Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

THE IMAGE OF THE TURK IN EARLY MODERN BOARD GAMES AND PLAYING CARDS

ÖMER FATİH PARLAK

PHD THESIS

Directed by

DR. MARÍA JOSÉ VEGA RAMOS

and

DR. LARA VILÀ TOMAS

Literary Theory and Comparative Literature
Department of Spanish Literature
Faculty of Philosophy and Arts

Barcelona 2019

In memory of my father,

Adem Parlak (1949-2014)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS **5**

TABLE OF FIGURES **8**

LIST OF TABLES **9**

ABSTRACT **10**

RESUMEN **11**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **12**

INTRODUCTION **15**

GAMES INDEX 23

Germany *23*

Italy *31*

France *35*

Britain *40*

Russia *44*

Switzerland *44*

CHAPTER 1: DEFINING THE TURK AND ITS CONTENT **45**

1.1 DISCUSSIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF THE TURK 47

1.2 RELIGIOPOLITICS 51

1.3 CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS 53

1.4 CHALLENGING THE SCHOLARSHIP AND CONTESTING THE SOURCES ON THE TURK 56

1.5 MUSLIMS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE 59

1.5.1 Native European Muslims *59*

1.5.2 Slaves *60*

1.5.3 Merchants *64*

1.5.4 Pirates *65*

1.6 TURKS' VIEW OF THE EUROPEAN 66

1.7 CONCLUSION 71

CHAPTER 2: GAME IN CONTEXT **73**

2.1 DEFINITIONS OF GAME AND PLAY 76

2.1.1 Real/Unreal World *81*

2.2 EARLY HISTORY 84

2.3 EVOLUTION OF THE GAME SPACE IN EARLY MODERN PERIOD AND THE CRITIQUE OF THE SOCIETY 94

2.3.1 Political Conditions *102*

2.3.2 Religious Conditions *103*

2.3.3 Other Social Conditions *105*

2.4 DIDACTIC GAMES IN EARLY MODERN PERIOD 111

2.5 GAMES VERSUS GODS 112

2.6 MEMENTO MORI OR REMEMBERING DEATH IN GAMES 118

CHAPTER 3: THE TURK COMES INTO PLAY **121**

3.1 FIRST TURKS IN GAMES 121

3.1.1 Master PW's Round Playing Cards *121*

3.1.2 The Place of the Turk in Carnivalesque Playing Cards by Peter Flötner *131*

3.1.3 Jost Amman and the Mighty Turk *145*

3.1.4 Pluck the Owl *148*

3.2 VICTORY ON THE BATTLEFIELD—DEFEAT ON THE GAME FIELD: OTTOMANS' RETREAT FROM EUROPE AS REPRESENTED IN GAMES 157

3.2.1 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli *160*

3.2.2 Games Related to the Retreat of the Ottomans from Central Europe *174*

3.3 WHEREABOUT IS THE TURK'S COUNTRY—IN EUROPE? 176

CHAPTER 4: FROM "FIEND" TO "FRIEND" **191**

4.1 HABSBURG GAMES SETS 192

4.2 GAME OF MONKEYS BY ALTIERO GATTI 196

4.3 JOHN LENTHALL'S FORTUNETELLING CARDS 198

4.4 IMAGINARY CONFRONTATIONS: TURKS VS NATIVE AMERICANS 202

CHAPTER 5: WHAT HAPPENED AFTERWARD? 209

5.1 REPRESENTATIONAL DECLINE: THE TURK IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GAMES 213

5.2 OUT OF THE GAME: THE INEXISTENCE OF THE TURK IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY GAMES 222

5.3 RESURRECTION: THE IMAGE OF THE TURK IN DIGITAL GAMES 229

CONCLUSIONS 231

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE GAMES INDEX 235

GAMES CITED 241

ART AND HANDCRAFT ITEMS CITED 247

BIBLIOGRAPHY 250

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 The Angel, The Christ Child, and dice combinations in Paul Pambst (1546). .. 99
Figure 3.1 Master PW's round playing cards (c.1500). 129
Figure 3.2 Peter Flötner's Playing Cards (c.1545). 137
Figure 3.3 Charta Lusoria, Jost Amman (1588). 146
Figure 3.4 Ambrogio Brambilla's Il Piacevole e Nuovo Guioco Novamente Trovato detto Pela il Chiu (Pluck the Owl) (1589). 149
Figure 3.5 An allegory of the change of momentum in Europe by Mitelli (1692). 162
Figure 3.6 Mitelli's Il Gioco del Aquila (c.1683-1690). 164
Figure 3.7 Mitelli's *Gioco della Fortuna e di Disgratia*, (c.1690-1718). 167
Figure 3.8 Mitelli's *Gioco de Signori Soldati Spiantamondo, con le sue Cariche e Sopranomi*, (1692). 169
Figure 3.9 Mitelli's *Giuoco del Passa Tempo* (1690). 171
Figure 3.10 Defeat of the Turks by Germans (c.1717), anonymous. 174
Figure 3.11 *La Jeu du Monde* (1645), by Pierre Duval. 177
Figure 3.12 Duval's (1662) *Le Jeu des Princes de L'Europe*. 180
Figure 3.13 Henry Winstanley's (1675-1676) Geography-Themed Playing Cards. 189
Figure 4.1 Schloss Ambrass Chess Set (c.1550). 193
Figure 4.2 Counters for the game "*langen puff*" (1535-1540) by Hans Kels. 195
Figure 4.3 Altiero Gatti's (1588) *Gioco della Scimia*. 197
Figure 4.4 John Lenthall's Fortunetelling Cards (early 18th Century); suit of diamonds. 199
Figure 4.5 Chess Set, Turks vs Native Americans (c.1720). 203
Figure 4.6 *Vexierkarten* (1610); Berlin Pack (top) and Uppsala Pack, (1632). 206
Figure 5.1 'Le Reveil de la Question D'Orient'. (1908) Le Petit Journal. 210
Figure 5.2 *Picturesque Round Game of the Geography, Topography, Produce, Manufactures and Natural History of Various Countries of the World* (1845). 220
Figure 5.3 European Tour themed board games: *Reisspel* (1985) and *Viaggio in Europa* (1990) 227

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 General Wars in the Modern Great Power System, retrieved from Levy (1985). 103
Table 2 Compartments on the outer and inner circles of Pluck the Owl. 154
Table 3 Countries in Pierre Duval's (c.1660) *Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe*. 184
Table 4 Frequency-Time distribution of games that contain images of the Turk 236
Table 5 Percentages of games in Europe containing images of the Turk per century. 237
Table 6 The proportions of games with Turkish image to the grand total of games produced in the last three centuries 239

ABSTRACT

A considerable amount of investigation has been done on the image of the Turk in European art, literature and other cultural productions. The existing accounts often result with repetitive conclusions that are revolving around a negative image attributed to the Turk. It is observed that this common problem derives from the lack of perspectival look at the subject matter. More recently, research has emerged that offers different perspectives with new findings that contradict previous literature. In the light of this new literature, the Turk has been re-conceptualized as a multifaceted image. However, the lack of investigation proposing new perspectives still remains as a major issue in the field.

This research critically examines the image of the Turk that appears in early modern board games and playing cards produced in Europe, a hitherto untouched domain in this regard. Data for this study was collected from the online and otherwise archives of various museums in Europe, catalogs, private collections and other relevant literature. The collected data was enlisted in the Games Index, which includes printed and manufactured board games, packs of playing cards, and game counters. The Index currently contains 107 unique items from six European countries as their place of origin. Then, a qualitative case study approach was used to investigate the various ways the Turk was represented in a number of games which were selected according to the quality of the depiction and the function of the Turk in the game. The findings make an important contribution to the idea that perceives the Turk as a multifaceted image. The most obvious conclusion to obtain from this thesis is that the image of the Turk has never been a static one; on the contrary, it has evolved and gained different meanings throughout its history in Europe.

Keywords: the image of the Turk, board games, playing cards, early modern Europe, Ottoman Empire

RESUMEN

La imagen y representación del turco en la literatura, el arte europeos y, en general, en las producciones culturales del período altomoderno han sido objeto de una atención sostenida por parte de la historia literaria e intelectual. En efecto, la que se denominó la 'amenaza turca' y las complejas relaciones políticas entre los imperios del Mediterráneo fue posiblemente la causa de la proliferación de representaciones. Los estudios más recientes han superado la aproximación a la representación del turco bajo un signo negativo, y ofrecen una visión más matizada y polifacética. La singularidad de mi aproximación, y su elemento innovador más destacado, reside no tanto en la aproximación metodológica, fundada en la imagología, la tematología y la perspectiva de la historia intelectual, cuanto en la selección de un corpus de estudio olvidado por la crítica, pero culturalmente muy relevante y con gran valor simbólico.

Esta investigación examina críticamente la imagen del turco que aparece en los juegos de mesa y en los juegos y mazos de cartas o naipes que se producen en Europa en el período altomoderno, especialmente tras la generalización de la imprenta, que comporta la producción y difusión masiva de juegos de mesa asequibles y accesibles. Es este un dominio hasta ahora no considerado por los investigadores, y extraordinariamente complejo. Los datos sobre los que se sustenta este estudio se recopilaron de diversos museos de Europa, de colecciones privadas y de la bibliografía relevante. En el índice de juegos que antecede a mi estudio incluyo los juegos de mesa impresos y fabricados y los mazos de cartas que he revisado para esta investigación. El índice contiene actualmente 107 artículos únicos de seis países europeos, y, especialmente, de Alemania y Austria, Italia y Reino Unido. Utilizo a continuación un enfoque de estudio de caso cualitativo para investigar las diversas formas en las que se representó al turco en una selección de juegos que he seleccionado atendiendo a la calidad de la representación y la función del turco en el desarrollo del juego. Los hallazgos constituyen, a mi juicio, una contribución novedosa a la construcción de una imagen del turco matizada y polifacética, no estática, sino cambiante, susceptible de evolución y que adopta distintos significados en distintos momentos de la historia. La tesis aspira también a demostrar la relevancia de los juegos sociales en los estudios imagológicos.

Palabras clave: imagen del turco, juegos de mesa, naipes, la Europa altomoderna, el Imperio otomano

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to various people who contributed to the completion of this arduous project; to begin with, my supervisors Dr. María José Vega and Dr. Lara Vilà, who always supported me with their valuable advice and guidance throughout this project. It was their support that encouraged me to further my research on the Turk in games.

There can be many administrative hardships while doing a PhD in Spain but living in Turkey. I sincerely thank Dr. Antonio Penedo Picos for his help in my registration and providing solutions for other issues. I thank you, also, Dr. Gonzalo Pontón Gijón, Dr. Cesc Esteve, Dr. Iveta Nakládalová, Cristina Luna, and Dámaris Montes Pérez for your assistance. You were helping hands.

I wish to thank International Board Game Studies Society members for their interest in my project and further encouragement in pursuing an academic career in games; Ulrich Schädler (Musée Suisse du Jeu) for giving me a warm welcome and providing me with images of games, Alex de Voogt (American Museum of Natural History) for his supportive talks, Jorge Nuño Silva (University of Lisbon), David Parlett, Thierry Depaulis (Le Vieux Papier), Eddie Duggan (University of Suffolk), and Barbara Holländer. A very special thanks to Fred Horn (Vlaams Spellenarchief), Adrian Seville (Giochi dell'Oca), the British Museum staff, for letting me delve into their gigantic board game collections.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my friends for their time and contribution in many aspects; Mohsen Shojaee Far, Marco Tibaldini, Tiago Hirth, Lisa Rougetet, Mattia Thibault, Jonas Richter, Francesca Berti, Jacob Schmidt-Madsen, Greger Sundin, Chris van de Riet, Ryan Healey, Mehmet Melih Atakul, and Ahat Gündem.

I owe much gratitude to my mother, Nesrin Parlak, and my family for their love and support; to Ihsan, Yasemin, and Sinan, and their spouses and children. They truly endured the most stressful times of my life with their kindness.

Finally, a heartfelt thank you to Rosanna Motz, who contributed to this project with her many revisions, suggestions, transport of books, and especially reassurance in difficult

times. You gave me the motivation, good morale and courage that I needed to undergo this task.

Thank you all.

INTRODUCTION

> There is *only* a seeing from a perspective, *only* a 'knowing' from a perspective, and the *more* emotions we express concerning a thing, the *more* eyes, different eyes, we train on the same thing, the more complete will be our 'idea' of that thing, our 'objectivity'.
>
> -Friedrich Nietzsche, On the Genealogy of Morals (1887)

This thesis is the first investigation on the image of the Turk in board games and playing cards that were produced in Europe from early modern period onwards. Although some research has been done regarding the cultural significance of games as historical evidences, no single study exists yet in relation to the image of the Turk. Therefore, results of this thesis provide a unique new perspective that the field has been lacking. The term "image" here refers not only to the visual aspects of the Turk but also to the texts that treat it. Therefore, the image of the Turk encompasses any reflections that can be in different mediums: visual, or textual.

The image of the Turk is a growing field of research and investigation that has been attracting academic attention ever since Turkey and Turks have become an integral component of a globalizing world from 2000s on (World Bank, 2014). Researchers from various disciplines in the range of literature, history, social sciences, cultural studies, and media studies have approached the concept by focusing on the perception of the Turk in a given continent, country, society, or community. Analysis of this sort of investigation have been proven crucial for the mutual comprehension between the two societies; namely, those who have the perceptions about the Turk and the present time Turks. Critical attention about the image of the Turk outside Turkey tends to accumulate in parts of the world where there is, primarily, a considerable number of Turks living, and, secondarily, a historical bound like in the Balkans, the Middle East and as far as Indonesia. Europe particularly touches upon both of these points thanks to the centuries long historical relations and currently accommodating the largest Turkish diaspora with

around 5.5 million people.[1] Thus, the image of the Turk in Europe constitutes the majority of research done in this field.

What we know about the historical image of the Turk in Europe is largely based on investigations revolving around similar conclusions that pay attention to how wrongly the Turk was represented in visual and textual repository of Europe. This derives mainly from the fact that the analyzed sources are products of, or influenced from, certain propagandas of the time they had been produced; therefore, historical accounts that scholars have used contain strong biases. Also, in part, the Turk connoted Islam, Asian, Middle Eastern and even North African. These inherent challenges pose difficulty in handling the subject matter for scholars. It is neither possible nor my intention to claim that these findings are false. However, a major problem common with the studies premised on these sources is that they tend to reflect a predominantly negative comprehension of the Turk, which assumption is bereft of wider perspectives, thus, of objectivity. Fortunately, this single-perspectival look at the Turk has recently been challenged by studies demonstrating that the image of the Turk is not always negative, but it can also be pointing at other directions.

My main purpose in this thesis is to propose a different perspective towards a more complete objectivity on the image of the Turk. Primary sources of this study demonstrate that the image of the Turk is rather a multifaceted concept, and this is the very argument that my thesis fits in. In order to prove my points, I base my argument on games and games tools, such as playing cards and counters that have never been investigated for this purpose. I preferred focusing the timeframe of primary sources to early modern period (from late fifteenth century to mid-eighteenth century) for this period witnessed the emergence of the Turk in Europe, its rise to power and fall into stagnation. Nevertheless, I included games containing the image of the Turk and produced in subsequent centuries in order to demonstrate that the image evolution has never stopped evolving not only in real life but also in games. However, my thesis is unable to provide a comprehensive review of the entire approaches to games from other fields because of constraints of available secondary sources to undertake such studies. Yet, the reader

[1] Considering the number of Turkish descended Europeans, and those who returned to Turkey, the number is expected to be higher. The number is taken from the official website of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011).

should bear in mind that there are scholarly interests in historic games from different fields of inquiry, such as gender studies, colonial/postcolonial studies, and art history. Games are rich sources of inquiry in diverse fields and have potential to provide researchers with sufficient relevance.

Majority of my source materials are games that were published and enjoyed during early modern period. Others were comprised of handcraft materials produced for the same purpose. According to the data gathered about my sources, only the handcraft games in the early modern period were owned by the upper-class, whereas playing cards were purchased by a larger target group. In later periods the growing middle-class with their power of purchase helped the production of elaborate prints of game boards. The target group of all these games were both children and adult. A note of caution is due while finding out about the target group in board games produced until mid-eighteenth century since we miss the necessary information such as the price of printed board games and of game tools such as dice, as well as complimentary texts referring to games. In addition, game producers refrained from addressing their target group in the texts on game boards and playing cards. However, it is estimated that especially printed board games were designed to entertain children, given their instructional quality which would fit in the educating of children. Printed board games produced from mid-eighteenth century on leave little doubt about their target group, considering their focus on education children about various topics such as geography, history, religion, vices and virtues, and the imperial values. These games were produced for and purchased by the children of the middle-class families in Europe who held the power of purchase as opposed to the rest of the society. Their education was a part of the imperial program and a serious duty. Therefore, it is significant to point out that the source materials of this thesis reflect the views of a variety of social strata comprising of different hierarchy and age.

The provenance of board games and playing cards used in this thesis point at mainly four wider locations in Europe: Germany, Italy, France and England. Due to the organic connection between the games in this study and printing, it is prerequisite for the cities to have effective print houses, woodcut or etching artists and other necessary personnel to produce the games. Sources from Germany are predominantly printed playing cards. They intensify in the south of the country, around Bavaria and Bohemia, in today's Czech Republic. The cities that produced the German games are Nuremberg,

Augsburg, Cologne, Eger (Cheb, in Czech Republic) and Vienna, all of which, except the latter, had the status of Free Imperial City (*Freie Reichsstadt*). These locations held the epicenters of cultural productions of arts and handcrafts in the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern period. Especially, Nuremberg is renowned for not only its long history of being the capital of German Renaissance but also its printing houses for the production and dissemination of knowledge through this new media.

Italian sources concentrate on Bologna thanks to one particular artist, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718), who produced at least seven games containing the image of the Turk, as well as many board games in various topics, two packs of playing cards, and numerous satirical etchings. In comparison to Germany's playing cards, almost all sources from Italy are in the format of board games. Rome is the other city to note as the origin of a board game other than Bologna. This may suggest that the public interest in games and their dissemination were concentrated in cities with established print culture. Mitelli's games define the character and tone of the Italian sources, which is subject to change when new sources from Italy are uncovered. In subsequent centuries, though, we find sources published from other cities, while Bologna dramatically falls into a demise.

Sources from France are originated in the capital city. The two geographical board games used here were produced by Pierre Duval (1618–1683) and printed in Paris. Major French contribution comes from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries due, in great part, to the French Imperialism and the high demand on map-based games in which children could take a symbolic travel to French colonies. During the World War One and in the militaristic atmosphere it brought, we find a tendency to produce games about war, soldiers, armies, usually against Germans.

In Britain, on the other hand, geography theme was used in a deck of playing cards from Littlebury, Essex. In addition, a deck of fortunetelling cards was designed and published by a London-based publisher, John Lenthall (1683 – c.1762). However, similar to games development in France, elaborate map-based games were produced by the increase of demand of the middle-class to such games on which British children could travel around the world, establish colonies, and access raw materials. These games were designed to instruct the children about not only the world, but also the greatness of their empire. War games during the World War One, like in France and Germany, entertained the players.

It should be noted that the number of game-related items containing the image of the Turk collected for this study is 107, which collection includes playing cards, games counters, and various board games. An index of the games studied for this research is provided in the end of this introduction. This number is subject to increase when more museums, catalogues and collections are accessed and examined. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to include all of the games I studied; therefore, I preferred limiting the number of games to be used. Game sources in this thesis were selected on the basis of several factors such as the function of the Turk in the particular game, quality of depiction, originality of the print, and the theme. The selection process required gathering an extensive knowledge about the games under investigation, which process included translating, and sometimes deciphering, the rules from their original language, translating the accompanying couplets/stanzas that informs the players about the characters on the playing cards, translating the instructions, and playing the games to understand both their mechanics and the function of the Turk/Turkey.

All the selected sources for this thesis are in the possession of various museums around Europe. To specify, British Museum holds most of the records thanks to the most generous donations of Lady Charlotte Schreiber (1812-1895), who was a British businesswoman and a collector of porcelain, games and playing cards that she collected during her travels around the world. She singlehandedly donated and bequeathed around 1767 games and game-related items to the British Museum, most of which were published from sixteenth to nineteenth centuries in various countries in Europe. I also benefitted in great portion from *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna, whose game-related items were carefully cataloged by Hans and Barbara Holländer. As opposed to the Schreiber collection, *Kunsthistorisches Museum* holds games and game-related items that targeted the upper-class; thus, they comprise of mostly handcraft objects. Other museums include Berlin *Kunstgewerbemuseum*, Hamburg *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* and *Gustavianum* at Uppsala University Museum. Finally, I greatly benefitted from the private collection of Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville (*Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso*) which constitutes of an astonishing 2551 printed board games from sixteenth century until now.

The study is limited by the lack of games produced in Iberian Peninsula and Eastern Europe due to obstacles in accessing online collections and related publications

such as catalogs. Nevertheless, *Museo Fournier de Naipes de Álava*, located in Araba Spain, holds 1719 items and the renowned Thomas De La Rue Collection that they acquired in 1970 from the British Museum. A further investigation in *Museo Fournier* will potentially increase the number of games in the Games Index; in this way, the study can cover a wider geography. Same obstacles prevent source collection from Eastern European countries that have high potential in holding games-related items with images of the Turk. The Peterhof State Museum in St. Petersburg Russia, holding around ten thousand playing cards, and Toy Museum in Kecskemét Hungary (*Szorakatenusz Jatekmuzeum*) are only among those rich sources that require further inspection.

This thesis is divided into six themed chapters. Chapter one investigates images of the Turk from 1450s to 1750s from a broad perspective as they appear in both literary and non-literary texts (comprising the political and religious writings). This broad perspective will help conceptualize that the Turk is a 'multifaceted' term that should not be discussed within a framework that renders the term into a single perspective, a fallacy that has been prevalent in the mainstream scholarship. Continuous wars, conflicts, different religion and culture between the Ottomans and the Europeans influenced the social perceptions about the Turk. Therefore, the common denominators of the image revolve around fear, exoticism, hostility and the Other. Examples of this perception in literary and non-literary texts will be presented through the lens of selected works from different time and countries. In order to have a balanced overview, I will end the chapter by discussing the Ottomans' point of view of the Europeans in the light of first-hand accounts from slave and captive memoirs and travel writings. This will help comprehend the nature of the perception of the sides about each other.

Chapter two is about history of games until the end of early modern period. I will assert that, in this period, board games paradoxically lobotomized by reducing into a low level of sophistication which relied on only the chance element, a common characteristic of early modern board games albeit the flourishing prevalence of rational thinking and knowledge sustained by the Printing Revolution. This characteristic was formerly absent in board games preceding this period. In the light of anthropological studies about the popularity of chance games and the underlying factors for this in a given society, it is possible to hypothesize that this devolution reflects a society that experienced predominantly uncertain conditions due to political, confessional, and other factors, such

as civil wars, diseases, social unrests, famine and drought. The chapter will begin with different definitions of game and play laid out by game scholars. This is to signify the variety of definitions in the literature and the difficulty among scholars to have a convention about a definition. Then it will proceed with the history of board games and playing cards from the earliest known evidences until the end of early modern period. Special emphasis will be given to the evolution of games during the early modern period, in which the centuries long abstract nature of board games was transformed into more thematic games due to the Printing Revolution, advancements in cartography and geographical discoveries. Especially the availability of effective printmaking increased the number of games in the market and, eventually, the number of players. However, I will argue that, as a result of these developments in early modern Europe, many thematic games with simple game mechanisms were produced. I will end the chapter by discussing the position religions took against the spread of games, gambling and pastime activities.

The third of the chapters links the first and second chapters by following a historical chronology. The already-present image of the Turk in early modern Europe began to appear in board games and playing cards thanks to the game designers who were at the same time etching and engraving artists, thus, working closely with printing houses. Early evidences in this chapter reflect the Turk in a manner under the influence of his aggressive military advances towards Europe, which can be defined as hostility and fear. The change in the power balances between the Ottomans and Europe toward the end of the period inevitably affected the image of the Turk, which shifted from being an attacker to that of defeated. 1683 Battle of Vienna played an important role in this change; the Turk was no longer an invincible enemy, rather, he was a subject of mocking. The board games and playing cards date from the late seventeenth century clearly illustrated this aspect. In order to reflect this interwoven relation between the historical events and their effect on games, I included the major incidents defining the character of the relationship between the Ottomans and Europe. I will end the chapter by discussing a modern debate in the light of board games and playing cards: is Turkey in Europe and are Turks European? My findings here clearly state that Turks and their country were regarded a part of Europe, albeit the differences in culture, religion and the predominant hostility.

Chapter four is an anti-thesis to the mainstream scholarship that support single perspective assumptions about the image of the Turk. Here I will adduce selected board

games and playing cards that portray a Turkish image which is neither negative, nor terrible. On the contrary, the games in this chapter visibly prove that the image of the Turk and its perception by early modern Europeans were multifaceted; it can point at different directions and reflect different views. Each game in this chapter proposes varying degrees of polarity that should not be rendered into one perception. The chapter ends with an analysis of an imaginary confrontation formerly unbeknownst to us: Turks versus Native Americans. Ahistorical in nature, this juxtaposition occurred seldomly in any platform outside games, which case will be documented here with three different examples.

Chapter five focuses on the image of the Turk in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries in order to highlight the idea that the image has not ceased evolving. It begins by laying out the changing perception of the Turk in Europe while the Ottoman Empire lost its power and finally collapsed after the World War One. This long period is characterized by the representative decline of the Turk and then his inexistence both in reality and in games. While the European focus was on a world domination, Turks did not mean much in this game. In parallel to the 'sick man of Europe' metaphor, the Turk's existence in games fell to a demise. Even the newly founded modern Turkey with Western ideals, it seems, could not change this invisibility up until the twenty-first century, when the medium for games have changed revolutionarily. Turkey was rediscovered with its long and magnificent history in digital games.

After wrapping up my general statements, the Conclusions section provides an analysis of the data obtained from the Games Index. This data is presented via data visualization in forms of statistical charts that are in accordance with my statements. I also include here prospective research ideas that were born out of this thesis.

Games Index

This compendium aims at indexing game-related items containing the images of the Turk produced in Europe from fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. In this sense, it is the first and only inquiry to this end. Each entries informs the reader, in accordance with the collected data, about the name of the item, the producer, year and location of the production, significance of the item, materials and techniques used, inventory number (if in a museum), and finally relevant literature. I divided the entries into five groups as Germany, Italy, France, England and Russia. This division is based on the original language of the item and the country that the location of production belonged in the time of production. Another aim of this index is to form a basis for future inquiries from other disciplines and scholars interested in later and longer timeframe other than early modern period. In this regard, in order to encourage further research in this topic and emphasize the continuation of the sources, I included game-related items produced in later periods but still contain images of the Turk.

Germany

1. Round Playing Cards: This pack of playing cards was made by Meister PW (or Monogrammist PW) in Cologne and dated to c.1499-1503. As well as being round, the pack is significant in carrying the earliest images of the Turk. In addition, it has formerly unbeknownst structure with five suits and seventy playable cards, one title card and one back banner. Engraving. British Museum, Inv. No: 1878,1012.20, 1863,1114.711-716 (for the pack copied after Meister PW). Literature: Hoffmann (1974); Endebrock & Radau (2014).
2. Playing Cards by Peter Flötner: An ornate pack of forty-seven playing cards made by Peter Flötner in Nurnberg around 1525-1546, bearing the arms of d'Este Family. There are several copies in British Museum (1982,U.4664; 1900,1031.2; 1896,0501.528.+) and *Kupferstichkabinett* in Berlin (Inv. No: 453-1895), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg (Inv. No: SP7814+1-47), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Inv. No: 79-1888). Woodcut. Literature: Hoffmann (1994); Schoch (1993).
3. Uncut Sheet of Playing Cards: It was made around 1540 by Hans Zeller, active in Vienna. The sheet contains sixteen images of forty-eight cards. Woodcut pressed

on thin paper. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: DSM A 144 (a+b). Literature: Hoffmann (1972).

4. Game Counters in Ambras Castle: These twenty-six medallion-shaped counters were produced for a backgammon variant called "*langenpuff*" around 1535-1540 by Hans Kels, who was active in Augsburg. One side of the counters bear the images of European nobility, including Suleyman the Magnificent, while their names are inscribed on other side. Boxwood on walnut. Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, Inv. No: 3851-3877. Holländer & Holländer (1998).
5. A Pack of Playing Cards with Pictures of Turks: This pack is produced by Gottfried Lüttich, active in Leipzig, dated to 1574. It is composed of twenty-eights cards of thirty-six in total, and all face cards bear the pictures of Turkish soldiers. Woodcut press, stencil-colored (schablonenkoloriert). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: SP7410 1-28. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).
6. Uncut Sheet of Playing Cards: The sheet was produced by Hans Forster, active in Vienna, containing the pictures of sixteen out of forty-eight cards, dated to 1560-70. The face cards depict landsknecht and Turkish soldiers. Woodcut pressed on thin paper. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: DSM B 10. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).
7. Playing Cards by Jost Amman: An elaborate pack of fifty-two playing cards made in Nurnberg in 1588, bearing the arms of Ruland Family. Latin and German couplets in the back of the cards. Woodcut. British Museum, Schreiber Collection, Inv. No: 1896,0501.381.1-51.
8. Chess Set in a Game Box in Ambras Castle: A set of fifty-three chess figures of a total sixty-four and a chess board, is dated to mid-sixteenth century. The set is for a chess variant known as "courier chess" played on a 12x8 grid chess board. However, the checkered board of the Abrass set has 15x8 grid. The figures are made of wood and painted with oil to silver and gold. The box, also wood, carries a picture of Venus and Justitia, painted in Danube school style. It was perhaps made in Austria and a present to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol. Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, Inv. No: PA 34, PA 772. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
9. Uncut Sheets of Playing Cards: These ornate and uncut sheets of playing cards were duly dated to 1595 by their producer Heinrich Hauk who was active in

Frankfurt. Woodcut pressed on thin paper. Historischen Museums Frankfurt am Main, Inv. No: C 428-C 429. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).

10. Uncut Sheet of Playing Cards: This sheet was produced by Singer Wels. It contains eighteen of forty-eight cards, and it is dated to the end of the sixteenth century. It was produced in South Germany or in Vienna. Woodcut pressed on thin paper. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: SP6950. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).
11. Uncut Sheet of Playing Cards: The sheet was produced by Hans Stainberger, active in Vienna, around the end of the sixteenth century. The sheet contains the pictures of twelve out of forty-eight cards, with landsknecht and Turkish soldiers. Woodcut pressed on pasteboard. Deutsches Spielkartenmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: DSM B 1154. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).
12. Playing Cards found in Muri, Switzerland: This pack was discovered under the altarpiece of a church in Muri, Switzerland during an excavation/renovation. It is originally produced in Augsburg by an anonymous producer in the second half of the sixteenth century. It consists of twenty-three of a forty-eight cards. The backs of the cards bear a picture of a standing Turkish soldier holding a shield with a crescent. Woodcut pressed on paper, stencil-colored. Deutsches Spielkartenmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: DSM A 170. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).
13. Two Packs of Playing Cards from Art Cabinets: These two packs are called *Vexierkarten* designed for an unknown game (*vexierkartenspiel*?), one pack is in Berlin, dates to 1610, containing forty-seven cards, and the other pack is in Uppsala and dates to 1632, containing forty-two cards. Turks and Native Americans drawn together. They are hand-drawn on the backs of regular French suit playing cards. Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum, Inv. No: P84 (30), P84 (31); Uppsala University, Gustavianum, Inv. No: 0502-03, 0502-07.
14. Twenty-Six Playing Cards: The pack is incomplete, consists of twenty-six of forty-eight cards. It was probably produced in Vienna by an anonymous producer, in the seventeenth century. Woodcut pressed, stencil-colored. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nurnberg, Inv. No: SP 5026-5051. Literature: Hoffmann (1972).

15. Chess Set, Turks against Turks: The set was made in the first half of seventeenth century, in south Germany. The parties in the set are in silver and gold colors, figures in both sides are in typical Turkish clothes and turbaned. Kunstgewerbesammlung der Stadt Bielefeld (Art and Handcraft Collection of Bielefeld), Hülsmann Foundation, Inv. No: H-D012, 1-32. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (2005).
16. Playing Cards Theming Europe in War: The pack is incomplete, with forty-five of forty-eight cards, produced c.1660 by Johann Hoffmann, active in Nurnberg. The cards represent kings, nobility and high rank officials from European countries, including the Turks, Muscovites, Tartars, the Pope, civilians and villagers. Each card bears a stanza. Etching on copper, colored. Historishes Museum Frankfurt, Inv. No: C 0512-0515. Literature: Endebrock & Radau (2014).
17. Playing Cards Theming War on Turks: The pack is incomplete with twenty-one out of thirty-six or fifty-two French-suited cards. It was produced by Johann Hoffmann, active in Nurnberg, c.1665. Etching on copper, only the suit-marks are colored. Historishes Museum Frankfurt, Inv. No: C 00519-520. Literature: Endebrock & Radau (2014).
18. Playing Cards Theming the Siege of Vienna, 1683: This pack of incomplete thirty-five out of thirty-six cards was produced around 1685, perhaps in Vienna, in order to commemorate the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683 by the Ottomans. Etching on copper, pressed on thick cardboard, stencil-colored. Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Inv. No: 17.660/1-35. Literature: Witzmann (1983).
19. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: The pack is incomplete with seventeen remained out of fifty-two German-suited cards, bear similarities with the item in number twenty. Each card has a text that describes the geographical area represented by the card. It was published by Johann Hoffmann, active in Nurnberg, in 1696. Etching on copper, only the suit-marks are colored. Historishes Museum Frankfurt, Inv. No: C 00517-518. Literature: Endebrock & Radau (2014).
20. Allegorical Counters: Twenty-four counters in total are divided into two parties as dark and light colors. They were produced c.1700 by Philipp Heinrich Müller,

active in Augsburg, out of maple wood. Counters depict various scenes, allegorical and mythological, and bear the busts of commander active in the Holy League of 1684 against the Turks. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No: 7206-7229. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).

21. Turkish War-Themed Counters: A total of thirty-two counters made in c.1700, by Phillip Heinrich Müllers and Christoph Jakob Leherr in Nurnberg and Augsburg. Counters are divided into two groups as dark and light-colored parties. They are made of leather-covered cardboards, depicting various sceneries, among which are triumphs against Turks in an allegorical way. Private collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
22. Counters Commemorating the Holy League of 1684: There are in total thirty counters, made in c.1700 by Martin Brunner, active in Nurnberg. The counters depict satirical sceneries for good-morale on one side, and rulers in the Holy League of 1684 on the other side. Among the rulers depicted are Jan Sobieski, Prince Eugen of Savoy, Joseph I of Habsburgs, and Pope Innocent XI. Among the sceneries are subjugated Turks. Private collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
23. Chess Set, Europeans against Turks: The set was made around 1710, in Austria, out of brass. Golden-colored part represents an army of Europeans and silver-colored part of Turks. Privat collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
24. Counters with Allegorical Themes: Six counters made in c.1700 by Martin Brunner, active in Nurnberg, depicting various themes as historical, allegorical or satirical, one depicts a scene in which a knight chases Turks. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No: 7270-7275. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
25. Two party of Game Counters, Turks against Europeans: These counters were made c.1720 by Nicolaus Haberstumpf, active in Eger (Cheb in today's Czech Republic), are composed of twenty-four pieces, as white and black. White counters are made of ivory, depicting only women, perhaps of upper-class origin. Blacks are made of ebony, depicting only men wearing Turkish style turbans. The counters belong to a game called "langenpuff", a backgammon variant. Private collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).

26. Defeat of the Turks: A pack of thirty-six playing cards by an anonymous artist, dated to early eighteenth century, hand-colored, etching, perhaps in south of Germany. British Museum, Schreiber Collection, Inv. No: 1896,0501.392; uncolored and incomplete version: 1896,0501.251. Literature: Hoffmann (1983).
27. Complete Pack of Trappola Cards: The pack is complete with thirty-six cards, bearing Italian suits, published by an anonymous artist in Bohemia or Austria in c.1720 (a similar pack was published by Johann Christoph Raupach, active in Linz). Each card bears a couplet regarding the image on the card. Etching on copper, stencil-colored, Bayerische Nationalmuseum, Inv. No: R 8544. Literature: Radau & Himmelheber (1991).
28. Chess and Tric-trac Set in a Games Box: The box is dated to c.1720, was made by artist Johann Nicolaus Haberstumpf who was active in Eger (Cheb in Czech Republic). The chess set is a confrontation between the Turks and Native Americans. Ebony, boxwood and amber. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Inv. No: 1910.467. Holländer & Holländer (2005).
29. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: The pack is complete with fifty-two cards, published by Johann Philip Andreä, c.1720, in Nurnberg. It is a copy of an earlier pack of cards with the same theme published by Stefano della Bella in Venice. The texts on the cards were translated into German. Etching, colored. Bayerische Nationalmuseum, Inv. No: R 8552. Literature: Radau & Himmelheber (1991).
30. Chess Set, Turks versus Habsburgs (?): The set is incomplete with a 10x10 grid board, and thirty-four figures out of forty. It was made in the eighteenth century in south Germany, out of wood, ebony, and bone; the board of wood; and some figures are decorated with ivory scepters and turbans. The set belongs to a chess variant (courier chess?). The black party is composed of Turkish figures, and the wood-colored party of Europeans, possibly Habsburgs. Private collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).
31. Chess Set, Turks against Turks: The set was manufactured in famous porcelain factory in Meissen, Germany by Johann Joachim Kändler; the figures were produced in 1753 as greens and purples, and the board was produced in 1762. The places of the figures on the board are indicated by a picture of that figure. Accordingly, the green sultan (king) is set on the square that depicts the sultan.

Bayerisches Museum München, Inv. No: R 5622-5653 and R 5621. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (2005).

32. Complete Tarot Pack: The French-suited pack consists of complete seventy-eight cards produced in c.1760 by Andreas Benedict Göbl, active in Munich. Hand-colored etching. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.173.
33. Chess Set, Prussians against Turks: The set was made around 1785, possibly in the royal seat of the Prussians, Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad, Russia) out of amber. The figures are busts of Prussian and Turkish soldiers. Ostpreußisches Landesmuseum, Lüneburg, Inv. No: 8052/91. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (2005).
34. Incomplete Playing Cards: The pack contains thirty-eight of forty playing cards, in French suites, produced by Andreas Benedict Göbl, active in Munich, late eighteenth century. Hand-colored etching with a pasteboard case. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.264.
35. Voyage around the World Playing Cards: Originally titled "Reisen in die fünf Welttheile oder Nazionen Spiel", published in Nurnberg in 1814 by Johann Georg Klinger (?) or Johann Wolfgang Müller, both active in Nurnberg. The pack contains thirty-two cards with fine pictures of nations around the world in their authentic clothes. Etching pressed on pasteboard, letterpress, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.529.
36. Allegorical Playing Cards: The pack is uncut sheets of forty-eight cards depicting an allegory between men and women in palaces and courts. It was produced in 1810-1815 by Heinrich Friedrich Müller, active in Vienna. Aquatint on paper, uncolored. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. No: KH-34 (D, 3).
37. Chess Set, Romans against Orientals: The set was made c.1820 by Peter Hinrich Löwe, active in Kiel. The set is a confrontation between turbaned Orientals and Romans. Painted tin. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No: 8028-8059. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998); (2005).
38. Playing Cards of Turkish Costumes: The pack is complete with seventy-eight cards with fine pictures of Turkish men and women in their costumes and a woman harlequin from *commedia dell'arte*. The pack belongs to the game of tarot, published around 1810-26, in Leipzig, by '*Industrie Comptoir*' Henrich Müller

(?). Etching, stencil-colored. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. No: KH-381 (5, 85). Literature: Endebrock & Radau (2014).

