on the Mamluk sultan's attempts to organize his forces, as well as to repeal some of the unjust legislation established by his predecessor, al-Ghawri. That said, the author does include one telling episode in which Tuman Bay was apparently reduced to a state of terror after reading a threatening communiqué from the Ottoman sultan. David Ayalon proposed that the defeats suffered at the hands of the Ottoman army of Selim could be attributed to a failure of the Mamluk sultanate to adopt firearms. This influential hypothesis has been questioned by Robert Irwin, who points to extensive evidence for the enthusiastic experimentation with firearms by al-Ghawri.[39] Tuman Bay, too, appears to have embraced these new technologies, and it is perhaps his overreliance upon static lines of cannon rather than a fixation with the traditional Mamluk values of *furūsiyya* (literally, horsemanship, though it can be understood more broadly as chivalry) that accounts for his inability to combat the advancing Ottoman army. The first defeat of his forces occurred on 29 Dhu al-Hijja 922/22 January 1517 at Raydaniyya, north-east of Cairo, and Tuman Bay fled the battlefield. On the Friday after the battle the sermon (*khuṭba*) was pronounced in the name of Selim in the mosques of Cairo.

Withdrawing to Bahnasa Tuman Bay wrote offering to govern Egypt as a vassal of the Ottoman sultan (an offer that Selim had already made prior to the battle of Raydaniyya). Tuman Bay's request was favourably received, but reconciliation between the two men was thwarted by the opposition of the Royal Mamluks and the subsequent slaughter of the Ottoman delegation sent to Tuman Bay's camp. The final battle between the two took place at Giza on 10 Rabiʿ 923/2 April 1517. Tuman Bay escaped and sought refuge with a bedouin ally, Hasan al-Murʿi, but was betrayed to the Ottomans. Wearing the 'robes like those of an Arab of al-Hawwara',[40] Tuman Bay was placed in captivity in the Ottoman camp at Inbaba. Although Selim appears to have favoured sending him into exile in Mecca, the Ottoman sultan eventually decided that a public execution would quash the rumours circulating in Egypt that Tuman Bay remained at large. Still dressed as a bedouin, the defeated Mamluk sultan was brought in irons (*fi'l-ḥadīd*) on horseback to Bab Zuwayla, the southern gate of Cairo (figure 15). Displaying the noble bearing that impressed both Turkish and Egyptian observers, he asked the assembled crowds to recite the opening sura of the Qurʾan (*fātiḥa*) for him three times. This done, he was hanged, his body being left for three days before being taken for burial in the *madrasa* (religious school) of sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri.[41]

The captivity and execution of Tuman Bay elicited different reactions in Egypt. Displaying their customary irreverence for figures of authority, performers of shadow plays incorporated the death of the last Mamluk sultan into their repertoire. These performances were even seen by Selim himself, who took a troupe back with him to Istanbul.[42] Sadly, neither the puppets nor the text survive, though some extant puppets do show chained captives (figure 16). It is possible that a painting of the hanging of Tuman Bay records the denouement of a shadow play.[43] The painting itself is unattributed, but the populist style can probably be associated with the so-called 'Bazaar painters' of the seventeenth century (figure 17).[44]

Figure 14. Justin Martyr, in André Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés* (Paris: I. Kervert et Guillaume Chaudière, 1584), f. 7ʳ. Cambridge University Library, U.7.11. Courtesy: Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

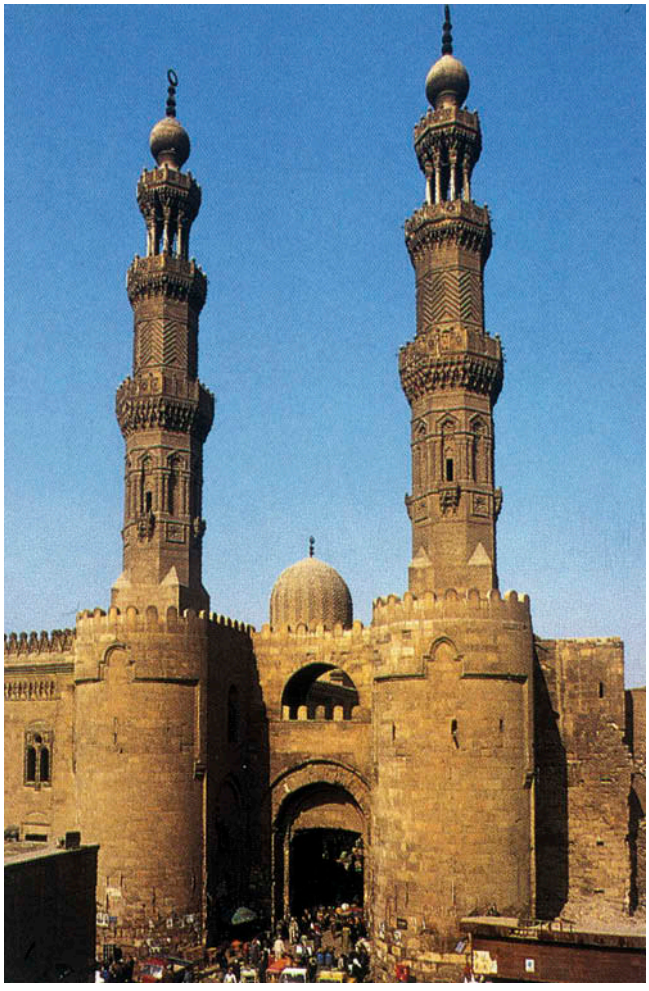

Figure 15. Bab Zuwayla, Cairo, 1091–92 and later. Photo: Jonathan Bloom.

Figure 16. Leather shadow puppets depicting chained captives, Egypt, fourteenth–seventeenth centuries. Discovered in Manzala, Egypt, by Paul Kahle. Courtesy: Linden Museum, Stuttgart, 84677.