39. Nations-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "Völker-Spiel", published by a certain R. Ackermann in the second half of the nineteenth century in Wissembourg, today in France. The board contains a circle divided into twenty-four compartments, each of which bears a picture of a man or a woman representing a nation in their authentic clothes. In the center of the circle is a laughing Turk as the twenty-fifth nation. Stencil-printed lithograph. British Museum, Inv. No: 2012,7020.31.
40. Game of Sultan: Originally title "Der Tribut oder Das Sultanspiel", the board is divided into nine compartments, each of which bears a scene from Christoph Friedrich Bretzner's Belmont and Constanze or *The Abduction from Seraglio* (*Belmont und Constanze, oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail*) with the major characters, which was adapted to opera by Mozart. The game contains its rules published separately on paper in French and German. It was published in Nurnberg by an anonymous producer in the nineteenth century. Etching, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,1015.4.
41. The Globetrotter: Originally titled "Der Weltreisende Globetrotter", produced in 1900-15 by Robert Mittelbach, active in Dresden. The game is played on an elaborate and actual map of the world showing the borders of countries in the year the game was published. The traveler is supposed to follow 600 points located on the map connected through various routes. The instructions are both in English and German. Paper glued on board, chromophotolitography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2418.
42. The Triumph of the Twentieth Century: Originally titled "Der Triumph des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts", produced in c.1910 by Otto and Max Hausser, active in Ludwigsburg. The game is played on a board bearing a map of Europe in the center surrounded by twenty-six squares with illustrations. The players are supposed to follow on the map a track with seventy-nine points, some of which are obstacles. In number 9, the train is plundered by Greek bandits, referring to the events between the Greeks and the Ottomans before the World War One. The

track starts and ends in Ludwigsburg. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 937.

43. Zeppelin Travel around the World: Originally titled "Im Lenkbaren Luftschiff um die Erde", produced in c.1910 by Otto and Max Hausser, active in Ludwigsburg. The game is played on a spiral track that surrounds two circular maps of the world showing the continents as well as the route of the track in red. The track has seventy-four compartments, each of which bears a number and name of the city. Some compartments bear an illustration of the game story that happens in that city. The track begins in Bodensee and ends in Berlin. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2436.
44. Flight Around the World: Originally titled "Weltflug-Spiel", produced in c.1925 by Walter Mackenthun, active in Hannover. The game consists of a spiral track with forty-seven compartments bearing the actual aerial photographs of cities around the world. The track is defined on the world map in the center. The game starts and ends in London. The player waits in Istanbul on compartment number twenty-six for souvenir and carpet shopping. Offset print, partly colored. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2498.
45. Towards our Colonies in Africa: Originally titled "Mit dem Kleinen Blatt um die Welt. Zweite Reise: Nach unseren Kolonien in Afrika", produced in c.1940 during World War Two by the support of Franz Plachy under German occupied Austria. The game consists of a map showing Europe, the Middle East and the whole of Africa, and a track starting from Berlin and ending in Vienna, with 211 points. The African continent was elaborately depicted, crowded with peoples, material sources, wild animals and colonizers. Europe and the Middle East were singled out by the same color, in Europe borders were drawn. The track travels through Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 359.

Italy

46. Game of Monkeys: Originally titled "Il Novo Bello Et Piacevole Gioco Della Scimia" produced by Altiero Gatti, active in Rome, in 1588. It is a variant of the Game of the Goose. There are sixty-three playable compartments on a spiral track,

some of whom bear monkeys wearing dresses of various European nations including Turkish. Etching on paper, uncolored. British Museum, Inv. No: 1869,0410.2461.+

47. Game of "Pluck the Owl": Originally titled "Il Piacevole e Nuovo Giuoco Novamente Trovato Detto Pela Il Chiu" produced by Ambrogio Brambilla, active in Rome, in 1589. Brambilla's print was published in Parma by Giovanni Battista di Lazzaro. There are three concentric ovals and fifty-seven compartments, each of which is dedicated to a character in life, mythology, street vendors and *commedia dell'arte.* Engraving on paper, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.32.
48. Allegorical Playing Cards: This complete pack has fifty-two cards, each bearing allegorical pictures from mythology, produced by Giovanni Palazzi, active in Venice, in 1681. Burin on paper, uncolored. Museo Correr Venezia, Inv. No: Cl. XXX n. 0083.
49. Game of the Eagle: A board game originally titled "Il Gioco del Aquila" produced by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna, dated to 1683-1718. The game is a war between the forces of the Holy League of 1684 (represented by six commanders and one eagle) and the Ottomans (represented by thirteen characters). It is likely that the game was produced to commemorate the successful advances of the League. Etching on paper, uncolored. British Museum, Inv. No: 1852,0612.458.+
50. Game of the Turk, the German and the Venetian: A board game originally titled "Il Gioco Nuovo del Turco, del Tedesco e del Veneziano", probably produced in 1684-1685, by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna. There is a caricature in the center of the board depicting three characters that represent the Turk, the German and the Venetian. Etching on paper, uncolored. Genus Bononiae, Musei nella Città Bologna, Inv. No: 2681 (rep.1/526).
51. Uncut Sheets of Playing Cards: Four sheets of forty uncut playing cards originally titled "Giuocco del Passa Tempo" produced by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna, dated to 1690. The game played with this ornate pack of cards represent a contest between virtues and vices, the rules are inscribed by Mitelli on one of

the cards. Etching on paper, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.1088.

52. Game of Soldiers: A board game originally titled "Gioco de Sig. Soldati Spianta Mondo, con le sue Cariche e Sopranomi", produced by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna, published in 1692. There are nineteen caricaturized soldiers, one is Turkish. Etching on paper, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.21.
53. Game of Fortune and Disgrace: A board game originally titled "Gioco della Fortuna e di Disgratia" produced by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna, c.1700. There are twenty-four characters, twelve representing fortune and other twelve of disgrace. Etching on paper, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.29.
54. Game (?) of Seraskier Imre Tököli: It is a drawing by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, active in Bologna, drawn c.1700. It is not intended to play with, but rather caricaturize the events about revolutionary Hungarian prince Imre Tököli (1657-1705), who was supported by the Ottomans and died in Turkey in exile. Mitelli drew Tököli imprisoned behind the bars in Turkish dress and headwear. Bars resemble the shape of a board game Nine Men's Morris. Red chalk on paper. The Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Call No: s It. 17.20, Record ID: 142155.
55. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: The pack is complete with fifty-two cards, published c.1770 by Giambattista Albrizzi, active in Venice. Each card bears textual information about the area they represent. Engraving on pasteboard, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.61.
56. Incomplete Pack of Playing Cards: The pack contains only sixteen cards that were numbered from one to sixteen, it contains pictures of exotic animals, one musician, one Native American, and one Turkish. Produced by an anonymous producer, dated to eighteenth century. Woodcut on cardboard, uncolored. Museo Correr Venezia, Inv. No: Cl. XXX n. 0074.
57. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: It is a complete pack of fifty-two cards, each suit is colored differently, dated to the eighteenth century by an unknown producer. Woodcut on cardboard, uncolored. Museo Correr Venezia, Inv. No: Cl. XXX n. 0078.

58. Italian-Turkish War of 1911-12: Originally titled “Giuoco Guerra Italo-Turca”, produced in 1914-15 by C. Gallizioli in Rome. The game is played on a map of mid-Mediterranean showing the Italian, Greek, Turkish and North African coasts, on which the Ottomans and Italians had a series of wars in 1911-12. There is a track of eighty-nine points located on cities, some of which had importance in the course of events. Some of the numbers represent Italian generals with their pictures. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 1574.
59. Game of the Flags of Fighting States: Originally titled “Giuoco delle Bandiere degli Stati in Guerra”, produced in 1914-15 by an anonymous producer in Rome. The game is played on a spiral track made up of forty-eight flags and four additional compartments, each of the compartments are numbered from 1 to 50. The flags belong to the states in Axis and Allies blocs including Japan. In the center and in the corners are the busts of Allied and Axis powers leaders, including the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 1233.
60. European Chessboard: Originally titled “Scacchiere Europeo”, produced by an anonymous producer in 1917 in Italy. The game is played on a geometric track superimposed on a map of Europe, excluding Iberian Peninsula. The track contains points on cities, capitals are defined by red points. The Instructions of the game suggest the blocs in World War One. The player who conquers Istanbul gets 10 points; other cities are worth 5 points. Typographic print, colored. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 1579.
61. Travel Around the World: Originally titled “Il Giro del Mondo”, produced by an anonymous producer in c.1920 in Italy. It is an adaptation of Jules Verne’s 1873 novel “*Around the World in 80 Days*” into a game. The game is played on a spiral track consisting eighty compartments, each of which is numbered with illustrations and with the name of places visited. The track starts and ends in Genoa. As opposed to the original story, the players visit Istanbul on compartment number 10. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2281.
62. All Roads Lead to Rome: Originally titled “Tutte le Strade Conducono a Roma”, produced in 1928 by an anonymous producer in Bergamo. The game is played on a world map which might be produced soon after the World War One. The players

follow tracks defined by three different colors and land on cities defined by points. Turkey's eastern borders correspond to the years of invasion during 1918-23. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 382.

63. Travel Around the World: Originally titled "Il Giro del Mondo", produced in 1930-40, by an anonymous producer in Italy. The game consists of a spiral tract with ninety compartments, each of which has a depiction of items or people representing a country, starting and ending in Torino. Turkey is represented by a fez wearing man (45) and the Turkish flag (46). Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 372.
64. Game of the Young Explorer: Originally titled "Giuoco del Giovane Esploratore", produced in 1930-40 by an anonymous producer in Rome. The game consists of a spiral tract beginning and ending in Rome, with eighty compartments, each of which has a depiction of items or flags representing a country, and the name of the country's capital city. Turkey is represented by a Turkish flag (20), a mosque (21) and the strait of Dardanelle (22). It is one of the first games mentioning Ankara as the capital of Turkey. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 337.
65. Travel in Europe: Originally titled "Viaggio in Europa", produced in 1990 by Otto Meier Ravensburg in Milano. The game has been in the market since 1980s and has been published in different languages. It consists of two maps of Europe, one is a political map that shows borders of countries, the other is a physical map showing the physical features, each of the maps has a track. It is played by following 168 points/cities on the map. The players are supposed to guide tour groups who visit one of the cities marked on the board. Offset press. R. Rampini Collection, a part of Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville Collection, Catalogue No: 2277.

France

66. Game of Christian Chronology: Originally titled "Jeu Chronologique", printed in Paris in 1638 by A. Peyrounin and Pierre Mariette. The game consists of fifty-seven compartments on a spiral track, each compartment is dedicated to an event in the history with a text, some of the compartments are depicted. The chronology

starts with Biblical history with the God's creation of Adam (year 100), then merges with common history, including a depiction of Mahomet and the text of Fall of Constantinople, and ends with Louis de Bourbon. Etching on paper, partly colored. Adrian Seville, Private Collection, Catalogue No: 2439.

67. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: Originally titled "Jeu de la Géographie", print made by Stefano della Bella, active in Venice, published in Paris in 1644. The pack has fifty-two cards, each of which represents a country and bears a woman's picture in authentic dresses. Texts on the cards describes the country. Etching on paper, uncolored. British Museum, Inv. No: 1871,0513.592.
68. Playing Cards about Famous Queens in History: The pack is originally named "Jeu des Reynes Renommées", prints made by Stefano della Bella, active in Venice, published by Florent Le Comte (?), Henri Le Gras (?) in Paris in 1644. The pack has fifty-two cards, each of which bears the picture of a famous queen in the history of the world and mythology. Characteristics of each figure (*cruelle, pieuse, impudique, habile, capricieuse*…) was written on the tops of the cards. Etching on paper, uncolored. British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.654.1-53.
69. Geography-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "Le Jeu du Monde", published by Pierre Duval, active in Paris, in 1645. A spiral track is divided into sixty-three compartments, as in typical Game of the Goose, each compartment bears the map of a country/area in the world. Four continents are depicted in the corners. The game begins with arctic poles of the world and ends with France. Etching on paper, colored. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, List No: 6728.000, https://www.davidrumsey.com.
70. Game of the Nations: Originally titled "Le Jeu des Nations Principales dela Terre Universelle", published by Antonie de Fer, active in Paris, in 1660. A spiral track with forty-eight compartments, each of which represents a nation with a modeling couple and a textual description. Two globes in the center. The game begins with American Continent and ends with France. Etching on paper, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.104.
71. Geography-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe", produced in the seventeenth century (c.1660) by R. de Fer, authored by Pierre Duval, both active in Paris. The game contains four

concentric circles divided into sixteen parts, in the outer circle are the map of countries in Europe and in the inner circle are the descriptions of the countries. Etching on paper, uncolored. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. No: GE D-12173. Literature: Seville (2008).

72. Geography-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "Le Jeu des Princes de l'Europe", produced in 1670, by Pierre Duval, active in Paris. The game contains a spiral track with sixty-three compartments, as in the Game of the Goose. Each compartment corresponds to a country in Europe, including Turkey. Map of Europe in the center. The game begins with Spain and ends with France. Etching on paper, uncolored. British Library, System no: 004838733, Shelfmark(s): Cartographic Items Maps 1078.(8.). Literature: Seville (2008).
73. History-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "Tableau Cronologique de l'histoire Universelle en Forme de Jeu", produced in 1767 by Jean Baptiste Crepy, active in Paris. There are concentric tracks and an independent track in the center, both divided into compartments. The game begins with Adam, the first man on Earth and ends in the year 1715 to commemorate the accession of the then latest King of France, Louis XV. Etching on paper, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.108.
74. Geography-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "La Récréation Européenne ou Jeu des Princes de l'Europe", produced in 1770, by Jean-Baptiste Crépy, active in Paris. The game consists of a spiral track with sixty-one compartments, and a world map in the center. There is a map of the country/area in each compartment. The game begins with Spain and ends with France. Etching on paper, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.115.
75. Geography-Themed Board Game: Originally titled "La Geographie Universelle ou la Conoissance Exacte dela Mappe Monde", produced in 1780 by Jean Baptiste Crepy, active in Paris. There is a world map in the center and a spiral track around the map with seventy-eight compartments, each of which represents an area textually in the world. Etching on paper, hand-colored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.107.
76. Chess Set, Europeans against Exotics: The set was made in 1790 in Dieppe, France by an anonymous producer out of ivory, one party in green the other in

white. Green party is composed of Turks, Moors and Native Americans, and the white party of Europeans (possibly all French). Pieces show only the busts of figures. Private collection. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).

77. Geography-Themed Board Game: Same as in 1893,0331.107, above. Originally titled "Mappe-monde ou Carte Générale de Toute la Terre". Late eighteenth century. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.112.
78. Merchants in Paris: Originally titled "Le Jeu de Paris en Miniature", published in Paris in 1815 by Veuve Chéreau. The game is composed of ninety compartments, each of which is dedicated to an actual store in Paris, including items imported from Turkey and sold by Turks, with illustrations showing the literal depiction of the shop's name, as well as address and specialty. The game is played on a spiral track as in the Game of the Goose, it ends at "Au Retour d'Astrée" demonstrations the Greek Goddess 'Astraea'. Etching on paper, letterpress, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.93.
79. Game of the People in the World with their Costumes: Originally titled "Jeu Instructif des Peuples et Costumes des Quatre Parties du Monde et des Terres Australes", produced in 1815 by Paul André Basset, active in Paris. The game is played on a spiral track with sixty-three compartments, in each of which depicted a nation in the world with their costumes, including the almost newly discovered Australian and New Zealander Aborigines. Etching on paper, colored and uncolored. Luigi Ciompe Private Collection, Catalogue No: 1427.
80. Game of a Traveler in Europe: Originally titled "Jeu du Voyageur en Europe", printed in 1830, by Paul André Basset, active in Paris. The game is played on a spiral track with sixty-three compartments, in each of which depicted the landmark of a European city, including Istanbul. Etching on paper, colored. Adrian Seville Private Collection, Catalogue No: 1442.
81. Game of the French Army: Originally titled "Jeu de l'Armée Française", printed in 1880-90 in Nancy by an anonymous maker. The game is modeled after Pela il Chiu (see Games Index, No: 41) with fifty-six compartments, each of which depicts a unit in French army with their uniforms, including the Algerian Zouave units with their oriental uniforms, as well as women sutlers or canteen keepers

(cantinière) and Turcos (another French army unit). Woodcut on paper, colored. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 56.

82. Game of Nations: Originally titled "Jeu des Nations", produced in the end of the nineteenth century by Imageries Reunies de Jarville, active in Nancy. The game contains two concentric circles. The inner circle is divided into eleven compartments, each of which bears the map of a European country including Turkey. In the outer circle, depictions of soldiers from the country they represent. Woodcut on paper, colored. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2390.
83. A Game of Voyage: Originally titled "Par Terre et par Mer, Jeu des Voyages" produced in 1900-20 by Maurice and Georges Saussine, active in Paris. The game is played on a world map with a track of 142 numbered points. The map does not define borders but shows the name of some of the countries with their flags, cities, landscape, peoples, valuable sources, famous items, plantations, and wild animals. The track starts from the Atlantic coast of France and ends in Paris. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2421.
84. Great Aviation Contest: Originally titled "Souvenir du Grand Concours d'Aviation Reims", produced in 1911 by G. Dreyfus, active in Reims. The game is composed of thirty-three squares, each of which is numbered and bears the illustrations of the landscape of a city representing a country in the world. The track starts in Bètheny and ends in Reims, at the Galeries Rémoises. Square 31 shows Istanbul. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 134.
85. Cosmail: Originally titled "Cosmail", produced in 1940-50 by Gabriel Loire and Marcel Maillard, active in Chartres. The game consists of a map taking the North Pole as its center, and points defining cities that are connected via tracks. There are depictions of peoples and animals on the map. The players collect valuable materials such as coal, petrol, coffee, tea, rubber, and fur. In Istanbul the players collect tobacco. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 2391.

Britain

86. Geography-Themed Playing Cards: This incomplete pack is composed of forty-one of fifty-two cards. It was produced in 1675-1676 by Henry Winstanley, active in Essex, England. Each card bears a picture depicting the people in the region the card represents and an accompanying text to describe the region. Etching on pasteboard, uncolored. British Museum, Inv. No: 1982,U.4622.1-41.
87. English Divination Cards: The pack is complete with fifty-two playable cards and two rules cards. Kings, queens and knaves bear the pictures of biblical and mythological characters, including a Mahomett. The pack was produced around 1745-1756 by John Lenthall, active in London; but advertisements of this sort of cards in London found as early as 1690s. Lenthall implemented a complex system on regular playing cards structure. Engraving, pressed on pasteboard, uncolored. Schreiber Collection, British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.942.1-54.+. Literature: Hoffmann (1995).
88. The Royal Geographical Pastime or the complete Tour of Europe: The game was produced in 1768, by Jefferys Thomas, active in London. It is played on an actual map of Europe with 103 numbers, which represent cities, are connected via a track that goes through Europe as well as Asia Minor, Palestine and Cairo. The track begins at Dover and ends in London. It is an updated and expanded version of an earlier game by John Jefferys, dated to 1759, having seventy-seven numbers. Engraving, hand-colored. Adrian Seville, Private Collection, Catalogue No: 1310. Literature: Seville (2008), Seville (2009).
89. New Geographical Game Exhibiting a Tour of Europe: Published in 1794 by John Wallis, active in London. The game is played on a map of Europe containing a track of 102 locations to be followed by the players. The track starts from Harwich port in England and ends in London. Etching on linen, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: E.1749-1954.
90. European Travellers: Produced in London c.1823 by Edward Wallis. The game is the extended version of Jefferys 1768 game, with 123 locations and an elaborate map. Track starts from Iceland and ends in London. Engraving, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: B.7:1-1997.

91. Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World: Produced in London in 1831 by John Betts. The game is played on an actual world map divided into five continents via five different colors. Etching, colored. Adrian Seville, Private Collection, Catalogue No: 1352.
92. Geographical Pastime Europe Delineated: Produced in London by John Betts in 1840. The game is played on a board with a map of Europe in the center and eighteen squares surrounding the board. The map bears twenty-one points and the squares include visual and textual information about some of the countries. The points start from England and end at Germany. Engraving on paper with linen backing, colored. Adrian Seville, Private Collection, Catalogue No: 971.
93. Wallis's New Game of Universal History and Chronology: Published in c.1840 by John Wallis, active in London. It is a rework of the same game published in 1814 by Wallis. The game is played on a spiral track with 143 compartments, each of which bears an illustration regarding an event in the history of humanity, such as important inventions, wars, coronations and discoveries, starting from Adam and Eve until Queen Victoria and the invention of steam engine. The earlier version ended in the reign of George IV. Compartment eighty-nine is dedicated to the foundation of the Turkish Empire, fifty-eight and sixty-two to the birth and death of Mahomet. Engraved paper on linen, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: E.1783-1954. 1814 version: Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: E.1768-1954.
94. Geographical and Zoological Game of the World: Produced in 1840-50 by William Spooner, active in London. The game is played on an actual map of the world divided into two globes showing the Americas and the rest of the world. Wild animals from America, Asia and Africa are illustrated in pictures located above the map. Engraving on paper with linen backing, hand-colored. Private collection, Adrian Seville Collection No: 1329.
95. The Travellers or A Tour Through Europe: Produced in London in 1842 by William Spooner. The game is played on an actual and elaborate map of Europe, including the Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt and North Africa. Etching, hand-colored. Adrian Seville, Private Collection, Catalogue No: 906.

96. The Wonders of the World Chiefly in Reference to the Architectural Works of the Ancients: Produced by William Spooner in 1837-46 in London (probably in 1843). The game is played on an elaborate board bearing fifty pictures of architectural wonders of the world, each of which is numbered. “Hagia Sophia” on number 11 and “A Mahommedan or Turkish Tomb” on number 38. Engraving on paper with linen backing, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: B.13-1997.
97. L’Orient or the Indian Travellers Game: Produced in London c.1845-7 by David Ogilvy. The game consists of a map showing Europe, Asia and Africa and two tracks starting from England and reaching to India and China in thirty-six squares either through the Suez Channel or through the Cape of Good Hope. Etching, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: B.11-1997.
98. Crowned Heads or Contemporary Sovereigns: Published in 1846-47 by David Ogilvy, active in London. The game is composed of a European map in the center that indicates twelve countries in different colors, and forty squares surrounding the map, each of which illustrates a historical event in Europe from 1688 to 1845. Turkey is the twelfth country and is not covered in any of the squares. The instructions booklet/sheet of the game has not survived. Hand-colored etching. Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. No: B.10-1997.
99. Picturesque Round Game of the Geography, Topography, Produce, Manufactures and Natural History of various countries of the World: Produced in London by T. H Jones and William Sallis in 1845. The board consists of an elaborate world map demonstrating the distinctive features of lands with pictures. The continents are divided with different colors. The game is played via following 157 numbers on the map, starting and ending in British Islands. Etching on paper, lithograph colored. Private collection, Adrian Seville Collection No: 2530.
100. The Circle of Knowledge, A New Game of the Wonders of Nature Science & Art: Produced by John Passmore and Edward Wallis in c.1845 in London. The game is played on four concentric circles, each of which is divided into compartments numbered from 1 to 64. In the center is “the Center of Knowledge”, numbered 65. The outer circle is divided into four continents, four seasons, four elements and four science (Chemistry, Optics, Astronomy, Electricity). Hand-

colored engraving, mounted on linen. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: E.1784-1954.

101. The Travellers of Europe, with Improvements and Additions: The game is published in London in 1852. It is the updated version of William Spooner in accordance with the change of borders in Europe. Etching, hand-colored. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No: E.1788&A-1954.

102. The Young Travellers Tour through Various Countries of Europe. An Entertaining Geographical & Historical Game: Produced in 1856-63 by Jarrold & Sons, active in London. The game is played on a hand-drawn map of Europe divided into twenty-one territories/countries, each of which bears a different color. The map also shows the Middle East and North Africa. There are 121 points to follow, starting from Iceland and ending in London. Each territory bears pictures of people, landscape and animals. In Balkans, the Turks are retreating to Istanbul chased by a crowd of Austria-Hungarian army (point 47), and in today's Bulgaria a man is being executed while three men are watching (point 49). Engraving on paper with linen backing, hand-colored. Private collection, Adrian Seville Collection No: 2346.

103. The Game of the European Tourist, A New Game of Travel or a Journey through Europe: Produced in c.1870 by Joseph Myers, active in London. The game is played on a map of Europe, on which map placed a spiral track with 100 compartments, most of which bear a picture varying from landscape and architecture to some dangers for travelers. The track begins and ends in Norway. Engraving on paper with linen backing, chromolithography. Adrian Seville Collection No: 1301.

104. Betts's (Game) Tour through Europe: Published in c.1875 by Betts, active in London. The game is played on an actual map of Europe divided into sixteen territories/countries shown in different colors. The players travel through Europe in 104 points. The board also includes a table showing the altitude of countries. Engraving on paper with linen backing, hand-colored. Private collection, Adrian Seville Collection No: 2345.

105. Flags of the World: Produced in c.1918 in England by an anonymous producer. The game is a typical Snakes and Ladders game, played on a checkered

board with 100 squares. Flags of seventeen countries in the world, including Turkey, France, Germany, Russia, England, Japan, Spain, Italy, Peru and the US. Some of the flags are those used during the World War One. Two of the squares have images of Turkish artillery soldiers in typical World War One uniforms. Chromolithography. Adrian Seville Collection No: 897.

Russia

106. Chess Set, Romans against Orientals: The set was made around 1750-1800, out of ivory, in Kholmogory, the center of ivory and bone carving in Russia. The set is a confrontation between Roman and turbaned Oriental soldiers. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No: 8028-8059. Literature: Holländer & Holländer (1998).

Switzerland

107. Maggi's Pilot Game: Originally titled "Maggi's Fliegerspiel", produced in 1920-30 as a company promotion for kids by an anonymous publisher in Switzerland. The game is composed of a map showing Europe, Caucasus, South Asia and whole of Africa, and a route numbered from 1 to 84, starting and ending in Maggi's factory in Kemptthal, Switzerland. The map contains depictions of peoples in regions that the pilot contacts to promote Maggi products. This is one of the earliest games that state Ankara as the capital of Turkey. Chromolithography. Luigi Ciompi Collection, Catalogue No: 701.

CHAPTER 1: DEFINING THE TURK AND ITS CONTENT

The multifaceted image of the Turk began to be shaped in the Middle Ages. During the early modern and later periods, however, the Turk was used interchangeably as a stand-in for all Muslims regardless of their ethnic origin. In other words, while it was a component within a holistic image of Islam in the Middle Ages, "the Turk" tended to cover other Muslim ethnics in later periods. Monsieur Jourdain in Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* turns "Turk" after putting on a turban and donning a Turkish scimitar delivered by the *mufti*, a literary example that helps highlights the common Western understanding of the phrase "turning Turk" to mean "becoming a Muslim."

Long before Crusader propaganda began, East–West conflict had already been ingrained within the cultural repertoire of the West. This propaganda did not initially invoke a conflict determined by religious intolerance. Trojans against Greeks, Alexander the Great chasing Darius of Persia, Pompey versus Mithridates, and Hannibal against Rome were among the prominent examples. However, what characterizes the East–West conflict after the call for the First Crusade is that, although it was an extension of this protracted legendary/historical conflict, the conflict developed a religious perspective that was reflected in the correspondingly religious propaganda. The same mentality was applied by the Muslim world with the very justification of self-defense and jihad. As a result of this new character to the East–West conflict, new legends emerged, like Godfrey of Bouillon, Richard the Lionheart and Saladin.

It can be claimed that a holistic European perception of Islam first appeared through the medieval crusades propaganda that had been distributed by the influence of the church. Pope Urban II's 1095 call for the first armed pilgrimage to take over the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels found a positive response from European soldiers and civilians who were fascinated not only by the promised martyrdom, the remission of sins, and other spiritual rewards, but also substantially by the certificate for plundering, booty-collecting, and land-owning.[2] Although Spain and Byzantium had been conducting an

[2] As reported in Jacques Bongars' 1611 work *Gesta Dei per Francos*, he said: "Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do… For your brethren who live in the east are

ongoing war with Islamic forces for a long period of time, in the eleventh century, French, Italian, and Flemish kingdoms, as well as Northern kingdoms, joined in a total war against "the infidel" that had been taking place on their virtual frontiers. As a result, tens of thousands of people moved from Europe to the East following their own motivations for war.

During this first campaign, in order to recruit soldiers, the enemy was presented in religious preaching as a bloodthirsty, barbaric people. Defining the opponent in the crusade by preaching with binarily opposing terms was not, after all, unexpected, because the enemy was hitherto not well known by the public. Suddenly, masses were provoked to unite and fight against peoples whose very image, as well as knowledge about their religion, was barely known. Crusade preaching filled this gap in line with its own propaganda and consequently created an image of Muslim people, against whom every fight would be legitimate and necessary. As Bisaha (2006) writes,

> Islam was presented as a sham religion, founded upon violence and unrestrained lust…Westerners defined themselves in a host of ways, presenting Muslims in opposite and largely inaccurate terms. (p.15)

Moreover, Islam was presented as having the reverse of Christian morals, especially that of sexual conduct (Daniel, 1989). In other words, in the religious propaganda of the crusade, the legitimacy of the fight against the infidel was obtained by a false image woven with Muslim oppression, territorial threat, and Islam's moral corruption. This false image, which was formed via cultural ignorance and championed by religious propaganda, evolved in the later periods and has survived into the present time.

However, before the Turk was considered a cultural and political threat, fifteenth-century writers had commented positively about the Turks. As an ambassador to the Castilian King Henry III, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo traveled to the Timurid Empire in

---

in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as the most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [the Greek empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont…On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it. All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins." (quoted in Thatcher & McNeal, 1905, p.382).

1403, and included into his work observations about the Turks when he passed through Anatolia. He wrote with a language purged from biases and fantasies that the Renaissance humanists could not eliminate. In a similar way, while on his way to Constantinople between 1435 and 1439, Pero Tafur writes:

> The Turks are a noble people, much given to truth. They live in their country like nobles, as well in their expenditure as in their actions and food and sports, in which latter there is much gambling. They are very merry and benevolent, and of good conversation, so much so that in those parts, when one speaks of virtue, it is sufficient to say that anyone is like a Turk. (1926, p.128)

Nevertheless, the Turkish image would take a more hostile form in Spain after the Spanish and Ottoman empires had clashed over their benefits to be appropriated from the Mediterranean from the fifteenth century onward.

1.1 Discussions on The Origins of the Turk

The question about the origin of the Turk, the new emerging enemy, became an engaging topic for the Renaissance humanists. Curiosity over the stranger was fervently aroused when the Turks continued to extent their territories into the Balkans and began threatening Eastern European kingdoms, which peaked by the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. European intellectuals at the time took an arduous task to define these people who had now reached to the gates of Europe. It was at this point that two rupture points, which had developed during the Middle Ages, influenced by the overall image of the Turk while it was rigidly shaped during the fifteenth century, and this very image was transferred to the later centuries with little modifications.

First, Renaissance men of letters, by way of a cultivated Renaissance liberal framework, must have consulted the records of ancient historians about the origins of the Turk. The analogy between the two demonyms, "Turk" and the Latin "*Teucri*" (for "Trojans") was accepted and adapted during the late Middle Ages when the Ottomans began fighting with the Byzantium Empire. The relevance of these two points, namely the two nations' Asiatic origin and an intensive relation between them like that of the ancient Greeks and Trojans (including conflicts, negotiations, partnerships, battles, marriages, and peace), doubtlessly provided further comfort for the analogy. This

intensity of conflict between the Greeks and the Turks was favored by anti-Greek polemicists in the late Middle Ages (Schwoebel, 1967). However, this hypothesis created significant historical discomfort, against which Renaissance humanists offered an alternative hypothesis to be used for later works. The fact that the legend of Troy connects the Trojan lineage with Italian, German, and French royal lineages as well as the foundation legends of cities like Rome and Venice provided a suddenly disturbing reading that somehow suggested a shared genealogy between the Turks and the Europeans.[3] Therefore, as mentioned in Meserve (2008), humanists like Theodore Gaza and Nicolaus Sagundino wrote treaties about the origin of the Turks, the latter by the very request of Aeneas Silvius, later Pope Pius II. The new hypothesis proposed an update to the origin of the Turks from the Trojans to the Scythians, as the Scythians derived from an Asiatic tribe that consisted of brutal barbarians that plundered cities and killed everyone including women and children. This, for sure, better suited to the image of the Turk in the minds of Renaissance men of letters. The new hypothesis was readily accepted due to its signification of some qualities like the foreignness of the Turks to Asia Minor and Europe, and their barbarity. In his detailed explanation to the topic of the origin of the Turk, Johannes Cuspinian (1654) refuted the Trojan hypothesis and highlighted the Scythian origin: "*Turcorum gens Barbara sit ac Scythica*."[4]

Farther west, in Spain, it can be seen that the two theories about the origin of the Turks were used together with some other alternatives. Written in 1547 by Vasco Díaz Tanco during the Spanish and Ottoman naval forces increasingly encountered for the hegemony of the Mediterranean, offers an extensive history on the administrative state of the Ottomans for a sixteenth-century Spanish reader. Obviously, naval conflicts in the Mediterranean also increased the curiosity toward the Ottomans in the Spanish Empire, for which it was necessary to write an updated treaty about the Turk. However, Spanish writers, including Vasco Díaz Tanco, extensively consulted the Italian sources for

[3] For more information about the shared genealogy between Europe and the Turks, see Hankins (1995); Meserve (2008).

[4] "*Est hoc sane aliquid. Sed longe alia mete sunt qui annales sequuti, memoriaeque prodita monumenta, a Sychithis oriundos faciunt eos populos, qui feris & incultis etiamnum moribus Asiam minorem tenet, & eos in primis qui Turcae vulgo appellati, Ottomannorum legibus parent."* Johannes Cuspinianus, *De Turcarum origine: religione ac immanissima eorum in christianos tyrannide* (post-mortem 1540). This work was published several other times in 1541 in Antwerp, and in 1654 with Giovanni Montalbani's edition. In-page quotation was retrieved from the latter edition, p.7.

detailed information. Although the subject was approached in a rather more liberal way than that of the Italian humanists, pejorative repetitions could not have been filtered about the origin of the Turk; therefore, the Turk was "systematically identified" (Lanza, 2005, p.88) with violence and barbarity:

> que este nombre turco se dize a *torquendo*: o a *tortura* por los tormentos que dan a los tristes que en sus manos caen. E otros dizen: que a *trux trucis*. porque su gran crueldad es excesiva: y otros dizen y affirman que se llaman turquos: porque proceden de la theucra generacion que con sus antigua guerras y perdicion: andando por el mundo a buscar lugares fuertes por su habitacion y seguridad: asentaron bivienda en la bravissima montaña del mar Caspio: en la region de scithia do passa el gran rio de la burga o gorga que otros llaman. Esta region de Scitia confina de la una parte con el reyno de thartaria: y de otra con el mar Caspio o Hyrcano. E otros dizen que se llamaron turcos porque bivian en la ciudad de turcia. y otros dizen y afirman desta *diabolica generacion* que se llaman Turcos por causa de un valentissimo hombre dijo de Hercules que reyno en Scithia antigua mentre el qual se dixo Theucro: do aquella provincia que antes se dezia Scithia : fue llamada Theucria:a quien nos corrupiendo el vocablo llamamos Turquia: mas no menos se deve dezir Theucria de Theucro: que Hispania de Hispan: y Francia de Franco: y Italia de Italo y Galizia de galo. Y vandalia de vandalo, etc. (Tanco, 1547:p.22)

To have no clarity about the origin of the Turk but to reiterate the available derogative stereotypes, as mentioned in the quotation above, must have been a reflexive behavior against the Ottoman threat that the Spanish Empire had been encountering. It also bears the intention to raise awareness within the public by helping spread the image of the Turk. In other words, the intention behind the fallacy cannot be to express the truth; it could be rather to form a stereotype and reserve it for a time in which political necessities arise. As the same strategy benefited the Ottomans, for the very purpose of justifying their actions against the infidel, rulers often deployed such stereotypes and images.

Although the Teucri–Turk hypothesis had already lost its validity at the turn of the sixteenth century among historians, it continued to be used in literature because some writers favored enveloping the Turk within classical mythology. Thus, there were works that accepted, even internalized, the Trojan origin of the Turks. Such works of literature thematized the Trojan origin within the borders of mythology, and eventually drew a

positive conclusion by highlighting the Greek victory over the Trojans. Using an already present mythic connection between the Turks and the Trojans in their works, however unrealistic it may have been, should be seen among Renaissance writers as an indicator of high quality of a literary work. Yet, they created a paradox about the ways in which the Turk was conceptualized: On one hand they suggested that the Turk had had a mythical origin inlaid in European roots, on the other hand the Turk in real life was seen as an unfavorable enemy. This paradoxical conceptualization was revisited by later humanists in Renaissance. And, in the final analysis, the Fall of Constantinople brought the Trojan epic to the reconsideration of the Renaissance writers.

One of the frequently mentioned works of this kind is, mentioned in Hankins (1995), Giovanni Mario Filelfo's epic, *Amyris* (1476). Commissioned by an Anconitan merchant who had close ties with the Seraglio (Othman di Lillo Freducci), Filelfo wrote this Virgilian epic poem to be dedicated to the sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (Mehmed Fatih). In his work, Filelfo built his epic upon the so-called Trojan–Turkish comparison and justified the Turkish victory over the Greeks. According to the story, Mehmed only took up the revenge of his ancestors whose beloved city of Troy had been destroyed by the deceitful Greeks. The Greeks, moreover, deserved this end because they had separated the Roman Empire and once again committed crimes against the Romans, who descended from a common mutual Trojan lineage with the Turks.

Hector (by Calenzio, 1460-70) was written with a similar revenge theme. This famous Trojan prince and warrior rises from his grave and ravages Greek cities, as he makes his way to Rome. Although Turks are not mentioned in the poem, the similarity of the revenge theme provides us with a hint about the writer's inspiration behind its obscurity. Florentinus Liquenaius's 1458 epic work *De destructione Constantinopolitana sive de ultione Troianorum contra Graecos* also revolves around the Trojan revenge, although the Turks are not favored but still placed within the ancient myth. (Meserve, 2008, p.40)

Such "philoturk humanists" were faced with strong, often violent criticism and barriers in the West.[5] According to Hankins (1995, p.130) Filelfo was, for example,

[5] Hankins (1995) names several philoturk humanists, such as Francesco Filelfo, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, Michael Critoboulos, Giovanni Stefano Emiliano, and George Trebizond. It should be noted that some of them had Greek origin and yet favored the Trojan origin of the Turks.

obliged to write an additional volume to his epic as a palinode of his earlier volumes. It should be noted that such a philoturk language would never be favored by the Renaissance humanists and rulers, because in the long run they would not have been able to benefit from political polarization in the face of an encroaching Turkish threat.

In Spain, on the other hand, we can trace works that mention the Trojan origin of the Turks. Although somewhat argumentative, Joanot Martorell's 1490 work *Tirant lo Blanch*, for example, is reminiscent of the Teucri–Turk comparison. Montsalvat, one of the Greek emperor's consultants in his council, gives the Emperor three pieces of advice, the last of which is worth noting:

> La terça és que ans que partixquen de açí la gent d'armes, deuen anar en romiatge e fer grans presentalles als déus en la ylla d'on Paris se'n portà la reyna Elena, e per ço agueren en temps antich los grechs victòria dels troyans. (Martorell 1490, ch.123)

It must not be without a reason for Martorell to remind his readers about this ancient tradition of Greeks for a likely victory against the Turks in the setting of an ongoing war with them.

1.2 Religiopolitics

Early Modern Europe encountered a growing sense of conflicts occurring in religious platforms. Protestant movements found enough political and civilian supporters against the Catholic Church under John Calvin and Martin Luther's doctrinal flagship. Stricken by the Protestant revolts, Europe was driven into the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), mainly fought between Northern and Southern European forces. The two sides of Christianity, namely Catholics and Reformists, blamed each other of being at the devil's side. In an era marked by severe religiopolitical conflicts, "humanists revolutionized Western views of Islam," as Bisaha (2006) notes, "[by] transforming an old enemy of the faith into a political and cultural threat to their growing sense of Europe" (p.5). The Turk, as the sole representative of Islam and the archenemy of Christianity, played both the role of a unifying phenomenon for humanists who had called a united Christian force against "the Turk," and a supporting element for Catholic and Protestant leaders' accusations directed to each other. Both sides blamed each other of being companions of the Turk, of having had negotiations with the enemy. The Turks benefited from this duality (or the

position of the "laughing third") by temporarily expanding their territory and threat well into the Central Europe.[6]

As a matter of fact, the Protestant movement was supported by the Ottomans who also kept their close commercial ties with the Catholic Italian states. This support, which had been provided to the Lutherans and Calvinists, was important for the Ottomans who considered it one of the fundamental principles of their foreign policy. Süleyman the Magnificent tried to provoke Protestant German princes against the Pope and the Emperor Charles V by forming an alliance with himself, as he wanted to start a campaign to Germany and promised not to harm them if they joined his alliance. Furthermore, Süleyman informed the Lutheran princes under Catholic rule, especially those under the Spanish Empire and Italian states, that he was ready to financially assist their conflict against the Pope. Against Catholic Spain, Low Countries were supported by trade pacts that offered Dutch merchants a special status in Ottoman territories. Moreover, the Bishop of Dax, as Vaughan (1976) stated, begged the sultan for financial help to be used in William the Silent's campaign against Spanish occupation in the Netherlands. "Rather Turks than Papists" was the slogan adapted by the Dutch naval forces fighting against Spain (Vaughan, 1976, p.145). Calvinist propaganda was freely spread in Transylvania and Hungary under the Ottoman suzerainty. These countries became the central crossroads of Calvinism and Unitarianism in the seventeenth century. In the Seraglio, justification of such help and promises to the Protestant movement were based on the fact that they professed a similar view to Islam in terms of rejecting the trinity and idolatry. (İnalcık, 2000)

The treatment of the Turkish issue among Renaissance humanists who had used religion as a reference shows an alteration in tone toward the second half of the sixteenth century, including that of Luther. From the 1526 Battle of Mohács onward, the Turkish threat was approached more realistically among those humanists who had rejected idealistic suggestions based on Christianity. While earlier humanists suggested adhering to the Christian duties of repentance and approaching the enemy with charity, later humanists urged a military and political unification within Europe to stop the Ottomans.

[6] Dorothy M. Vaughan and some other historians claim that the Ottomans also benefited from the schism between the Orthodox and Catholic conflicts during their conquest toward Constantinople. See Vaughan (1976, p.134).

In his *Explanation of the Ninety-Five Theses* published in 1518, Luther implies that the fight against the Turk means fighting against God's will, who had sent the Turkish peril to punish Christians for their sins (Vaughan, 1976). He later changed his stance when the Ottomans continued their conquests toward inner Hungary and Vienna by addressing the Turkish peril in his works.[7] Similar change was manifested by the Valencian humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540) who made a call for peace and unity for Europe in his 1526 dialogue *De Europae Dissidiis et bello turcico*. According to him, military and political actions should be taken in order to halt the Ottoman expansion into Central Europe.[8] However, these calls from Renaissance men of letters failed to become realized by the European princes because of ongoing political unrest between the Catholic Church and the reformists. This tension also provided an obstacle for crusade projects on both sides to be realized. And this unrest was perfectly manipulated by the Ottomans. The invincible image of the Turks could not be broken until they lost a series of battles that signified the positive results of united forces, such as the Siege of Malta and the Battle of Lepanto, in the Mediterranean, and the Siege of Vienna, on the continent.

1.3 Cultural Productions

The image of the Turk in Early Modern Europe was reflected to the masses through mediums such as print culture, art, and literature.[9] With all his obscurity, the Turk was an exotic entity that aroused curiosity in Europe.[10] He connoted barbarism, terror, the scourge of god, and the Other, and he had found a curious observer through cultural

---

[7] See Luther's 1529 *Vom Kriege wider die Türcken* (On the War against the Turk), 1529 *Auch eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken* (Army Sermons against the Turk), and 1541 *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider die Türken* (Call to Prayers against the Turks).

[8] For a detailed analysis on Vives and his *De Europae Dissidiis et bello turcico*, see Colish (2009).

[9] Thanks to the technological revolution in printing, propaganda against the Turk could be spread in a very quick fashion. A special indulgence was published in Mainz in 1454 to collect money under the rationale of a crusade against the Turks, which was published in thousands of copies. See Schwoebel (1967).

[10] Schwoebel argues that the curiosity to learn about the Turk can best be explained by the amount of works about the Turks published, which number increased drastically after the Siege of Rhodes in 1480 by Mehmet the Conqueror. Although the Ottomans failed to take the island, circulation and publishing of books about the Turks increased. According to Schwoebel (1967, p.122), Guillaume Caoursin's *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis Descriptio* was printed ten times between 1480 and 1483. George of Hungary's 1480 work *Tractatus de Moribus Condicionibus et Nequitia Turcorum* was published nineteen times until 1596 (*ibid*. p. 208). As another example for this increased curiosity toward the Turk, Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle Cose de Turchi* can be given. Giovio's work was published twenty-two times between 1531 and 1546, and translated into six languages. (Toledo, 2005, p.268)

productions in Europe. The Turk was portrayed in art, characterized in literature, propagandized in non-fiction books, and rendered a part of daily life through broadsheets. Moreover, the image of the Turk was transferred to the next generation through board games. The common thread of these cultural productions was that they often treated the Turk with a repetitive negative image that had been attached to the subject, revolving around menace, barbarism, and the enemy of the faith. On the other hand, to quote Schwoebel (1967),

> mass printing, in turn, had the effect of sharpening public awareness and concern, and helped to shape the opinions of contemporaries toward the Turks and all other subjects treated by the new medium. (p.167)

When the need for propaganda and the newly developed print technology coincided in the fifteenth century, the image of the Turk began to degenerate. In Spain, as I mentioned earlier, the image of the Turk in the first half of the century shifted from a neutral perspective to one rather pejorative in the second half after the Spanish and Ottoman empires began to engage again in the Mediterranean. Kumrular (2010) states that the Fall of Constantinople was not received as shocking news in the Kingdom of Castile due to the fact of territorial distance and absence of interest. However, from 1469 onward, Spain started to take an active role in this propaganda, which reached its climax during the reign of Philip II.

As mentioned in Toledo's 2005 work, Pedro Mexia had already denounced the Turks as the enemy of the faith when he mentioned their onslaught in Constantinople, as they purportedly killed women and children without mercy and humiliated the Cross and Jesus. For him, the Turks were the enemy of Jesus and their attack to Constantinople became a platform on which they had shown their barbarity. Fray Diego de Haedo, as well, did not mention the Turks in a different fashion. In his 1612 *Topografía e historia general de Argel,* the Turks' only aim was stated as to harm Christianity and to steal the riches of the West (Toledo, 2005). Perhaps one of the most severe tones taken against the Turk was used by Cervantes. In *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, Cervantes wrote,

> Este bajel que aquí veis reducido a pequeño, porque lo pide así la pintura, es una galeota de ventidós bancos, cuyo dueño y capitán es el turco que en la crujía va en pie, con un brazo en la mano, que cortó a aquel cristiano que allí veis, para que le sirva de rebenque y azote a los demás cristianos

> que van amarrados a sus bancos, temeroso no le alcancen estas cuatro galeras que aquí veis, que le van entrando y dando caza. Aquel cautivo primero del primer banco, cuyo rostro le disfigura la sangre que se le ha pegado de los golpes del brazo muerto, soy yo, que servía de espalder en esta galeota, y el otro que está junto a mí es este mi compañero, no tan sangriento porque fue menos apaleado. Escuchad, señores, y estad atentos: quizá la aprehensión deste lastimero cuento os llevará a los oídos las amenazadoras y vituperosas voces que ha dado este perro de Dragut (que así se llamaba el arráez de la galeota: cosario tan famoso como cruel, y tan cruel como Falaris o Busiris, tiranos de Sicilia); a lo menos, a mí me suena agora el rospeni, el manahora y el denimaniyoc, que con coraje endiablado va diciendo; que todas éstas son palabras y razones turquescas, encaminadas a la deshonra y vituperio de los cautivos cristianos: llámanlos de judíos, hombres de poco valor, de fee negra y de pensamientos viles, y, para mayor horror y espanto, con los brazos muertos azotan los cuerpos vivos. (Saavedra, 1617, fol.156r)

The image of the Turk and the propaganda against him spread to the New World through the Spanish expansion during the sixteenth century. The representation of the Turk as the antichrist found its place in religious sermons and iconography in New Spain, a remote place where the Turks could only be superficially considered a threat. However, the religiopolitical concerns of the Habsburg Empire carried the potential to introduce the people of Mexico to the Turk as a threat to the religion from a celestial space. In a post-Lepanto celebration in New Spain, as the chronicler Pedro de Morales wrote, students representing the Spanish, Indian, English, and Turkish were in line after a Spanish prince who had kept them, representing the symbolic Habsburg superiority over the rest (Feliciano, 2011).[11] Feliciano adds that in a 1539 featherwork made in Mexico City by Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, titled *Mass of St. Gregory,* as a present for Pope Paul III, the profiles of a turbaned Turk and a Protestant were stitched together with other perils of the time, like pestilential diseases and gambling.

The image of the Turk manifests itself in the form of a cultural performance in Quenac, Chile, whose inhabitants celebrate *Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos*, in which Charlemagne and *El Gran Turco* Süleyman the Magnificent come together in this act and fight for the Sacred Cross, which was stolen by the Turks (Vázquez de Acuña, 1956, ch: 4). In this highly symbolic demonstration, which has been celebrated in the Western

[11] In Feliciano's article, similar designs of Mass of St. Gregory from Mexico from the sixteenth century can be seen as depicting the Turk as a perilous enemy of the faith.

Mediterranean islands and the coasts of Spain in different forms, historical characters should be considered outside the realm of historical facts, as Charles V transformed to Charles I. However, in the last analysis, the image of the Turk as the great enemy of the Cross was transferred to the colonies of Spain, where allegories mattered more than analogies.

1.4 Challenging the Scholarship and Contesting the Sources on the Turk

With a mindset that blended mythology with the reality of approaching Ottomans, the content of the Turk included, by and large, a barbarous Asian tribe that threatened European culture and peoples. It thus constituted the Other of Europe. The religious factors added yet another layer of difference, that is: the enemy of the cross, the infidel. Moreover, predominantly negative Turkish imagery was gradually rooted in European perception due to the centuries-long military confrontations against the Ottomans throughout the early modern period and afterward. While the Turks' conquests continued, their negative image simultaneously permeated through much of European cultural production. Propagandist in nature, the gestalt of the image of the Turk remained exceptionally negative. Schwoebel (1967), realizing this characteristic nature in the sources, stated that the material he used in his seminal work

> cannot be treated as accurately representing the true state of the Ottoman Empire. It constitutes, however, an essential source for what Westerners thought and felt about the Turk, and, when used critically reveals many of the subjective elements involved in their reaction. (p.X)

Reflections of this imagery in European cultural, artistic, and intellectual productions have been widely investigated by scholars, so much so that an extensive corpus of literature is available. The gestalt of the literature leaves little or no room for a different reading due to the repetitive implications often revolving around a negative image. Besides, the introduction of Edward Said's *Orientalism* and postcolonial theory in Turkish Studies have given new dynamism to the matter; nevertheless, they only reinforced the one-dimensional results often bereft of an argumentative nature. Therefore,

it is not incorrect to assert that the current scholarship on the matter is rather conformist.[12] This tendency in the scholarship may overshadow the records that have the potential to manifest a counterargument.

However, there are some attempts from new scholars to offer a different perspective to the image of the Turk. The common denominator of these studies is the necessity to reevaluate the consensus on the issue, bearing in mind as Jezernik (2010) stated,

> when speaking of the image of 'the Turk,' it is important to take into account that every image is determined in a great part by the *observer's position toward the observed*. (p.3)

New studies regarding the source materials that scholars use in their research should also be contested at times. Kynan-Wilson's (2017) study on costume albums revealed how the scholarship was mistaken by taking these pictures as an objective depiction of the subject painted and built their interpretation in this regard. Costume albums are a genre of paintings containing images of characters with distinctive outfits, as the name suggests. These images might be collected in a volume or separately as pages. They also include an informatory title about the image.

Beginning in the 1550s, their subjects were the Orientals from Istanbul, the Levant, and North Africa. First drawn in exquisite form for Habsburg elites, as Kynan-Wilson states, later in the end of the sixteenth century, they were produced in smaller and cheaper formats for travelers and enthusiast. Until the seventeenth century, the local producers in the Ottoman Empire emerged and took over the production and selling images of their own society. However, although the producers changed hands, the customers remained the Europeans. Besides, these images were copied by other artists in Europe, which resulted in the same iconography with many copies. The main motivations behind these drawings were mainly proving the travelers' journey and souvenirs from Istanbul. They have depicted mainly Ottoman subjects of everyday life in Istanbul. The explanatory title of the images was sometimes written down by the artist, although the

[12] The nationalistic foundations of the state in modern Turkey is one of the reasons why especially Turkish scholars have favored the negative image of the Turk in Europe, which perspective of Turkish scholars then reinforces the dissemination of often-biased scholarly works. Such uses and abuses of history have made it difficult to pronounce a contradicting image for the scholars addressing the image of the Turk in Europe.

images may have originated in Istanbul. Thus there are same image but with different titles.

Kynan-Wilson (2017) warns scholars about a general fallacy that scholars do unintentionally while investigating on the costume albums as their source materials in their research:

> In general, scholars have interpreted costume albums as objective depictions of everyday life that were made to be practical guidebooks for European travelers. However, despite their simple and unchanging iconography, these albums allowed for a multiplicity of readings and functions that offer a more complex picture. (p.27)

He explains in another work (2016) how a simple image titled "Image of a Water-Carrier" drawn by Nicolas de Nicolay dated 1580, changed title in at least five more pictures from different artists in about a decade. Titles of the copies included coffee drinker and member of a Turkish religious order.

Another work on source materials shows us another insight that one might easily ignore. Ingram's (2013) work on the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database regarding the Turk revealed what has been overlooked by modern scholarly approaches such as Said's *Orientalism* and postcolonial theories. Ingram's use of Digital Humanities tools shows that the frequency of the use of the word "Turk" (with its derivations, such as turkes, turke, turcs, turcks…) in early modern English texts make peaks in 1640/50 and 1680s, the dates of which coincide with the Ottoman military aggression in Europe. This implies that the appearance of the word Turk in texts is directly related to the reflection the Ottomans and Tartars provoked in English writers at the times in which Ottomans created high tensions in Europe.

It is this rotational cause-and-effect relationship that the significance of Ingram's findings lay upon. In this perspective, the focal point is not how Europeans imagined the Turk, but how the Turk caused such a terrible imagination. Kumrular (2010) makes an unorthodox approach to the issue by focusing on the outcomes that the Ottomans gained with the violent image they had created; thus, putting the responsibility on the shoulders of the Turks, not the Europeans. Kumrular argues that the Ottomans used violence as a strategic element of propaganda during their military campaigns and even in bureaucratic language with the West. It was an effective state policy to cause fear in the mind of the

‘infidel,’ a psychological attack that worked even in the peacetime. Obtaining surrender through fear, a reminiscent tactic of Mongolian warfare, was favored by the Ottomans since it profoundly reduced the costs of the war. Yet, even surrendering the Turk did not guarantee life; in some cases, the Ottoman soldiers murdered the civilians who surrendered them. Kumrular states the benefit the Ottomans gained with this propaganda:

> Thus, during the campaigns against the “infidels,” the Ottomans conquered the major part of these strongholds on their way to the main destination without wasting effort, munitions or provisions and saved them for further attacks. While the Ottoman armies were marching towards the battle field, the majority of the defenders of these strongholds appeared before the sultan to submit him the keys. (p.33)

Thus, the image of the Turk was, in great part, Turkish-made and intentionally enhanced and etched with violence. The repercussions of this tactical violence, in turn, helped shape the European imagination about the Turk. In other words, behind the “scary Turk” was in great part the very Ottoman intention of “‘the Turk’ of whom ‘all should be scared.’” (p.33)

1.5 Muslims in Early Modern Europe

Muslim presence in early modern Europe was not an unexpected phenomenon. On the contrary, it is misguided to imagine a homogenous Europe. Muslim presence in Europe, as Krstić (2015) explains, “escaped the radar of historians for a number of reasons” (p.671). As opposed to contemporary views, Muslims were throughout Europe for various reasons, several of which need to be mentioned due to their contribution to the layers of the multi-faceted image of the Turk; namely, the Spanish *Reconquista*, slavery, trade, piracy, and travelers. The Mediterranean played the role of a common ground for these closely related activities.

1.5.1 Native European Muslims

Spain had most intimate, extended, and brutal contact with Muslims from the medieval era to the late seventeenth century. The early eighth-century Muslim invasion in the Iberian Peninsula consolidated an Arab influx *en masse* that sustained its sovereignty up until the collapse of the Almohads after the fall of Granada, the last

Muslim stronghold in Spain, in 1492. After this date, Muslims were forced to convert to Christianity in order to survive in Spanish territories under the designation of *Moriscos*. The *Reconquista* that had begun against Muslims turned into ethnic cleansing for these new Christians because, in part, they continued to preserve various codes of identity, such as their language, costumes, and customs. However, local *Morisco* presence continued in Spain well into the seventeenth century despite the degree of decentralization and fragmentation that resulted from the royal policy to completely exterminate their population. By the 1560s, the number of *Moriscos* in Spain, deriving from Valensi's (2015) compilation from different sources, was approximately 150,000 in Granada, 70,000 in Valencia, 60,000 along the Ebro river and its southern valley, and 2,000 in other parts of Spain—thus, a striking total of 282,000 *Moriscos*. The expulsion of the *Moriscos*, and the ongoing *Reconquista*, continued until 1613–14, when the last remaining contingent in Murcia was expelled from Spain. Muslims in Portugal by the mid-sixteenth century numbered a few thousand, most of whom had been free or enslaved Turks, Moroccans, and North Africans. They faced the same end as their counterparts in Spain.

1.5.2 Slaves

Slavery played a major role in moving people across countries along the Mediterranean and between Asia and Europe; thus, a large number of Muslims and Christians changed their homelands and were forced to reside in the lands of the enemy that had been referred as "the infidel." Slaves were obtained through different means, mainly by kidnapping and war captivity. Considering the centuries of war between Muslims and Christians on both land and sea during the early modern period, the estimated total numbers of slaves mentioned by historians are striking: As Krstič (2015) noted, 2 million Muslims in the Mediterranean were enslaved by Christians and a similar number of Christians by the Muslims, *vice versa*. Especially captivating is the common practice among the Crimean Tatars, who sold their captives in the Ottoman Empire. Inalcık (1999) mentions that an estimated 100,000 Russian slaves were captured and most of them sold in Istanbul between 1606–17.

Slavery, as Pedani (2014) noted, persisted as an accepted means of income even during the periods when the Ottomans and Venetians were at peace. Especially in the Ottoman Empire, as opposed to its counterparts in Europe, slaves had the chance to rise

to important roles in the state and live prosperously—of course, after they had converted to Islam. This derived from the fact that the Ottoman ruling system depended on meritocracy. The Ottoman sultans since Mehmet II had to kill their brothers after they had reached the throne in order to eliminate any revolt that could be started by brothers. Besides, the Ottomans did not let aristocracy flourish in their lands; thus, the Ottoman dynasty remained the sole source of ruling power. Within such a system, *devşirme*s (abducted Christian children who were raised to serve in the state) and former slaves were favored by the sultans because they did not pose any threat to the throne. As a result, the majority of the Ottoman viziers had a Christian past. Knowing this fact, Christians could seek political and military careers or fortune in Ottoman lands by accepting Islam. Moreover, they could continue to maintain contact with their origin of place, their non-Muslim family and friends. A good example of this is Sultan Süleyman's longtime friend and later favorite vizier, Pargalı İbrahim (c.1495–1536), who was born in Parga (in Greece, then under Venetian sovereignty), enslaved by pirates and brought to the Seraglio. He befriended the young Süleyman and received a good education in *Enderun* (the Imperial School). During his service as a vizier, he brought his Christian parents to Istanbul to live with him in his palace.

Such an extent of human trafficking needed logistic infrastructures and a reliable market demand throughout the West and the East. The majority of Muslim captives never returned their home but instead converted to Christianity and assimilated among Christians. Presumably a small number of them were lucky to return home once their ransom had been paid. The stories of two lucky Muslim captives' autobiographies provide us with some insightful details of the hardship and psychology of the Muslim captives in Europe.

Hindî Mahmûd was around sixty years old when he joined the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 as a clerk. He had already been appointed to various posts in the Ottoman Empire as an officer; thus, we can assume he had received a good education. After Lepanto, he spent four years in Italian prisons as a war captive. Following forty-seven days of travelling on a galley belonging to Don Juan, on which they had been kept naked, chained up, and hungry, they arrived at Messina in November 1571. By the order of Don Juan, all the captives were donned and given a good variety of delicious food, including meat, chicken, vegetables, fruits, nuts, and beverages. Wounded and sick soldiers received

especially good care and treatment in order to regain their health. However, renegades who had formerly been Christians before converting to Islam were separated and tortured in order to convert back to Christianity. Those who did not abide, as Mahmûd continues, were burned to death by the order of a religious authority (*keşiş*). Upon the order of the Pope Pius V, Don Juan reluctantly sent the captives with high status to Rome, among whom was Hindî Mahmûd. The selected captives must have been unhappy with this order because Mahmûd states that Don Juan consolidated them by stating that he had asked the Pope to provide them with good care.

Thus, seventy-seven days of captivity in Messina ended for Mahmûd and his friends. After three days on the sea, they arrived at Napoli on February 9, 1572 where Mahmûd saw two mountains: one burning, and the other emitting black fumes. In Napoli, their daily amount of food increased, and Don Juan's deputy allowed them to shop for clothes, such as kaftans, pieces for headgears, and atlas clothes in various colors. This implies that the captives were prepared for the reception of the Pope before setting off to Rome. Although ambiguous, it is likely that Muslim attires could be found in sixteenth-century Napoli.

Mahmûd and his friends arrived at Rome on March 10, 1572. They received an unimaginable degree of welfare for war captives: two meals every day, servants for room service, six people to a room, clean sheets of linen every ten days, and new clothes. Finally, after residing in this castle for some time, they were presented to the Pope by Don Juan's deputy. They were allowed to perform their religion. Mahmûd and his friends were kept in the Papal facility until the Ottomans and the Pope (at this time was Gregory XIII) exchanged war captives in July 1575.[13] Mahmûd witnessed the election of Pope Gregory XIII, and expressed celebrations in the streets while in Rome. He did not forget to mention the beautiful ladies that he saw while despondent about his situation.

Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi was captivated in 1597 by pirates while on his way to Paphos, Cyprus, where he had been appointed as a judge. He was taken to Malta and remained there for two years until he was ransomed, during which he wrote his memoir. As opposed to Mahmûd, he and other captives experienced good treatment during their stay in Malta. From his writings, we understand that they were given enough food, one cup of soup daily, and their needs were satisfied. We also learn that they were not chained

[13] For more details of Hindî Mahmûd's captivity and the rest of his story, see: Hindî Mahmûd (1579).

in Malta, and instead they could enjoy free movement. Although sad about his captivity, Efendi does not rehearse many negative thoughts about the Christians in Malta and any substantive degree of bad treatment.[14]

Another captivity story, in the form of autobiography, was written by a long-term captive to the Habsburgs in the Balkans and Central Europe, Osman Ağa of Temeşvar (present-day Timişoara, Romania). Osman Ağa attends the Ottoman army as a cavalry officer at supposedly a young age, after having taken a school education and proving himself in raids in neighboring towns. After giving this service for several years, his cavalry unit was ordered to escort the carriage that had been loaded in Istanbul with the salary of soldiers protecting the Fortress of Arad, until they reached a nearby stronghold in Lipova. They accomplished the mission, but the stronghold fell to the Habsburg army in the following days while Osman Ağa's cavalry unit was still resting. Thus began the captivity of Osman Ağa.

All the people in the stronghold, except the elderly, were distributed among the commanders as war captives; and a certain Lieutenant Fischer became the owner of Osman Ağa. Chained up in hands and feet, and constantly beaten by the soldiers whose language they did not understand, the captives walked with the army to the west. When they arrived at Felnac (approximately 20km from Arad), Ağa was released with five friends by Fischer, providing that he collected ransom to the amount of sixty gold coins in seven days, and then meet him in Szeged (Hungary), where the army was heading. Osman walked Timişoara and managed to collect ransom from his brothers; arrived at Szeged by walking on the seventh day to learn that Fischer and his unit had already left the city to Osijec (Croatia). Following their owner's route with the hope to pay him their ransom, they arrived at Sombor (Serbia) by the Danube River after five days of walking. Here, they were robbed by Hungarian boatmen while trying to cross the Danube. After saving his life but leaving his ransom money to the bandits, Osman finally met his owner and explained his situation. Fischer sent a few men to the bandits and captured them; besides, he saved Osman's ransom. However, disregarding Osman's insistence, he did not grant Osman his well-deserved freedom; instead he takes Osman as his servant. Osman traveled on foot with the army throughout the Balkans, received a terrible diet and treatment. He was tortured occasionally and became nearly sick to death, until he was

[14] For more details on the story of Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi, see Parmaksızoğlu (1953).

sold to other commanders to finally become a servant in the house of an army general in Vienna, where he lived for seven years. After the 1699 peace treaty between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs was signed, he decided to escape Vienna and return to his hometown, Timişoara, where he established a family and worked as a translator officer until the city fell to the Habsburgs in 1717. During the siege, he lost his wife and some of his children, whereupon he moved to Istanbul and established a new family. As his tone at the end of his autobiography reveals, he must have had a bitter end of his life in Istanbul, with poor eyesight and in poverty.[15]

These three autobiographies provide us two different perspectives regarding life under captivity. While Mahmud, a high-ranked officer, received a good treatment during his captivity under Don Juan and Pope, Osman had to endure various tortures, hunger, and terrible treatment. Osman's travels on foot from the time he was captured in Lipova to a stronghold in Kostajnica (Croatia) comprises approximately 700km in present-time conditions; besides, he had to walk this route in around a month, under blazing sun during the day and mosquitos at night. However, the two captives shared the same desire to return to their home. Neither the good treatment for Mahmud, nor the households' insistence that Osman convert to Christianity and live in Vienna as a free man were good-enough reasons to long for their homeland.

1.5.3 Merchants

Over hundreds of years of military aggression between the two parties, the relationship between the Ottomans and Europe depended heavily on the commercial activities. The Ottoman Empire held and controlled a considerable part of the significant trade routes that connected Europe to India and China. The most prominent Silk Route carried goods and ideas mainly on land throughout Europe and Asia. Sovereign polities had to sustain the security of trade routes crossing their territories even during wartime. Moreover, it necessitated actors such as merchants to travel between territories in order to keep the trade alive. In this respect, port cities, especially in Mediterranean Europe, accommodated Ottoman merchants, among others. As Valensi (2015) noted, although incomparable to its counterpart in Istanbul—namely the Galata district—in terms of its size and function, Venice designated a former palace for Ottoman merchants to

[15] For more details on Osman Ağa's captivity memoirs, see Tolasa (2004).

accommodate them, perform their religious duties, and sell their goods in the city. For this purpose, several *Fondaco dei Turchi* were established in various cities in Italy in different dates. Due to the absence of a stern legal infrastructure, merchants residing in the *Fondaco* were categorized as people from the "East," which included Jewish merchants and merchants of Orthodox minorities (Krstič, 2015). Thus, although Muslim merchants constituted a rather small amount in the population, they were a part of daily life in Venice. Until recently, due to a lack of unity in the original materials, it was thought that Ottoman Muslim merchants constituted a rather small amount in the trade between the Ottomans and Venice. However, a holistic approach comprising the merchants search for a *fondaco*, activities of brokers and intermediary persona, and the growing interest of the Ottomans in the cities on the other side of the Adriatic Sea speak to Ottoman influence and presence in the Venetian market (Kafadar, 2017). Overall, all of these activities point to nothing but the fact that Turks were a part of daily life in Venice. In the following chapter in my thesis, we will see how the Turk is placed in a 1589 board game (*Il Piacevole e Nuovo Giuoco Novamente Trovato Detto Pela il Chiu*) from northeastern Italy (perhaps Parma), along with everyday characters.

1.5.4 Pirates

During the early modern period, piracy shifted from a private enterprise to imperially supported form of warfare against the "infidel" in order to gain power in the Mediterranean. Shortly after declaring himself "Sultan of Algiers," the famous pirate Oruç Reis (of Barbarossa brothers) offered Algiers to the sovereignty of the Ottomans (Bradford, 2009). One of the motivations behind this terrible but accepted form of warfare was religion. Actors of this struggle were polarized: mainly Catholic southern Europe against Sunni Ottomans and Arabs. The main methods of pirates included the plunder of cities around the Mediterranean and the capture or hijacking of ships while *en route,* for the purpose of stealing goods and capturing slaves. The unpredictability of plunders played an important role in stimulating a fear and hatred against the Muslim pirates who were called regardless of identity or origin, "the Turk." The famous exclamatory phrase, "*Mamma… il Turchi*!", which can be traced back to the sixteenth century, was an expression of a certain fear that had been in use in Spain and Italy until recently.

To illustrate, one of the rare but extreme forms of piracy took place in the Westman Islands of Iceland in 1627. A Danish–Algerian–Moroccan piracy cooperation plundered the eastern and southern coasts of Iceland and resulted in 400 captives (242 of which were Icelanders) to be sold in Algiers, Reverend Ólafur Egilsson's captivity memoir regarding the event and his quest to collect ransom for his family, and eventually an event that would be commemorated as the *Tyrkjaránið* (Turkish Raid). In his memoir, Egilsson states that many of the Icelandic captives in Algiers were sick and some of them had already died; because, "[t]he Icelanders could not endure the terrible heat in that place" (Egilsson, 1628, p:43). Egilsson spent ten years in Europe to collect ransom money that was granted, finally, by the Danish King, Christian IV. Upon his return to Algiers, he saved thirty-five of the Icelandic captives, among whom was his wife and Guðríður Símonardóttir, who had a controversial reputation in Iceland partly due to serving as a concubine in Algiers for a decade. In her 1635 letter to her husband in Iceland, Símonardóttir, who would be called *Tyrkja-Gudda* (Gudda, the Turk) upon her return home, describes her hopelessness over her freedom to her husband:

> My dear true husband! Even though I…would wish with all my heart to be with you …it looks impossible, for I and those like me are forgotten—we slaves here in the Barbari are the sort of creatures which nobody cares about…And may God give you prosperity, happiness, peace, and a long, good life. (p.97)

Her husband Eyjólfur Sölmundarson drowned in 1636 while fishing.[16]

1.6 Turks' view of the European

Was the Turk so fearsome in reality? Was the image of the Turk in Europe completely wrong? Kumrular states that the fearsome image of the Turk was enjoyed by the Ottomans who benefited from this very image in their conquests. It was not intentionally created by the Turks but effectively deployed during their long-term sieges and on the battlefield. The image of the Turk was a psychological weapon that was fired from the Seraglio through disseminating news and rumors of a military campaign on its

[16] For more information on Turkish raids on Iceland, see Egilsson (1678), trans. Hreinson, Karl Smári; Nichols, Adam (2011).

way to Europe. It was hoped that defenders would have been influenced by this terrible image in a negative way, so that the Ottoman army could have found the enemy in bad morale. However, in the case of the Siege of Malta in 1565, the Ottoman forces had to retreat since the defenders kept their strength against this invincible and perilous image, which was already bigger than the owner. Although somewhat exaggerated and doubtful, Francisco Balbi di Correggio, the chronicler of the siege who also joined the defense as an arquebusier, states the morale of the soldiers as such:

> The Turks doubtless thought that they were heaping insults upon us. In fact they were helping us for, although their words were veiled, we were able to read their underlying meaning. For instance they shouted us: "You dogs, hold out! You haven't got many oxen to kill. There are only sheep left and they are weak ones, weak ones! There is no more flour, and with the next assault you will be free!" What they intended us to understand by this was, that they had no good troops left, nor powder for the guns, but that all the same we must expect one more assault. (Correggio, 1568:p.156)

It was perhaps this good morale that turned the siege into a disaster for the Ottoman army.

It is significant to investigate the image of the European according to the Turks, since this image and certain stereotypes that were formed from the fifteenth century onward have shaped the perception of the Turks. It should be noted that the Ottoman Empire contained citizens believing in Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Judaism. Catholic and Protestant Christians were the community to be called *Frenk* and it was this community (mainly Europe west of the Balkans) that the Ottomans formed a sense of the Other. *Frenk* was used as a reference for all European people, while *kâfir* (infidel) covered all Christian people including the minorities in the Ottoman public.

According to the Islamic doctrine, lands of the Christians were considered territories to be conquered and ruled under the banners of Islam. This Jihadist propaganda, as opposed to the Crusade propaganda, determined the whole balance of power as one between the Ottomans and the Europeans. However, the image of the Europeans as the Other was not systematically conceptualized within the culture due to limitations in terms

of cultural productions.[17] In other words, any propagandist approach had to confront the absence of a medium to manifest itself in the general public, other than the religious one.

Ottoman poetry may shade a dim light to the question of the image of the European. Accordingly, this image does not suggest a binary opposition and an ultimate Other. In some cases, it presents, for example, an appreciation for European fabrics and mastery in house-building. But in most cases, the European is the infidel and imbued with negative connotations.

Kâfir is the traitor-figure of Ottoman poetry; it is aimed at demolishing the peace and welfare in the society. Therefore, it bears the potential to bring disorder to the society. According to Ravzi (a late sixteenth-century poet), a beautiful woman coming from *Frengistan* (Europe) is potentially dangerous for Muslims, as she will instigate them to loosen their religious bounds (Demir, 2013). *Kâfir* was also used for the lover of the poet in a form of a complaint, if she were not willing to cooperate with the poet's love toward her. In this case, *kâfir* is used beyond a religious reference. Cem Sultan, who had fled to the Pope after he had not recognized his brother's throne, blames himself since he had enslaved himself to the *kâfir*, which circumstance was scary for a Muslim's imagination due to the fact that Turkish slaves were exposed to the public in cities. Regardless of the good care he had received, in Mahmûd's point of view, the Christians were rendered as thus: They are all nasty and shameless; they wash themselves by showing their body parts; they are fraudulent, more than the devil; they sleep with prostitutes, side by side like pigs.

The Ottoman use of language while addressing the Europeans surely reveals that the former did not consider the latter as an equal power. The Ottoman court effectively used a very haughty rhetoric in order to create an image of superiority, which, in turn, contributed to facets of the image of the Turk. During the classic age of the Ottomans when it was in its climax of power under Süleyman the Magnificent, it was a tradition to use an arrogant language in order to show the power of the state and vilify the addressee, who was exclusively European. This oral form of attack to the *kâfir* is best exemplified in the letter of Süleyman to Charles V, which was mentioned in the writings of the Ottoman historian of the time, İbrahim Peçevi (1572–1650). As quoted in Kumrular (2010), Peçevi recounts thus:

[17] Islam does not approve picturesque productions. Printing was introduced to the Ottomans during the late eighteenth century. Due to the illiteracy within the public, books' reach was limited.

> For a long time you have been acting as if you were virile, claiming that you are valorous. How many times did I march against you and do whatever I wanted to do in your territories, yet both you and your brother are much heard of, but not in sight. It is religiously forbidden for you to claim sovereignty and virility. You do not feel ashamed before your soldiers, even your wife. Even the women have the zeal that you lack. If you are a man, come to the battle. May what God wishes happen. Let us settle our accounts in the open plains of Vienna and let the poor Christian subjects of my empire feel relief. Otherwise, do not consider that virility means lying in wait for an opportunity like a fox that makes use of the absence of the lion. If you do not dare to come forth once again, take a spindle and spinning wheel like the women do, do not ever cover your head with a crown and do not ever mention virility again. (p.37)

Such use of harsh and vilifying language was an acceptable form of diplomatic correspondence that formed its own genre in the Ottoman court called *tehditname* (letter of threat). Occasionally, it was used to threaten and call the addressee to the battlefield. However, we see that this type of language was also used outside the court with a similar motivation behind it. Especially in cases where the representatives of the Ottomans were confronted by Europeans, a show of superiority was performed in different forms.

Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682), an Ottoman traveler who traveled the empire while it was in its largest form and wrote down a ten-volume-long travelogue, recounts one of such incidents when he and the Ottoman envoys to the Habsburgs approached the city of Vienna. Evliya was appointed to the envoy of Kara Mehmed Pasha in order to join his diplomatic meetings in Vienna and sign the treaty of Vasvar between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. The envoy, comprising 560 people including diplomats, deputies, and soldiers, arrived at Schwechat (approximately 15km from Vienna) in late May 1665 and waited here for about a week by the request of Leopold I. Pasha is already furious because of the long waiting time. Moreover, the requests of the Habsburg envoys regarding the procession of the Ottomans in the city of Vienna were not negotiable. Leopold wanted the Ottoman envoy to keep their flags wrapped and banners covered, the army band (*mehter*) to not play marches, and the Royal personae and soldiers to walk before and after Pasha. Kara Mehmet rejects all the requests of Leopold and insists on not including any foreigner units interrupting his envoy: “if a foreigner enters into my units and interrupts them, he will be shot down.” Leopold’s captain and interpreter explains to Pasha that this is the code of conduct that has been the norm for the previous Ottoman

envoys—but all in vain. For Pasha, these requests are nothing but an insult to his greatness. "I am the vizier of the Sultan of Islam and I do not abide your rules" he adds, and dictates to behave according to Ottoman codes of conducts. Pasha states his prerequisites: all of his 560 men and 500 horses will be provided food during their stay. Otherwise, he will report to the Seraglio about the insults and the misconducts of the Austrians to the Ottoman envoy. He adds: "Your ambassador in Istanbul shall be cared for less than a dog, and fed with garbage like crabs, shrimps, snails, seashells, oysters, turtles, and octopus in the taverns of Galata."[18] Although this menu may sound delectable to one, Evliya states that Austrians had to agree with the terms of the Pasha upon his threatening attitude in conversations which continued for a week. "Eventually, *kâfir* Caesar became desperate and all of his requests were rejected." The next day, Leopold sent an imperial coach in order to pick up Pasha and start the procession. Kara Mehmet, who won the arguments regarding the procession and saved the honor of the Ottomans against the infidels, once again refused to take this generous offer: "I do not get on coach and we are Ottomans. According to our customs, we ride horses, play *cirit* (a game played on horse) and make war. Only women get on such couches in Istanbul."

It is not known whether the events that Evliya mentions really happened. However, an etching illustrating the visit of Kara Mehmet to Vienna has survived, which aroused doubts about Evliya.[19] According to the etching, the Ottoman envoy kept their much-debated flags and banners up, and the Ottoman army band played their marches. Nevertheless, Kara Mehmet's convoy was occasionally interrupted by Habsburg generals and elites. Evliya's reliability aside, the agonistic language that Pasha and Evliya used while addressing the Habsburgs was strikingly arrogant and haughty. Moreover, this use of language seems to represent a general attitude among Ottomans towards Europeans, as I have tried to shed light upon via the writings of Ottoman captives, slaves, and travelers. As opposed to what Said claimed in *Orientalism* regarding the general European attitude of superiority over the Orientals, throughout the early modern period the Ottomans claimed an obvious superiority over the Europeans. For example, according to two entries in the Ottoman "Registers of Important Affairs" (*mühimme defterleri*) on

[18] See, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (2013, vol. VII).
[19] See, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/fwhb/klebeband15/0353.

19 and 23 August 1559, the Iranian ambassador heading to Istanbul was warned not to open their flags and banners while in Istanbul; otherwise, he would be expelled from the Ottoman territories. The envoy is asked to "comply with the customs of diplomacy".[20] Such a faulty self-image was hardly corrected, if ever. It is worth noting in this context that the Ottomans sent their first permanent ambassador to France in 1720, and had ignored such a vital means of communication in their diplomacy until it was rather too late.

1.7 Conclusion

In *The Abduction from the Seraglio* by Mozart (1782), Osmin (the sultan) expresses his anger against Pedrillo (servant of Belmonte) by overkilling him as such:

> First beheaded,
> Then hanged,
> Then spitted on hot skewers
> Then burned,
> Then bound
> And drowned;
> And finally skinned. (quoted in Levin, 2007)

It is quite understandable how the image of Osmin was reproduced in the mind of Mozart: perilous, barbaric, and brutal; yet, foolish and gullible, a subject of palace intrigues. He must have been influenced by the overall image of the Turk that had been systematically imposed and reproduced over the course of time. The image was supported by the religio-political conjuncture that was not necessarily related to the Turk. Within the power struggle in Europe, Protestants and Catholics used this image pejoratively in their accusations against each other. The Turk was the ultimate Other, with its cultural and territorial threats and aggressive politics. This notion, in turn, formalized the image of the Turk and stabilized it through the technological advances in printing, which was the main medium of propaganda.

However, despite all these facts, there are sources approaching the Turk with a more balanced and neutral perspective. The variety of perspectives derives mainly from what Jezernik summarized as the observer's position toward the observed. Current

[20] BOA, *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976 / 1567–1569)*, entry no: 823 and 833, pp. 414–15, 419.

mainstream scholarship has not focused on this side of the image of the Turk—yet. This should not mean that sources with a neutral or positive tone do not exist. Overall, they contribute to a multifaceted image of the Turk.

CHAPTER 2: GAME IN CONTEXT

> A game may be as integral to a culture, as true an object of aesthetic appreciation, as admirable a product of human creativity as a folk art or a style of music; and, as such, it is quite as worthy of study.
>
> -Michael Dummett, *The Game of Tarot* (1980)

This chapter puts game into a context by focusing on the association between games and culture. Deriving from the literature, I will explain the importance of games for culture with an emphasis on the codependence between the two. The predominant difficulty in defining the terms such as game, play, and their role in society will also be covered here to demonstrate the incomprehensible nature of game in society. It is especially important to analyze the content of game and its associations with culture in a perspective before we move onto how the Turk was represented in games and the reasons why games seem to be one of the few, if not the only, domains of culture that represented the Turk in such a multi-perspectival manner, which will be covered in Chapter Four. Development in printing and the evolution of game space that occurred both in the early modern period, as shown here, underline the reciprocity between technology and games, as it is witnessed in video games in present time. However, according to my analysis, board games that existed before the invention of printing engaged players in varying degrees of strategy and tactics; however, those that had been invented after the Revolution relied solely on the chance factor to determine a winner. This attests that the new medium had hardly any effect on the invention of sophisticated games; on the contrary, it promoted the spread of effortless play. I argue that widespread revolutionary effects of printing during the early modern period cannot be observed in printed board games; in contrast, games descended into the lowest level of sophistication in which chance elements determine winners and losers. I will illustrate this devolution in the light of historic board games that predate the Printing Revolution and after.

***

Play is a social activity. Although it is possible for a player to engage in a game alone, like in sudoku and, hence the name, solitaire, in the core of the play act lies sociability through contest. Even the magnetic aura of a contest between two players can swiftly attract an audience who share with the players a similar tension, pleasure, and entertainment. This phenomena in play has often been a subject in art that depicts players of a board game, mostly chess, observed by a group of people. Whether of courtly origin or lay people, Western or Oriental, players at play were accompanied by an audience with curious gazes. Lukas van Leyden's c.1508 work, "the Game of Chess" is only one of such paintings illustrating a couple at play surrounded by people. Some of these people, even the male player to some degree, are not completely interested in the game but they are present there at that moment since the game is in the fulcrum of their sociability. It is also a common imagery in art that the players are of different sexes, as seen in the above painting. They are often depicted as engaged in courtship while the game translates into a platform for couples to fight with each other in love.

Game is one of the integral premises of culture, and play is a cultural activity. That games have always been with us is proven by archaeological findings, and archaeologists focus on the game-related objects while deciphering the culture of the peoples who played with these objects; because games not only reflect the culture of a given society but also give hints about how sophisticated a culture that particular society had. The growing body of scholarly attention paid to the relationship between games and culture is premised on the significance of play as a cultural activity and on games as a cultural product. "The spirit of play is essential to culture, but games and toys are historically the residues of culture" asserts one of the forerunners of the discipline and social critic, Roger Caillois (1961, p.58). Therefore, reflections of a given culture are found inherently in games, in its repository. An Indian game of "Snakes and Ladders," for instance, tells us the importance of the game in teaching children about certain vices and virtues in a ludic method that punishes the former and rewards the latter. This also demonstrates that the duty assigned to games in a culture is to pass its values on to the generations. As Caillois notes:

> It is not absurd to try diagnosing a civilization in terms of the games that are especially popular there. In fact, if games are cultural factors and images, it follows that to a certain degree a civilization and its content may be characterized by its games. They necessarily reflect its culture

> pattern and provide useful indications as to the preferences, weakness, and strength of a given society at a particular stage of its evolution. (p.83)

To illustrate this characteristic of a culture reflected by games, the Ancient Egyptian game of Senet, as will be explained below in more details, simulated the symbolic journey of a soul from the world of the players to the world of the dead. By the same token, Monopoly players enjoy the fundamental functions of capitalism in a simplified format that takes its ground from the real world of the players.

For Johan Huizinga, Caillois' precursor, the play act is at the center of human culture. The play element is what humans share with other animals, and therefore it has evolved into many forms corresponding with human evolution. Too broad in his analysis, which is one of the reasons of academic criticism directed to his approach, Huizinga continued, "[t]he great archetypal activities of human society are all permeated with play from the start" (Huizinga, 1949, p.4). In his seminal work, *Homo Ludens*, Huizinga identified the play element in social institutions and achievements as fundamentally human, which includes language and literature in all its forms (poetry, metaphors, drama), law, religion, art, and war. He sees play and competition as indispensable functions that civilize individuals to be a part of the society. Thus, one can conclude, according to Huizinga, that those who do not play are not human. The place of games in culture also attracted scholarly interest in the field of anthropology. These studies are mainly concentrated on the functional significance of games in tribal life and the circulation of games in various societies. In their analysis regarding the type of games played among fifty tribes around the world, John M. Roberts, Malcolm J. Arth, and Robert R. Bush concluded that

> games of strategy are related to social systems, games of chance are related to religious beliefs, and that games of physical skill maybe related to environmental conditions. The social system, the religion, and the environment are three important foci of anthropological interest, and further study of these relationships appears to be warranted. (Roberts, et al., 1959, p.604)

Although the interest of anthropological studies is centered on key questions, they fail in terms of their scope in providing answers for such questions in complex cultures in our modern world. Nevertheless, they shed light on conceptualizing the relationship

between games and culture. Caillois's and Huizinga's approaches, on the other hand, are too broad yet too concise, a common idiosyncratic problem for every pioneer work. Therefore, bearing in mind the complexities of the subject, the focus of this chapter will rather be on board games and playing cards, and their place in early modern European society.

2.1 Definitions of Game and Play

A concrete definition of game and play does not seem possible. All attempts toward producing a solid definition for such a well-known concept will eventually fail due to its obscure limits. The fact that definitions inevitably impose certain limits and circumscribe the concept creates a paradox in defining games. Thus, it is necessary to narrow down the concept into definable units. Referring to its indefinable nature, Ludwig Wittgenstein proposes this scenario in which one says: "'A game consists in moving objects about on a surface according to certain rules…'—and we reply: 'You seem to be thinking of board games, but there are others. You can make your definition correct by expressly restricting it to those games'" (Wittgenstein, 1953, p.3). Having these inherent obstacles in hand, it must be observed that game researchers tend to either avoid making a general definition of game by narrowing the scope to, for example, video games or by ignoring the question as it is seen as an unproductive attempt. In the last analysis, Serena Patterson sums up: "games are easy to identify but difficult to concretely define" (Patterson, 2017, p.13).

Part of the problem occurs due to the concept as it is defined. Game-centered definitions abound, as it is easy to find games that do not fit into the proposed definition. Play-centered definitions often state, as in Mattia Thibault, that:

> Play precedes games both in the evolution of the individual (small children do play, but do not play games) and of the species (all vertebrates play, but only humans play games). Play is also wider than games: it encompasses many activities such as toy-play, pretend-play, role-play, jokes and fiddling. (Thibault, 2018, p.7)

Critics propose various definitions for games and play, which definitions are sometimes in contradiction with each other, so much so that we can speak of a definition pollution. In his review, Jaakko Stenros approached and analyzed sixty-three definitions of game

that have been proposed since the 1930s (Stenros, 2017). He demonstrated in his inquiry that there are ten points in which the definitions share common ground. These points, in turn, help us comprehend the concept of game without constructing a new definition. Accordingly, the ten points that Stenros points out in definitions of game are:

Rules: Most of the definitions put rules in the center of a game. Surely, without having conventions on the rules before the game starts, the game may turn chaotic. However, in *freeform gaming,* the rules are defined by the players as the game advances. Some definitions underpin the idea that claims that choices run games other than rules.

Purpose and Function: Directly or implicitly, definitions state the purpose and function of games, which might be entertainment, education, socialization, and the satisfaction of certain feelings like contesting and winning, etc.

Artifact or Activity: Most definitions mention game-playing as an activity. Without denying this, some scholars define the game as a systemic artifact.

Separate Yet Connected: The world of game is both separate from the real world with its own set of rules, but also connected because the real world might establish the foundation for the game world. The game world is regulated not necessarily by the rules of the real world.

The Role of the Player: Games require someone who can enact the game. Players can be human or non-human. In some definitions, players are choice-makers.

(Un)productive: Some traditional definitions support the idea that games are not productive, and that nothing is gained by playing them. This idea is challenged by modern definitions that digital games produce a considerable amount of data that are then analyzed to produce policy.

Competition and Conflict: Competition and conflict in games are features shared by most of the definitions. But some definitions only mention that games involve activities.

Goals and End Conditions: Some definitions state that games end when the goal is achieved, which goal might be winning the game. But surely there are persistent games and open-ended games that have goals but do not necessarily end.

Construction of the Category: Most definitions mention the limitations of the proposed definition, which in turn constructs a category. Some, for instance, exclude

sports or video games for the definition to work properly. In other words, the definitions avoid fields for which the proposed definition does not fit properly.

Coherence: A common tendency among game scholars while defining a game is to have a set of keywords to determine whether something is a game or not. The more keywords with which a game corresponds, the more clearly can it be called a game.

Thibault finds the difficulty in defining the terms "game" and "play" inherent in the languages and cultures, each of which formulated their own meanings. According to him:

> play is a continuum with very badly defined borders and that different cultures articulate it in radically different ways. Some differentiate between "play" and "games" (like in English or Finnish) other don't (Italian and German); some use the words that indicate play also for making music (Germanic languages, Arabic, French) or for acting, while others don't; some differentiate between adult and child play, while others between competitive and non-competitive play; some have specific words for fiddling with an object or for juggling, and so on. In some cases expressions in various languages link play to sexuality, often illicit in nature: in German an illegitimate child is a "Spielkind," in Dutch the expression "minnespel" indicates copulation, in Sanskrit the word "kridati" ("play") is often used to indicate sex, in Blackfoot the word "koani" is used both for child-play and for an illicit sexual intercourse and so on. The set of practices and activities that we define "play" is not solid at all, but it is a liquid ensemble. Even among a specific language these concepts are not well-defined: the words meaning "play" are often used in a wide number of metaphors, going from mechanics (indicating the freedom of movement of two mechanical parts) to seafaring (the French "jeu de voiles" indicating a set of sails). (Thibault, 2018, p.11)

Early attempts and definitions do not draw a certain borderline between game and play; moreover, they approach game as a domain in play or as intertwined between the two. Therefore, we must seek the definition of game in that of play. These attempts have begun with Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga who published his seminal work *Homo Ludens* in 1938 and draw academic attention to the study of game. Although much debated now, this book has changed the general perception that had underestimated the importance of play in human society. For Huizinga, play precedes culture. Referring to the play activities in animals, he asserts that humans, too, show similarities in playing games and seek the same principle of having fun and enjoyment. Thus, degrading the significance of play for culture and boiling it down to binary oppositions such as

work/play; or attributing to play an inferior status as a non-serious activity are wrong assumptions while defining play. Huizinga enumerates some of the characteristics of play that are more or less shared in all playful activities.

Voluntariness, as Huizinga states, is one of the essential qualities of play. Play by force or order is not a play. Therefore, play requires the players' free will and free time, as it is a leisure activity; otherwise, it is a ritual or ceremony in which play is turned to a duty. This comparison points us to an important concept: play is freedom.

The second characteristic of play is related to its attachment to freedom. Play is different from the ordinary demands of real life. Play temporarily departs from the duties of real life and forms its own world and takes players into its own reality. Players are conscious about the fact that play is not real. Play is a pause from the real world, an interim break from the ordinary life. For Huizinga, play should not involve any material gain—one of Huizinga's much debated statements that singled out professional players and gambling.

Third, play is distinct from the real world by its own locality and duration. It is circumscribed by its distinctive location and duration: a play begins and ends, and this is repeated over and over again. Play is limited not only by its duration but by its secluded location. It requires a place, a playground, which has its borders and rules to be obeyed. For Huizinga, a basketball court, a backgammon board, an arena are equal playgrounds in which certain rules apply a formality as in consecrated places such as temples, judicial courts, and the magic circle. Such places contain their own regulations that are absolute and should not be broken. In the case of their violation, certain punishments apply. Play, in other words, imposes its order within its border.

In order to comprehend the concept of play and games, I will highlight keywords in the definitions provided by critics so that the concept can be framed and an analogy can become possible. Huizinga's definition of play is as follows:

> Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a *free activity* standing quite consciously *outside "ordinary" life* as being "not serious," but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with *no material interest, and no profit* can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper *boundaries of time and space* according to *fixed rules* and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with

> secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means. (Huizinga, 1949, p.13)[21]

An appraisal and criticism to Huizinga's definition came in 1958 by the French intellectual Caillois, whose work on ludology was translated into English as *Man, Play and Games* in 1961. Caillois based his point of view on Huizinga's definition by partly rejecting it. For him, play is "an activity which is essentially:

> 1. *Free:* in which playing is not obligatory; if it were, it would at once lose its attractive and joyous quality as diversion;
>
> 2. *Separate:* circumscribed within limits of space and time, defined and fixed in advance;
>
> 3. *Uncertain:* the course of which cannot be determined, nor the result attained beforehand, and some latitude for innovations being left to the player's initiative;
>
> 4. *Unproductive:* creating neither goods, nor wealth, nor new elements of any kind; and, except for the exchange of property among the players, ending in a situation identical to that prevailing at the beginning of the game;
>
> 5. *Governed by rules:* under conventions that suspend ordinary laws, and for the moment establish new legislation, which alone counts;
>
> 6. Make-believe: accompanied by a special awareness of a second reality or of a free unreality, as against real life. (Caillois, 1961, pp.10-11)[22]

Another attempt was made by Bernard Suits in 1978, who defined the play activity as such:

> My conclusion is that to play a game is to engage in activity directed towards bringing about a *specific state of affairs*, using only means *permitted by rules*, where the *rules prohibit more efficient in favour of less efficient means*, and where such rules are accepted just because they make possible such activity. (Suits, 1978, p.36)

Chris Crawford provided a definition of games in 1982 that separated it from play, as opposed to the former critics. It should be noted that this nuance might derive from the

[21] My emphasis.
[22] My emphasis.

changing medium of gameplay during the height of video games. Coming from a game designer, Crawford's definition is less sophisticated and more practical to the point of view of a video game designer. In order to design better games, it is important to break down the term into digestible units. In his definition, he employs a narrow approach by focusing on game and not the play. He defines game as "a closed *formal system* that *subjectively represents* a *subset of reality*" (Crawford, 1982, ch.1).[23] This definition requires further elaboration: formal system in Crawford's definition refers to rules; subjective representation stands for the unreal world a player is subjectively entitled to while playing a game; and this world bears elements from the real world, only altered as its subset.

Numerous further definitions have been made by critics, game designers, academics, and intellectuals for defining play and game that agree and oppose each other. It is, in part, nonsensical to expect a complete definition, which I have covered above. However, in the light of the keywords highlighted above that mentioned definitions, it is possible to comprehend the topic through common denominators. Accordingly, the definition includes a voluntary act bounded to rules and performed in its own unreal world.

2.1.1 Real/Unreal World

The dichotomy between the real and unreal worlds in games is a significant point of departure to which I will consult in Chapter 4 while analyzing the antithetical image of the Turk in games, which dichotomy requires further elaboration. Similar to varying definitions that changed over the course of time in relation to the changing medium of games and play from analog/traditional to virtual, the content of the real/unreal world dichotomy has altered its shape. This alteration can be followed in how critics referred to this dichotomy: magic circle, make-believe, subset of reality, a system, semi-bounded domain, virtual world, simulation, augmented reality, and cyberspace. In other words, we are aware of the existence of a world that is different to varying degrees in every game, and different from the real world that we experience with our senses and consciousness. Since the games used in this dissertation are analog tabletop games, I find it relevant to

[23] Emphasis mine.

use the context laid out by Huizinga and Caillois long before the digital evolution of games.

As pointed out above, game requires a space to be played that is governed by a set of rules that are particularly designed for and only valid in the game whose sole outcome is fun and entertainment. With these qualities in hand, we can deduce that game space mimics the real world but manifests its own reality on the players by forming a "magic circle," a term used by Huizinga, or a second reality, termed by Caillois. "The magic circle needs to exist in order for there to be a game state," writes Frans Mäyrä, who adds "as that is maintained by our adherence to game rules" (Mäyrä, 2008, p.136).

Time in the magic circle is relative and non-linear: if the game allows, players can move back and forth in time or pass years by a roll of dice. Time in games is not a necessary element and, if present, mostly loosely runs in relation to that of the real word. This paradox between the time running in the game and that of the actual time in the real world was noticed by game inventors in the early modern period. From tarot cards to board games produced in this period, we occasionally find time represented by an elderly deity holding an hourglass in his hand, and often warning the players that time is running outside the magic circle.

The borderlines between the two worlds are not absolute but instead highly permeable. Players can freely cross the magic circle in and out. As Klabbers (2009) noted, "when entering the magic circle, the players enter a symbolic world, with its peculiar signs, references, conventions, and media of representation, rituals, and practices" (p.27). The magic circle dissolves when the game ends. Therefore, the existence of the magic circle is bound to the game and players. The biggest threat to the magic circle is the "spoilsport" who disregards the rules and ends the game by his/her own will. A cheater, on the other hand, disregards the rules for his advantage but this does not necessarily end the game unless caught. In other words, moving a chess piece to a favorable position without being noticed is "in the game," but demounting the pieces destroys the game.

The content of the magic circle is decided by the game designer; thus, in order to create the unreal world of game, the designer takes references from the real world and organizes them around a theme with the fun fact in mind. "A game is not an objectively accurate representation of reality," says Crawford, who adds, "objective accuracy is only necessary to the extent required to support the player's fantasy" (Crawford, ch.1). It is

this representational quality that makes the magic circle so attractive to the players. This notion can be exemplified by the game of chess.

It is unequivocally agreed that chess is a war simulation that can be easily proven by looking at the names of the pieces and the structure of the game. The two sides are aligned according to a hierarchy that resembles how real armies were organized during a battle: The highest in the hierarchy (the king and the *vizier*[24]) are protected by towers, knights, and pawns (foot-soldiers) in the frontline. Being an archaic game and having an anonymous inventor, the creator(s) clearly had a battlefield scenario in mind.[25] The space on which the game is played is a fairground, as in those battlefields fought on grounds that ideally give no advantage to either battling party. From the player's point of view, the players can symbolically command the pieces in relation to their cognitive power—to what is impossible to them in the real world. The magic circle in chess, in other words, requires them to play the role that is already determined by the content of the game. This analogy has often been used in literature in the form of metaphors since medieval times. Especially in the Middle Ages in Europe, chess represented an ideal society and hierarchy with its royal family, ecclesiastical and military power, and the people all aligned in an order against the enemy.

The real/unreal world dichotomy seems to be bound to games with a theme. The higher the level of abstraction in games, the less the level of representation. Backgammon, for example, is another archaic game and, unlike chess, it has a higher level of abstraction. The game content does not refer directly to the real world. All the counters in the game have the same value, no hierarchy is given to them, and the board does not have any reference. The magic circle in backgammon is less suggestive. From the point of view of the players, the game does not involve any reenactment. However, backgammon still has such a powerful magic circle that it has been played for centuries around the world. The lack of context in backgammon was fulfilled by literature that eventually provided reference points in the real world. Thus, it can be claimed that there is no direct relationship between the abstraction in games and the magic circle's popularity.

[24] The queen piece in chess is a late medieval European addition to the game. Before the queen, the second in the hierarchy was (and still is in the Middle East) the *vizier* (*fīrz, fīrzān*), the king's deputy.
[25] See Games Index No. 23.

2.2 Early History

As pointed out earlier, play precedes culture and *homo sapiens*. We, at present, do not know what games our Neanderthal predecessors played but they definitely did. Our knowledge of first games begins with *astragali* (knucklebone), found extensively in archaeological excavations dating to prehistoric times and spanning a vast geography comprising Asia, Europe, North America, and the Middle East. In such a broad spectrum, games played with astragali must have varied. The multiple functionality of the bones must also be considered; however, it is believed that astragali were the primitive form of dice, and therefore, used for probability agents, divination, and fun.

Astragali are four-sided bones found in mammalian species. The majority of astragali used by humans for probability purposes come from sheep and goats. When thrown, astragali land on one of the four sides that are convex, concave, sinuous, and flat; the former two sides have wider surfaces than the latter two. This increases the probability of astragalis landing on convex and concave surfaces. Due to this unique shape of the bone, in perhaps every culture the meaning of surfaces remained similar: Low probability defines high gain and an advantage. Astragali is still being used for divination and games across the world with the same principles.[26]

According to the archaeological data, the earliest board games appeared in the Levant, covering a geography stretching over Egypt and Mesopotamia and dating back to third millennium BC. This does not mean that board games were absent before this date or absent in other civilizations. On the contrary, every civilization invented board games and neighboring cultures adopted each other's games. Early board games tend to be complex systems that must have required centuries of intellect and interaction to achieve their final version. Nonetheless, they show differences according to the geography and culture in which they were played, which means that they continue evolving. It took around 1,500 years for chess to acquire its modern incarnation.

Like today, early board games traveled across borders and territories. The geography in which the game of 58-holes, a game dates back to the second millennium BC, was played covers almost the entire Middle East, with different boards and various

[26] Chance, divination, and play as a triangular relationship was a prevailing motif in early board games, too. The Egyptian game of Senet, for instance, was played around third millennium BC in the Levant and represented a travel from the mortal world to the afterlife.

numbers of holes that hover around 58. That these early board games were found in burial sites as well as in temples demonstrates the value that the ancients attributed to them, not just in this life but in the one after.

The rules of the early board games are unknown due to the fact that they were never written down. However, some suggestions have been made based on the board, objects accompanying the board, and fragments of information collected in the inscriptions or wall paintings. Without the presence of rules, these ancient board games are only ludic corpses that most likely influenced some other games in terms of form, rules, and mechanism before their demise.

With all those enumerated obscurities, one feature seems to be the only shared feature in ancient board games. Although they might have themes, like the game of Hounds and Jackals played in ancient Egypt, they were all played on abstract boards marked with holes, squares, motifs, and sometimes decorated with animal figures. The abstract game boards are known to allow more than one games to be played thanks to their undesignated surfaces, which eventually helped their evolution to various other games that could be similar to or different from the original game. Chess and draughts, for example, can be played on the same 8x8 checkered board. Modern chess and backgammon are only two of those games that had evolved from similar predecessors.

Games historians agree that chess originated in India, a view supported by the legends of the Middle East. The 8x8 grid board of chess is shared by an older Indian game called *ashtapada* that was played in the sixth century BC. Not much known about the game other than its board and that it was listed in games that Buddha would not play. If *ashtapada* is the progenitor of the chessboard, the gameplay must have derived from another Indian game called *chaturanga,* which demonstrates great similarity with chess in terms of its pieces and being a war simulation game. Chaturanga, meaning four arms, represents the four units of an ancient Indian army: infantry, chariots, elephants, and cavalry, all of which are situated on the four corners of an 8x8 checkered board. It is also suggested that it included a naval force (Falkener, 1892, p.124). Unlike chess, it could be played by four players.

It is thought that chaturanga was already played by Persians in the sixth century under the name *chatrang*, as mentioned in Pehlevi texts.[27] Accordingly, the legendary

[27] For more information, see Dabīrsīāqī, (1991, p.393–7).

Zoroastrian Emperor Ardeshir was more skillful in chess and backgammon than his opponents. This suggests that playing chess was already seen as an asset for rulers, a view also shared in the medieval Europe. We can also deduce from this information that the game had already reduced the number of players from four to two and modified the order of the pieces, more closely resembling the order in modern chess. Chess in India and Persia had gained such a high status that a ruler's skills would be contested in his play of chess.

By way of the Arab conquest of the Sassanid Empire in Iran that had begun in the seventh century, chess did not lose its popularity. That the good play of the game was an asset among rulers and that it already gained a legendary game status, contributed to the popularity of chess among the Arabs. Eventually, the game traveled westward to North Africa together with Arabs' constant conquests. It is also thought that it may have traveled first to the Byzantium Empire and consequently to Europe, but this view needs further source documents.

Chess, in the early medieval Middle East, was subject to a number of stories written by Persians and Arabs. In *Shahnameh* of Firdausi, the national epic of Iran written in the eleventh century, the story of the invention of chess and backgammon and how they came into the possession of Persians is told in accordance with their historical similarity. Accordingly, the Indian king sent valuable presents to the King of Persia, Khosrow. Among the treasures was the game of chess. The Indian king had the intention to contest the cognitive skills of the Persians and prove to them that Indians were cleverer to invent such a complex game. He did not provide the rules; the Persians had to struggle to find out and learn the game in the absence of instructions. The epic tells that a witty Iranian found the rules and invented backgammon to be sent back to the Indian king, also without instructions. Indians failed to find the rules and lost the battle in both chess and backgammon. The story was later copied by many for centuries and translated into different regions, especially in the Middle East, as the source of chess and backgammon.

The story gives the two games a context. They are both courtly games with high status, the players of which need to have high strategy skills in order to win the game against the opponent. Neither of the games are children games or purely depend on chance. Therefore, winning the game symbolizes the superiority of one culture over the

other, but nonetheless this story gives both cultures the credit to be known as inventors of great and complex games.

The story also sheds light upon a historical fact regarding the origins of chess and backgammon; while the former has an Eastern cultural origin, the latter originated in the Roman Empire. The transformation of backgammon into the format now familiar to us began with a popular Roman game called *Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum*, which was played until the fourth century. A typical race game similar to the backgammon, *Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum* was played on carved stones in three rows of twelve markings. It is not known when the game turned to backgammon; however, the similarity between them is reminiscent of that of *chaturanga* and chess.

Some of the nomenclature of the pieces and much of the modern gameplay in chess is another significant Iranian contribution to the game. We can trace the hierarchical similarities between medieval chess and modern chess in the Middle East: *Shah* (King), *vezir* (queen-*firzan*), *at* (knight-horse), *fil* (bishop-elephant), *ruh* (rook), and *baydak* (pawn). With this constellation, medieval Arabs wrote texts regarding chess problems, diagrams, poems, and prose, all for glorifying chess. The influence of Islam on chess showed itself in the pieces, which had to be appropriated by changing animal and human-shaped pieces into abstract objects. The movements of the pieces and the hierarchy still remained the same. Therefore, medieval chess diagrams are still applicable in modern chess.

Chess entered Europe in several ways, among which the Iberian passage is well documented and deserves the most attention. During this multicultural period in the Iberian Peninsula, Arabs introduced many games that eventually exchanged with other cultures along with other cultural objects. One of the most notable text sources in Europe regarding the games was finished in this period. The *Book of Games* (*Libro de los Juegos*) was completed in 1283 and presented to King Alfonso X (the Wise), who had commissioned the book at an earlier date. The *Book of Games* is a rich compilation of 151 miniatures along with accompanying text depicting and explicating 144 games while they were being played. Much of the games mentioned in the book are variations of major pastime activities of the time, such as chess, backgammon, merels (also known as Nine Men's Morris and Mill), and dice games that were reduced to three mechanical categories,

in Alphonso's terms, *ajedrez, dados, y tablas*, and three major categories of games based on intelligence, chance, and both.

The book opens with the justification of playing games in order to dignify this idle pastime that had been condemned by the religion:

> Because God desired that man might have every manner of happiness, in himself naturally, so that they could suffer cares and troubles when they came to them, therefore men sought out many ways that they could have this happiness completely. Wherefore they found and made many types of play and pieces with which to delight themselves (quoted in Golladay, 2017, p.106).[28]

After enumerating types of play, which include medieval sports such as horse riding, archery, and hitting the ball, the book comes to its focal interest: the games that are played while sitting. This prologue is followed by an *exemplum* that narrates the origin of games, as in medieval games texts from the Islamic world. According to this story, an Indian king employs three wise men to find out about a question. The king has been wondering if intellect is better than luck in a man's life and asks his men to invent a game to prove their opinions. The first of the men invents chess and claims that intellect overcomes luck. The second invents dice to prove that luck beats intellect. And the third invents a board that several games can be played based on intellect and luck, claiming that both are necessary in a man's life. This story does not show relevance to any other games texts written in Islamic countries that coherently cite the story of Iranian and Indian kings' remote competition through chess and backgammon. However, the story is consistent with Islamic sources in crediting the Indian origin of chess and backgammon despite the different narratives, as well as its being a courtly game. Golladay (2017) asserts that the story of the three wise men refers to the biblical story of the Three Magi. Such biblical references are an attempt to justify Alfonso's interest in games against the general non-affirmative position of religion towards game playing. Golladay writes:

> This parallel may very well indicate a subtle Christian apology of a Christian king's approval of and joy in games that were often condemned

[28] The quotation is retrieved from Sonja Musser Golladay's PhD dissertation "Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: Historical, Artistic and Metaphysical Dimensions of Alfonso X's Book of Games," submitted at the University of Arizona in 2017. Golladay provides a modern English translation of the Book of Games in her dissertation, which can be accessed online at: http://hdl.handle.net/10150/194159.

> if not outright banned by both Catholic and Muslim religious authorities (pp.103-104).

In line with Golladay's proposition, similar attempts were made by Muslim writers, sometimes at the expense of contradicting *fatwas* (religious law). An example of this will be elaborated in an upcoming section.

The *Book of Games* draws attention to an analogy between chess play and real life, the connection of which I had discussed above. The book somehow refers to the characteristics of play while explaining the nobility of chess over other games:

> And because chess is a nobler and more honoured game than dice or even tables, in this book it is spoken of first...
>
> And how the players are to be perceptive to know how to play in order to win and not be beaten and how they give check to the king, which is the greatest piece of all the other, which is a manner of confronting the lord appropriately and of how they give him checkmate which is a type of great dishonor, as if they were conquering him or killing him.
>
> And there are other games of many kinds but all were made to resemble the things that happened according to the times that were, are or could be showing how kings in time of wars when armies are made are to make war on their enemies fighting to conquer them, by capturing them and killing them or throwing them off the land. And also as in the time of peace they are to show their treasures and their riches and the noble and strange things that they have. And according to this they made games.
>
> And all this they did because of the great similarities according to the ancient
> knowledge, which the wise men used (quoted in Golladay, 2017, pp.133-134).

This analogy that sees chess as a mirror of life is also commonly attributed to Islamic and pre-Islamic sources, which resonates with Huizinga's *magic circle,* Caillois's *make-believe,* and Crawford's *subset of reality*. Thus, the missing "context" of chess is attained by way of such analogies that come outside the game and mainly from texts. In this way, a connection could be drawn between the game world and the real world.

Much of the games mentioned and illustrated in the *Book of Games* are not popular pastimes and hard to claim if they have ever been so. However, chess, among a few other games that the book named, has remained a popular game partly due to the high status attributed to it. This status, as explained, derives from the game's popularity among the

elites of society. It was unequivocally a game in courtly gatherings by and large until the late eighteenth century when "the Turk," a mechanical chess player, entertained emperors, kings, and loyalties. Interest in chess in medieval nobility influenced school curriculums by including chess as a necessary part of the education of students. In this way, chess in the medieval times spread to other strata of the society comprising especially circles of the learned and high rank soldiers. The chess was regarded as an asset for knights to learn and master. Being good at chess playing also indicated the competitiveness of a knight. Murray (1913) summarizes this top-down passage:

> From the nobility the game naturally extended to the other members of the castle household…From the castle the game probably passed to the mercenary military classes and even to the more lawless knights of fortune, among whom we meet with chess-players in Parise la Duchesse…It was one of the results of the inclusion of the burgesses of the towns in the feudal organization of society that a knowledge of chess spread to this class also. (p.439)

A substantial change in chess also occurred in medieval Europe that differed the European chess to that of the Middle East. The elephant and the *ferz* pieces present in the original format of the game in the east were replaced with those of the bishop and queen in Europe. This modification eventually was in accordance with medieval views on finding an ideal society in chess. The projection of an ideal society onto the game of chess is the main theme in William Caxton's 1474 work *Game and Playe of the Chesse*. In his book, which is a translation of a thirteenth century treatise on politics by Jacobus de Cessolis, every piece in chess represented a social class and profession; respectively, the king, the queen, the judges/bishops, the knights, the rooks, laborers and workmen, blacksmiths, notaries, advocates, scriveners, drapers; merchants and moneychangers; doctors and medical professions; innkeepers and taverns, and finally city guards and officials who collect customs or tolls; couriers and ribald or dissolute characters.[29] Just as every piece is very important within the game of chess, so were they in society, in which every person falls into a category correspondent to that in chess. Pawns are crucial

[29] Caxton's work was edited by Jenny Adams in 2009 and published by University of Rochester Press. Adam's publication and notes can be accessed online at: https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/adams-caxton-game-and-playe-of-the-chesse. Page number are not provided in the online version.

because "[f]or so moche as noble persones cannot rewle ne governe without the servyse and werke of the people, than hit behoveth to devyse the oultrages and the offyces of the werkmen" (Caxton, Book 3, Capitulo 1, lines: 1-3). Even those who are involved in undesirable occupations in society have their unique place in the game:

> The ribauldes, players at dyse, and the messagers and currours ought to be sette tofore the rook, for hit apperteyneth to the rook, whiche is vicayr of the kyng to have men covenable for to renne here and there for to enquyre and espye the places and citees that myght be contrarie to the kyng. And thys pawn that representeth this peple ought to be formyd in this maner: he must have the forme of a man that hath long heeris and black, and holdeth in his ryght hand a litil money, and in his lift hand thre dyse, and aboute hym a corde in stede of a gurdel, and [he] ought to have a boxe ful of lettres. (Book 3, Capitulo 8, lines: 1310-1317)

Thus, every individual in society, willingly or reluctantly, participates so that the common good in a community can be obtained; just like in chess every piece is present for the same cause. Through the inclusion into the game of queen and bishop pieces, chess turned into a mirror of society.

The Game and Playe of the Chesse is a typical *speculum regis* that contains advice for rulers and nobility regarding how to rule the country; a very common literary genre throughout medieval times that spans a vast cultural geography including China, India, and Islamic cultures. However, Caxton states that his target audience is not only the upper class but also the whole community:

> Wherfore bycause thys sayd book is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree, I have purposed to enprynte it, shewyng therin the figures of suche persons as longen to the playe, in whom al astates and degrees ben comprised (preface, lines: 19-21).

Caxton implies that with his book he aims at the whole community, vertically and horizontally. The book takes the formation of chess pieces as an allegory for this very purpose; therefore, it is barely a book of chess. Caxton's aim in writing *Chesse* sheds light on the idea that chess was a game known by everyone and widespread in England during the late Middle Ages.