While there is no reason to question Ibn Iyas's overall presentation of the events, his own status as a member of a family of *awlād al-nās* (i.e., freeborn sons of Mamluks) naturally led him to mourn the passing of the political system of which he was a part.[45] It is sultan al-Ghawri, and not Tuman Bay, whom Ibn Iyas blames for the weakening of the political, social, and economic state of the sultanate. He also notes the barbarity of the invaders, including the execution of many prominent Mamluks following the capture of Cairo. The case of amir Sudun Dawadari provides an interesting comparison with the fate of Tuman Bay. Apprehended by a bedouin and presented to the Turkish forces, the amir was dressed with a blue turban (the headcovering imposed upon Christians by the Mamluk authorities) and then paraded on a donkey. Already suffering from a broken leg the amir died on his steed. His severed head was later displayed in the Ottoman camp.[46]

Ibn Iyas's version of the fall of the Mamluk sultanate did not, however, enjoy the greatest prominence in the Middle East in the decades and centuries after the execution of Tuman Bay. The most influential account is given by Ahmad b. ʿAli ibn Zunbul (d. after 1574). Few biographical details exist, though he was probably born *c.*1500 in the Nile Delta town of Mahalla. It is possible he was an eye-witness to sultan Selim's entry into Cairo. Ibn Zunbul spent part of his career as the dream interpreter for the Ottoman governor of Egypt, Mahmud Pasha (d. 1567), and was author of treatises on geomancy and cosmology.[47] He refers to his historical work, composed in *c.*1553, as the *Kitāb al-infiṣāl dawlat al-awān wa ittiṣāl dawlat Banī ʿUthmān* ('The Departure of the Temporal Dynasty and the Coming of the Ottomans'), though it is often called *Wāqiʿat al-sulṭān al-Ghawrī maʿa Salīm al-ʿUthmān* ('Encounter of Sultan al-Ghawri with Selim the Ottoman').[48] The popularity of the *Infiṣāl* is indicated by the large number of surviving manuscripts, including Turkish translations of the original Arabic. Located between the Mamluk historical tradition, of which Ibn Iyas was the last exponent, and the popular epics like *Sīrat ʿAntar* and *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Ibn Zunbul's recounting of the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule has been dubbed by Irwin the first example in Arabic of the genre of historical romance.

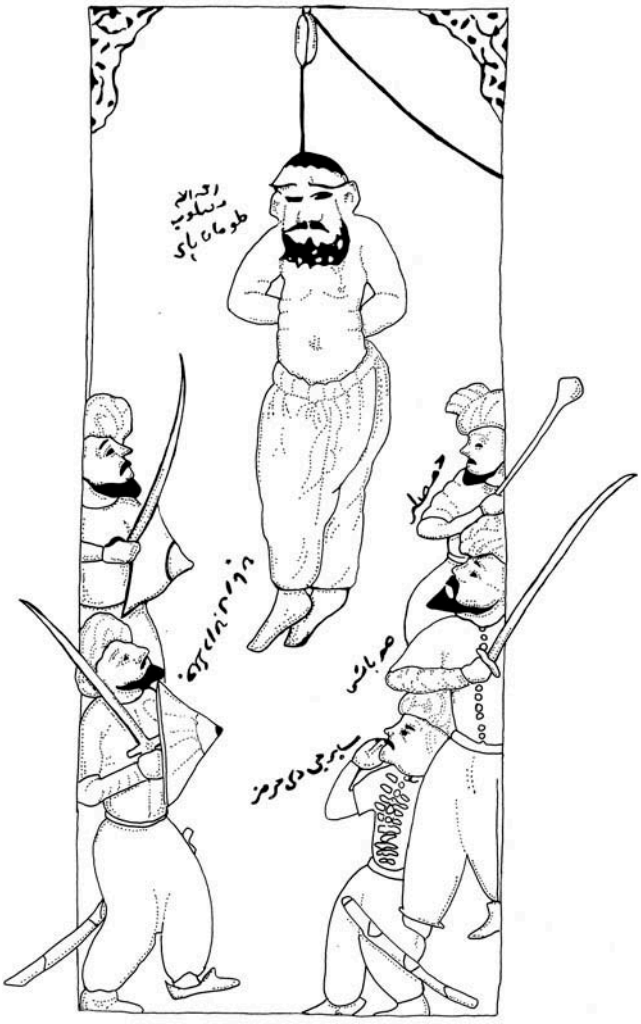

Figure 17. Execution of Tumanbay outside Bab Zuwayla, Cairo, in 1517. Unknown source, seventeenth century (?). Drawing after a digital image: Marcus Milwright.

Irwin gives some general observations about the tone and content of the *Infiṣāl*.[49] First, internal features of the text such as the frequent recapitulations of previous events and the elaborate dialogues between characters indicate that the *Infiṣāl* was designed to be performed, presumably by the professional storytellers who were a common feature of Cairo and other cities during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Second, Ibn Zunbul seeks to reshape historical events so as to facilitate the narrative flow. Extraneous elements are excised, with the battle scenes sometimes reduced to single combat between the key players in the story. The explicit subject of the text is the struggle between the Mamluks, the embodiment of the principles of *furūsiyya*, and the Ottomans, adherents of the new technology of firearms, but Irwin suggests that the underlying theme is the role of fate in deciding the lifespan of people and dynasties. For this reason, dreams, prophecy, magic, and fortune-telling are ubiquitous elements in the narrative.

Third, the principal players are drawn in extreme terms. Ibn Zunbul characterizes Tuman Bay as paragon of virtue and bravery. He is both a military man and a sufi. The Mamluk sultan is instructed about his fate by dreams, and even takes time to write a poem (*qaṣīda*) before a battle. Selim, on the other hand, is gifted with knowledge of the occult, including the ability to read men's souls through their physical appearance (*firāsa*). Unlike the earlier chronicler Ibn Iyas, Ibn Zunbul stresses the legitimacy of the Ottoman campaign against the Mamluks as well as the personal piety of the Turkish sultan. The enduring success of Ibn Zunbul's vision of Mamluk heroes and villains is demonstrated by an account given by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi (d. 1682). He observes that Circassian beys passing the burial place of Tuman Bay in the *madrasa* of sultan al-Ghawri would bow their heads in respect.[50] By contrast, the beys would turn their heads away from the tomb of the quisling amir, Khayrbay. Legends concerning Tuman Bay and the activities of his widow remain in circulation until the present day in the neighbourhood of Bab Zuwayla, the place of the sultan's 'martyrdom'.[51]

Lastly, the *Infiṣāl* played an important role in Ottoman Egypt in the formation of a collective memory about the history of the Mamluk sultanate. Dignitaries in Cairo appear to have assembled their image of the Mamluk period not from sober annalistic chronicles by the likes of Ibn Taghri Birdi (d. 1470) but from the dramatic reconstructions of Ibn Zunbul and ahistorical folktales such as *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*.[52] Jane Hathaway argues that the reliance upon the *Infiṣāl* also served important socio-political purposes. In particular, this text, and others purporting to give the genealogies of prominent Circassian beys in Egypt, aided in the process of forming group identities, perpetuating factional rivalries and indoctrinating raw recruits (often drawn from many regions and ethnicities) into the political structures of this major Ottoman province.[53]

Literary context

Thevet addressed the question of the capture and execution of Tuman Bay in two works prior to the publication of *Les vrais pourtraits*. His first brief comments appear in *Cosmographie de Levant* (1554); he simply notes the mistreatment of an unnamed sultan of Egypt by Selim.[54] Coming in the aftermath of his own visit to the Mediterranean and Middle East between 1549 and 1552, it is surprising that the event did not capture his imagination at this time. The first volume of *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) contains a more extensive description, as well as a woodcut illustration (figure 8).[55] Following an account of the last battle between the Mamluks and the Ottomans, and the death of Yunus Pasha, Thevet relates that the Turks went in pursuit of Tuman Bay. Captured after hiding in some reeds (*roseaux*),