It is worth noting that the queen and bishop were limited in their movements in medieval chess; the former moved only by one diagonal, and the latter could move only

two diagonal squares. This limitation in movements seems to have changed during the late medieval times, which period approximately coincides with the rise of Queen Isabel la Católica to power and the increasing wealth and authority gained by the Catholic Church. Critics name three late medieval texts of Iberian origin that contain the new changes in the movements of the chess queen: *Scachs d'amor* written in 1475 by Francesc de Castellví, Bernat Fenollar, and Narcís de Vinyoles; *Libre dels jochs partits dels schachs en nombre de 100,* written in 1495 by Francesc Vicent; and *Repetición de amores e arte de axedres con CL juegos de partido* written in 1497 by Luís Ramíriz de Lucena.[30] Although this may be a coincidence, according to Golladay, "[t]here may be a link to the role played by this powerful female monarch and chess evolution just as Isabel also influenced so many other aspects of courtly culture" (p.90). Golladay reminds us of a similar change in the chess queen that had occurred in England under the reign of Elizabeth I.[31]

A parallel line of history of chess can be traced for playing cards. Although in a somewhat different format than that in Europe, card playing is believed to be invented in Far East Asia, with critics pointing to China as the origin. David Parlett (1991) asserts that a type of domino game was played with cards in the court of Chinese Emperor Mu-Tsung in 969. Current historical sources point to Persia as the inventor of circular playing cards called *ganjifeh* with an obscure date. *Ganjifeh* made its way to India and became a popular pastime there, so much so that it is regarded as the national card game of India under a similar name, *ganjifa*, which bears some resemblance to European cards not in terms of form but inasmuch as it designates cards into groups according to a suit mark. It appears that the spread of card playing in different forms occurred during the Mongol Empire, which in turn connected these above-mentioned cultures under its rule.

But the spread of playing cards to the rest of the world should be credited to, once again, Muslims. According to historians, Mamluk Egypt should be considered the source of European playing cards. An incomplete pack of forty-seven Mamluk cards found in the Topkapı Sarayı, in Istanbul can be dated back no earlier than 1400; however, Parlett

[30] For works related to these sources, see José A. Garzón, *En pos del incunable perdido: Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partitis dels schachs, Valencia, 1495*, (Biblioteca Valenciana, 2001); H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913); Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2005).
[31] For more details, see: Stone, (1964).

points to similar cards found in a private collection that can be dated back somewhere between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The similarity in terms of suits and hierarchy between Mamluk and European cards proves this North African heritage. Mamluk cards are composed of four suits (cups-*tūmān*, coins-*darāhim*, batons-*jawkān* and swords-*suyūf*), which are divided into three court cards (King-*malik*, Deputy King-*nā'ib*, Second Deputy-*thani nā'ib*) and ten numerical cards. In accordance with the Islamic prohibition against drawing human and animal figures, they are decorated with abstract motifs. Dummett & Abu-Deeb (1973) claims that an Arab invention is not plausible; thus, for him, the Mamluk cards should be connected with an Eastern origin, pointing to a Mongolian–Turkic–Persian link because of the non-Arabic word *tūmān*, which means a military unit of 10,000 in Mongolian–Turkic languages and money-treasure in Persian. In either case, it denotes abundance. Moreover, this linkage gains credit considering the similarities of suit names in Chinese cards (coin) and *ganjifa* (sword-coin). That the playing cards were called *kanjifa* by Mamluks points our attention to a Persian origin.

Putting aside all obscurities, Spanish and early Italian names for playing cards are another proof of a North African passage—the Spanish *naipes* and Italian *naibi* leave no doubt about this influence. Besides, early suits and the court cards in Spanish and Italian cards show how much they based their cards on their Arabic counterparts, although both Mamluk and European cards show differentiation within their own categories due to the lack of standardization.

Historians seem to agree on the assumption that playing cards appeared in Spain and Italy sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century. In 1371, King of Aragon Pere "*el Cerimoniós*" commissioned a certain Jaume March to make a pack of playing cards (Farley, 2009). Besides being a courtly form of entertainment, card playing was already popular among the Florentine public in 1377, as documented in the records of *Podestà* in Florence, which mentions people gambling while playing dice games as well as *naibi* (Pratesi, 2015-2016). As described in Jönsson (2005), in that same year, John of Rheinfelden, a monk in Switzerland, described the cards and the game played with it in an allegory in which he reflects upon society by using the hierarchy in playing cards, similar to Caxton's attempt in *Chesse*. "In any case, as with chess," says Patricia Fortini Brown (2004), "the iconography of the playing card had chivalric roots that tended to reinforce the aristocratic social hierarchy" (p.132).

It is thought that early cards, in the absence of mechanical reproduction, were produced through artisanal work, a service that was only commissioned by the wealthy upper class. This idea is based on the fact that the historic cards from the fourteenth century that have survived to this day belonged to rich families of Europe and have been preserved as a work of art, as they truly were. The tarot deck of cards belonging to D'Este family is an example. However, as the *Podestà* registry and many other registries pointed out, playing cards were available and possessed by the public in a variety of cheap formats. It is likely that these cards were more vulnerable to ephemerality, and therefore did not survive to this day.

2.3 Evolution of the Game Space in Early Modern Period and the Critique of the Society

The early modern period is particularly important for the history of games because one of the major evolutions took place during this period in line with the printing revolution, which influenced, along with many other cultural platforms, the game space. Although some investigation has been carried out, there has not been enough scholarly interest on the precise contribution of the printing revolution to the games we play. This might partly derive from the arduous nature of comprehending and covering the direct and indirect influences established by printing in general. Nonetheless, the revolution did not affect solely the production of books. As Elizabeth L. Eisenstein (2012) pointed out,

> "the heightened significance assigned to the book format tends to deflect attention from the effects of rapidly duplicating and diverse "nonbook" materials (proclamations, edicts, broadsides, calendars, etc.) that were especially well suited for mass production" (p.317)

As one of such non-book materials, games after the printing revolution made a step forward toward the digital revolution that we have witnessed. This also demonstrates how quickly games can adapt to new technologies, one of which adaptation was well witnessed in the form of video games during the early years of PCs.

The effect of the printing revolution on games was twofold: primarily, printing enabled board games and playing cards to be published in enormous amounts, by the effect of which games began circulating vertically and horizontally between social strata; and, secondly, the revolution enabled the invention of thematic board games from the

fifteenth century to the present day. After the Printing Revolution, playing cards were no longer luxury items that only the upper-class could afford; on the contrary, they became increasingly available for the general public. Although the price of cards varied depending on the quality of the printed cards (coarse or superfine), the number of packs in circulation indicates the high demand. As Nicholas Barry Tosney (2008) pointed out in his work on the history of playing cards, "by the later seventeenth century, over one million packs of cards were being produced per year" (p.27), and this number covers the packs produced only in England.

In order to better conceptualize the effects of printing on creating thematic games, it is necessary to mention the differences between an abstract game, which was partly covered previously, and a thematic game. The International Abstract Games Organization (IAGO) gives a definition of abstract games "which are minimal on rules (reduced rule size due to minimal rules usage for theming and chrome), and heavier on strategy and tactics, with a focus on testing player's skills."[32] This definition is restricted, of course, in accordance with the aims of the organization. Like that of games, there is not yet a consensus on the definition. For this thesis, I prefer to restrict the discussion solely on the game space on which a game is played. An abstract game space is basically the board (or the surface) that predominantly contains no or limited designated compartment. The board usually contains grids that are equal in size and value but designed in varying ways in relation to the game's mechanism. Among such games are Royal Game of Ur, Senet, Mehen, 58 Holes, Pachisi, Latrunculi, Chess, Go, and Backgammon. On the contrary, on thematic game space almost every space, grid, or compartment has a function. A good example for thematic game space is Snakes and Ladders types of game in which every grid corresponds to a virtue or vice, theming around a religious morality. Monopoly, a modern example, is another game with thematic game space, similarly every compartment has a price, advantage, or disadvantage.

Parlett (2011) explains the reason behind abstract games as such:

> Traditional games are abstract because they predate the days of printing and mass production. The ancients had to make do with boards consisting of diagrams drawn by hand in the sand or scratched into stone—which is why they consist of squares, circles and triangles but not hexagons—and pieces consisting of shells or pebbles or dried animal droppings.

[32] The definition can be accessed at: http://iagoweb.com/game-genres.html.

> Their abstraction is often underlined by their names or titles (ludonyms?), which refer to nothing outside themselves. Thus, in various languages, Draughts means "moves", Mancala means "to move, transfer," Senet means "to go past," Backgammon means the "going-back" game, Go and Merels both mean stones or gaming pieces.[33]

Printing technology thus allowed the production of more advanced games boards that can be appropriated depending on the theme of the game. For instance, the board of a game themed on traveling around the world could be decorated with related items and scenery, such as ships and ocean, and the game surface could be designed as a world map that allows players to move from one region to another by the roll of dice.

The dynamism brought into the game world by printing nevertheless brought a problem specific to only board games that were created during the early modern period. Early modern board games varied profoundly in themes but extremely reduced in mechanisms. It is claimed that only three types of mechanisms were predominantly used, at least in Italy, which were repeatedly applied to games with various themes.[34] The common denominator of these mechanisms is their complete dependence on the chance element and their requirement of minimal or no strategic and cognitive skills. In this respect, games invented during the early years of printing until the Enlightenment are extremely simplistic as opposed to the majority of games that had been invented before the printing revolution. The dynamism of the printing revolution did not contribute positively into the intellectual aspects of games. There seems to be a correlation between the level of abstraction and the level of sophistication; while the former decreased in games invented after print, the latter also decreased in turn.

Let us explore these mechanisms in detail. The Game of the Goose, one of the mechanisms, dates back as early as late fifteenth century.[35] One of the earliest examples of the game was printed in 1588 in Naples by Alonso de Barros, who published *Filosofía Cortesana* in the same year in Madrid.[36] Reportedly, the game was sent to Philip II of Spain as a present (Seville & Spear, 2010). The game is a typical race game and

---

[33] Parlett's contribution can be accessed online at: http://www.parlettgames.uk/gamester/whatsit.html.

[34] "*Con l'inizio del XVII secolo tre giochi si contesero i favori del pubblico: il gioco del pela il chiù, il gioco del biribissi e il gioco dell'oca*." (Milano, 1984, p. 21).

[35] See Games Index No: 46.

[36] *Filosofia cortesana de Alonso de Barros*, one of the first known Game of the Goose games, can be found in British Museum, Inv. No: 1869,0410.2463.

traditionally composed of sixty-three compartments situated on a spiral path around the board. The roll of two dice defines how many compartments a player can move on the path. The goal of the game is to be the first to arrive at the sixty-third compartment. There are inns, labyrinths, death, and various other obstacles, and six geese that give the player landing on them an extra chance of dice roll. The geese are located in numbers 9, 18, 27, 36, 45, and 53. Such a sequencing of lucky numbers suggests that rolling the number 9 is privileged; thus, a player who throws 9 in sequence, although little in probability, can win the game in seven throws. In short, the game requires neither cognitive nor physical skills and entirely depends on players' luck. As highlighted by Seville & Spear (2010), over the course of time the mechanism of the Goose game was applied to games with different themes covering "fields as diverse as education, the arts, propaganda and advertising" (p.9) and comprising 300 games produced only in France by 1950s.

Pluck the Owl (*il Giuoco del Pela il Chiù*) is another game mechanism invented in the early modern period in Italy.[37] The earliest known sample of the game dates back to 1589 published by Giovanni Battista di Lazzaro Panzera da Parma. The print was made by engraver and painter Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla of Rome. The game is played by three dice and consists of two circles printed on the board on which 56 characters are laid. Every character has a designated dice combination and a letter T (*tira*-to take) or P (*paga*-to pay) with a number. The result of the dice throw defines the corresponding character. If the character has T, the player is instructed to take the number of *Quattrini* (coins) from the money pot. If P, the player pays to the pot. A throw of three-6 wins the whole pot. Like the Goose Game, Pluck the Owl is entirely a game of luck; however, the characters chosen for the game are notorious. They include certain characters from *Commedia dell'arte*, mythology, and everyday life like sellers on streets, as well as a Turk.[38] Brambilla influenced other games' producers with some of his characters, which clearly demonstrates how influential his game was.

Biribissi is an early modern times Bingo-like game with a similar mechanism. A number of printed images of animals (30, 48, 70), symbols, characters, and objects are cut out and collected in a box, bag, or hat to be drawn. Players bet on the same images on

[37] See Games Index No: 47.
[38] The game will be discussed in Chapter 4 in more details. See: Brambilla (1589).

a separate paper.[39] Early documents, according to Thierry Depaulis (2016), point to late sixteenth-century Italy as the source of the game. Guido Guerzoni (1995), also passes in Depaulis, states the date as June 1593 and Ferrara as where the Duke of Mantua lost 7,000 lire in gambling in several games, among which was *bribris*. The mechanism appears also in Bologna, Barcelona, and then in France during the early seventeenth century with different names. In all these places, as Depaulis states, games played with this mechanism were banned due to their association with gambling.

Printing, as a new media between consumers and publishers, generated new forms of entertainment, such as prints that allowed the reader to move to certain parts of the printed pages. This innovative form, termed interactive print by Suzan Karr Schmidt (2017), was created along with the developments in early modern paper engineering and were used for producing various playthings, including fortune casting volvelles, lotteries, dials for various purposes, anatomical illustrations, and propagandist images, in a manner that entertained both the pious and the secular. These prints had movable parts and flaps that sometimes required the buyer to cut and paste in order to perform the intended interaction.

Interactive fortunetelling books have a longer history than printmaking in Europe. The first examples with a volvelle dated around the mid-thirteenth century. According to Karr Schmidt (2017), the first volvelle for fortunetelling was used by a Benedictine monk Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora* in the 1250s. Another early examples of this sort of fortunetelling devices in Karr Schmidt (2004) is Ramon Llull's 1302 work *Ars Magna Generalis* is one of the early examples demonstrating the usage of volvelles, albeit for calculating. In almost all examples, the users had to turn the dial that spins in a way similar to the modern Wheel of Fortune dials and navigate through the pages to find his/her answers. The image in the circle, which might be an angel, a Christ Child, or a sea monster, pointed at one of the compartments situated around the dial. In the second half of the fifteenth century, German editions were published bearing the title "*looßbuch,*" or lottery books. That simultaneously followed Italian editions: Sigismondo Fanti Ferrarese's astrological lottery book, *Trionfo di Fortuna* (1526), is a classical example. In the meantime, some of the fortune-telling volvelles were accompanied by dice and some were in the format of a book that contained in each page a playing card, which were,

[39] See: *Nuovo Giuoco del Biribissi* (19th Century).

then, cut out to form a deck. This format was called *Kartenlooßbuch* and was especially popular in Germany. Along with developments in print and paper-making technology, they gained popularity among sixteenth-century literate circles.

Following Schmidt's example, Paul Pambst's 1546 *Loßbuch zu ehren der Römischen, Ungarischen und Böhmischen Künigin* (Figure 2.1) is significant in blending elements of fortune-telling, religion, and entertainment, which resonates the statement of

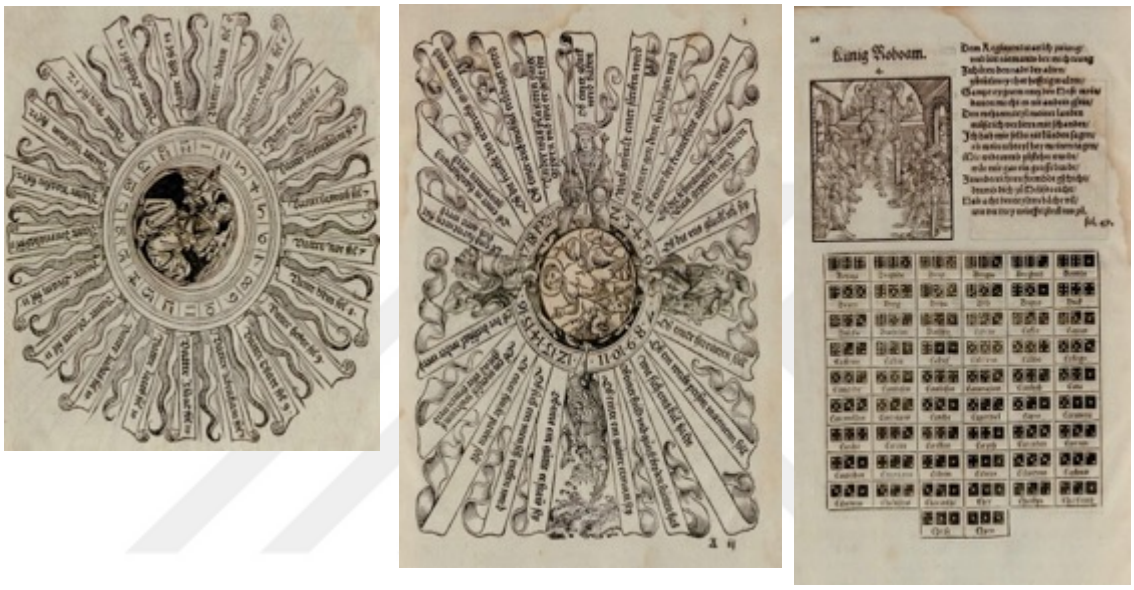

Figure 2.1 The Angel, The Christ Child, and dice combinations in Paul Pambst (1546).

Kelly (2011)

> As a ritualized invocation of chance, the lottery book illuminates how the contingent future was being reframed and consumed through novel aleatory media in which images figured prominently. (p.44)

Dedicated to the Queen of the Holy Roman Empire as the title suggests, the book contains two volvelles, one with a Christ Child and the other with an Angel in the center, and a pair of dice. The Angel determines the questions and the Christ Child gives references to the page with the answer that are found in the rest of the book pages. In the last phase of the fortunetelling, the players should throw three dice and look at the chart to find the corresponding combination that finally tells the answer.

Board games that were invented after the printing revolution surprisingly resemble one another in their dependence on the chance element. A historical observation demonstrates a clear division that happened around the same time as the printing revolution. Whereas board games that preceded the printing in Europe had de
pended on strategy, cognition, and a higher level of sophistication, those that were invented in the early modern period used the chance element to define the winners. This situation is paradoxical to what is known as the influence of the printing revolution in the history of knowledge. Also, board games that were invented after the printing revolution offered a great number of themes for the players. These themes demonstrate the similarity in suggesting links to a religious or supra-human context, such as Fate, Fortune, Vice and Virtue, and love.[40] I argue that such predominant use of the chance element and divinity in games that were invented after print should not be mere coincidence. In the light of quotations from Caillois and Roberts *et al.* that I used in the introduction of Chapter 2, I claim that the devolution of board games from abstract and highly sophisticated to thematic and chance-based games reflects the dynamics of an early modern European society that became increasingly *religious* because they lived in increasingly *uncertain* social conditions. I will briefly discuss this claim in two sections; first, I will examine the popularity of consulting chance in the form of divination, casting of dice, lottery books, and fortune-telling as practices of resolving the uncertainty; and second, I will observe the underlying factors of the uncertainty in the intersections of political, religious, and other social conditions of the people in early modern Europe.

Consulting chance as a determinant in times of uncertainty was not an early modern phenomenon. However, an increase in such practices in the early modern period has been stated by scholars. As Kelly (2011) indicated, "in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was a striking proliferation and diversification in the visual and material culture of aleatory play and divination" (p.143). This view is in line with a genre of early Puritan writing called Casuistry, a type of guidebook that defined doctrines for early Protestants in England, who needed new codes of doctrines in the absence of Catholicism. D. R. Bellhouse's (1988) work on the early Puritan casuistry between 1575–1640 revealed in Puritan thought that "God directly determines the outcome of all randomized events both in divination and in gambling" (p.67). Whereas casting lots for determining

[40] See Games Index No. 51, 53.

a civil act such as dividing tasks among a group of workers is found licit, consulting divination for pleasure such as gambling is regarded as illicit and vain. This idea, as Bellhouse states, is based on Thomas Aquinas's explanations on divination in his thirteenth-century work *Summa Theologica*.

A notable example of aleatory practices to end uncertainty is given by Rabelais in his colossal work *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Accordingly, Pantagruel's friend Panurge cannot decide whether to marry or not since his reasoning does not reveal any solution and both options have advantages and disadvantages. He is afraid of both living alone for all his life; therefore he wants to get married—and of being cuckolded by his wife; therefore he does not want to. Annoyed by Panurge's endless questions, Pantagruel proposes a common method of fortune-casting by Homeric and Virgilian lots, to consult Heaven by opening pages in Virgil, in which books every line is numbered:

> Yet if it seems good to you, this is what you shall do. Bring me the works of Virgil; then opening them thrice with your nail, we shall, having agreed which numbered lines to take, reconnoiter the future lot of your marriage, just as many a man has discovered his destiny through Homeric lots. (p.446)

Having agreed on this idea, Panurge proposes using three dice to determine which line should they read. Pantagruel, son of the King Gargantua, is first reluctant since "such lots are misleading, unlawful and a real scandal. Never trust in them" (p.450). The book he particularly condemns is, as Kelly claims, *Il Libro delle Sorti* published in 1482 in Italy by Lorenzo Spirito and became quite popular around Europe. Kelly (2011) adds:

> If Rabelais accorded a certain pride of place to this genre in his comic tour of different prophetic methods, this was undoubtedly due in no small part to the striking fame of texts like that of Spirito, through which, he claimed, so many 'simples souls' had fallen into error. (p.43)

But Pantagruel later agrees "to satisfy" (p.451) his poor friend in his search for a certainty. Excited as he is about to learn his future, Panurge rolls the dice and Pantagruel interprets the corresponding lines in the book. All three dice rolls match a line that disfavors Panurge's marriage. Pantagruel: "According to those three lots I can see you in a fine old mess: you will be cuckolded, beaten and robbed" (p.455). Strongly disagreeing Panurge, heart-broken, too, takes them all in his favor; otherwise, he thinks he can appeal.

Pantagruel warns his friend: “One can never appeal against verdicts reached by lots and Fortune, as our ancient jurisconsults affirm” (p.456).

The two friends’ quest for resolving this uncertainty continues with consulting to other common methods, some of which are occult (like dream interpreting) and others include taking advice from mutes, poets, friars, physicians, philosophers, and fools, all to no avail for Panurge. In one of such instances, they meet an old judge, Bridoye, who relies on the dice throws to decide on lawsuits in accordance with brocard laws, a blend of ecclesiastical law with traditional basis. When questioned about the use of dice in legal lawsuits, Bridoye justifies his methods by citing law books and corresponding chapters “where the doctors note that lots are very good, proper, useful and necessary for voiding of law suits and dissention” (p.560). Bridoye, evidently, takes his basis from Thomas Aquinas’s proposition about casting of dice to resolve issues that look even, since, according to him, the results of all chance elements are decided by the God. Rabelais, in his own way, satirizes the early modern judicial system that elevates probability over intellect.

2.3.1 Political Conditions

The early modern period is marked by a number of large-scale wars that included almost all European polities. To begin with, the Great Italian Wars (1494–1559), hence the name, was mainly fought between Italian city-states, Holy Roman Empire, France, and Spain, and occupied these major players in European politics for over sixty years. Considering the intensity of the wars and the number of polities in conflict, the tense political atmosphere in Europe might have given rise to the decentralization of the authority. This has been observed at least in the city-states in Italy that were the main stage for the wars. On the other hand, it should not be a coincidence that the Ottoman Empire extended its borders to their maximum during this period while Europe was highly engaged in its own instability.

The instability continued with series of wars that struck European polities; until the second half of the eighteenth century, the Italian Wars were followed by the War of Dutch Independence against the Spanish (1585–1609), the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Table 1, retrieved from Jack S. Levy (1985, p.372), demonstrates the unsettling times in Europe in the aftermath of the Italian Wars, about which scholars agree on the difficulty of covering a comprehensive historiography. Although the numbers may raise doubt, what stands out in this table is the increasing number of major players involved in wars, relative intensity and the continuity of clashes.

2.3.2 Religious Conditions

Early modern European society was increasingly fragmented into confessional factions between Catholic and Protestant churches and their subsects since the early fifteenth century. The movement Jan Hus initiated in the 1400s grew extensively in the sixteenth century under the leadership of Martin Luther. Simultaneously, the idea of a call for reformation in the Church spread in Italy. Reasons prepared the conditions for the

General Wars in the Modern Great Power System

War	*Dates*	*Ratio of Powers Involved*	*Intensity*[a]	*Severity (battle deaths)*
War of Dutch Independence/ Spanish Armada	1585-1609	3/5	1,060	190,000[b]
Thirty Years' War	1618-1648	6/7	20,000	2,000,000
Dutch War of Louis XIV	1672-1678	6/7	3,600	300,000
War of the League of Augsburg	1688-1697	5/7	6,900	700,000
War of the Spanish Succession	1701-1713	5/6	12,500	1,300,000
War of Jenkins' Ear/Austrian Succession	1739-1748	6/6	3,400	400,000
Seven Years' War	1755-1763	6/6	9,100	1,000,000
French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars	1792-1815	6/6	21,000	2,500,000
World War I	1914-1918	8/8	58,000	7,700,000
World War II	1939-1945	7/7	94,000	13,000,000

[a] Intensity is measured in terms of battle deaths per one million European population.
[b] Includes Spanish and Dutch casualties from the War of Dutch Independence beginning in 1568.

Table 1 General Wars in the Modern Great Power System, retrieved from Levy (1985)

Reformation movements were the corruption in Papacy, the spread of Humanism that discussed the sources of Christianity, and the printing revolution that helped spread ideas to the masses. When Reformist ideas were adopted by the princes of Southern Germany, they took this opportunity to use against the Papacy; thus, the movement took a different form from religious to political. It also gained multinational status by spreading to France, Sweden, Denmark, and Eastern Europe by the people who adopted similar views against the Papacy. The Ottoman sultans, on the other hand, overtly supported the movement by seeing this as a chance to stratify and weaken authority in Europe.

Although it might look like the Reformation movement brought freedom and autonomy for people to choose their beliefs, the contrary was proven to be true when it turned to politics and armed conflicts in the hands of princes and polities. Conflicting parts of Germany finally agreed upon the Augsburg Diet under the leadership of Ferdinand. The Diet partially brought peace by validating the religious freedom of the Lutheran states; however, in order to prevent further conflicts among the ruled, it oppressed the people by implementing the so-called *cuius regio, eius religio* (whose land, his religion), which dictated the religion of the ruler to the religion of the people. In addition, those who believed otherwise could leave the land. As a result, in this period, mass Protestant emigration was encouraged and enforced around Europe. This brought upon waves of Protestant refugees who looked for new places to live, and further clashes between locals and refugees. Huguenots in France and Walloons in the Netherlands, both Protestants who adopted Calvinism, were expelled from France and created a major wave of migration mainly to Germany, England, and other Protestant countries. In France, the Protestant movement was suppressed by harsher interventions and started a civil war, the so-called French Wars of Religion. It is estimated that between the 1530s and 1590s, nearly one hundred thousand Calvinists were expelled from the Southern Netherlands (Schilling, 1983).

The religion-based conflicts of the early modern period might have put confessional issues into the fulcrum of the daily life of people who were confronted with a difficult and formerly inexistent question whether to keep the old faith or not. This discussion did not spare the Catholics as they went through a reformation, too. Lack of documentation in this regard is a biggest barrier for a comprehensive understanding of this issue. However, one can clearly estimate that people in the fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries considered these questions and weighed up the pros and cons. If not pious, early modern people were religious enough because their unique circumstances obliged them to think about their faith, in the form of choosing one side or standing against it. Michelle M. Fontaine (1997) investigated the confessional conditions for the city of Modena in the sixteenth century. According to Tassoni, a chronicler of the city,

> the learned, the unlearned, and those inexperienced with letters debated the faith and laws of Christ in the streets, in shop rooms, and in churches, whenever the occasion presented itself, and all of them tore Sacred Scripture apart indiscriminately. (quoted in Fontaine, 1997, p.34)

Although Tassoni might have exaggerated the situation, the condition the Modenese were in can be generalized in other parts of Europe.

2.3.3 Other Social Conditions

This category comprises other factors that created uncertainty in the early modern period, such as disease and poverty, social unrest and uprising, and civil war. As a result of periodical wars, to begin with, there was a recurring move of mercenaries and other units of armies around Europe. It is estimated that the number of Scottish mercenaries recruited to fight in Continental Europe during the Thirty Years' War was around fifty thousand men (Miller, 2013). Scholars have investigated the social impacts of these armed forces to the urban life. In the case of Modena, Fontaine (1997) states that:

> Surrounded by the opposing forces of imperial Parma, ducal Ferrara, and papal Bologna, little Modena, numbering no more than eighteen thousand souls during the sixteenth century, was a strategic buffer in the wars that rattled northern Italy. From the end of the fifteenth century, the citizens of Modena became unwilling participants in the Italian Wars, being forced to supply troops, quarters, and other goods and services to their overlords, usually at considerable expense to the community. Marauding troops destroyed fields, ravaged Modenese women, and depleted much needed supplies of food and drink. (p.32)

The cities had to overcome not only feeding and comforting the troops but also the diseases they brought. Sources report that the first recorded syphilis cases occurred in 1494–95 Naples, amid the invasion of French troops. Due to its venereal nature, the disease especially struck the urban population of cities where prostitution was

widespread. The collective memory of Europe, as almost anywhere in the Old World, knew about the Black Death epidemic that devastated the population in late medieval times. Out of fear that it might recur, the urban population had to be protected by the quarantines and strict measurements for strangers. The idea of death, whether by a disease, by the hands of an invading troop, or by any other reasons that are abolished now, might have been in the minds of people during the early modern period.

Poverty, famine, and drought stimulated by wars, social unrest, and the change in climate also affected early modern people. A comparative analysis on recent investigations about the changing climate, increase in wheat prices and reduce in wages in the period between 1500–1750 demonstrates that early modern European society both in public and at home had to endure food shortages due to unexpected weather conditions, which resulted with increasing food prices and relatively diminishing wages (Rockoff & Meisch, 2005; Bateman, 2011; Allen, 2003). The German Peasants' War of 1525, according to the scholarly consensus, was driven as a result of such deteriorating economic conditions for the peasants and the lower class, which conditions were believed to be shared not only in German-speaking countries but also in Europe *en masse*. The escalation and spread of the revolt in a quick fashion indicates that the underlying factors of the revolt and the tension were common in and around Central Europe.

The predominant uncertainty and the desire to know about the future for European societies in the early modern period gave rise to the popularity of prognostics that relied on reading signs to foretell the future. Among the popular prognostics were those written for farmers forecasting the weather conditions in the form of calendars, as well as political and religious prognostics that might have influenced decision-making processes of not only lay people but also the royals. As Mikhail Bakhtin (1968) pointed out,

> The struggle of Francis I against Charles V led to an immense number of historical and political prognostics. Many of them were related to religious movements and wars. In most cases these prophecies were of a gloomy and eschatological character. There were also regular astrological predictions. (p.127)

Considering the abovementioned political, religious, and other social conditions, it can be claimed that uncertainty and instability were predominantly common in an early modern society that grew increasingly religious. In addition, consulting a chance element

as a method to reveal the uncertainty in times of instability—in the form of divination, lottery, fortune-telling, and prognostics—was a common practice. Referring to the connection between games and prognostic practices to forecast the future in the early modern period, Bakhtin argued that:

> Games are also closely related to time and to the future. The basic accessories of games, dice and cards, are often used as the accessories of fortune-telling. It is needless to dwell on the roots of the imagery representing feasts and games. What is important is not their generic relationship, but their related meaning. This relation was clearly felt in the time of Rabelais. There was in those days a vivid awareness of the universalism of this imagery, of its link with time and the future, destiny and political power. These links were part of their philosophy and entered into the interpretation of chessmen, dice, and the figures and colors in cards. Kings and queens of the "feast of fools" were often elected by casting dice. The most successful winner at this game was called basilicus or "royal." The images of games were seen as a condensed formula of life and of the historic process: fortune, misfortune, gain and loss, crowning and uncrowning. Life was presented as a miniature play (translated into the language of traditional symbols), a play without footlight. (p.128)

These results corroborate earlier investigations of Brian Sutton-Smith and John M. Roberts (1971) regarding the link between the popularity of chance-based games and the prevalent uncertainty in society. A note of caution is due here since they based their investigation on the cross-cultural analysis of the popular game types in remote cultures; however, their findings are in line with those stated here and with Roberts *et al.* (1959), who pointed at the relationship between religion and chance in a society, as cited in the introduction of Chapter 2. Accordingly, Brian Sutton-Smith and John M. Roberts state that:

> The most important conclusion is that games of chance appear to flourish in the presence of environmental, individual, and social uncertainly regardless of the relative complexity of the cultures in which they occur. (p.81)

This statement further approves the devolution of board games in the early modern period from sophisticated mechanism and abstract surface that require cognition (such as chess)

to the board games that rely only on the chance element and a low level of sophistication, despite the widespread notions of flourishing rational thinking and the spread of knowledge as a result of the printing revolution. So far the only antithesis to this proposal comes from a game called Große Königs Spiel (Newly Invented Great King's Game) invented by Christoph Weickmann in 1616, a chess-variant that did not gain any popularity.[41] To develop a more precise picture of the prevalence of chance-based board games in early modern society, additional investigations are necessary to contest the idea laid out here.

***

Playing cards benefited from the printing revolution before board games. Their introduction to Europe during the end of the fourteenth century coincides with the beginnings of the printing revolution and its correspondent rise in paper production; thus, the most vital elements were available for playing card production. As A. Hyatt Mayor (2013) summarizes:

> European cloth printers adopted paper when papermaking spread from China via Samarkand to Spain by about 1150, then to Italy by 1275 and to Germany in 1390. The Italians began to size paper with hard animal glue, or gelatin, instead of the soft oriental rice paste, and speeded production by breaking down the rags with water-powered hammers instead of the oriental pounding by hand. Paper stimulated printing, thus creating a market for more paper. The amount of paper made between 1450 and 1500 can be deduced from the estimated book production. 236 towns together are presumed to have printed from 10,000 to 15,000 texts in 30,000 to 35,000 editions, amounting to something like 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 books. As early as 1395 a German was printing holy images on paper in Bologna. Since the Italians made paper a century before the Germans, and also dominated painting, they would logically have been the first Europeans to print woodcuts. But if so, they did not preserve them, unlike the Germans, by pasting them inside book covers and boxes. (p.18)

[41] For more, see von Hilgers, (2012).

The features of the cards perfectly fit with the early printing techniques that had been in use by illustrators who published mostly ecclesiastical images by using wood blocks, and book printers who used letterpress. As Eisenstein (2012) puts it:

> [e]ven though block print and letter press may have originated as separate innovations and were initially used for diverse purposes (so that playing cards and saints' images, for example, were being stamped from blocks at the same time that hand illumination continued to decorate many early printed books), the two techniques soon became intertwined. (p26)

Printing required woodcut artists who had been illustrating mainly biblical stories as well as playing cards.[42] Major printing cities that indispensably demanded more illustrations attracted many artists and helped flourish this new art form. Wood blocks were carved by woodcut artists or amateurs into playing cards and pressed onto paper sheets. Some of these early wood engraving masters reached to high artistic merits, among which are Meister E.S, Meister of the Playing Cards, Meister P.W and Israhel van Meckenem. Over the course of time, wood replaced with copper and silver plates, and new techniques were invented such as etching technique. Moreover, crude images with thick contours in the early stages were improved to finer lines in the hands of the masters.

The simplicity of card-making in comparison to the traditional techniques must have had a profound effect on the increase of demand to playing cards and their circulation, alike. The fact that playing cards are only instruments for gaming by which many games can be played, especially helped gambling spread and become a social issue that polities had to tackle. Against the rise of gambling, rulers tried to restrict playing card production and take it into their control. Depaulis (2016) states that:

> The tax on playing cards is the earliest form of modern state control over gambling and on its revenues. With the emergence of lotteries, soon to be taken over by political powers, playing-card taxation marks the very

[42] There are varying views among scholars regarding which made first by woodcut artists, biblical images or playing cards. Catherine Perry Hargrave (1966) states that "first wood engravers were Kartenmachers; that the monks, observing the wide distribution of cards, adopted the same size and form and printed the beloved and revered 'Little Saints' and sacred symbols, which are among the very earliest prints that have come down to our day. Perhaps this is the explanation of why the name of wood engraver does not appear upon the burgess books until the middle of the fifteenth century, while that of card-maker is common thirty years earlier" (p.91).

> beginning of "Gambler-state," which is more a Renaissance phenomenon. (p.45)

Moreover, in the case of England, playing card importation had to be restricted as early as 1463 by the Exportation, Importation and Apparel Act, which brought upon monopolization of playing card production.[43] As Depaulis states, first taxation in the form of a monopoly was first established as early as 1543 in the Kingdom of Castile by Charles V, entitled *Estanco de los Naipes*, which followed the Kingdom of Naples in 1577, the Duchy of Savoy in 1579, France in 1581, and the Papal State in 1588. The "picture books of the devil," as Timothy B. Husband (2016, p.13) puts it, were condemned by the religious and administrative authorities due to increasing gambling practices. At times, bonfires were organized by religious authorities to burn condemned objects, books, playing cards, dice, and board games, among such incidents St. John of Capistrano's bonfire of vanities (organized in a number of Central European cities, such as Bamberg, Nurnberg and Breslau) were notorious. According to a report "3,612 backgammon boards and more than twenty thousand dice and playing cards without number" were put on fire only in the incident in 1452 in Nurnberg (quoted in Smoller, 1986, p.192). Such public events and stance against games necessitated the game producers and gamer enthusiasts to find ways to hide their games related objects. In this regard, some decks of playing cards were stored in boxes that looked like books, some fortunetelling books, as in Figure 2.1, had secret compartments to hide dice, and some books hid board games among their pages.[44]

Playing cards demonstrated a great deal of variety during the early modern period. Even now, one may find packs of cards with different designs and compositions. Until they were began standardized towards the end of the fifteenth century and even later, playing cards in Europe gained many suit marks, different compositions, and a diverse number of cards in one pack. The suits included "animals (hounds, deer, hares, bears), birds (ducks, falcons, herons, parrots), flowers (pinks, roses, lilies, columbine), or hardware (shields, helmets, banners, bells, keys, purses, thimbles, etc.)" (Parlett, 1991,

---

[43] Tosney (2008) also asserts that 82,944 packs of cards were imported to England from Rouen, France only between October 1567 and October 1568; and point to the seasonality of card importation that peaks during Christmas seasons.

[44] For more information on hidden compartments for gaming tools see: Schmidt (2017, p.347).

p.42). Moreover, although uncommon, there were packs with five suits. Such variety surely helped create different games, ranging between simple to highly sophisticated pastimes. In this sense, as opposed to the case in board games after the printing revolution, card games did not always depend on luck; thus, some games required high merits of calculating probability. It can also be claimed that some games required playing cards designed only for them, like the tarot cards that followed a distinct path. What remained almost intact in ordinary playing cards were the trump cards, namely, King, Queen, Upper Valet, Lower Valet, and Joker. They were followed by number cards and occasionally an Ace. The major suits-system used now is the French system with spades (*pique*; leaf in German system and swords in Spanish-Italian systems), clubs (*trèfle*; acorns in German), diamonds (*carreau*; bells in German), and hearts (*coeur*).