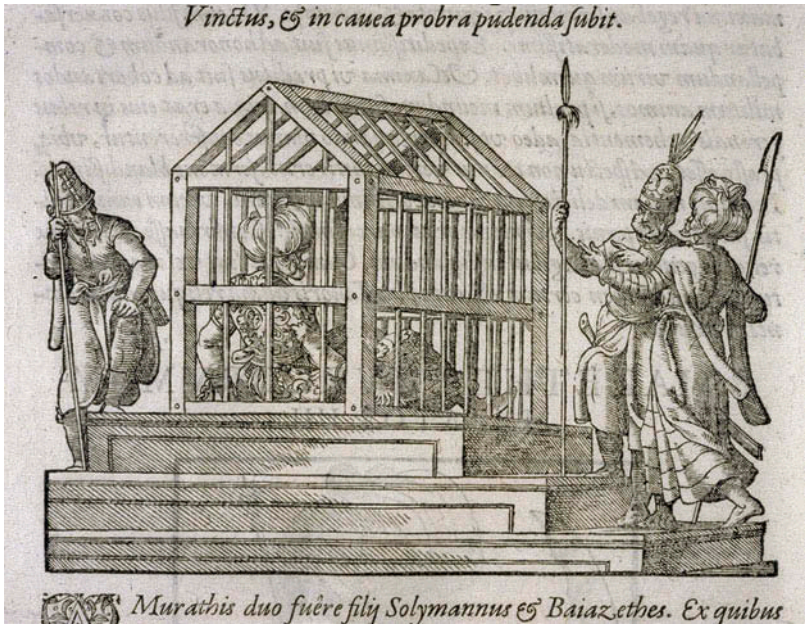

Figure 18. Sultan Bayezid I held in a cage, in Philip Lonicer, *Chronicon Turcicorum* (Frankfurt: Feyeraband, 1578), f. 12^{v}. Courtesy: Bodleian Library, Oxford, H.5.2.Art.

the Mamluk sultan and 'three hundred or more of the bravest captains of his army' were taken back to the city of Cairo. This event was evidently 'of great regret to the people of Egypt and Arabia'. Thevet continues:

> The next day, and for three consecutive days, they asked him [Tuman Bay], in order for him to confess where the treasures were; that which he never wanted to confess. And this is why Selim was asked to drive him on an old camel (that Arabs call *semel*) around the whole city of Cairo, tied up and gagged [*garrotté*], with his turban on a spear and his scimitar carried by a Turk, up in the air. At his front and back walked on foot six of his most favoured captains, tied up in the same manner, just as you can see them on the picture presented here. So faced with the fear of death, this poor king [*roy*] Tomambey passed six days in an upright position, with his hands tied behind his back, to be mocked by all, dressed in a green robe, worn out and torn, exposed to everyone's ridicule, and to become shamed and disgraced in the eyes of the people of Egypt. When these six days had gone by, as he had withstood the suffering, he found himself ready outside the doors of *Babe-Nansré* [Bab al-Nasr], having around as witnesses a hundred thousand men. Looking at the confusion and disorder of the people, this fortunate [*fortuné*][56] king was driven to the house of a butcher, at the orders of a Pasha, and right on the spot where the cattle are killed and skinned, he was made to climb down from the camel and strangled [*estranglé*] on the thirteenth day of April, the year 1517. This is the respect that the Turkish emperors, when victors, show to kings and princes, their enemies, and that is what little I could find from Mamluks and Arabs, of the times and tragedy of this great warrior, who resided in Egypt. It is since then that the Turk has become king of the kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Phoenicia, Judaea, and numerous other provinces subject to his majesty.[57]

As might be expected, Thevet's recounting of the capture and execution of Tuman Bay diverges in many ways from the description of these events in the chronicle of Ibn Iyas. Thevet's narrative also includes a new theme: the questioning of Tuman Bay regarding the whereabouts of the treasures of his predecessor, Qansawh al-Ghawri.[58] For Thevet, it is Tuman Bay's unwillingness to divulge this information that prompts the Turkish sultan to order his public humiliation and execution. Thevet must have instructed his artist to illustrate the dramatic moment of Tuman Bay and his six favourite captains being led through the streets of Cairo. The turbans in the image suggest a passing familiarity with Turkish headgear, but the same cannot be said about the other details. The architectural backdrop appears largely invented, and the musical instruments being played at the head of the procession are of European design. The Mamluk sultan and his captains are shown bareheaded to indicate their reduced status. What is unclear, however, is why they all sport long hair tied in a topknot. This same hairstyle is occasionally employed in European images of Turks.[59]

Much of Thevet's colourful account is, in fact, drawn from the writings of Giovio. Chapters XVII and XVIII of Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis* (Florence, 1550–52) appear to have been Thevet's main source for the end of the Mamluk sultanate (he perhaps consulted the French translation published by Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon in 1552). Giovio also included excerpts from the relevant sections of the *Historiarum* in his entry on Tuman Bay in *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*.[60] Giovio's discussion of the rise and rule of the Turks enjoyed a wide readership in Europe, in both its original form and

translations. These include the abridged *A shorte Treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, translated by Peter Ashton, and published in London in 1546. The brief relation of the death of Tuman Bay distils the theme of heroism in the face of unyielding destiny (the variant spellings are left as they appear in the original text):

> Selimus not verye longe after that he myght take from the people theyr heade, and all hope and occasion, wherby they myght rebelle, commanded Tomoinbeyus to be sette on a moyle, and lead through the citie of Alcayre with an halter abowte his necke, and after thys to be hanged, the eleventh daye of Apryll, besyde the gate of Bassuella [Bab Zuwayla], everye man bewayling thys woful and cruell syghte, and iustlye cursynge unryghteouse fortune, whyche of late called up Tomombeyus for hys singuler vertue and wisdome, to beare great rewle, and so sone after brought hym doune to the mooste myserye and wretchednesse, that ever anye kynge or prince, at anye tyme sustayned.[61]

Two features are worth emphasizing in this passage: first, the qualities of virtue and wisdom supposedly possessed by Tuman Bay; and second, that despite these qualities he was still reduced to a state of misery and wretchedness. Tuman Bay is not the only Muslim ruler whose fall from power fascinated European writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; for example, the fate of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I Yildirim (d. 1403) is discussed in numerous historical treatises. Although Bayezid is not portrayed in European writing as a virtuous and tragic hero, he too is seen as a victim of fate, being on one day a powerful monarch and the next a helpless captive (figure 18).[62] In the cases of both men, the wheel of fortune had turned, stripping them of both political power and material wealth.[63]

Thevet returned to the capture and death of Tuman Bay in *Les vrais pourtraits*. The last part of the entry devoted to the Mamluk sultan reads as follows:

> So leaving aside the errors of [Nicholas] Nicolay[64] I return to the poor and miserable Tomombey, who, was thought to be hiding in a small cave (?) [*grottesque*], but that did him no good, however, as he could not escape being captured, to the great regret of the whole people of Egypt and Arabia, along with three hundred of the bravest and oldest captains of his army. Most of them put up a defence, seeing what was to happen to them, wishing better to lose their lives [in battle] than die being ridiculed. The others were made to follow Tomombey to the city of Cairo. The next day, and for three consecutive days, Selim, forgetting all royal clemency and just humanity, that one could reasonably extend in front of the eyes of his cruel heart, acted inhumanely against him, in order that he might confess where the treasures were that he had inherited from Campson [Qansawh al-Ghawri], [and] for three times he asked the question. But he [Tuman Bay] did not ever want to confess anything. Selim wanted to see him, interrogate him, and talk to him, [but] he stayed in his room closed and constant [in his refusal to confess], just as he had always been. After having been made disgracefully to get on his camel, he had his throat cut [*esgorgé*] on the spot where people kill and skin the cattle and sheep on the thirteenth day of April, the year 1517, being sixty-five years old. He was not publicly hanged [*pendu*], as some have been allowed to write, among others Paul Iove [Paolo Giovio] and Munster [Sebastian Münster].[65]

Thevet's treatment of this episode in *Les vrais pourtraits* differs from that in *Cosmographie universelle* in both content and emphasis. Gone are details of Tuman Bay's green robe and his six days strapped onto the saddle of a camel, and Thevet also changes the means of the sultan's execution. While the accompanying illustration in *Les vrais pourtraits* makes no obvious reference to the interaction between Selim and Tuman Bay, Thevet evidently decided to provide the reader with a simpler, more psychologically engaging image than the one in *Cosmographie universelle*. The drama of the street scene, the camel, the sultan's turban and scimitar, the Mamluk captains, and the crowd of onlookers are excised. Notably, he no longer wears the tattered robe and is kitted out in a jacket befitting a sultan.

Ibn Zunbul's narrative offers an extensive treatment of the capture and subsequent execution of sultan Tuman Bay. It is beyond the scope of this article to deal with these episodes in detail, though it is worth noting the way in which the author employs reported speech as a means to animate the text. This includes speeches placed into the mouth of the sultan himself, during battles and other scenes of dramatic tension.[66] Ibn Zunbul chooses, however, to eliminate the sultan's personal voice from the final stage, his execution at Bab Zuwayla. In this part of the narrative, the events are recounted by others. The last part of the preceding section creates the tone, emphasizing the wretched condition of Tuman Bay and the Mamluk elite:

> And there was one from the *Rūmī* [Turkish] army who called out to the Egyptian man and said to him 'This man on the mule, is he the sultan Tuman Bay or another man?' Then the Egyptian said, 'it is him'.
>
> And it was an ill-omened day for the people of the Mamluks [*ahl al-mamlūkiyya*], and on [this day] many widows and orphans were created.[67]

The next section is entitled 'The Resistance (*ṣulb*)[68] of Sultan Tuman Bay at Bab Zuwayla'. The following is a translation of the opening paragraphs:

> The narrator [*al-rāwiya*][69] said: Then they arrived at Bab Zuwayla and they presented him with the slack rope [*al-ḥabl markhiyya*, i.e., the rope that had not yet been used] and quickly dismounted him from the [female] mule. They did not allow any further delay. After that they stopped and then moved in a line to the tomb [literally, 'dome'; *qubba*] of Sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri. The *qāḍī* [judge], Asil al-Tawil washed him and dressed him in the clothes sent to him by Sultan Selim, [made] from the finest Mosuli fabrics. He prayed also with the *qāḍī*, made his will, and used the fountain of the aforementioned tomb.
>
> And sultan Selim donated three sacks [*kīs*, pl. *ākyās*] of silver [coins] for the giving of alms to them [the crowd].

> The narrator said: he [Selim] was present at the prayers said for sultan Tuman Bay, and after that the sacks were divided with a portion of it [the silver coins] for the people. Other shares were counted, and three gifts of handfuls of silver were made, and *qāḍī* Asali was given also something like that. And the portion given to the people was from other than these shares.
>
> The narrator said: then came the time ordered by sultan Selim in which sultan Tuman Bay with courage was brought before the Amir Sharbak al-Aʿur ('the one eyed'). And he ordered the breaking of his [the sultan's] neck, and then they cut off his head.[70]

The account continues by noting the reduced state of Tuman Bay's family and servants (*ghulām*). The body was taken to the Madrasa of Baybars for washing and the recitation of prayers, before being buried nearby. Ibn Zunbul describes these events as 'the last act of the Circassian era'.[71]

Conclusions

While sultan Tuman Bay II's brief rule is little more than a footnote in the history of the Middle East, he enjoyed a remarkable afterlife in both Europe and the Ottoman empire.[72] His image appears and his deeds are recounted in prominent European biographical encyclopaedias and histories.[73] The European engagement with Tuman Bay is certainly of lesser importance than the extensive literary and visual production that was generated about Timur (Tamerlane) and Ottoman sultans such as Bayezid I, Mehmed II and Süleyman during their lives and in later decades and centuries.[74]

The comparison between Tuman Bay and Bayezid is instructive for it illuminates European attitudes towards the themes of capture and debasement.[75] Stories concerning Bayezid's treatment by Timur start to appear in the late 1420s or early 1430s.[76] The full elaboration of this narrative—replete with degrading details such as the feeding of the sultan beneath the table and his employment as Timur's footstool when the latter mounted his horse—occurred during the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Thus, one can correlate the growth of a literary legend, and of its visual and dramatic counterparts, with the military successes and imperial expansion of the Ottoman sultanate.[77] The humiliations inflicted upon Bayezid provided some comfort to embattled Europeans, and were given an ethical basis in the claims that they were divine retribution for his past sins, including the mistreatment of Christians. Timur himself assumes the role of a scourge of God (*flagellum Dei*).[78] By contrast, Tuman Bay was the victim of Ottoman expansionism, and receives more sympathetic treatment in European sources.

In the case of the engraved image made for Thevet's *Les vrais pourtraits*, there is a distinct sense of pathos in the pose and expression of the helpless sultan. As noted above, the upturned eyes, opened mouth, and perhaps also arrangement of his hands seem to draw on the vocabulary of Christian martyrdom. It is clear from the accompanying text that the author maintains an admiration for the sultan's fortitude and dignity during his captivity.[79] It is intriguing in this respect that a similar point could be made about Ibn Zunbul's depiction of Tuman Bay's last days.