2.4 Didactic Games in Early Modern Period

From mid-seventeenth century onward, there was a dramatic rise in the popularity of educational board games and playing cards in Europe. This trend seems to have started in Venice and swiftly spread to Paris, with the earliest example from 1638.[45] The main purpose of these games was to educate youngsters in various themes, such as the geography of the world and Europe[46]; nations of the world[47]; history of France, the Roman Empire, and the world.[48] In most cases, these different fields intersect with each other in order to teach the players the most out of one game. From the dedication texts and the occasionally printed coat of arms, these games were produced for the children of the upper class or sometimes even for the King's children.[49]

The game mechanism used in these games demonstrates similarity with each other. The spiral track of the Game of the Goose was used in almost all of these games in a varying number of compartments, depending on the producers' design. Another similarity is the first and last compartments. The games take start from the farthest or most remote places to France, like the poles of the world, or American Continent; and they finish in France, in the center of the board. If the scale is only Europe, then the first

[45] See Games Index No. 55, 57–75.
[46] See Games Index No. 67, 69, 71, 72.
[47] See Games Index No. 70.
[48] See Games Index No. 66, 73.
[49] See Games Index No. 69.

compartment is given to the country that is in hostility with France. In this sense, games in general conduct a reciprocal relationship with politics, a relationship that reflects the politics of the time in a ludic way.

Thanks to the technological advances in print-making, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century more elaborate games were produced with themes of history and geography. Newly discovered lands and indigenous people were among the most popular topics in this period. Board games, especially those printed in France, demonstrate the interest of people to such games and the quickness of how knowledge could turn to game. One such example is Game of the People and their Costumes, published in 1815, in which aboriginals of Australia and New Zealand were depicted in a way to hint to the players about their attitudes and costumes. In New Zealand, for example, a traveler is about to be eaten by the indigenous people, which resonates with the events of 1809, when an English ship crew (Boyd) was violently attacked by the Maoris and the island began to be called Cannibal Isles.[50] This information was translated into an entertainment by integrating it into one of the dangers in the game mechanism as the death compartment. The prison compartment, similarly, is represented by the Barbary Coast, long known for their slave trade.[51]

As a theme, map-based board games, such as Tour Around the World, continued to be produced until late twentieth century. *Risk* (Lamorisse & Levin, 1959), a board game based on conquering territories and played on a world map, might be one of the last games with this theme. With the emergence of digital game platforms, the theme has lost its traditional medium and spiral track, which had been in use since the fifteenth century, but map-based games influenced the most popular digital games in the twenty-first century, such as *Command & Conquer* (Westwood Studios, 1995), *Age of Empires* (Ensemble Studios, 1997) etc.

2.5 Games versus Gods

Religion and play are two intertwined concepts without clear borders and always in touch with each other.[52] There is an indispensable association between play, ritual,

[50] See Games Index No. 79; Basset (1815).
[51] For more information on this game, see: Seville & Spear, (2010).
[52] I refer to all belief systems.

consecrated area, divination, and good and bad fortune. Astragalus, for example, with all their primitive form, were used in both rituals and games, unequivocally, as agents of casting the future and determining the probability. Drawing attention to this connection, F. N. David (1962) states that:

> [t]he paraphernalia of chance events has been organized for man's pleasure and entertainment. Randomization, the blind goddess, fate, fortune, call it what you will, is an accepted part of life. (p.12)

Moreover, this view is further supported by archaeological data regarding a number of games boards found in the royal graves across the ancient Middle East, including Egypt, Iran, and Anatolia. The Egyptian game of *Senet*, as mentioned above, was documented in a religious text called *Book of Death.* According to the data collected from the wall paintings, the game was depicted as a physical bridge (the name *senet* means "passage") between the living world and the world of the dead (Piccione, 2007). By comparing the surviving 120 *Senet* boards, all from Egypt, scholars concluded that the game of *senet* was played by different classes in Egyptian society, which speaks to the popularity of the game and how widespread a belief the game–religion relation was.

However, the relationship between play and religion is a multifaceted one; every religion has its own approach to game-playing, some of which are affirmative, some not; some types of games are accepted, some are not. Besides, the perspective of the religious authority toward games differs across periods, geography, and culture. Games in ancient polytheistic religions, as in the case of *Senet*, must have had a higher status than they have now; and at times even chess-playing was forbidden in its long history. We cannot, in other words, speak of a universal perspective of religion toward game playing. "Religious doctrines," as Philippe Bornet (2012) points out, "have influenced the valorization and devalorization of games" in a unique fashion (p.15).

Despite all these obscurities regarding playing games and attitudinal differences, religions share similar patterns of approach toward games. To begin with, religions seem to be prone to regulating the magic circle. Religion, in the absence of secular regimes, intervenes into the magic circle by enforcing a set of laws and certain limitations. This intervention creates a clash between the game world and the real world. One of such limitations is extensively applied to gambling practices, which is socially regarded as an

immoral form of game-playing. For example, as John M. Hunt (2005) pointed out, in sixteenth-century Rome, it was an established practice to gamble on the Papal elections, which practice had to be strictly banned by the Papacy. The magic circle must be regulated because, according to the classical view, playing games does not create profit either for society or for players and is therefore closely bounded to idleness.

Another clash occurs in the rather doctrinal premises of religion. Games, with their relationship to idleness, unproductiveness, and gambling, contradict the moral values that religions impose upon society. Unless they are justified, games are immoral and thus against the public good. Therefore, beyond the dichotomy of acceptable and unacceptable, we find games at the intersection between morality and entertainment in a grey zone that combines religion and games. This kind of game is usually themed with religious and social subjects, like vices and virtues, values and doctrines, which are taught in a ludic way. A good example of such games is *Snakes and Ladders*, which spans across continents, religions, and cultures, but teaches vices and virtues in all of its different forms depending on the culture.[53] The game was played in similar versions in almost all belief systems in India, in Christianity, and in Islam.

The chance element is one of the most used mechanisms to determine winners in games, as well as being one of the factors for which religions have contradicting standpoints. Islam, especially, takes the strictest stance against the chance factor in games. In Islam, every individual's life span is already determined in their destiny by Allah. Every event, mishap, decision, and even death fall into this predetermined schedule, which is one of the six mandatory main beliefs. According to this belief in predestination, only Allah can have the knowledge of what will happen; thus, casting the future by chance elements is strictly proscribed.[54] This view contradicts the notion of chance in the

[53] Snakes and Ladders is played on a 100-grid board with two or more players. It is a typical race game in which players roll dice and try to reach the last tile the first. It requires neither skill nor strategy, thus depending entirely on luck. The ladders on the board represent virtues (e.g. Opulence, Perseverance, Generosity) that carry the players to the finish line by skipping some grids, and snakes take the players to lower grids that are represented by vices (e.g. Disobedience, Anger, Pride). The game originated in India during the Middle Ages and was brought to Europe at the end of the nineteenth century.

[54] Religious decrees on games take their basis from Koran (5:90): "Believers! Intoxicants, games of chance, idolatrous sacrifices at altars, and divining arrows are all abominations, the handiwork of Satan. So turn wholly away from it that you may attain to true success" (https://quran.com/5/90?translations=101,85,22,21,20,18,95). It is obvious that Islam associates games of chance with divination practices. This definition excludes games of sports.

Buddhist Karma doctrine, and it eventually brings upon a different perception of games involving chance. Although Buddhism, like other religions, takes a non-affirmative stance against games due to their relation to idleness and gambling, it still embraces the chance/good luck–bad luck in games by connecting it to the karmic path one must take in life.[55] Especially in the case of *Snakes and Ladders*, the doctrinal goal of the game is to reach Nirvana (or the liberation) after passing through the downfalls and uplifts in life.[56]

The Islamic standpoint regarding games is primarily determined by the chance factor, as well as idleness, unproductiveness, and gambling. Classic Islamic discourse takes backgammon and chess as its reference to identify whether a game is acceptable or not because the Arabs confronted these two popular games after their territorial advances into Persia during the seventh century, a date that corresponds to the first century of the Islamic calendar. Because of the chance factor attained through rolls of dice, Islamic religious authorities prohibited backgammon; however, chess was favored unless gambling was involved, and the players were not detained from performing their religious and worldly duties.

It should be noted that Islamic authorities have different views regarding chess. The majority of clergy approve the game for a number of reasons including its being a war simulation that improves cognitive skills and self-confidence (Altınay, 2009). Nevertheless, there are discontinuities in this point of view at different times. From the statements of Islamic law given by the Ottoman religious authority (*fatwa*), we understand that chess was mentioned along with backgammon; therefore, the two games shared the same treatment: it was suggested not to play these two games. The point of these objections revolves around unproductivity, waste of time, and skipping religious duties. By looking at the *fatwas* given by Ebussuud Efendi (1490–1574), who occupied the title of *Şeyhülislâm* (the highest post of Islamic legal authority) for over twenty-eight

[55] It should be noted that Buddhist doctrine takes a stance against some games because they cause addiction among its followers, as stated in the sacred Buddhist text, *Dialogues of the Buddha*. For details, see *Dialogues of The Buddha: Translated from The Pali,* trans. T. W. Rhys Davids (London: Oxford University Press, 1899), pp. 9–11.

[56] For more information about the religious symbolism behind the *Snakes and Ladders*, see (Schlieter, 2012).

years, Ottoman legal perception regarding chess and backgammon can be attained clearly. As mentioned in Düzdağ (2012):

> Case [652]: According to the religious law, are testimonies of those who play chess and backgammon valid?
>
> Answer: Testimonies of those who play backgammon are not valid. Chess would not hinder, provided that the player does not play for revenge, he does not waste his inheritance (via gambling), or he does not give a false oath. (p.173)

> Case [723]: What is required (in Islam) for those who gather in coffeehouses, play chess, backgammon and similar useless games, do not consider their deeds as forbidden (in Islam) and belittle the (Islamic) law, and believe coffee is legitimate in such circumstances?
>
> Answer: Those (people) are all cursed by Allah, his angels and all believers of Islam. (p.189)

> Case [989]: Is it permissible in Islam if (a certain) Zeyd (male name) plays chess and backgammon when he is clean (*abdest*; ablution) and then attends the prayer without washing his hands?
>
> Answer: It is better if he washes his hands and even refreshes his ablution. Not playing those (games) at all is felicity in faith and in the world. May the Truth (Allah) grants convenience. (p.268)[57]

Unequivocally, one of the reasons for the misconception about chess should be sought in the fact that the coffeehouses were the common places where most pastime activities had taken place. Such activities included storytelling, games playing and gambling, consumption of tobacco, coffee, alcoholic beverages, and even drugs. In this regard, sometimes the religious authority in the Ottoman Empire in collaboration with the administrative authorities preferred to take a comprehensive position against the coffeehouses including all such activities taking place there. Consequently, a registry prepared on September 4, 1567 reads thus:

[57] My translation.

> On forbidding in Eyüp (district of Istanbul) selling wine and Tatarian *boza* (a beverage made of fermented millet or other cereals), playing musical instruments, playing backgammon and chess in marketplaces; closing down all coffeehouses and not allowing opening new ones…[58]

This report is in line with Ralph S. Hattox's (1996) statement on the games in coffeehouses:

> Even if there was no gambling involved in these games, however, that fact alone would not be sufficient to remove all taint of impropriety and loose morals from the players or the place that would allow such activity. There is, quite simply, some question of the legal status of games such as chess, even if no betting takes place. The taint on backgammon is, if anything, worse. (p.104)

On a side note, albeit the religious and social opposition in the Ottoman Empire, gambling never vanished. Famous Ottoman traveler Evliyâ Çelebi mentions the game he played with *ganjifa* cards in the court of a local elite in the city of Bitlis (in East Anatolia). He adds that he earned 70 Abbasi coins during the game.[59]

Because of the negative views and apparent dissidence among scholars, medieval and early modern chess writers in Islamic countries had to justify the game by using religious metaphors and comparisons hoping to strengthen the game's acceptability among the courts and public. Once again, like in Europe, chess relied on narratives outside the game. One such narrative was written by a sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar Firdevsî-i Rûmî in 1503. In his work *Şatranç-nâme-i Kebîr*, Firdevsî narrated a new story of invention of chess by the Prophet Solomon. This way, he not only rejected the non-

---

[58] "*Eyüp'te şarap ve tatar bozası satılması, çalgı çalınması ve çarşılarda tavla ve satranç oynanmasının yasaklanması; kahvehânelerin kapatılıp yeni kahvehâne açılmasına izin verilmemesi; fahişelerin yakalanıp cezalandırılması ve esnafa, eksik satmamaları hususunda tenbihte bulunulması.*" in "*7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri*" (Ottoman Registry Book No: 7), entry no: 155, p.84.

[59] Evliyâ's story is the only known reference to the *ganjifa* in the Ottoman history. He not only describes the cards and the game, but also compares it to the European cards: "*Andan Ziyâeddîn Hân'ın kendü halvethânesine varup gülâb ve ûd ve amberler dütünüp cân sohbetleri edüp gâh saz ve gâh sûz ederek tâ nısfu'l-leyl olunca Gencefe nâm bir oyun vardır Kâfiristânda ana Hartiye derler, yetmiş seksen aded çâr-kûşe münakkaş kâğızlardır, ammâ bu Gencefe kâğızları Acem'den gelir. Bir gûne münakkaş revganî kâğızlardır.*
Bu Gencefe oyunun oynayanlar iki fırka olup oynarlar. Hakîr hân tarafında bulunup tâli'im güşâde olup yetmiş aded Abbâsî aldım." See: Çelebi, (2003, p.19).

Islamic roots of chess but also Islamized the game. He returns to the repeated story of mythical Indian–Iranian origins of chess and highlights that it is a dubious story, while his addition is, of course, the only correct story. Firdevsî consecrates the game by finding metaphorical connections: For him, the horses and elephants in chess are the sacred equines ridden by soldiers of Allah on their way to *Jihad* against enemies of religion (*kâfir*); the chess board (made of cloth) represents the realm of Islam on earth, and Islam's soldiers "checkmate" the king of infidels in a corner on the board.[60]

Religions, in conclusion, have been taking different positions in evaluating games. Based on the data at hand, the connection between games and religions seems to be prevailingly more favorable in ancient polytheistic beliefs. On the other hand, monotheistic religions seek their justification whether a particular game is in line with the moral doctrines of a particular religion. Games outside this frame have been restricted by religious and legislative authorities until the foundation of secular regimes, as we have seen in the case of Islam. Authors of games books, therefore, had to justify their works and circumvent religious limitations by consecrating their texts through metaphors. Gambling has always been regarded as a factor in social unrest. Therefore, gambling was an illicit form of playing, condemned by both religious and ruling authorities.

2.6 Memento Mori or Remembering Death in Games

As Bakhtin stated in the above quotation, games are modeled after life, which was also true for games in the early modern period. In many ways, we find varying degrees of references in games to life, which references are carefully formulated in a ludic way, for example, in the spiral track of the Game of the Goose, in the organization of the chessmen on the board, or in the hierarchy in playing cards. Games represent life in its own symbolism, sometimes overtly, sometimes indirectly. Conventional games have a beginning and an end like life itself, and death, being part of life, often operates in games as a mechanism with an integral function.

Games interpret death in different ways: in traditional board games like the Game of the Goose, death does not mean the end of the game for the unlucky player who landed on the death compartment. The game mechanics of traditional board games repurpose

[60] Firdevsî-i Rûmî, "*Şatranç-nâme-i Kebîr*", 1503. This manuscript was transliterated and worked by M. Ata Çatıkkaş (2015).

death as a chance for rebirth and a new beginning to the game, although this is surely a disadvantage for the player among her/his peers. Thus, the player is in a continuum, circling between death and rebirth. In the Game of the Goose, the death is usually located in the fifty-eighth compartment, which is almost at the end of the track and the last of the obstacles, and it is the worst of all obstacles in the game. In chess, however, the death of the king prompts the end of the game whereas death of the other pieces on the board is only a disadvantage in accordance with the piece's value. Checkmate (king is dead!) announces the game has achieved its ultimate goal. By the same token, the death card in tarot signals the end of something, a process or an anticipation.

Death is not always in the game in early modern board games and playing cards, but is frequently depicted as a symbol for reminding the players of death. Termed *memento mori* in art, we find images of skulls or skeletons in one corner of a board game or on one of the playing cards in a pack.[61] Whether in the game or not, *memento mori* images remind the players that time passes, and death will eventually seize them; therefore, they warn the players that they should be wary in not wasting their time by playing games. The stance of *memento mori* images contradicts the very essence of game-playing. Games in the early modern period were generally regarded as a waste of time, and *memento mori* reminded the players of this; however, the imaginary contract between players and the game guaranteed that time would be wasted.

I claim that this contradictory stance can be explained by focusing on the perspective of the game producer and his time. As explained above, churches in the early modern period took a rejectionist position against games. Although certain religious and governmental measurements were taken against games in the form of decrees, and they simply could not stop the spread of the games, which was in part stimulated by cheaply produced playing cards and gambling sheets, as in *biribisi*. The number of board games and game-related materials burnt in Nurnberg in 1452 reveals to us that there was already a quite vibrant market for games. Producers of games must be in a difficult position, both under the pressure of the church's strict opposition against games and the demand from a well-established market. The *memento mori* images and other similar religious references must have been intended to circumvent the church and satisfy the demand.

[61] See Games Index No. 1.

Another common reference in games along with death is time.[62] It is usually represented by an hourglass or by the mythological figure of Time, a winged old man who warns the player that time passes while he is at play. Additionally, sometimes the inscriptions of the game can be referential and suggest that the players are committing sin by playing the game. *Memento mori* images, time, and inscriptions could be regarded as safeguards manufactured by game producers who hesitated to be blamed by religious or sometimes governmental authorities. Similar illustrative references to death and games also come outside game zone, from art. Death and man at play is an occasionally, if not frequently, deployed theme in Renaissance paintings and etchings.

[62] See Games Index No. 51.

CHAPTER 3: THE TURK COMES INTO PLAY

As I outlined in chapters 1 and 2, early modern Europe witnessed the emergence of the image of the Turk and the evolution of the game space thanks to the printing revolution. In this chapter, we will see not only how these two distinct concepts intersect in games but also how a perceptional change in the image over the course of time is reflected in the entertaining environment of games. The increased production of thematic board games during the early modern period required new themes, such as everyday characters and figures, love, quest, vices and virtues, good and bad fortune, and toward the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, history and geography for educational purposes. Regardless of the variety of themes, board games were played on a few mechanisms that showed little change over the course of time. Playing cards, on the other hand, remained almost same after the standardization and did not require new themes since they were, as are now, instruments for gaming. Educational playing cards with the intention for teaching history, geography and other lessons became popular almost in parallel with their counterparts in board games; besides, fortune-telling cards were also designed and published. The image of the Turk could appear surprisingly in board games and playing cards regardless of their themes, which demonstrates that the game designer's perspective of the Turk reflected itself in games and defined their tone of approach. As explained in Chapter 1, this subjective reflection demonstrated itself to varying degrees. While the Turk was sometimes the antagonist of the game, in other instances the figure carried only minor importance. In this chapter, I will demonstrate the varying degrees of reflection of the Turk in board games and playing cards.

3.1 First Turks in Games

3.1.1 Master PW's Round Playing Cards

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Cologne was a prosperous city that attracted many people, including merchants, artists, and pilgrims. The city enjoyed a long-fought-for and highly privileged status as Free Imperial City (*Freie Reichsstadt*), which was finally recognized in 1475. The guilds in Cologne could elect the council members who

formed the government for interior and exterior affairs. Because of the mercantile nature of the administration, trade in all forms, foreign and domestic, was encouraged by respective legislations. Cologne, located in the western Germany along the Rhine, was one of the most important members and leading cities of the Hanseatic League, a trade organization between north German and Baltic cities. Craftsmanship and arts flourished in Cologne by the benefit of the League's protective rights.

Although the League experienced a decline period during the sixteenth century, Cologne maintained its prestigious image not only economically but also ecclesiastically. The relics of the Three Kings were brought to Cologne in the twelfth century, for the honor of which the Cathedral of Cologne began to be built during the heyday of the city and the Hanseatic League in the thirteenth century. The relics and the cathedral alike attracted so many travelers and pilgrims as to turn Cologne into an important destination for European Christianity. The foundation of the fourth university of the Holy Roman Empire in Cologne in 1388 attracted students and scholastic learning. Within such a context of political, artistic, commercial, and scholarly intersection, the first printing house in Cologne was founded in 1463 by Ulrich Zell, who had begun to accommodate the demand for printed books in a dynamic market.

***

By the 1500s, the Ottomans already strengthened their presence in Eastern Europe and continued their threats well into south Hungary and Central Europe. Constantinople had already been conquered in 1453, which was followed by the annexation of princedoms in Balkans. A successful invasion on the southwestern corner of Italian peninsula at Otranto in 1480 was a clear message from the Sublime Porte to Europe. He had conquered the Eastern Roman Empire, and now the new goal was the heart of the Western Roman Empire. Moreover, the Turkish advance and threat were further strengthened by consolidating the Crimean Tatars under the Ottoman suzerainty. On both land and sea, the Ottomans were approaching steadily, but the image they had left in the minds of Europeans already reached far beyond their borders.

***

Like other Europeans, citizens of cosmopolitan Cologne enjoyed games played by cards produced by the rather new technology of printing. It had been only forty years or so since Ulrich Zell opened his enterprise in the city and singlehandedly published books in various types, mostly religious, commissioned by the university. In a short while, Zell became one of the most notorious persons of the city with his wealth and devotion to the church. He took over the prestigious title of *Kirchmeister* (church-master), a voluntary duty responsible for overseeing the building budget of certain churches and assisted by a chancellor. Considering his religious devotion, prestige among his fellow townsmen and connection with high offices, it is likely that Zell was not involved in printing playing cards. We can assume that the citizens of Cologne needed to purchase cheap and coarse cards with thick outlines published by small publishers, or more elaborate cards published by famous master engravers from Upper Rhineland, Mainz and Nurnberg, such as Master ES, Master of the Playing Cards, and Israhel van Meckenem of Netherlands.

The first known playing cards originating in Cologne came about 1500, engraved by Master PW, about whom little is known.[63] Following the fashion of his time among other engravers, he used a monogram in his works to designate himself. It is claimed that he had been born in Cologne and had traveled to major printing cities in Upper Rhineland and even to Nurnberg to learn and improve his skills in engraving (Hoffmann, 1974). Upon returning home, he began engraving a mixture of worldly and religious themes, among which the playing cards took up the majority. Out of a total ninety-seven sheets of works, playing cards took up seventy-two sheets, all belonging to the same pack. He must have had a good education, at least in Latin, since he inscribed texts from Seneca's works on some of the playing cards. His other works included a prayer book; an engraving demonstrating Lot, his daughters and his wife during the destruction of Sodom; the Virgin Mary sitting on a crescent and holding the Child; Saint George killing a dragon; two lansquenets; Virgin Mary holding the Child sitting before Saint Anne; a young couple, woman playing the lute; and ornaments.

It is a subject of speculation whether he was a marginal character or not, but Master PW created a marginal pack of cards. He preferred a rounded form, like the ganjifa

[63] See Games Index No: 1.

cards, instead of the generally accepted rectangular shape. Some scholars suggest that the sheets were pasted on rectangular cards before playing, while some claimed they were not printed for playing purposes but as collectors' items. The round engravings among German engravers were known before Master PW. Martin Schongauer (1448–1491) and Master ES (c.1420–c.1468) published several works in this format. However, round playing cards were unseen in Europe. After Master PW, his deck of cards was copied with variable changes by at least three engravers in the sixteenth century, which clearly demonstrates the fame and demand of the circular cards.

Another unconventional feature of Master PW's cards was the number of suits in the pack. Instead of the standard four-suited pack, there was an additional suit completing the pack with five suits and seventy-two cards. Like their marginal shape, the five-suited composition sheds doubt on whether Master PW created these cards with the intention of playing. It is also doubtful what kind of games could be played with this unconventional system. The suit-symbols are composed of hares, parrots, carnations, roses, and columbines; mostly endemic items, except for the exotic parrots. As in the number cards of parrots, Master PW paid close attention to the posture of the birds, which brings to mind the idea that he had examined an actual living bird. The number cards bear the suit-symbols (for instance the ten of hares have ten hares, nine of carnations have nine carnations), and each number card was numbered with Arabic and Latin numerals. Starting from the Ace card as number one, each suit had ten numeric cards. The trump cards included king, queen, over knave, and under knave; additionally, each suit had an Ace card showing the suit-symbol and an accompanying Latin texts shown below.

Ace of Hares: *felix me die quisquis turba parte quiet* (Seneca, Agamemnon)[64]

Ace of Parrots: *quidquid facimus venit ex alto* (Seneca, Œdipus)[65]

---

[64] Seneca's text reads as "Quidquid in altum Fortuna tulit,/ruitura levat. *Modicis rebus longius aevum est./Felix mediae quisquis turbae/Sorte quietus,/Aura stringit littora tuta/Timidusq; mari credere cymbam,/Remo terras propiore legit*." "Whatever Fortune has raised on high, she lifts but to bring low. Modest estate has longer life; then happy he whoe'er, content with the common lot, with safe breeze hugs the shore, and, fearing to trust his skiff to the wider sea, with unambitious oar keeps close to land." For details, see: Miller, (1917, pp. 10-11).

[65] "*Fatis agimur; cedite fatis./Non sollicitae possunt curae/Mutare rati stamina fusi./Quidquid patimur mortale genus,/Quidquid facimus, venit ex alto.*" "By fate are we driven; yield ye to fate. No anxious cares can change the threads of its inevitable spindle. Whate'er we mortals bear, whate'er we do, comes from on high." For details, see: Miller (1917, pp. 514-515).

Ace of Carnations: *fortuna opes auferre non animum potest* (Seneca, Medea)[66]

Ace of Roses: *pepulit vires casus animo que tulit equo* (Seneca, Hercules Œtæus)[67]

Ace of Columbines: *par ille superis cui pariter dies et fortuna fuit* (Seneca, Hercules Œetæus)[68]

The Latin texts were intentionally selected by Master PW to remind players about concepts such as chance and God as the one who decides one's fortune and misfortune. In this way, Master PW brought together two contradictory fields, namely religion and games, into one platform. A possible explanation for this should be sought in Master PW's attempt to justify the ambiguous position of game-playing in society. Texts clearly warned players about following their worldly duties, losing (the game or the lot) as a part of games, and conducting themselves moderately in game-playing. This line of cautiousness was further emphasized by the *memento mori* card, which was one of the two extra cards in the pack. On this particularly important card, Master PW depicted an hourglass representing time, and a young woman caught from her hair and ankle by a skeleton representing death. This typical trio in *memento mori*–themed artworks can be seen among other German engravers that number Master PW's contemporaries, as well as throughout the Renaissance.[69] Deriving inspiration from such works, Master PW's message to the players was clear: Death will seize you, as time goes by. As discussed in Chapter 2, players were warned not to fall into the game world and to remember the real world. Additionally, the deck contains a title card bearing three crowns, the coat of arms of the city of Cologne, and a three-word inscription: *SALVE. FELIX. COLONIA* (Hail, happy Cologne). It is suggested that the three crowns refer to the Three Kings whose relics were preserved in the Cathedral in Cologne.

---

[66] "Fortune can take away my wealth, but not my spirit." For details, see: Miller (1917, pp. 242-243).

[67] "*Quid regna tui clara parentis/casusque tuos respicis amens?/fugiat vultus fortuna prior./felix quisquis novit famulum/regemque pati vultusque suos/variare potest. rapuit vires/pondusque malis casus animo/qui tulit aequo*." "Why dost thou, foolish one, ever look back upon thy sire's illustrious kingdom and thine own misfortunes? Banish from thy face thy former fortune. Happy is he whoever knows how to bear the estate of slave or king and can match his countenance with either lot. For he who bears his ills with even soul has robbed misfortune of its strength and heaviness." For details, see: Miller (1917, pp. 202-203).

[68] "*Par ille est superis cui pariter dies/et fortuna fuit, mortis habet vices/lente cum trahitur vita gementibus*." "Mate of the gods is he whose life and fortune have gone side by side; but when 'tis slowly dragged out midst lamentations, life has the lot of death." For details, see: Miller (1917, pp. 194-195).

[69] Some of the examples of *memento mori* engravings during and before Master PW can be seen at British Museum Inv. No: 1848,1125.19 (Master W, print by Israhel von Meckenem, 1480-1490); 1870,0709.658 (Anonymous, print after Israhel von Meckenem, 1490-1500); and 1845,0809.455 (Master MZ, 1500-1503).

***

The reign of Bayezid II (1481–1512) marked a turbulent period in the Ottoman Empire when the momentum of territorial growth was relatively lost. The son of Mehmet the Conqueror, Bayezid spent most of his reign and his energy in a game of thrones set against his younger brother Cem (also written in documents as *Djem, Jem, Zizimi*). After Mehmet the Conqueror had died in 1481, the two brothers fell into a long internecine fight that disrupted the centrality of power in the Empire. Upon his succession to the throne by the support of Janissaries soon after his father's death, Bayezid concentrated on keeping his brother out of the Seraglio, dead or alive. Cem, after a couple of unsuccessful attempts to defeat Bayezid, fled first to Cairo and then to Rhodes, the epicenter of the Knights Hospitaller. Realizing the potential of having such an important card as Cem in their hands, Knights asked for 40,000 gold ducats to keep him under their custody. However, Rhodes was not a secure ground either for Cem or the Hospitaller Knights. Cem's father, Mehmet the Conqueror, had mounted a siege on the island only a couple of years prior, in 1480. Being scared of a yet another aggression from the Seraglio, the Knights transferred Cem to France. Cem was a risky card; having him in hand meant both profit and danger that required strong diplomatic faculties. Charles VIII, the French King, was convinced by the Papal nuncios that it would be beneficial for Christendom to send him to Rome, which was under the Turkish military and naval threat. Cem was transferred to Rome, to the hands of the Pope Innocent VIII. Bayezid had no choice other than to maintain a good relationship with European rulers and employ a long and expensive diplomacy with them until Cem died. As stated in (1993), Bayezid II's circumstances can be best understood by the amount that he accepted to pay to the Pope: 120,000 gold ducats for his brother's custody, and a yearly 40,000 gold ducats,

> along with valuable relics including the iron head of the lance which pierced Christ's side at the crucifixion, which the Pope had specifically requested through his ambassador Bocciardi." (p.365)

In 1495, Cem suddenly died at thirty-five in obscurity on his way to Naples; Turkish sources claim he was poisoned. In the game of diplomacy between the three players

(Europe, Bayezid II, and Cem), Cem lost the game that ended for the other players with a win-win result. Bayezid secured his throne and Europe abolished an internal tension and diplomacy that had arisen from Cem's presence; a good example of non–zero-sum game. Cem's life story received attention and was published in several books, among which the most notorious is the *Siege of Rhodes* by Guillaume Caoursin that contains the life of Cem in addition to an account of the Siege in 1480.

Having been relieved upon Cem's death, Bayezid focused on improving the power of the Empire and regaining the strong image it had possessed during his father's reign. He replenished the Ottoman fleet with new war galleys and recruited Muslim corsairs into his armada. Once confident at sea, he returned to complete Morea, Mehmed the Conqueror's unfinished project. "The ensuing battles off the southwest portion of the Morea resulted in the defeat of the Venetian fleet and the Ottoman conquest by 1503 of Lepanto, Modon, Koron, Navarino, and Durazzo" (Hess, 1970, p.1906). Once again, the Ottomans were an effective force in the Adriatic Sea. The increasing power of the state can also be demonstrated by Bayezid's great success in overcoming a humanitarian crisis in the early modern age. He invited the Jews and Muslims who had been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula to settle in Ottoman territories where they could live their religion in less restrictive conditions.

***

Master PW's cards contain details that help associate suits with certain nations (Figure 3.1). The trump cards of Hares clearly represent the first known Turks to ever appear in games: an equestrian Turkish king with a turbaned crown, a Janissary upper valet wearing the typical Janissary hat called "*börk*," and a lower valet carrying a Turkish-style composite bow. Without these details to speak for the identity of the characters, it is hardly possible to differentiate them from the rest simply by comparing their attire. This derives from the lack of information on Master PW regarding the fashion of the Turks of his time, which lack was shared by other early German engravers whose works were bereft of verisimilitude in terms of early modern Turkish attire. They simply reflected the Turk of their imagination.

Germans are represented by carnations. The equestrian longhaired young king must be Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) who was the ruler when the

engravings had been made.[70] It is claimed that the Queen of Columbines represents Mary of Burgundy, Maximillian's wife who died after falling from her horse in 1482. This view is further strengthened by the initials "M A G" inscribed on the horse's caparison. The Upper and Lower Valets are typical German foot soldiers called *landsknecht* with their characteristic weapon halberd.[71]

England is believed to be represented by the Roses, which was the badge of the Tudor dynasty. The Upper Valet carries a long bow, typical English medieval weapon; and Lower Valet carries a crossbow. The caparison of the King's horse is decorated with fleur-de-lis, which symbolized the French heraldry, but also commonly used in Tudors' coats of arms. However, the King of Roses has no resemblance to the King of England of the time, Henry VII, who reigned in 1485–1509.

[70] It is not clear whether Master PW was influenced by Maximilian's earlier depictions or Maximilian looked this way. In a 1479 medallion, twenty-year-old Maximilian looks longhaired and beardless, resembling the King of Carnations (for details see: British Museum, Inv. No: M.3150). It is known that Maximilian kept his beardless form until his death.

[71] Master PW's c.1500 engraving portrays two *landsknecht*s in a similar attire (British Museum, Inv. No: 1847,1009.38). Albrecht Dürer's c.1465 engraving "Five Foot Soldiers and a Mounted Turk" provides visual information regarding the *landsknecht*s and an imagined Turk (see: Metropolitan Museum, Accession number: 19.73.100).

Figure 3.1 Master PW's round playing cards (c. 1500).

It is a subject of wider speculation whether the Columbines represent any country or not. Opinions focus on the French (due to the columbine), and the Spanish (due to the bells on the mule). Queen of Columbines is mounted on a mule, which symbolizes lower rank.[72]

Parrots are represented by Africans in German attire. The exotic undertones of the suit are marked by black figures, parrots, and the scimitars that the Upper and Lower Valets carry. It is assumed that the African presence in the deck is a reference to the relics

[72] For a comparison of ranks between riding horse and mule among royalty, see "The Counts and Countesses of Holland on Horseback," 1518 print by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (British Museum, no: E,7.19); and "Karel V, Ferdinand I, Isabella, Eleonora, Catharina en Maria te paard, Nieu (landt)," 1521–26 print by Jan van Nieulandt (Rijksmuseum, Object Number: RP-P-1928-138).

of Three Kings, one of whom has been commonly represented as an African in artworks themed around the Adoration of the Magi.[73] The other two Kings, according to this view, should be the Carnations and Roses; because, the common feature of these three suits is the position of figures who are facing right. Thus, Africans, Germans and English suits form the Three Kings. This view singles out the Hares and Columbines, namely the Turks and French/Spanish, who are facing left. It is suggested that, although a speculation, the position of the suits associates them with a less favorable meaning. However, this view is strengthened when Master PW's indirect references to the Three Holy Kings in the introduction card are taken into consideration.

Master PW's inclusion of the Turk in his round playing cards demonstrates the growing popularity of the image of the Turk in arts and how wide it can influence artists. Certainly, the image of the Turk was introduced into this realm much earlier than the Cologne cards; nevertheless, Master PW for the first time stylized the image so as for it to be a part of his playing cards design. He might rightfully be the starter of this fashion that grew throughout the early modern period since we see more playing cards and board games consisting the Turk to be published and made. Unfortunately, not much of PW's position toward the Turk is collectible from his playing cards other than speculations in differing degrees. When placed in context, however, the growing Turkish threat might be signified by the positions of Turkish characters that are facing the West. All the assumptions aside, PW brought the mode of associating suits with nations/countries that began to be accessible thanks to cartographical developments and the expansion of geographical knowledge. While former playing cards were exclusively Eurocentric, after PW more game designers, of both playing cards and board games, included extraterritorial entities into their games. With its four or more suits and state hierarchy, playing cards were a suitable platform for such interpretation. Thus, the exotic Turk with its growing popularity and vigor were often included in playing cards with varying degrees of stylization and interpretation that might well be positive or negative depending on the observer's position toward the Turk.

[73] For woodcut examples of Adoration of the Magi themed artworks from the vicinity of Cologne around 1500s, see British Museum, Inventory Numbers: 1868,1114.55; 1868,1114.88; 1868,1114.87; 1845,0809.228.

3.1.2 The Place of the Turk in Carnivalesque Playing Cards by Peter Flötner

During the 1500s, another Free Imperial City, Nuremberg, was living its golden age. Located on busy trade routes connecting North, South, East, and West Europe, the city gained enormous wealth and prosperity. The economic boom attracted artists and manufactures who had been commissioned by rich Nurembergers. As a result of financial and cultural prosperity, Nuremberg became the center of the German Renaissance, with leading artists such as painter-engravers Michael Wolgemut, Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, the internationally known Albrecht Dürer, and poet Hans Sachs. Additionally, citizens of Nuremberg demonstrated unity in accepting Protestantism in 1525, which decision was reinforced by the city council and other institutions.

Nuremberg is particularly important for both printing and playing cards. The first paper mill in Germany was built in Nuremberg as early as 1390. Together with the playing card invasion in Europe, the increasing number of printing houses in the city and accomplished engravers, the city became a playing cards center in Germany. The first-known playing-cards maker (*kartenmaler*) in Nuremberg, Michael Wyener, was active in the first half of the fifteenth century (Grieb, 2007). The city administration (*Rat*) played an important role in the development of playing cards production by including card making into free handcrafts/arts (*freie künste*), which were executed without a legal form of association (Isenmann, 2014). This meant that the Rat did not impose any regulation in order to avoid getting involved in their production, which was defined by public demand. This gave freedom to anyone interested in opening a print shop, which may, in turn, have increased the competition among artists to sell and produce more in line with the general public's likes and dislikes. As Smoller (1986) noted,

> The competition between card-makers was therefore fierce; some of the card-makers were forced to take on additional trades in order to make a living. In an attempt to remedy the situation, the card-makers in 1477 appealed to the Rat to pass an ordinance regulating apprenticeship and limiting the number of shops in the city. They were refused, as they were in 1482, 1519, 1536, and 1623. (p.191)

Moreover, cultural productions benefitted from the liberal aura in Nuremberg in the absence of strict censorship. As a result, producers of cultural artifacts, such as print

makers, painters, engravers, poets, and satirists, could express their criticism against especially the bourgeoisie and the religious authorities, to which we shall return.

Toward the mid-sixteenth century, Dürer brought a dynamism not only to engraving art but also to card-making, although he did not produce playing cards. However, his contemporaries and those card-makers who were active after him in Nuremberg were influenced by him in both technique and style. Among those artists are Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550), Erhard Schön (c.1491–1542), Hans Schäufeleins (c.1480–1540), Virgil Solis (1514–1562), and Peter Flötner (c.1490–1546).

Little is known about the early years of Flötner. He was supposedly born in Thurgau, Switzerland around 1490. He immigrated first to Augsburg, where perhaps he was introduced to engraving alongside other arts, and then to Nuremberg in 1522 where he lived until his death in 1546. Deriving from the range of his works, which span from furniture, wood and metal sculptures, medallions, plackets, altarpieces, and engravings, his expertise lies in the fields of carved arts on different materials. He was commissioned by the famous Tucher family of Nuremberg to make the inner design of their newly built *Hirschvogel* house. At some point in his life, he traveled to Italy and became influenced by the Italian Renaissance in his designs.