One can imagine a scenario in which the well-travelled Thevet would have learned something about Tuman Bay's doomed resistance to Ottoman power. The texts of the shadow plays on the subject are lost, though Ibn Zunbul's narrative probably gives some clues about their dramatic content and characterization.[80] In common with Ibn Zunbul, Thevet's textual and visual representations concentrate on the human dimensions of the events rather than the wider political implications. In both *Cosmographie universelle* and *Les vrais pourtraits* the French author invites his readers to empathize with Tuman Bay as he faces his impending execution.

This last point perhaps gives some clues as to why Thevet would have chosen to depict Tuman Bay in a manner so strikingly different from the portraits of Mamluk and Ottoman sultans in the publications of European scholars such as Giovio and Boissard. As noted in the introduction, *Les vrais pourtraits* extends beyond the political and military spheres to encompass scholars, among them the martyr St Justin (figure 14).[81] Emotive paintings and prints of martyrdoms were ubiquitous in sixteenth-century Europe. This visual production was matched by a wealth of martyrologies, written by Catholic and Protestant scholars, and often giving graphic accounts of the deaths of saints. For example, David Freedberg observes that the visceral paintings of suffering saints made in Antwerp in the later 1580s are matched by the tone of broadly contemporary Counter-Reformation writings on martyrdom. Notably, Johannes Garetius, in his *De Sanctorum Invocatione Liber* (1570), quotes Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394) about the value of picturing the virtuous actions of the saint, their sufferings and 'the savage acts of the tyrants'.[82]

While Thevet's image of the suffering Tuman Bay, a victim of Turkish 'tyranny', can be seen, in part, to be a product of this highly charged environment, the decision to show a Muslim ruler in this distinctly Christian guise is probably made more comprehensible when one considers the rather fluid nature, at a popular level, of the concept of martyrdom in late medieval and early modern Europe. Pertinent in the present context is that the status of martyr could extend even to those who had been condemned to public execution for their crimes. The most important component of this public spectacle was the way in which the person faced his or her impending execution. Acts of repentance, pleas for absolution, prayers and spontaneous singing of hymns could evoke deep feelings of pity from onlookers, while the sufferings caused by extended execution methods, such as breaking on the wheel, could be likened to the pain experienced by true martyrs.[83] If such qualities could be found in the last moments of those who had committed heinous crimes, is it possible that this sense of 'compassionate immersion in the sufferings of the prisoner'[84] could have extended to the noble way in which death was apparently faced by Tuman Bay? Such a reading is encouraged by

Giovio's and Thevet's accounts of the Mamluk sultan's execution, and finds powerful visual expression in the portrait contained in *Les vrais pourtraits*.

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NOTES

1 – On this topic, see Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937); and Roy Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine. A Study in Renaissance Moral Philosophy* (Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 1941). On earlier literary representations, see Dorothee Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977).

2 – Turks also appear regularly in German woodcuts depicting scenes from the Book of Revelation. For examples, see Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1500–1550*, revd edn, ed. Walter Strauss (New York: Hacker, 1974), IV, pls. 1191–92, 1202–5; and Walter Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut, 1550–1600* (New York: Hacker, 1975), I, pls. 174, 282, 289, 297, 313, 314, 325; II, pls. 644, 652; III, pl. 1178. On emotive images of Turkish barbarity, see Heather Madar, 'Dracula, the Turks, and the Rhetoric of Impaling in Sixteenth-Century Germany', in *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300–1650*, ed. John Decker and Mitzi Kirkland-Ives (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 166–90. On Protestant attitudes toward the Turks in sixteenth-century Germany, see Kenneth Setton, 'Lutheranism and the Turkish Peril', *Balkan Studies* 3 (1962): 133–68.

3 – Paolo Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel: Peter Perna, 1575). The Latin text is now available in an Italian translation: idem, *Elogi degli uomini illustri*, trans. Franco Minonzio and Andrea Guasparri (Turin: Guilio Einaudi, 2006). On Giovio and his collection, see Linda Klinger, *The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991). Also, eadem, 'Images of Identity: Italian Portrait Collections of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *The Image, the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. Nicholas Mann and Luke Syson (London: British Museum, 1998), 67–79; eadem and Julian Raby, 'Barbarossa and Sinan: A Portrait of Two Ottoman Corsairs from the Collection of Paolo Giovio', in *Veneziana e l'Oriente Vicino: Atti del primo congresso internazionale sul'arte islamica*, ed. Ernst Grube (Venice: L'Altra Riva, 1989), 47–59.

4 – The first European printed book to contain a complete set of the Ottoman sultans was Guillaume Rouillé, *Promptuarii iconum insigniorum a seculo hominum subiectis eorum vitis, per compendium ex probatissimus autoribus desumptis* (Lyons: Guillaume Rouillé, 1551).

5 – On Giovio's visual sources, see Julian Raby, 'From Europe to Istanbul', in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: Işbank, 2000), 141–50. For a detailed comparison of the *Elogia* and Ottoman portrait album (*Şemā'ilnāme*) created in 1579 by the painter Nakkaş Osman and the court historian Seyyid Lokman, see Emine Fetvacı, 'From Print to Trace: An Ottoman Imperial Portrait Book and its Western European Models', *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 2 (2013): 243–68. For Giovio as a historian of the Islamic world, see Vernon Parry, 'Renaissance Historical Literature in Relation to the Near and Middle East (with Special Reference to Paolo Giovio)', in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 277–88.

6 – The 1584 edition is available as a near facsimile (the page size being smaller than the original): *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés (1584): A Facsimile Edition*, ed. Reuben Cholakian (New York: Delmar, 1973). For a digitized version of the text, see https://archive.org/details/lesvraispourtraio3thev (accessed June 2, 2016).

7 – For biographical details on Thevet and his sources, see Jean Adhémar, *Frère André Thevet. Grand voyageur et consmographe des rois dé France au XVI^e siècle* (Profils franciscains) (Paris: Franciscaines, 1947); and Jean Catacuzène, 'Frère André Thevet (1516–1590). Grand voyageur, cosnmographe royal et auteur échevelé', *Biblos* 15 (1979): 31–38.

8 – Eugene Dwyer, 'André Thevet and Fulvio Orsini: The Beginnings of the Modern Tradition of Classical Portrait Iconography in France', *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 3 (1993): 467–80.

9 – On his approach to the indigenous peoples of the Americas and his sources, see Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les Nouveaux Horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1935; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), 289–97; and Roger Schlesinger and Arthur Stabler, *André Thevet's America: A Sixteenth-Century View. An Edition–Translation with Notes and Introduction* (Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1986). For the indigenous peoples discussed in *Les vrais pourtraits*, see Roger Schlesinger, ed., *Portraits from the Age of Exploration: Selections from André Thevet's* Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustrés, trans. Edward Benson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 99–146. On the construction of ideas about the habits and character of indigenous peoples, see James Córdova, 'Drinking from the Fifth Cup: Notes on the Drunken Indian Image in Colonial Mexico', *Word & Image* 31, no. 1 (2015): 1–18.