Flötner targeted not only the elites of society, but also the popular market. His oeuvre includes mythological, religious, allegorical, and satirical images; ornaments and portraits; and an exquisite pack of playing cards that merges themes from his complete oeuvre in a carnivalesque manner, published around 1540s.[74] Such distinctive lines of genres reveal the demands of the educated and wealthy elite as well as the common people in early modern Nuremberg. Besides, they demonstrate how accomplished an engraver Flötner was in satisfying the demands coming from different social strata.

***

Süleyman was a lucky prince. Unlike his predecessors and successors, he bequeathed the throne after his father Selim the Resolute's (also known as Selim the Grim) death on September 22, 1520 without involving any ferocious fight for the throne.

[74] Some of Flötner's engravings include Heroes and Tyrants of the Old Testament; the Procession of Gluttony in which he ridiculed Landsknechts, portraits of Landsknechts, and architectural designs depicting facades of buildings.

At the time of his father's death, he had been ruling the Saruhan Sancak (district), which was located in the west of Anatolia, in today's Manisa. Upon hearing the news, he immediately departed for Istanbul. No matter how easy it was for him, the throne should not be left empty for long. In only eight days, on September 30 and at the age of twenty-six, Süleyman took over the Empire.

During the reign of Selim I, Süleyman's father, the Empire grew substantially eastward and into North Africa. After a number of successful campaigns to the Middle East, Iran, Levant, and Egypt, Selim conquered a considerable part of the Islamic world. This territorial stretch of the Empire on one hand, and the fundamentalist Ottoman politics of *jihad* against Christianity on the other, brought the Ottoman dynasty the title of caliph of Muslims. Besides, in his eight-year reign, Selim developed further the Ottoman global politics by strengthening the infrastructures of the Empire for possible campaigns to Europe and the Indian Ocean, which became accessible after partaking Egypt and the Red Sea.[75]

During his early years, Süleyman benefited from the potential that his father had left behind. Finding the eastern borders in an optimal condition, he focused on the *jihad* toward Europe. He resumed Ottoman conquests in Europe on two key locations ahead of him. He conquered Belgrade in 1521 and then Rhodes in 1522. The message was clear: his way to Hungary, Austria, and Italy was open, and he was approaching with his army on both land and sea. On the other hand, European polities were in a turbulent climate since the accession of Charles V to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519 by the Prince-Electors. Francis I of France objected to this decision aggressively and the tension between the two escalated to a long-term rivalry. The Battle of Pamplona in May 1521 between France and Habsburgs is believed to draw Charles's attention to the West, which diversion helped Süleyman conquer Belgrade in August 1521. After a decisive defeat at the Battle of Pavia in 1525 against the Habsburg Charles V, Francis I was kept as a captive and imprisoned in Madrid. That same year, Francis asked for help by sending two missions to Süleyman,[76] who responded positively with a famous letter that demonstrated not only the Ottoman arrogance discussed in Chapter 1, but also Süleyman's self-image:

[75] In 1515, Selim started the construction of a shipyard in Istanbul, which served the Empire until its end as the headquarters of shipbuilding and the Ottoman naval power. In only five years, Selim had a new fleet composed of 150 ships that were extensively used by Süleyman.
[76] For details of this alliance, see (Jensen, 1985).

> I who am the Sultan of Sultans, the sovereign of sovereigns, the dispenser of crowns to the monarchs on the face of the earth, the shadow of the God on Earth, the Sultan and sovereign lord of the Mediterranean Sea and of the Black Sea, of Rumelia and of Anatolia, of Karamania, of the land of Romans, of Dhulkadria, of Diyarbakir, of Kurdistan, of Azerbaijan, of Persia, of Damascus, of Aleppo, of Cairo, of Mecca, of Medina, of Jerusalem, of all Arabia, of Yemen and of many other lands which my noble fore-fathers and my glorious ancestors (may God light up their tombs!) conquered by the force of their arms and which my August Majesty has made subject to my flamboyant sword and my victorious blade, I, Sultan Suleiman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan: To thee who art Francesco, king of the province of France. (Merriman, 1944, p. 129)[77]

With the justification to help saving Francis, Süleyman fought against the Hungarian army backed by the Habsburgs at the Battle of Mohács on August 19, 1526. The victory at Mohács and the lost Hungarian authority over the country enabled Süleyman to invoke the Hungarian throne. He consolidated power by enthroning his candidate to be the King of Hungary. As a result, John Zapolya was declared King in November 1526. His reign was interrupted by Ferdinand of the Habsburgs (the other candidate), and Zápolya fled to Poland. Upon his request for help, Süleyman besieged Vienna in 1529. It is a debate as to whether he intended to conquer Vienna or not; however, he demonstrated the strength of his army and received greater authority for the Hungarian throne. He enthroned Zápolya a second time in 1529, which was depicted in an Ottoman miniature in which Süleyman hands the crown to Zápolya, with the former's superiority over the latter depicted in the undertones.[78] After all, Süleyman earned his epithet "the Magnificent."

A further polarization occurred in the ecclesiastical realm in which Europe was divided by the growing power of Protestantism. Süleyman approached the Protestant cause and its leaders sympathetically; moreover, he directly permitted Protestantism to flourish in newly conquered places (such as Hungary) in order to form a barrier against the Catholic Habsburgs. These were parts of a projection of Süleyman's carefully applied

[77] For the original manuscript, see Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits, f. 122, Supplément turc 1638.

[78] The miniature is a part of Arifi's "*Süleymanname,*" a pictorial chronicle of Süleyman the Magnificent as a part of a five-volume Ottoman Chronicle, finished in 1558. For more, see: (1986).

politics of balance in which he supported the counter movements in order to weaken the strength and unity in Europe and prevent a possible Crusade into his lands in the future.

Upon his growing authority in Europe and more remote territories, Süleyman claimed superiority over European leaders and decided to wear a renowned Imperial crown in the European style. To this end, he commissioned jewelers and artists in Venice in 1532 to manufacture regalia that included a helmet-crown with four detachable crowns resembling the papal Tiara, a scepter, a gold pendant, and other symbols of power (Necipoğlu, 1989). Such non-Islamic status symbols were aimed at not only declaring superiority (as in a four-layered helmet-crown that represented superiority over its contemporaries) but also communicating with a non-Muslim audience living in newly conquered places and surely beyond.[79] He portrayed the synthesis of an image merging a European emperor rising from Muslim East that followed the model of Alexander the Great (İnalcık, 2017). Thus, in accordance with the dynastic tradition that existed since Mehmet the Conqueror had ended the Eastern Roman Empire in 1453, he used the title of *Kayser-i Rûm* (Roman Caesar), an Ottoman claim to Roman legacy, along with the Khalif, the leader of Islam.

Despite Süleyman's claims and efforts, French perception toward Turkish authority in Europe remained paradoxical. This can be best explained by Francis's contradictory discourses that Clarence Dana Rouillard (1941) summarizes as the "inadvisability of alienating a powerful friend." On one hand, Francis substantially required Süleyman's help in order to achieve his goals in gaining power and land in Europe. To this end, the two planned several operations for their mutual advantage, such as forcing Venice to join the alliance against Charles V. Following the 1538 naval battle at Preveza, the Ottomans were invited Venice to join the alliance in 1540. The Ottoman fleet under ex-pirate Barbaros Hayrettin conducted co-operations with the French navy against the Imperial navy under famous admiral Andrea Doria, as well as raids on the Italian coasts in collaboration with the French navy. Moreover, as discussed in Rouillard and in Arıkan (1984), in the writings of contemporary French intellectual and diplomat Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), who traveled to the Ottoman Empire two times, we can find the undertones of a friendly approach to the Turk yet blended with ongoing Crusade

[79] The helmet-crown was continued to be depicted as a model in European, especially German, portraits after Süleyman.

propaganda. Nevertheless, Francis perpetuated a carefully conducted denial policy among the European polities and his own people who had not been content with an alliance with the infidel. In accordance with the truce he signed with Charles V in 1538, he agreed on joining a Holy-League project against the Ottomans (Emecen, 2017). Although this infuriated Süleyman, he consented to Francis's maneuver lest the Ottoman benefits be perturbed. In short, despite being an ally with Francis, the Turk was seen a threat to Europe *en masse*; besides, Süleyman was approaching.

***

Flötner used the German playing cards standards of his time with four suits (Bells, Hearts, Acorns, and Leafs) and forty-eight cards that include king, upper valet, lower valet, banner card with a flag (10), and number cards from 9 to 2 (Figure 3.2).[80] The lowest of the number cards in each suit bore the coat of arms of the d'Este Family, which indicated Francesco d'Este as the commissioner of the deck. It is known that Flötner made a woodcut of a triumphal arch for the memory of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's visit to Nuremberg in 1541, which occasion Francesco d'Este also attended. The elaborate design of the cards further strengthens the view that Flötner was commissioned by an elite to produce the deck. In accordance with the liberal status of card makers in Nuremberg, there had already been exquisite artisan card makers who had created a mode of elaborate designs, among which Hans Sebald Beham, Erhard Schön, Hans Schäufelein, and Jost Amman are notorious. Flötner followed this tradition in a design that can be summarized as burlesque (Smoller, 1986). Hans Sachs, a devout Lutheran, wrote distiches for each of the cards for another—but identical—deck published by Hans Rumpolt. This may indicate that the deck was published at least one more time for the service and entertainment of an audience outside of the upper class.

As opposed to other card makers' designs, on one side of the cards there are musical notes of popular love-themed songs of sixteenth-century Nuremberg. Each suit corresponds to a voice: Acorns bass, Leafs tenor, Hearts treble, and Bells alto.

[80] See Games Index No: 2.

Entertainment is the core intention in Flötner's deck of cards. On the front sides, there are non-identical woodcut pictures in various topics ranging in courtly and bawdy

Figure 3.2 Peter Flötner's Playing Cards (c.1545).

expressions, carnivalesque scenes, imaginary confrontations, criticism of religious authority, and scatological amusement. Characters in the pictures range from personified pigs to fairies, from lower class to high bourgeois, and from fools to clerics. It is this rich repertoire of characters that gives Flötner's deck a remarkable status.

Nevertheless, Flötner also added didactic functions to his playing cards, just as his predecessor, Master PW, had done. He aimed at touching upon vices and virtues—popular themes among the game producers that worked to justify the dubious status of game playing that was still frowned upon by the religious authority. In his inventive fantasy one can find metaphors addressing gluttony, sloth, lust, drunkenness, greed, and folly—some of the seven deadly sins. These vices were especially characterized by greedy pigs, sausages, intimate and risqué scenarios, and fools.[81] Sachs's distiches should be read in the same parallel of didactic—and, not in the least, justifying—purposes of game playing.

Although suits in the deck do not assume a coherent theme, number cards can be loosely connected with a theme. Therefore, I will separate the analysis of the number cards (9-3) from that of trump cards (King, Upper Knave, Lower Knave). Hans Sachs's complementary verses regarding each card help us conceptualize the characters in the card although they might be misleading sometimes. Accordingly, Acorns follow several scatological scenes in which pigs eat, cook and fight for excrement, as well as playing a board game for the prize of, well, feces (Acorns 9).[82] In number 4, a doctor examines a urine in a jar while a woman is leading to the doctor a girl with a hunchback.[83] In number 6, two upper-class couples dance, and a fool plays the violin.[84]

In Leafs, the major theme is eccentric and imaginary situations in peasants' lives such as a defecating farmer over a fence (Leafs 8)[85]; a dancing old couple (Leafs 7);[86] an overweight woman in a bathtub with a whisk in her hand to scare the flies while she is

[81] Flötner criticized the clergy in a 1535 engraving "Procession of the Clergy" in a similar imagery and symbolism with pigs, sausages, drunk monks, and fools.
[82] Sachs's verses are as follows: "Mancher kan der künst viel/Wie ein saw im pretspiel." See: Schoch (1993, p.16).
[83] "Wer ob dem spil erplint, Acht weder weib/noch kint." ibid, p.17.
[84] "Der dancz und auch das spiel/Macht nach-gedenckens viel." ibid, p.16.
[85] "Das spil lest mag ich jehen/Ain oft in hintern sehen." ibid, p.15.
[86] "Wer halten wil al schanczen/Mues in aim kittel danczen." ibid, p.15.

approached by a naked man with a hunchback (Leafs 3)[87]; and a housemaid following her masters.[88] Hearts pose a critique to the bourgeoisie by depicting an upper-class couple, and the lady's nose has transformed into a hanging sausage (Hearts 8)[89]; two gentlemen looking at a mirror that reflects them as fools (Hearts 7)[90]; and a flag-bearer holding a banner (Hearts 6).[91] Fools are repeated in a number of cards in the Bells. A tree trunk turns into a fool (Bells 9)[92]; an extraordinarily tall and slim fool stands among money sacks (Bells 8)[93]; five Putti dance, one of which plays two flutes (Bells 5)[94]; a woman beats a Landsknecht with a broom in her hand (Bells 4)[95]; and two rustic women are in fight (Bells 3)[96].

From bottom to top, Under Knaves comprise the lower stratum of the society. Under the Knave of Acorns is a messenger, holding a branch on his shoulder and a sealed paper in his hand. A dead hare and a sausage are hung on the branch. In Leafs, an overweight cook holds a spoon on one hand and a pen on the other. Sachs's verses denounce him as a filthy cook.[97] The fact that the imagery bears great similarity to Albrecht Dürer's 1496 engraving "The Cook and His Wife," indicates the visual source of Flötner's inspiration. Before Flötner's cook appeared in his deck of cards, he used a similar line of imagery in another engraving titled "The Procession of Gluttony," in which he satirized gluttony, one of the seven deadly sins, in the form of a massive Landsknecht bearing a standard of various food and drinks.[98] As we learn from Sachs's distich, the Under Knave of Hearts is a butcher who is carrying a sheep on his shoulders before he kills it. The Under Knave of Bells is a hunchbacked fool carrying a jug on top of his

[87] "Mancher ob den spiel siczt/Anhicz, vor angsten schwiczt." ibid, p.15.
[88] "In die gertten spacirn/Thut pas, den spiel verlirn." ibid, p.15.
[89] "Glueck, puelerey (Buhlerie-Wantonness) und spiel/Verkert sich oft und viel." ibid, p.14.
[90] "Mancher ain puelen erwelt/Die in füern narren helt." ibid, p.14.
[91] "Krieg het ich alzeit hold/Drumb hab ich fendrichs-sold." ibid, p.14.
[92] "Ich pin selb aufgewachsen/ein narr, wild, ungelachsen." ibid, p.17.
[93] "Ein langer, thüerrer narr/In schellen ich verharr." ibid, p.17.
[94] "Ich pin der faul Schellen-fricz/Prauch oft gar kindlich wicz." ibid, p.18.
[95] "Dw hast verspielt dein gelt/Mein ruetten dir fein strelt." ibid, p.18.
[96] "Zanck und des haders vil/Erhebt sich obb dem spil." ibid, p.18.
[97] "Ich pin der suedelkoch/Plas mir ins offenloch." ibid, p.15.
[98] The British Museum, Inv. No: 1986,1004.2. For more information about the engraving, see: (Rowlands, 1987).

hunchback and holding a sausage in his hand. He wears patterns over his boots, while his nose drips.

Over Knaves represent various occupations, including a mix of high officers and not-so-high professions, but clearly respected by Flötner. Of Acorns is a noble person holding a branch of oak tree. According to Sachs, he is a "Münzmeister" (or Master of the Mint)[99] who was chosen from the upper middle class but carried out a significant duty. Of Leafs is a Rentschreiber (scribe); of Hearts a barber with his utensils; and of Bells is an army musician with a trombone.

Kings of the deck represent a world that encompasses the world as it was known in sixteenth-century Nuremberg. The King of Acorns is obviously a young emperor of the Holy Roman Empire with his elaborate crown and the facial features of the Habsburg dynasty. There is a consensus among experts that it represents Maximilian I. Depending on the fact that the imagery resembles Flötner's similar depictions of Maximilian I, Flötner might have preferred to use an image which had already been in his oeuvre.[100] Sachs's verse regarding the personae is misleading, as for him the King of Acorns represents the mighty king of Persia, however, he looks rather a European king, standing in front of a Landsknecht and wearing imperial cuirasses.[101] There is a hint of human settlement in the background.

The King of Leafs is claimed to be the Emperor of the time, Charles V; however, this view lacks enough evidence. The King is depicted in his richly decorated attire while receiving a message delivered to him by his deputy. His crown and pendant of the Order of the Golden Fleece refer to his royal status. Sachs refers to him in his respective verse as the King of Denmark.[102] In the background, there is a coastal town and a ship in full sail. There is a similarity between the message paper delivered to the King and that which was carried by the messenger in the Under Knave of Acorns, in that both papers carry the same tile-shape seal with a dot inside.

---

[99] Deriving from his attire, some sources claim he is a camp marshal. See: Smoller, (1986).

[100] This similarity can be viewed in a scene depicting a peaceful confrontation of Maximilian I and Henry VII, King of England, in "Triumphal Arch" erected for Charles V, to which Flötner contributed. For details, see: British Museum, Inv. No: E,2.354.

[101] "Ich, künig der Persen prechtig/An lant und leuten mechtig." Schoch (1993, p.16).

[102] "Ich, künig aus Denmarck/An lant und lewten starck." ibid, p.14.

The King of Hearts and of Bells are composed of the rulers of exotic lands; namely, Turkey and America. The King of Hearts is a mighty king wearing a turban over his crown, holding a scepter in one hand and his sword's hilt in the other. He looks at three putti, two of whom were stabbed, and the other is about to be killed by the King's deputy who is also holding the hilt of his sword in a manner that suggests he is about to pull it. Behind the King and his deputy, there are tents of the army camp as well as the silhouette of two people, who must be soldiers of a sort, happily celebrating the scene in the foreground. The King speaks thus in Sachs's verses: "I, the Emperor of Turkey, am a terrible tyrant" (Parlak, 2018, p.194).

The King of Bells is a Native American king that holds a scepter in one hand and a parrot on the other. His body is poorly covered with a poncho, underneath colorful feathers are visible. Besides his scepter, he is decorated with a crown and a pendant to symbolize his status. His deputy holds a bow and an arrow, ill-dressed and wears feathers. Both figures carry golden rings on their legs, feet and arms. Behind the king, there is an elephant, mistakenly included in the picture perhaps to underline the exotic aura. If not, Flötner might have thought Native Americans were Indians, a ubiquitous fallacy that overran the early sixteenth century. There is also a ship in the background that refers to the European presence in Americas. Sachs compares the King to someone doing foolish things.[103]

The King cards suggest a polarized context in which there is a subtle division between "us" and "them." While the kings of Acorns and Leafs represent a familiar context for a sixteenth-century audience, the Native American and Turkish kings add a blend of the uncanny and the undesired. Flötner's imagination of Native Americans, which glimpses the mindset shared by the general public toward the uncanny of Europe's outer world, revolves around exoticism and inferiority with nudity, covering the body with feathers, a parrot, and a mistakenly located elephant. The bow and arrow that the king's deputy holds refers to a warlike nature; yet, in the undertones they symbolize an inferiority; for the bow and arrow had been replaced with more advanced weaponry in a sixteenth century that used gunpowder. Neither the king nor his deputy carries armors, which speaks to their defenselessness against those who were arriving with their ship.

[103] "Ich, künig aus Indian/Nerrisch hoffgsind ich hon." ibid, p.17.

As opposed to the image of the Native Americans, that of the Turk was better defined detailed, as discussed in Chapter 1. After all, the Turk was an enemy, a threat, and often condemned by Catholic and Protestant leaders in a stratified Europe. The Turkish king in Flötner's playing cards should be read in this context. The undesired Turk with his gruesome nature was on his way to innermost Europe, threatening Europeans' lives, even the most innocent ones. This picture, although fundamentally biased, was presented to people in Europe by the religious and non-religious authorities.

Although it is difficult to relate the iconography behind the Turkish king to a particular Ottoman sultan, it is possible that Flötner was influenced by Süleyman the Magnificent, who, in the 1540s, had already established his suzerainty in Hungary and forced the Habsburgs to a five-year treaty that mandated the latter to pay an annual tribute. Besides, bearing in mind that Süleyman personally commanded most of his military campaigns up until his death in Hungary, the analogy between the Turkish king who stands before his army camp and Süleyman is further underpinned. The king cards in the deck, except for the Native American king, represent this long-fought game of power between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans that also dominated the minds of early modern Nurembergers so as to bring the topic into a game.

As opposed to Master PW's Turkish king, Flötner's imagery of the Turkish king manifests a sharp nuance in that threat and fear come to prominence. However, this rather strong emotion indispensably diminishes the magic circle of the game, in which fun and entertainment is one of the most important aims shared among the players. In other words, the best way to tackle this fearsome figure, as well as the fear itself, is to play with him in the aura of the game. By the same token, Flötner's use of irony while ridiculing the upper-class and denunciating the civil and religious authorities are in the same trajectory of the "play and relieve" mechanism that is attained in the magic circle.[104]

***

[104] This should remind us the bilateral effects of the Monopoly game, which was one of the best-selling pastimes during the Great Depression in 1930s America for the fact that the game allowed the poor, although imaginary, to own lands and properties that they would have not owned in real life, and thus temporarily relieve the effects of the economic depression.

Süleyman the Magnificent began his thirteenth and last campaign against the Habsburgs and joined his army in 1566 that had besieged Szigetvár, Hungary. He aimed to pacify rising criticisms among his subjects and court regarding his old age by demonstrating that he was still capable of leading his army; besides, he had to respond to his defeat during the Siege of Malta in 1565. The campaign ended with success for the Ottomans but not for Süleyman's life. In the forty-second year of his sovereignty, he died at the age of seventy-two in his imperial tent. His death was not announced until the end of the campaign lest the news discourage his soldiers and eventually influence the result of the ongoing campaign.

During the last decade of his rule, whether willingly or reluctantly, Süleyman was pulled into a game of throne between his sons that lasted until 1562. When Bayezid, one of the two remaining sons with Selim, was strangled to death in Iran where he had taken refuge with the Ottoman envoy, Selim and his sons remained the only successors until his father's death. Süleyman's mummified body was brought to Belgrade, where Selim was present at the Ottoman military camp. His death and Selim's accession to the throne were announced simultaneously. He was now called Selim II, the Blond. Upon arriving at Istanbul, he would never leave it again and continued a secluded life within his palace until his death in 1574.

Reasons for his seclusion should be sought in the conjuncture of the Ottomans after Süleyman. Selim's reign began with social unrest in Anatolia, the disloyalty of the Janissaries to the Ottoman sultan, and a state governed by multiple actors. A long period of war with the Habsburgs created a heavy toll on the shoulders of Ottoman civilians who had their voice heard by revolts generally called "*Celalî.*" On the other hand, Janissaries gained courage and insolence by threatening the Sultan to overthrow him if their demands were not satisfied. From now on, fearsome Janissaries were a threat *in situ.* Selim, from the beginning onward, let his Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, a *devşirme* originally from an Orthodox Christian family of Bosnia, to take over the duties of administration, while he himself preferred to act like a supreme leader who observed and at times opposed Sokollu's governance. Besides, Selim's shelter to his palace gave opportunities to the elder and respected women in the family, such as mothers and sisters, to have an influence over him; thus, starting with Selim's reign, more and more women involved in politics even governed the Empire on behalf of the infant sultans. It is also equally significant that

the Ottoman Empire began the age of overseas campaigns in the Indian Ocean, west of Mediterranean, and in parts of Indonesia and Caucasus. As for his Spanish counterpart, it was neither expected nor possible for Selim to lead campaigns that took place in an ever-growing geography. Therefore, in the age of the Ottomans' imperial overstretch, Selim rightfully preferred to reside in his palace.

The repercussions in Europe of Selim's secluded life were in almost complete agreement with each other. In the texts of propagandist writers, he was usually portrayed as an alcoholic and fond of women, thus spending his whole time in his harem by chasing his concubines and drinking. Writing in 1603, Richard Knolles described Selim's succession to the throne thus:

> [H]e (Selim) was conuaied into the imperiall pallace the three and twentith of September, in the yeare 1566; and there possessed of his fathers seat, was by the Ianizaries there present, saluted emperour. He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of an vnconstant and hastie disposition, wholy giuen to wantonnesse and excesse: so that he neuer went to wars himselfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the charge of Selymus his grandfather, giuen by him to his father Solyman, whereof he was neuer vnmindfull. (Knolles, 1603, p. 827)

Knolles summarized Selim's death as follows:

> Shortly after, this great emperour Selymus spent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greatest strength, died, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned eight, and lieth buried at HADRIANOPLLE. He was but of a meane stature, & of an heauie disposition; his face rather swollen than fat, much resembling a drunkard. Of all the Othoman kings and emperours he was of least valour, & therfore least regarded, altogither giuen to sensualitie and pleasure: and so dying, left his empire vnto Amurath his eldest sonne, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage… ibid, (p. 915)

He did not abstain himself from writing a verse beneath Selim's portrait that summed up his life:

> Vnlike his father, Selymus the royall Scepter takes:
> And shaking armes with cruell hand, exceeding stirs he makes.
> With VENICE state his league he breaks (with Turks what league can stand)

And CYPRVS kingdome takes from them, by force of mightie hand.
He couered the swelling seas with hugie fleets to see:
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honour be.
The Vayuod of MOLDAVIA he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdome great that so he might extend.
In GVLET he the Spaniards ouerwhelmd with mightie power:
And thereby TVNES kingdome did the selfesame time deuour.
But wholy giuen to venerie, vnto excesse and play,
He posteth on before his time to hast his fatall day. ibid, (p. 826)

Knolles used for his sources the works of European, especially Italian, historians in *The Generall Historie of the Turks*; yet, it is a subject for separate research as to what extent he contributed to the repeated disinformation he had imported into his works. However, what is certain is that his works contributed to influencing other historians toward an imagined Selim. In this parallel, another English historian of the seventeenth century, Sir Paul Rycaut, mentions him as "…*Sultan Selim*, sirnamed *Sarhose* [*sarhoş*-drunk], or the drunken, with his hundred Children…" (Rycaut, 1668, p. 114)

3.1.3 Jost Amman and the Mighty Turk

Flötner's legacy in playing cards continued after his death in 1546 by another Swiss-born émigré of Nuremberg who had published a deck of cards that reproduced similar themes and distiches. Jost Amman was born in 1539 in Zurich. In his twenties, he came to Nuremberg around 1561, where he worked with the major illustrators and print makers of Nuremberg, among whom Virgil Solis and Carl Sigmund Feyerabend are particularly noteworthy. Besides, he cooperated with Hans Sachs, who provided poetry for Amman's most famous work "The Book of Trade" (*Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden*) in which Amman illustrated many contemporary professions with a verse from Sachs.

In 1588, Jost Amman published *Charta Lusoria* which he dedicated to Ruland family of Püdensdorf (near the city of Cham in Bavaria), a family known to have brought up Catholic deans (Figure 3.3).[105] The verses were written in Latin and German by Johann Heinrich Schröter, who mainly wrote hymns in addition to epics of biblical heroes. That the deck is in a book format once again sheds doubt on whether it was made with the intention to play with. Obviously, in this format, the deck cannot be played; moreover,

[105] See Games Index No: 7.

Figure 3.3 *Charta Lusoria*, Jost Amman (1588).

there is scant information if it was reproduced for playing during or after Amman's lifetime.[106] It can be asserted that the Rulands commissioned Amman to produce this special deck that bears the features of an imagery tradition of the sixteenth century that is characterized by, as examined above, scatology, bawdiness, and foolery. Following the line of Hans Sebald Beham, Erhard Schön, Hans Schäufelein, and Flötner, Amman can

[106] The British Museum holds a mounted copy of the deck that bears the Latin and German verses pasted on the back of the cards (see: British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.381.1-51). Smoller (1986) cites Detlef Hoffman's "Spielkarten" in which he mentions the hand colored copy (see: Hoffmann (1972, p. 101) at footnote 54, as well as a deck published by Heinrich Hauk in 1595 who used Amman's images in *Charta Lusoria*.

be considered the last of the masters in this exclusively sixteenth-century German tradition in card making.

The deck is composed of fifty-two cards that are divided into four suits; dabbers, books, cups, and wine jars. The suits include, in an order, an Ace, King, Upper Knave, Under Knave, and numerical cards from 10 to 1. As the banners in Flötner's deck, every 10 is represented by a woman. There are two additional cards without suit marks; in one, two lovers from the upper class sit in the nature; and in the other, another high-status woman in an elegant dress plays the lute and sings a song.

The main motif of the deck is to praise virtues and denounce vices. The verses especially highlight being moderate in life. The suit marks are used in order to convey these moral messages; wine jars and cups advise the necessity of wine for arts and music, namely, creativity and the enjoyment of life. The lack and excess of it is condemned. The dabbers and books symbolize education and being industrious; likewise, their lack is not desirable. Thus, perfection in life should be sought in being moderate between enjoyment and intellect. This point can best be demonstrated in Schröter's verse on 8 of Jars on which there is a man metamorphosed into a vine tree; under him stands a roaring lynx. The verse advises to drink wine responsibly in small portions to sustain a life in order; otherwise, one may well behave like a wild animal.[107] On the contrary, lack of pleasure is not the point in life, as the painter in the Over Knave of Cups asserts. The Turkish dog, for him, forbids wine, which is the source of pleasure and creativity in art and poetry; thus, the Turks are philistines.[108]

The Turk card that appears in the deck as the King of Cups falls onto the side that attacks the lack of enjoyment in life. Unlike that of Flötner's, Amman's imagery depicts

---

[107] "Was ist all zeit das beste zill/
Der wegen auch wer trincken will
Halt rechte maß und ordnung:
Dann obwol vil edler nutzung
Bringt der Wein/ dennoch wo man
Den selben nicht gebrauchen kan
Rechtmessig/ er die Menschen gut
In wilde Thier verwandlen thut." PURL: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/uh-20/start.htm?image=00204.

[108] "Kein kunst achtet man in Türckey/
Kein maler noch Poeterey/
Fragstu warumb? den Kebensafft/
Der da gebt frewd/sinn/kunst und krafft/
Den Mahlern und Poetengut/
Der Türckisch hund verbieten thut." PURL: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/uh-20/start.htm?image=00168

a mighty King, an equestrian with elaborate headwear and holding a cup; however, Schröter's verses make derogatory remarks. For him, the Turkish bloodhound forbade his people to drink wine, but this order spared himself, who fills his stomach with wine.[109] Schröter's accusation of hypocrisy can be linked to Selim II's fondness of drinking wine, which was, however, forbidden to the public in accordance with the Islamic norms that regulated society. Thus, Selim's image in Europe perpetuated into Amman's playing cards through Schröter's verses. This demonstrates how much a fairly known German poet was informed about the life of an Ottoman sultan and his subjects in the Ottoman Empire despite the polemical nature of this information.

3.1.4 Pluck the Owl

It is generally accepted that Italian sovereignty in the Mediterranean began to decline in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Italian peninsula was shared between city-states after the fall of the Roman Empire. Although Venice and Genoa extended their territories by forming overseas colonies, especially in the Levant and the Black Sea throughout the Middle Ages, they gradually decayed in an age of strong and centralized empires in the early modern period. The disintegration of the city-states was further stimulated by the shift of the commercial center of Europe from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. In that sense, Italian city-states and the Ottoman Empire shared a common geographical disadvantage resulting from their failure of firsthand connections with the New World.[110] By the end of the seventeenth century, the peninsula was already invaded by Spanish, French, and German forces. On the other hand, the Turkish presence was not a surprise in the Italian city-states, some of which were for centuries visited by Turkish merchants, like Venice.

---

[109] "Mich wundert warumb du den Wein
Verbeutst den underthanen dein/
Du Bluthund arg türckischer art/
Da du doch dich offt ungespart
Füllest mit Wein: Groß ist die schandt
Das ein Regent in aller Hand
Lastern/ die erverbeut/ thutt lebn:
Aber wer will ihm ordnung geben?" PURL: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/uh-20/start.htm?image=00172

[110] The Ottomans managed to conduct operations in the Indian Ocean in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but never managed to reach the American continent. For more information, see: İnalcık (2017), Emecen (2017).

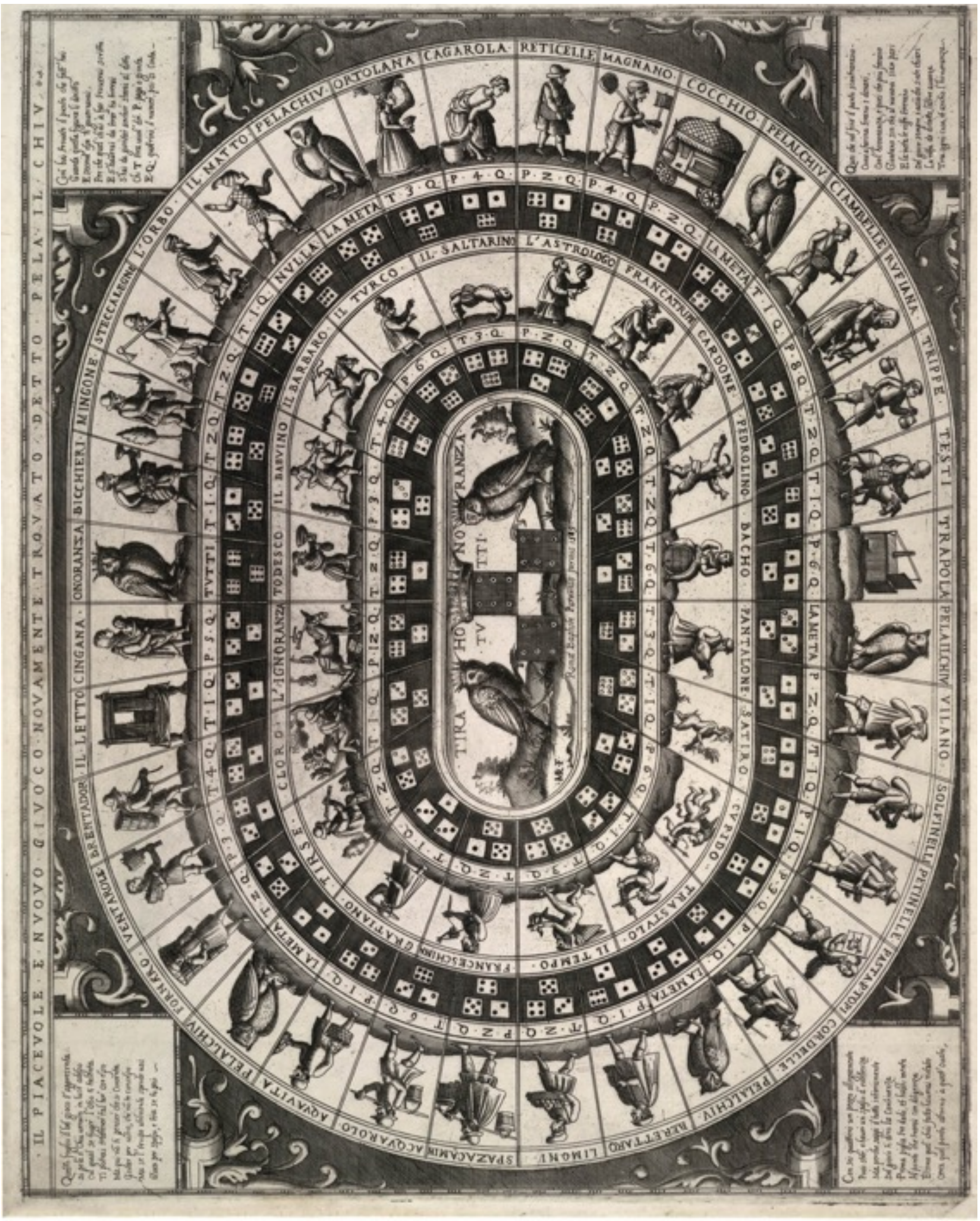

Figure 3.4 Ambrogio Brambilla’s *Il Piacevole e Nuovo Guioco Novamente Trovato detto Pela il Chiu* (Pluck the Owl) (1589).

This was the situation by and large in 1589 when Ambrogio Brambilla, a Milan-born engraver, published a board game called the "Enjoyable and New Game Known as Pluck the Owl" (*Il Piacevole e Nuovo Giuoco Novamente Trovato detto Pela il Chiu,* in Figure 3.4).[111] Not much is known about his life until 1579, when he became a member of the Pontifical Academy of Fine Arts and Letters of the Virtuosi al Pantheon (*Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*) in Rome. The year of his death is also unknown. However, according to the information gathered from his works, he was an active printmaker and cartographer in Rome between 1579 and 1599. His oeuvre includes engravings that range from portraits of Roman emperors and popes until Sixtus V to Roman architectural artefacts, monuments, and other notorious contemporary buildings in Rome; views of the ancient and contemporary city of Rome; a map of the Roman Empire, and two rebuses. In addition, he illustrated the street vendors, *lazzi* from *commedia dell'arte,* and peoples of Rome in several engravings that shed light on the everyday life of the city. In short, Brambilla kept an iconographic record of the Roman Empire and the city of Rome as he was living it. These versatile topics of interests and the scope of his oeuvre are skillfully transformed into parts of a ludic experience in Pluck the Owl.

The game is composed of three concentric circles and fifty-seven compartments: the outer circle bears thirty-six, the middle circle twenty, and the inner circle just one. Other than the owl that occupies six compartments in the outer circle and the central circle, in all other compartments appear a variety of figures that include major characters from *commedia* (such as Pantalone, Pedrolino, Francatripe, and Gratiano), minor characters in *commedia* (il Turco, Tedesco), characters from other comic street entertainments (Trastulo, Cloro), mythology (Cupido, Bacho, Satiro), street vendors (Limoni, Acquarolo, Fornaro), illustrations of vices and virtues (Onoranza, L'ignoranza), stage roles and carnival characters other than *commedia* (il Saltarino, il Babuno, il Barbaro), and figures referring to tarot cards (il Tempo, il Matto). In the below list, complete characters are laid out with their function in the game and in real life.

[111] See Games Index No: 47.