10 – On his travels to Egypt, see Jean Chesneau and André Thevet, *Voyages en Égypte, 1549–1552*, ed. Frank Lestringant (La Collection des voyageurs en Égypte 24) (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1984).

11 – On Thevet's use of Giovio's portrait of Tamerlane, see Marcus Milwright, 'So Despicable a Vessel: Representations of Tamerlane in Printed Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 317–44 (on 325).

12 – He appears in book 8, ch. 140, of *Les vrais pourtraits* (ff. 639^{r}–640^{v}). The illustration is on f. 639^{r}.

13 – In the introduction to *Les vrais pourtraits*, Thevet claims to have commissioned engravers from Flanders to make the illustrations; Schlesinger, *Portraits from the Age of Exploration*, 13–14.

14 – Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (Hans Huth Memorial Studies 1) (London, 1982), 35–54; idem, 'Picturing the Levant', in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay Levenson (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 77–81; Gerhard Weiss, 'The Pilgrim as Tourist: Travels in the Holy Land Reflected in the Published Accounts of German Pilgrims between 1450 and 1550', *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. Marilyn Chiat and Kathryn Reyerson (St Cloud: North Star, 1988), 119–31; Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, eds, *Bellini and the East* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the National Gallery, and Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2005), 24–28.

15 – Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 66–81.

16 – Ibid., 21–34; Bronwen Wilson, 'Reflecting on the Turk in Late Sixteenth-Century Venetian Portrait Books', *Word & Image* 19, no. 1 (2003): 38–58.

17 – Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 55–65; Campbell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 22–23. On the lives of Italian merchants in the Syrian capital, see Deborah Howard, 'Death in Venice: Venetians in Syria in the Mid Fifteenth Century', *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 143–57.

18 – Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, 35–40. Also Albrecht Fuess, 'Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire', *Mamluk Studies Review* 12, no. 2 (2008): 71–94 (on 80–81). For surviving examples of Mamluk military costume, see David Nicolle, *Late Mamluk Military Equipment* (Travaux et études de la Mission archéologique syro-française, Citadelle de Damas 3 [Damascus: de l'Ifpo, 2011]), 41–122, figs. 1–82.

19 – Illustrations of Qansawh al-Ghawri and Tuman Bay from the 1648 edition of Boissard's text are reproduced in Fuess, 'Sultans with Horns', figs. 9, 10 (with translations of the Latin captions).

20 – Marcus Milwright, 'An Ayyubid in Mamluk Guise: The Portrait of Saladin in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (1575)', *Mamluk Studies Review* 18 (2014–15 [2016]): 187–217. Also comments in J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, 'Un Portrait de sultan par un émailleur limousin', *Archives de l'art français* 7 (1913): 93–104.

21 – Giovio, *Elogia* (1575), 30. In translation, this reads: 'In life Saladin had the habit, typical of his people, of wearing wrapped around his head a headdress of linen with horns [sing. *cornu*], as visual evidence of the many valiant kingdoms he had conquered. Hereafter, as we know, this type of crown [*diadema*] has been adopted by his successors. This description of the mode of dress of Saladin was communicated to us by the Venetian patrician Donado da Lezze, who has long been magistrate in Cyprus and Syria, famous for his passion for history and antiquities in general'; discussed in Milwright, 'Ayyubid in Mamluk Guise', 190–92. Also Klinger, *Portrait Collection*, I, 163–64, cat. 312; Friedrich Kenner, 'Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 19, no. 1 (1898): 6–146 (on 115–16).

22 – Patricia Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 125–32, 193–218; Stefania Mason, *Carpaccio: The Major Pictorial Cycles*, trans. Andrew Ellis (Milan: Skira, 2000), figs. on 146–63.

23 – Louis Mackie, 'Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations', *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127–46. Also Rosamund Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 27–49.

24 – André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris: Guillaume Chaudière, 1575), I, f. 37^{v}.

25 – Discussed in M. J. Kister, '"The Crowns of this Community." … Some Notes on the Turban in the Muslim Tradition', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 24 (2000): 217–45.

26 – Campell and Chong, *Bellini and the East*, 74–75; Julian Raby, 'Pride and Prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal', in *Italian Medals*, ed. J. Graham Pollard (Studies in the History of Art 21 [Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987]), 171–94 (on 180–83).

27 – This commission is discussed extensively in Otto Kurz, 'A Gold Helmet Made in Venice for Sulayman the Magnificent', *Gazette des beaux-arts* 74 (1969): 249–58; Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman–Hapsburg–Papal Rivalry', *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 401–27.

28 – Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, book VIII, ch. 141, ff. $641^{r–v}$ (the image is on 641^{r}).

29 – Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*, 214–15, fig. 131; Mason, *Carpaccio: Major Pictorial Cycles*, figs. on 156–57, 162–63.

30 – Another intriguing detail is the arrangement of Tuman Bay's left hand. Although not identical, the placement of the fingers is reminiscent of the right hand in images of Christ Pantocrator. The fingers are believed in the Orthodox tradition to represent the two Greek letters, *chi* and *ro*. If such an image were employed as one visual source, one can imagine how the right hand would have been transposed to the left as part of the printing process. I am grateful to Erica Dodd for pointing out this feature of the image of Tuman Bay.

31 – On the biographies, martyrdoms and iconographic characteristics of these saints, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien. Tome III: Iconographie de saints*, (3 vols.) 3 parts (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1958–59), 27–32, 444–56, 571–79, 1190–99. For examples of Dutch martyr images of the late sixteenth century, see David Freedberg, 'The Representation of Martyrdoms during the Early Counter-Reformation in Antwerp', *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976): 128–38. He illustrates a pair of paintings of the charity and martyrdom of Sts Cosmas and Damian (fig. 3) in the Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, in which one saint is shown with hands bound in front of his body.

32 – The paintings by Mantegna are located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Musée du Louvre, and Ca' d'Oro, Venice. Those by Pollaiuolo and da Messina are in the National Gallery, London, and Gëmaldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden respectively.

33 – For example, see those showing Christ with bound arms by Mantegna (1500; Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris), Andrea Solario (1505–06; Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan), Quentin Massys (1520; Doge's Palace, Venice), Correggio (*c.*1526; National Gallery, London), and Titian (1558–60; National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin). Antonello da Messina's paintings of this theme give Christ an upturned head, but crop the paintings to remove the hands from view.

34 – James Marrow and Alan Shestack, eds, *Hans Baldung Grien: Prints and Drawings* (Chicago: Yale University Art Gallery and University of Chicago Press, 1981), 152–55, cat. 29. The Dürer drawing is illustrated as fig. 29c. Dürer's own renditions in the 'Large Passion' (1496–98) and 'Small Passion' (1509–11) series place Christ in architectural settings with other figures. The frontal pose of Christ in the Small Passion does show some similarities to the image of Tuman Bay, though it seems to be an unlikely prototype.

35 – On the Man of Sorrows, see Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, 2nd ed. (Beukenlaan: Davaco, 1984), 142–47; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1972), II: 194–219; Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, '"The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions', in Decker and Kirkland-Ives, *Death, Torture, and the Broken Body*, 35–54.

36 – Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, book 1, f. 7^{r}. His biography appears on ff. 7^{r}–8^{v}.

37 – Peter M. Holt, 'The Last Mamlūk Sultan: Al-Malik al-Ashraf Tūmān Bay', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 234–46.

38 – For the history of the last decades of the Mamluk sultanate, see also Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashrāf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993). On history writing in Ottoman Egypt, see Peter M. Holt, 'Ottoman Egypt (1517–1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources', in *idem, Studies in the History of the Near East* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 151–60; Michael Winter, 'An Arabic and a Turkish Chronicler from the Beginning of Ottoman Rule in Egypt: A Comparative Study', in *Aspects of Ottoman History: Papers from CIEPO IX*, ed. Amy Singer and Amnon Cohen (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 318–26.

39 – David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell, 1956). *Contra* Robert Irwin, 'Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate Reconsidered', in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amelia Levanoni (Medieval Mediterranean 51 [Leiden: Brill, 2004]), 117–39.

40 – Holt, 'Last Mamluk Sultan', 245.

41 – Ibid., 245–46.

42 – Shmeul Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 136; Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre*, revd new ed. (Istanbul: Dost, 1979), 25; Marcus Milwright, 'On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets', *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 43–68 (on 49).

43 – The image was used for an online poster for a conference on the late Mamluk period held at the Middle East Documentation Center of the University of Chicago *c.*2006. Unfortunately, the original published source for this image was not kept by the organizers. I am grateful to Warren Schultz for this efforts in trying to track down this image.

44 – The term 'bazaar painter' was coined by the Turkish art historian Metin And (d. 2008), and refers to the urban artists working outside the court. I am grateful to Julian Raby and Eva Baer for their thoughts on the style of the painting of the hanging of Tuman Bay. On Turkish shadow plays, see And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theatre.*

45 – For his biography and works, see Michael Winter, 'Ibn Iyās, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (b. 1448; d. 1522)', in *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. C. Kafadar, H. Karateke and C. Fleischer. Retrieved

February 8, 2016, from https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/ibniyas_en.pdf/.

46 – Muhammad ibn Ahmad Ibn Iyas, *Die Chronik des Ibn Iyâs*, ed. Paul Kahle and Muhammad Mustafa (Bibliotheca Islamica 5e [Istanbul and Leipzig: Staatsdruckerei and F. A. Brockhaus, 1932]), 145–46. Translated into French as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, trans. Gaston Wiet (Paris: SEVPEN, 1960), II: 141–42.

47 – On Ibn Zunbul, see Benjamin Lellouch, 'Ibn Zunbul, un Égyptien face à l'universalisme ottoman (seizième siècle)', *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994): 143–55; idem, 'Ibn Zunbul, Aḥmad b. ʿAli (d. 1574)', in Kafadar *et al., Historians of the Ottoman Empire*. Retrieved February 8, 2016, from https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/ibnzunbul_en.pdf/. A somewhat different interpretation is offered in Robert Irwin, 'Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History', in *Writing and Representation in Medieval Islam: Muslim Horizons*, ed. Julia Bray (London: Routledge, 2006), 3–15.

48 – Irwin, 'Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History', 5. The edition I will refer to below is Ahmad b. ʿAli ibn Zunbul, *Wāqiʿat al-sulṭān al-Ghawrī maʿa Salīm al-ʿUthmān*, Adab al-Ḥarb, ed. ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAmir (Cairo: al-Haya al-Misriyya al-ʿAmma li'l-Kitab, 1997).

49 – Irwin, 'Ibn Zunbul and the Romance of History', 6–10.

50 – Jane Hathaway, *A Tale of Two Factions: Myth, Memory, and Identity in Ottoman Egypt and Yemen* (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003]), 50–51; eadem, 'Mamluk "Revivals" and Mamluk Nostalgia in Ottoman Egypt', in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amelia Levanoni (The Medieval Mediterranean 51) (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 387–406.

51 – Amina Elbendary, '"History and Parallel History". Review of: Emed Abu Ghazi, *Tūmānbay: al-sulṭān al-shahīd* (*Tumanbay: The Martyred Sultan*), Cairo: Mirette, 1999', *Al-Ahram*, no. 472 (March 2000): 9–15. Retrieved April 25, 2007, from http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/472/bk5_472.htm/.

52 – On the development of this epic treatment of the life of Baybars, see Amina Elbendary, 'The Sultan, the Tyrant and the Hero: Changing Medieval Perceptions of al-Ẓāhir Baybars', *Mamluk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 141–57. A summary of one version of this text appears in Malcolm Lyons, *The Arabian Epic, Heroic and Oral Story-Telling. Volume 3: Texts* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 49) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77–236.

53 – Hathaway, 'Mamluk "Revivals" and Mamluk Nostalgia', 404–6. See also comments in Peter M. Holt, 'The Exalted Lineage of Riḍwān Bey: Some Observations on a Seventeenth-Century Mamluk Genealogy', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22, no. 1 (1959): 221–30.

54 – André Thevet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, facs. ed. annotated by Frank Lestringant (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985), I: 110.

55 – Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, I, f. 37^{v}.

56 – Perhaps a typographical error in the text? *Infortuné* would make more sense in the present context.

57 – Translated by Athamadia Baboula.

58 – The Ottomans certainly removed valuable items from Cairo following the conquest, though the written sources dwell mainly upon the collections of Chinese pottery (Arabic: *ṣīnī*) assembled by members of the Mamluk elite; Marcus Milwright, 'Pottery in Written Sources of the Ayyubid-Mamluk Period (*c.*567–923/1171–1517)', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62, no. 3 (1999): 504–18 (on 515).

59 – For an example, see Strauss, *German Single-Leaf Woodcut*, I, pl. 122.

60 – Giovio, Paolo, *Historiarum sui temporis* (Florence: Torrentini, 1550–52), I, book xviii, 300–01; idem, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel: Peter Perna, 1575), 225f. For an Italian translation of the latter, see Giovio, *Elogi degli Uomini illustri*, 748–50. On Thevet's plagiarism, see Dwyer, 'André Thevet and Fulvio Orsini'.

61 – Paolo Giovio, *A shorte Treatise vpon the Turkes Chronicles*, trans. Peter Ashton (London: Edwarde Whitchurche, 1546), f. lxxxxiii^{r}.

62 – Fuat Köprülü, 'Yildirim Beyazıd'ın esareti ve ıntıhari hakkinda', *Belleten. Türk Tarıh Kurumu* 1, no. 2 (1937): 591–603; Marcus Milwright and Evanthia Baboula, 'Bayezid's Cage: A Re-examination of a Venerable Academic Controversy', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 21, no. 3 (2011): 239–60 (on 242–45). Also Michele Bernardini, '"Tamerlano e Bayezid in gabbia". Fortuna di un tema storico orientale nell'arte e nel teatro del Settecento', in *La Conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVII e XIX, a. C.* vol. III.2. ed. U. Marazzi and A. Gallotta (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1989), 729–60.

63 – For example, George Whetstone (d. *c.*1587) remarks of Bayezid in *An English Myrror* (1578): 'But such was God's will [. . .] and a notable example of the uncertaintye of worldly fortune: Baiazeth, that in the morning was the mightiest Emperor on the world, at night, and in the residue of his life, was driuen to feed among the dogs, and which might most grieue him, he was thus abased, by one that in the beginning was but a poore shepherd'; quotation in Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine*, 147. On the concept of the wheel of fortune, see Ernst Kitzinger, 'World Map and Fortune's Wheel: A Medieval Mosaic Floor in Turin', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117, no. 5 (1973): 344–73.

64 – Nicolas de Nicolay (d. 1583) was a French geographer and author of books, including *Les navigations, peregrinations et voyages faicts en la Turquie* (Antwerp: G. Silvius 1576).

65 – Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, f. 64o^{v}. Translated by Athamadia Baboula. On Sebastian Münster (d. 1552) and his *Cosmographia* (1549), see Günther Wessel, *Von einem, der daheim blieb, die Welt zu entdecken—Die Cosmographia des Sebastian Münster oder Wie man sich vor 500 Jahren die Welt vorstellte* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004). A facsimile edition was published under the title *Cosmographei*, intro. R. Oehme (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968).

66 – For example, see the exchange given by Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqiʿat al-sulṭān al-Ghawrī maʿa Salīm al-ʿUthmān*, 141–42.

67 – Ibid., 173.

68 – This can be translated as strength or backbone.

69 – The identity of the narrator/transmitter is not indicated at this point in the text. It could be a written source such as Ibn Iyas or some form of oral transmission. My thanks to Seyedhamed Yeganehfarzand for his observations on this question.

70 – Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqiʿat al-sulṭān al-Ghawrī maʿa Salīm al-ʿUthmān*, 173–74.

71 – Ibid., 175.

72 – He even endures to the present day in the form of a radio drama on BBC Radio 4. Retrieved February 11, 2016, from http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b06z2tjf/.

73 – For an English play on his life (probably never performed), see George Churchill and Wolfgang Keller, 'Die lateinischen Universitäts-Dramen Englands in der Zeit der Königin Elisabeth', *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* 34 (1898): 221–323.

74 – Walter Denny *et al., Court and Conquest: Ottoman Origins and the Design of Handel's Tamerlano at the Glimmerglass Opera* (Kent: Kent State University Museum, 1999); Milwright and Baboula, 'Bayezid's Cage', 244. Although the majority of the European images of Süleyman emphasize his imperial qualities (whether in a positive or a negative light), there is one attempt to show him submitting to the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor; Bart Rosier, 'The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 20, no. 1 (1990–91): 24–38.

75 – The preoccupation with images of humiliation is not restricted to European images of Muslims. Popes and Roman emperors were also shown in this manner. For example, see W. Brown, 'Marlowe's Debasement of Bajazet: Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and *Tamburlaine, Part I*', *Renaissance Quarterly* 24 (1971): 38–48. For other surveys of this issue, see Stephen Eisenman, *The Abu Ghraib Effect* (London: Reaktion, 2007); Marcus Milwright, 'Imprisonment and Humiliation: A Comparative Examination of the Representations of Saddam Hussein and Sultan Bayezid I', *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies* 5, no. 1 (2011): 113–30.

76 – For example, Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae*, ed. and commentary Outi Merisalo (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia. Annales Academicae Scientiarum Fennicae. Series B, no. 265 [Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1993]), book 1, ll. 643–44 (p. 108).

77 – See the treatment of this episode written by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) a few years after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel: Henricpetrina, 1571), 313, 394–96. This is discussed by Milwright and Baboula, 'Bayezid's Cage', 242.

78 – Battenhouse, *Marlowe's Tamburlaine, passim*; Milwright, 'So Despicable a Vessel', 333–35.

79 – Maria Loh explores the concept of 'faciality', noting that 'Portraits, in short, were not about preserving truthful likenesses, they were about bodies being transformed into data through significance and subjectification. These faces reterritorialise the bodies attached to them—luminous face/regal body, anxious face/neurotic body—which in turn naturalises the construction of these "individuals" along similar terms'; Maria Loh, 'Renaissance Faciality', *Oxford Journal of Art* (Special Issue: 'Mal'Ochhio: Looking Awry at the Renaissance') 32, no. 3 (2009): 341–63 (on 349). On the practice of 'reading' and categorizing faces in printed texts, see Bronwen Wilson, 'Learning How to Read: Giovanni Battista della Porta, Physiognomy, and Printed Portrait Books', in *Visual Knowledges Conference, The University of Edinburgh, 17–20 September 2003*. PDF retrieved March 2, 2016, from http://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/wilson.pdf/.

80 – However, shadow plays of the Mamluk period often employed extremely coarse language and a striking disrespect for figures of authority; Li Guo, *The Performing Arts in Medieval Islam: Shadow Play and Popular Poetry in Ibn Dāniyāl's Mamluk Cairo* (Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts 93 [Leiden: Brill, 2012]), 123–30, 155–220. Also Paul Kahle, 'The Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt (Old Texts and Old Figures)', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* (April 1954): 85–115 (his partial translation of Ibn Daniyal's, *Ṭayf al-khayāl* (The Phantom) appears on 98–115).

81 – On his martyrdom, see Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits*, book 1, f. 8^{v}.

82 – Freedberg, 'Representation of Martyrdoms', 136–38 (quoted section on 137). On the production of sixteenth-century martyrologies, see Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 115–29; and Nikki Shepardson, *Burning Zeal: The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Protestant Community in Restoration France, 1520–1570* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2007). For examples of painted martyrdoms in Counter-Reformation Italy, see Kelley Magill, 'Reviving Martyrdom: Interpretations of the Catacombs in Cesare Baronio's Patronage', in Decker and Kirkland-Ives, *Death, Torture and the Broken Body*, 87–115.

83 – Mitchell Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press and London: Reaktion, 1999), 152–57; Richard van Dülmen, *Theatre of Horror: Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Elizabeth Neu (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 60–61.

84 – The phrase is taken from Merback, *Thief, the Cross and the Wheel*, 152.