Outer Circle: Character	*Pay/Take*	*Throw*	*Class*
Onoranza (Honor)	Take all	6-6-6	Vice and virtue
Bicchieri (Glass seller)	Take 1 Quatrini	3-1-5	Street vendor
Mingone (?)	Take 2 Quatrini	4-4-5	Street vendor
Steccalegne (Wood splitter)	Take 2 Quatrini	5-1-6	Street vendor
L'orbo (the Blind)	Take 1 Quatrini	6-3-3	–
Il Matto (the Fool/Mad)	Null	3-6-6	–
Pela il Chiu (the Owl)	Take Half	5-5-5	–
Ortolana (Grocery Lady)	Take 3 Quatrini	4-2-6	Street vendor
Cagarola (Defecating Lady)	Pay 4 Quatrini	1-1-6	–
Reticelle (Lace or Nets Seller)	Pay 2 Quatrini	4-1-4	Street vendor
Magnano (?)	Pay 4 Quatrini	2-2-4	Street vendor
Cocchio (Carriage)	Pay 2 Quatrini	1-2-2	–
Pela il Chiu (the Owl)	Take Half	4-4-4	–
Ciambelle (Donuts)	Take 1 Quatrini	2-3-2	Street vendor
Rufiana (Procuress)	Pay 8 Quatrini	2-2-5	Carnival/Stage Character

Trippe (Tripe Seller)	Take 2 Quatrini	6-2-2	Street vendor
Testi (?)	Take 1 Quatrini	4-1-5	Street vendor
Trapola (Trap)	Pay 6 Quatrini	1-1-2	–
Pela il Chiu	Take Half	3-3-3	–
Vilano (Countryman ?)	Pay 2 Quatrini	1-1-3	Street vendor
Solfinelli (Match Seller)	Take 1 Quatrini	1-1-4	Street vendor
Petinelle (Hair Comb Seller)	Pay 1 Quatrini	1-1-5	Street vendor
Pasta per Topi (Paste Seller – for killing the mice)	Pay 3 Quatrini	1-2-4	Street vendor
Cordelle (Rope Seller)	Pay 1 Quatrini	1-2-5	Street vendor
Pela il Chiu	Take Half	2-2-2	–
Berettaro (Hat Seller)	Pay 1 Quatrini	1-2-6	Street vendor
Limoni (Lemon Seller)	Take 2 Quatrini	3-4-5	Street vendor
Spazacamin (Chimney Sweeper)	Pay 2 Quatrini	2-5-4	Street vendor
Acquarolo (Water Seller)	Take 6 Quatrini	2-3-6	Street vendor
Aquavita (Wine/Liqueur Seller)	Pay 1 Quatrini	4-4-2	Street vendor
Pela il Chiu	Take Half	1-1-1	–

Fornaro (Bread Seller ?)	Take 2 Quatrini	5-2-3	Street vendor
Ventarole (Fan Seller)	Pay 3 Quatrini	3-4-1	Street vendor
Brentador (Wine Porter)	Take 4 Quatrini	4-5-2	Street vendor
Il Letto (the Bed)	Take 1 Quatrini	2-3-1	–
Cingana (Gypsy)	Pay 5 Quatrini	3-3-2	Beggar (?)

Inner Circle:

Character	*Pay/Take*	*Throw*	*Class*
L'Ignoranza (Ignorance)	Pay 12 Quatrini	6-5-4	Vice and Virtue
Todesco (German)	Take 2 Quatrini	6-4-1	Commedia dell'Arte
Il Babvino (the Monkey)	Pay 3 Quatrini	4-3-4	Carnival/Stage Character
Il Barbaro (the Barbarian)	Take 4 Quatrini	6-6-4	Carnival/Stage Character
Il Turco (the Turk)	Pay 6 Quatrini	6-5-6	Carnival/Stage Character
Il Saltarino (Acrobat)	Take 3 Quatrini	4-4-6	Carnival/Stage Character
L'astrologo (Astrologer/Fortune Teller)	P 2 Quatrini	4-6-3	Street Vendor (?)

Francatripe	Take 2 Quatrini	6-1-6	Commedia dell'Arte
Cardone	Take 2 Quatrini	6-5-2	Commedia dell'Arte
Pedrolino	Take 2 Quatrini	5-6-3	Commedia dell'Arte
Bacho	Take 6 Quatrini	3-6-1	Carnival/Stage Character
Pantalone	Take 3 Quatrini	6-2-6	Commedia dell'Arte
Satiro (Satyr)	Take 1 Quatrini	5-5-6	Mythological Character
Cupido (Cupid)	Pay 6 Quatrini	3-4-2	Mythological Character
Trastulo	Take 1 Quatrini	3-3-4	Carnival/Stage Character
Il Tempo (the Time)	Take 3 Quatrini	5-4-5	Mythological Character
Franceschina	Take 2 Quatrini	5-1-5	Carnival/Stage Character
Gratiano	Take 1 Quatrini	3-3-1	Carnival/Stage Character
Tirse	Take 2 Quatrini	5-2-5	Carnival/Stage Character
Cloro	Take 1 Quatrini	5-3-5	Carnival/Stage Character

Table 2 Compartments on the outer and inner circles of Pluck the Owl.

Some of these characters were used in games published after Brambilla, which highlights the fact that Pluck the Owl was influential among producers in Italy. A good example of such games is *Nuovo et Piaccevole Gioco detto il Barone* ("New and

Enjoyable Game of the Barons"), published in the mid seventeenth century in Italy by an unknown producer who copied one of Jacque Callot's famous etchings titled *Les Baroni*, published in 1622–23, in France.[112] Game of the Baron is, unlike Pluck the Owl, played on a spiral track as in Game of the Goose, but Gypsy (*Cingara*), Barbarian (*Barbaro*), Carriage (*Chocchio*), the Fool (*Matto*), Astrologer (*Astrologo*), and Trap (*Trappola*) compartments are shared with the latter. Another game that was influenced by Pluck the Owl is a *Biribissi* (Bingo) game published in Rome in 1642–91 by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi.[113] The game is composed of forty-two squares that include images that reflect neutral tones. Among these images are the Trap (*Trappola*), German (*Tedesco*), the Blind (*L'orbo*), Procuress (*Rufiana*), Cupid (*Cupido*), Glass Seller (*Bicchiere*), Astrologer (*Astrologo*), Barbarian (*Barbaro*). These characters bear strong resemblance to the characters in Brambilla's Pluck the Owl, almost as if the producer had copied them.

According to the rules inscribed on the corners of the board, the game is played with three dice and counters unique to the players. Each compartment bears a letter ("T"– – *tira*, to take; and "P"— *paga*, to pay) and a number designating the number of coins (Quatrini) the player should take or pay. Players land their counters on a compartment according to the result of their dice throw. For example, if the dice shows three-three-two, then the player places the counter on the corresponding compartment, which is "*Cingana*" (Gypsy). As the compartment bears the inscription "P-5-Q," the player is supposed to pay five *Quatrini*. If the dice show equal numbers, then the player lands on one of the five owl compartments (Pela il Chiu) and takes half of the coins in the pot as inscribed with "the half" (la Metá). Whereas the player that throws six-six-six (the highest possible dice combination) wins the game by taking all the coins as s/he lands on *Onoranza* (honor). *Bacho* (Bacchus; a character in pastoral or mythological plays) gives the second most with eight *Quatrini*. Landing on *L'Ignoranza* (ignorance) costs players twelve *Quatrini*, the highest amount of pay at once. This follows *Rufiana* with eight *Quatrini* and *il Turco* with six *Quatrini*. *Il Matto* (the fool) is the only compartment that requires null action for the players.

[112] For the game, see: British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.33; for Jacque Callot's etching, see: British Museum, Inv. No: X,4.211.
[113] See: British Museum, Inv. No: 1893,0331.39.

The gameplay designed by Brambilla loosely suggests in the undertones a reward of virtues and punishment of vices, a typical theme commonly used in early modern games by game designers for the justification and existence of play (discussed in Chapter 2). *Onoranza* (honor) is the most praised virtue as the given privilege for winning the game. Mythological figures like *Bacho*, *il Tempo* (the Time), and *Satiro* (Satyr) are also favored by Brambilla as players earn coins, which can be linked to his praise of the Roman past and earthly pleasures in his engravings. In addition, a similar preferential treatment is applied to famous *commedia* characters like Pantalone, Cardone, and Pedrolino. In contrast, ignorance is highly disfavored, as well as the defecating lady (*Cagarola*), monkey, and the Turk. This view is further supported by Brambilla's verses that explain the rules inscribed on the four corners of the board.[114] Accordingly, the main motivation of the game is to "escape from idleness" because the players can "spend hours with it." "But," warns Brambilla, "this does not mean that you are allowed to play for vise." He adds, "if you want to usefully spend your time play for fun, and win if you can."

The influence of *commedia dell'arte* on Pluck the Owl is significant. Brambilla is known to have produced *commedia*-related engravings; moreover, it is suggested that in Pluck the Owl he depicted the actors of the notorious *Compagnia dei Gelosi* acting troupe, one of the most famous troupes that traveled several European courts to perform *commedia* (Katritzky, 2006). As Katrinzky asserted in her 2009 work,

> Ambrogio Brambilla is concerned not to flatter the actors with grand and showy portraits, but to include widely known and popular personalities of his time as a topical element among the symbolic objects,

[114] "Questo foglio il bel gioco t'apresenta / Di pela il Chiu venuto in luce adesso / Col qual se fugir l'otio ti talenta / Ti potrai tratener tal hor con esso / Ma qui non ti pensar che si Consenta / Giocar per vitio che non te concesso / Ma se l'tempo utilmente spende voi / Gioca per spasso e tira se tu poi."

"Con sei quattrini un pezzo alegramente / Poi stare, e tener un spasso d'eccelenza / Ma perchè sappi il tutto intieramente / Del gioco ti dirò la continenza / Prima piglia tre dadi et habbi mente / Al ponto che frarai con diligenza / E come quel ch'ai fatto haverai notato / Cerca quel ponto attorno a quest'ovato."

"Come hai trovato il punto che fatt'hai / Guarda quella figura di diritto / E second'essa ti governerai / Per che quel ch'ai a far troverai scritto / E s' haverai da tirar, tu tirerai. / S'hai da giontar anchor starai al ditto / Chi T. tira vuol dir. P. paga o gionta / E Q. quatrini il numero poi si conta"

"Quei che nel fine il ponto scontrarano / Come a farina tirano i denari / Con l'honoranza e quei che più farano / Giontano sin che al numero sien pari; / E la meta le riffe tireranno. / Del gioco sempre e acciò che siate chiari / La riffa de diciotto l'altre avanza / Tira ogni cosa et anco l'honoranza.

> mythological figures, street traders and entertainers which decorate his humble gamesboard. (p.118)

Thus, deriving from Katrinzky, the Turk in Pluck the Owl appears as a minor character in *commedia* but a popular personality in stage performances. This viewpoint is in line with the multinational world conjuncture of early modern Italy that is reflected in *commedia dell'arte* stock characters representing not only the Turk but also the Spaniards (il Capitano), Germans (Tedesco), and French. As stated by Erith Jaffe-Berg (2016),

> Indeed, in important ways reflective of their function within early-modern Mediterranean mercantile economy, the Armenians, Turks, Jews and Arabs had specific powers and status, and this differential was marked in the comic performances. Understanding the way in which comic frame of commedia dell'arte presented the foreigners living in their midst shed further light on the ways in which the early-modern Italian Peninsula negotiated with cultural others, laying the foundation for contact and exchange. (p.104)

The Levantine appearances in commedia were recorded as early as 1611 in Flamino Scala's "Il Teatro delle Favole Rappresentative" (also cited in Jaffe-Berg), in which Scala recorded several then-renowned *commedia* plays that included characters such as an Armenian merchant (Hibrahim), two Turkish slaves (Ramadan and Mustafa), and another slave boy (Morat) owned by Pantalone.

The presence of the Turk in early modern Italian plays and games resonates with the notion that determines play as the best way to tackle fear. In that sense, Brambilla appropriated the Turk that had so far appeared in the comic sphere of performance plays into the magic circle of games. This transition from play to game not only extends the ground covered by the multifaceted image of the Turk, but also forms a platform that revolves around a "fun element" that links games with the Turkish image. In other words, the Turk becomes part of a wider entertainment after Brambilla's contribution.

3.2 Victory on the Battlefield—Defeat on the Game Field: Ottomans' Retreat from Europe as Represented in Games

The Ottoman Empire at the end of the seventeenth century was trying to cure the symptoms of an imperial overstretch that it had reached by the 1600s. Increasingly militarized borderlands in the Balkans, especially in Hungary, required subsidiaries from the imperial treasury to relieve the heavy burden of continuous war, which meant that maintaining the territories at the border to Habsburgs became highly expensive for the treasury (Agoston, 2015). Moreover, battles that required naval contributions created the highest expenses and resulted in increasing budget deficits. As Halil İnalcık (2017) noted, the costs of the navy in the Ottoman Empire absorbed a significant place in the military and economic crisis. In order to cure the economy as fast as possible, the Seraglio decided to change the amount of silver in *akçe* (coin), primary monetary unit. This move reduced the attractiveness of the Ottoman currency compared to foreign currencies such as the Dutch Teller and the Spanish Real that had been in widespread use in both administration and trade, due to their high amount of silver.

In addition, the accession of unqualified sultans to the throne marked the corruption of the administration, which then had to be run by regents closer to the sultans; for instance, during the reigns of Mustafa I (1591–1639), who took the throne two times, and Ibrahim (1615–1648), both sultans were under the direct influence of their mothers because they were allegedly so mentally unstable that they were defined as *deli* (insane). Thus, unqualified sultans created a gap in authority that had to be filled by others who were close to the sultans, such as mothers and viziers. Games of power among these secondary circles damaged the authority of the sultanate because these subsidiaries did not hesitate to use methods including bribing the Grand Mufti, cooperating with the Janissaries, and spending from the treasury to conduct these actions. Financial problems on one hand and the lack of authority on the other rematerialized in numerous internal revolts started by people called *Celalî* in Anatolia and other parts of the empire.

However, during the thirty-nine-year-long reign of Mehmed IV (1642–1693), the Seraglio managed to restore authority, social stability through successful campaigns, and the collapsed economy. More than the Sultan, Köprülü Mehmet Pasha (c.1575–1661) played a major role in this restoration. After being appointed as Grand Vizier in 1656 with extraordinary powers above the Sultan, he commenced a period defined by authoritarianism and centralized power that would continue after him with his dynasty in power.

As a member of the Köprülü family and the Grand Vizier to Mehmed IV, Kara Mustafa Pasha (1634–1683) believed that he could solve the ongoing problems between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in Hungary. He relied on the current state of the Empire that had accumulated power during the Köprülü administration. However, he failed to appropriately accommodate the military revolution in Europe that occurred through the Thirty Years War and its correspondent advances in military technology. Having rather outdated weapons in his army, Kara Mustafa deluded himself with his passion to be known as a great commander. As the last attempt to gain major glory in Europe, the Ottomans turned their attention to Vienna in 1683.

The Ottoman army left Istanbul for Vienna in March 1683, and after combining their forces with Tartars, Hungarians, and other units in the Balkans, the army arrived at Vienna in July with an estimated 140,000 soldiers. Vienna was under siege for two months until the Ottoman attacks began in September. This long wait and an early winter instigated disorder within the Ottoman army; besides, the shortage in supplies speaks to a prolonged siege. It also gave the allies of Habsburgs enough time to arrange reinforcements. Thus, the faith of the battle changed on September 12 when the allies made several attacks with their combined forces with the Polish King Jan Sobieski. Kara Mustafa could not get the support that he anticipated from the Crimean Khan; thus, the Ottomans retreated in an unseen manner in which they left behind their stock, including the royal tent of Kara Mustafa. Upon hearing the news, Sultan Mehmed IV ordered him to be executed.

The decisive victory at Vienna was a rupture point in the image of the Turk. The retreat of the Ottomans stimulated such a victorious atmosphere in Europe that the Catholic block decided to form a union to continue repulsing the Turks. Under the leadership of the Papal State, the Habsburgs, Poland, Catholic Hungary, and Malta agreed to combine their forces in 1684. The Holy League grew extensively after the Russians agreed to join the league in 1686. This meant a total war against the Ottomans, who not only lost the battle but also entered a new phase in which their strong image had begun to change. For the next sixteen years, the Ottomans fought to restore this image to no avail. Finally, in 1699, they admitted European superiority by signing the Treaty of Karlowitz. From that point on, the Ottomans tried either to regain the territories they had lost or to hold their borders together against the Europeans.

3.2.1 Giuseppe Maria Mitelli

This research owes much credit to Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, who singlehandedly created five board games and one set of playing cards that included the Turk. Born in 1634 in Bologna, he was a member of a family of artists. His father Agostino Mitelli was a famous quadrature painter who worked in the court of Philip IV of Spain. Growing up under his father's supervision, Giuseppe Maria became an accomplished artist in painting. However, he showed his true talent in etching and engraving. Until his death in 1718, he created hundreds of works for print that covered a wide range of genres including caricatures, satires, board games, and moralistic and allegorical scenes. Similarly, he reflected this versatility in board games that adopted different topics, such as the game of the inns in Bologna (including their symbols and which food they were famous for), the game of caricaturized soldiers, the game of games, the game of suitors, the game of trades, the game of happiness, the game of hunters, the game of animals, and the game of eyes and mouths.

In accordance with the general tendency in European board games created in early modern period, Mitelli used unsophisticated game mechanism that relied solely on the chance element for players to move on the board and eventually to define the winner, attained by the roll of two or three dice. As seen in Ambrogio Brambilla's "Pluck the Owl," Mitelli's games required the players only to roll the dice and land on a compartment on the board. The capital letters and numbers on the compartment guide the players whether to pay (paga) to the pot or take (tira) from the pot. The number next to the initial defines how many coins (quatrini) the player pays or takes. The highest dice roll, which could be double or triple six, takes the whole pot and wins the game; while the lowest dice roll puts the player in the most disadvantageous position by requiring him/her to pay the highest number of quatrini and perhaps lose the game. This unsophisticated mechanism could easily be applied in different games; thus, Mitelli kept the mechanism unchanged but only altered the themes. The fact that his games were thematic, unsophisticated, and relied on a simple mechanism, must have helped people in Bologna to access these games when he created them. We currently have no sensible data on the price of his games; however, deriving from information such as the number of copies of

the same prints in museums and that his target audience was the general adult public but not the elites, it can be claimed that people could easily purchase his games. Mitelli, in other words, could turn everyday triviality into simple games for the enjoyment of his fellow Bolognese people.

One of the repeated figures in Mitelli's extensive oeuvre of prints is the Turk. Considering the fact that this figure appears frequently in his works after 1670s, Mitelli must have depicted the Turk during or shortly after the Ottoman campaign to Vienna in 1683. Influenced by the repercussions of the Ottoman defeat and by the events following the Vienna campaign, such as the fall of Buda in 1686 to the Habsburgs and the retreat of the Ottomans from Central Europe, Mitelli portrayed the Turk as a terrible enemy. Accordingly, the Turk with his false religion, outlandish attire, bearded face, large headwear, and scimitar is highly caricaturized in these propagandist images. An early example of the Turk came in his 1683 etching called "Al fin d'Mustafa" (the End of Mustafa).[115] Referring to the chief commander of the Ottoman campaign to Vienna, Kara Mustafa Pasha, he portrayed the Turk falling to the ground from his donkey while the Fortune in the background runs away, symbolizing the chance lost for the Turks. In an allegorical etching he made soon after the Ottomans lost Buda in 1686, Holy Faith receives the insignia of Buda by the imperial eagle of the Habsburgs while the Turks are all in misery.[116] The information in the bottom margin of the etching identifies the characters: Mother Turkey is sobbing, the vizier is desperate, and all the infidels are confused.

At times, Mitelli increased the tone of his propaganda against the Turk in etchings in which he returned to the topic of the Ottoman defeat at Vienna in 1683. Published in 1687 and dedicated to the Christians' progress against the Muslims, he depicted the dead body of the Grand Turk carried on a bier on the shoulders of wounded soldiers and accompanied by a crying Mufti.[117] Attached to the bier is the testament of the Grand Turk, who, having lost in Vienna, leaves an unforgettable memory to the Turks who can never attempt to capture Vienna again. He says farewell, "I am going back to Asia" (*Me ne vado in Asia*). The imperial eagle of the Habsburgs chases the Turks away by throwing arrows

[115] Museum Boijman, Accession Nu: L 2016/17 (PK).
[116] British Museum, Inv. No: 1852,1009.1048.
[117] British Museum, Inv. No: 1852,1009.1049.

onto the remaining soldiers, while in the background an Ottoman city, presumably Istanbul, is turned into ruins. The point of Mitelli's propaganda is clear: the Turks are going back to Asia. This idea was further highlighted in his later prints. In his allegorical work dated 1692, Mitelli skillfully etched the change of momentum in Europe (Figure 3.5). Stimulated by the news regarding the conquests of the Habsburgs in Gran Varadino (today's Oradea in Romania), he underlined the idea that the Turks' time to retreat has come. A warrior representing Time, standing over a Turk, is sharpening his blade with a stone-wheel turned by a half nude lady who represents Fortune. Both characters face toward the city of Varadino, which lies in the background, and watch the change. Referring to the end of thirty-two years of Ottoman rule in the city, the crescent over the buildings crack and fall, while the cross emerges and magically replaces them. The wheel of Fortune shows the inscription of the four continents, Europe is on the top, referring to the change of momentum in Europe. Time is up for the Turk; Fortune is on the side of Europe.

Figure 3.5 An allegory of the change of momentum in Europe by Mitelli (1692).

For Mitelli, European forces should unite to repel the Turks from Europe. In some of his works, he criticized European countries for fighting each other instead of uniting against the Turk. In a satirical etching dated 1700, he depicted four blindfolded soldiers playing piñata in their respective attire representing France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.[118] The soldiers bat their sticks to break a pot filled with coins; but, let alone hitting the pot, they eventually hit each other. Located on a hilltop in the background, two Turks watch the soldiers' foul game in a jovial mode. Because, while the soldiers engage themselves with a blindfolded piñata, the Turks are the real winners of this game.

Some of the characters and details in his oeuvre reveal that Mitelli followed the news about events happening in Europe and kept himself updated. He drew representations of actual people living in his time who could belong to European and non-European nobility, and sometimes rebellious army captains. In his etchings, Mitelli drew those people he had read in the news together with the context of the news. Among these people were the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I, notorious Ottomans like Kara Mustafa Pasha, several Ottoman sultans, and even the rebellious commanders of the Ottoman army. Two etchings about Imre Thököli provide evidence about how up-to-date he was with news in Europe.[119] This controversial character sought alliance from the Habsburgs and Ottomans in an attempt to liberate his country; nevertheless, he was imprisoned by both Habsburgs and Ottomans with the charge of forming an alliance with the enemy. Referring to Thököli's conflicting bitter story, Mitelli drew him behind the bars in both etchings. First, as a European nobleman when he was imprisoned in Vienna,[120] and second in Turkish attire when he was imprisoned by the Ottomans.[121] In the latter etching, the bars he is desperately holding are shaped as a doubled merrels board, referring to his double play between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans. Thököli, however, is the losing part in this double play.

---

[118] British Museum, Inv. No: 1852,0612.512.

[119] Imre Thököli (1657-1705) was a Hungarian prince who rebelled against Habsburgs upon their increasing pressure on converting Hungarian Protestants to Catholicism. He led an army of rebels and in 1682 he was appointed as the elected king of Central Hungary by the Ottoman Emperor Mehmed IV. He died in Anatolia in exile.

[120] Museum of Genus Bononiae, Ref. Nu: 2217 (rep.1/293)

[121] The Morgan Library & Museum, Call Nu: s It. 17.20, Record ID: 142155, Accession Number: 1977.8

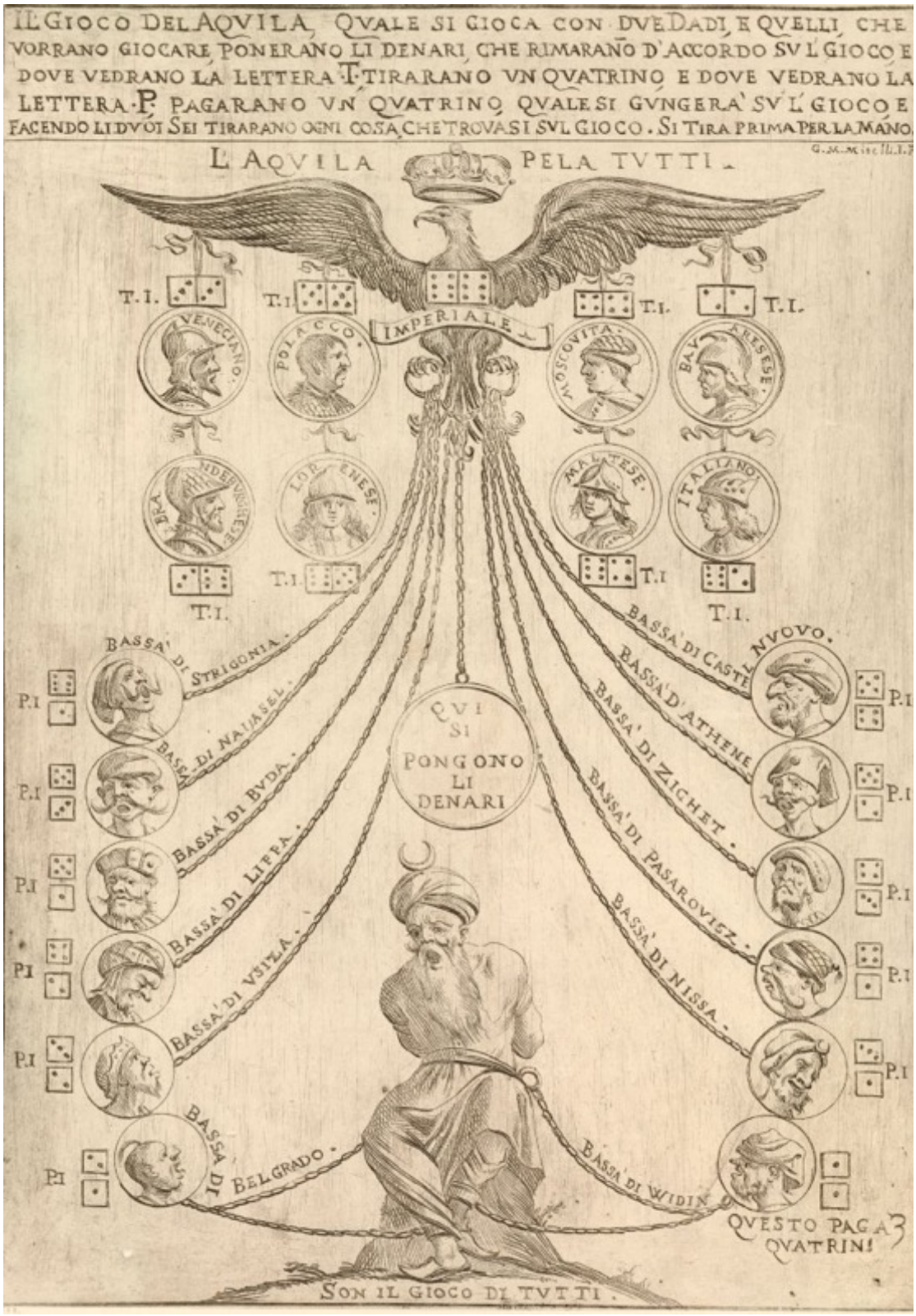

Figure 3.6 Mitelli's *Il Gioco del Aquila* (c.1683-1690).

The Battle of Vienna in 1683 has been the subject of many literary and artistic works, but Mitelli expressed the event in a uniquely ludic way. His undated etching titled "Game of the Eagle" (*Il Gioco del Aquila*) is a commemoration of this significant victory in a game format (Figure 3.6).[122] Two main figures on the board symbolize the two powers: The eagle with a crone above its head for the Habsburgs, and the sobbing, chained Turk for the Ottomans. Mitelli, as stated above, used the Imperial Eagle of the Habsburgs to symbolize the victories gained against the Ottomans. European forces at the time, some of which supported the Habsburgs during the campaign, were represented by portraits of generals located under the wings of the eagle. Among these forces protected by the eagle are nationalities such as Venetian, Polish, Italian, Bavarian, Maltese, and Russian (Moscovita), as well as the polities of Brandenburg, Lorraine, and Italy. The similarity between the portrait of the Polish general to other representations of the Polish King, Jan III Sobieski, suggests that Mitelli singled out this hero of the Battle of Vienna from the other generals by employing verisimilitude. The European group is composed of countries who fought in the defense of Vienna and member countries of the 1684 Holy League, which explains the reason why Russia is included in the game although they had not contributed to the defense of Vienna but joined the Holy League in 1686.[123] The eagle holds in its claws chains that are connected to twelve Turkish pashas and a central chained-up Turk who is sitting on a rock. While the pashas represent the governors of Ottoman cities in the Balkans, the central character with his distinctively open mouth, long beard, headwear with crescents, and sad face resembles Mitelli's typical representations of the Turk that he used in his abovementioned works.

Mitelli used the unsophisticated gameplay discussed above; accordingly, all Turkish characters marked with the initial P for pay and all Europeans with T for take. This means that winning the game was only attained by the dice result that lands on the Europeans. Double numbers are favored in the game and doubles suggest a hierarchy that matches the course of historical events that happened during the campaign and the Holy League. The highest possible number on a dice roll, double six, wins the game by taking all the coins as it lands on the Imperial Eagle. This is followed by a double five that

[122] See Games Index No: 49.

[123] Deriving from this information, it is highly likely that Mitelli printed the game no earlier than 1686.

corresponds to the Polish King Jan Sobieski who changed the result of the campaign by repulsing the Turkish camp with a surprise attack. Double four, Russia, being a member of the League, was one of the stronger allies against the Ottomans. Venice with double three was one of the earlier members of the League; and finally, Bavaria, with double two, under the leadership of Maximilian II Emanuel (Elector of Bavaria) had an active role during the defense, same as Brandenburg (six-three) under Prince Georg Friedrich of Waldeck and Lorrain (six-five) under Duke of Lorrain Charles V. Malta (six-four) and Italy (six-two) were known to be in the League, the latter of which might refer to the Papal State.

The Turks in the game, on the other hand, correspond to lower dice results starting from nine (five-four) to two (one-one). As opposed to the Europeans, Mitelli gave the Turks a grotesque look, which is in accordance with his general depiction of the Turk in his other etchings. The lowest dice result (one-one) corresponds to the Pasha of Vidin, formerly an administrative division in the Ottoman Empire, and causes the player to pay three coins, the highest number of coins to be paid at once in the game. In other words, the Turk is symbolically equal to loss.

Figure 3.7 Mitelli's *Gioco della Fortuna e di Disgratia*, (c.1690-1718).

This equation is verbalized by a Turk in another game by Mitelli, in *Gioco della Fortuna e di Disgratia* (The Game of Fortune and Disgrace in Figure 3.7).[124] As the title suggests, the game is themed around the fortune and misfortune that can happen in one's life. Although etched and printed in an unknown date, the British Museum estimates the date around 1690–1718. Figurative analogies suggest that it must have been published after 1686. The game board contains twenty-two characters and one central figurine of Fortune, similar to the one discussed above. These characters are divided into two as those who represent fortunate conditions (on the left side of the board) and that of misfortunate (on the right side of the board). As a norm in Mitelli's games, each character bears a dice combination, a letter T or P and a number to define how much coins to take or pay when a player's the dice result corresponds to that character. Besides, each character speaks to the players through a sentence explaining their condition. For example, double six corresponds to the king whose picture is lifted by the Fortune. The king as the strongest takes all the coins and "defeats everyone."[125] Double five corresponds to a lady who sings a song by reading the musical notes in her hand;[126] and double four to another lady who asserts that the beautiful ones always win.[127] With fortune characters that win coins, Mitelli praises certain pleasures in life, like eating and drinking,[128] as well as sleeping and playing a musical instrument.[129] An interesting character he added in the fortunate side is a boy bearing neither a dice combination nor T or P, but with an irritated gesture while sitting on a bucket toilet doing his "business."[130] The side of the disgraceful ones is composed of characters like a blind man, a desperate lover, a poor man, a prisoner, an ugly man, an old man, a clumsy young man (*il goffo*), and the sultan of the Turks, who states: "I always lose" (*Io sempre perdero*). The Turk speaks for the metaphor for "failure" while corresponding in the game to the lowest dice result with double one.

---

[124] See Games Index No: 53.
[125] The inscription reads "*chi è più forte vince tutti*" (who is stronger wins everyone).
[126] *Canta canta se voi fortuna*.
[127] *Bella donna sempre vince*.
[128] "*Io mangio e tiro*" (five-four); and "*Io bevo e tiro*" (six-four).
[129] "*Fortuna e dormi*" (five-three); and "*Il suono tira*" (six-five).
[130] "*Facendo i fatti miei son fortunato*"

Figure 3.8 Mitelli's *Gioco de Signori Soldati Spiantamondo, con le sue Cariche e Sopranomi*, (1692).

The metaphorical juxtaposition of the Turk and failure is well integrated in Mitelli's other games, too. In 1692 he published the Game of Soldiers (*Gioco de Signori Soldati Spiantamondo, con le sue Cariche e Sopranomi*), in which he ridiculed war by depicting soldiers with a grotesque look and funny names (Figure 3.8).[131] The soldiers, in a somewhat caricaturized shape, also have a say in a sentence. This suggests that, unless they are fought against the enemy of Christ, that is, the Turk, Mitelli was not a supporter of wars. He expressed his view about war in an etching in 1678, in which a war-stricken soldier walks back home in a miserable condition with an amputated leg and torn-down clothes.[132] The etching illustrated a proverb translates into "those who have not experienced war, may not appreciate peace." The game is composed of nineteen soldiers and one central picture. Same *tira* and *paga* principles apply as in the previous game. This time the game is played with three dice. Each of the soldiers corresponds to a dice

[131] See Games Index No: 52.
[132] See the etching in, British Museum, Inv. No: 1872,1012.3856.

result. The players stack some coins in the pot before the game starts. The point in the game is to throw the highest dice (6-6-6), which corresponds to the central picture showing two sacks of gold coins located on a chest and a small woman with a flag next to her. On the flag is written "*Porta Via la Bambozza e Tira Tutto*" (referring to the woman statue "Take the doll away and collect all the money"), signifying that the player who throws triple six takes all the coins and wins the game. The inscription on the chest writes "*Cassa del Oro, per questo il Mondo e in Guerra*" (Chest of gold, for which the world is in war). Dice throws are privileged according to how high they are: Triple-five for "*Generalissimo Mangia Tutti*" (General "Eater of All") who says, pointing at the chest of cold in the center, "*Quella sol e il mio Core*" (That one is my heart); triple-four is null since "*Mastro di Campo Tutta Rabbia*" (Master of the Camp "All Angry") says "*Un Bel Nulla Vi Dono*" (I give you nothing). On twelve, we see *Sergente Magiore Trippa Tonda* (Major Sergeant Round Belly), who says *Gratatevi La Rogna* (Scratch your own mange/scabby). The Turk, having the lowest dice throw, is the most unfortunate of all other soldiers: triple-one corresponds to "*Sargente Ruvinato*" (Sergeant "Ruined") who says "*Staret e Qui sin che Sete Cavato*" (You will stay here until are taken out). In comparison to the other soldiers on the board, the Turk is depicted in a miserable state, an arm in bandages, and uninterested in the chest of gold.

Mitelli contributed to the early modern game world not only with his board games but also with his packs of playing cards. It is known that he produced two packs, one for a standard sixty-two tarot game known as *tarocchino bolognese* and one for a game he titled *Giuoco del Passa Tempo* (Game of Pastime)[133] with forty cards. Game of Pastime (Figure 3.9) is a game Mitelli invented under the influence of tarot. Each one of the cards have a number and, except the one with the instructions of the game, they bear a picture. The forty cards are divided into two as vices and virtues, Mitelli's favorite theme. The characters on the vice cards are depicted in a manner that denounces vices, while virtue characters suggest otherwise. Whereas vice cards are marked with a dark spot, virtues are marked with a star.

[133] See Games Index No: 51.

Figure 3.9 Mitelli's *Giuoco del Passa Tempo* (1690).

The vice cards are composed of: 1. *Turco* (the Turk), 2. *Mangia Bene* (Eating-Well?), 3. *Superbia* (Pride), 4. *Danno* (Damage), 5. *Furore* (Fury), 6. *Malinconia* (Melancholy), 7. *Ignoranza* (Ignorance), 8. *Curiosita* (Curiosity), 9. *Arpia* (Harpy), 10. *Falsita d'Amore* (False Love), 11. *Invidia* (Envy), 12. *Inganno* (Deception), 13. *Interesse* (Interest), 14. *Fortuna* (Fortune), 15. *Allegrezza* (Cheerfulness), 16. *Gelosia* (Jealousy), 17. *Bugia* (Lie), 18. *Adulazione* (Flattery), 19. *Incostanza* (Inconstancy), and 20. instructions card that carries the title of the game. These cards are also named as *Cartezza* (waste/unwanted?) by Mitelli in the instruction. They represent undesired character traits, and some are among the seven deadly sins (pride, envy, gluttony).

Some of the virtues are represented by good character traits and some by arts. Mitelli called these cards trumps (*trionfi*), referring to the game he was influenced by. The complete characters are: 21. *Silenzio* (Silence), 22. *Industria* (Industriousness), 23. *Contento* (Being Content), 24. *Vigilanza* (Vigilance), 25. *Valore* (Value/Gallantry?), 26. *Scoltura* (Sculpture), 27. *Ingegno* (Intelligence), 28. *Ragione* (Reason), 29. *Astrologia* (Astrology), 30. *Pronteza* (Promptness), 31. *Concordia* (Concord), 32. *Realta* (Reality), 33. *Pittura* (Painting), 34. *Fedelta* (Fidelity), 35. *Musica* (Music), 36. *Sollecitudine* (Solicitude), 37. *Cortesia* (Kindness), 38. *Afabilita* (Affability), 39. *Virtu* (Virtue), and 40. *Gioco del Passa Tempo* (Game of Pastime).

Mitelli's depiction of the vices and virtues are noteworthy. Some of these imageries are from his earlier studies, such as *Proverbi* (Proverbs), in which he illustrated proverbs of his time in a series of fifty etchings, some of which depicted the proverbs in a literal manner. In one of the proverbs, Mitelli depicted Envy (*Invidia*) as an old woman, bare-chested, holding a shovel in her hand, falling into a pit she dug up.[134] The etching illustrates a proverb meaning whoever is envious prepares his/her own end. In another etching in the series, he depicted two characters, *Fortuna* and *Superbia* (Fortune and Pride) together, both of whom also appear in the Game of Pastime. Pride, infatuated with her own beauty, walks up the stairs while looking at her image in the mirror in her hand. She hits Fortune on her way and causes her to spill the coins she carries in her bucket. The proverb writes: when Pride begins to rise, we lose our Fortune (*Quando Comincia ad Inalzarsi la Superbia, Allora si Comincia ad Abassar la Fortuna*).[135]

[134] See the etching in, British Museum, Inv. No: 1872,1012.3834.
[135] See the etching in, British Museum, Inv. No: 1872,1012.3873.

It is also possible to find the paradoxical circumstances between game producers and religion, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Accordingly, game producers felt the necessity to warn their customers to not to waste their time through imagery of *memento mori* and Time. This trend, I claimed, developed from a situation in which game producers did not intend to contradict with the church. Mitelli, known to be a pious man, often used time imagery as a reminder to players of their waste of time in avarice. In the Game of the Pastime, he depicted the Time Deity as an old man, holding an hourglass, with an inscription in the bottom of the card that warned the players: "*Il Tempo Passa*" (Time is Passing). An etching in the Proverbs illustrates the relationship between Time and man, in which Time, represented by a woman resembling Fortune, is caught by a man from her long hairs.[136] The proverb says: "*Chi ha Tempo, non Aspetti Tempo*," for catching the time. An analogy between catching the time and gaining fortune was clearly intended by Mitelli.

The symbolism in the way Mitelli depicted the Turk demonstrates coherence with his other depiction of the Turk. He is mounted on a donkey, the symbol of ignorance in Italian contexts. The boy in the ignorance card, similarly, is mounted on a donkey, too. The Turk and the boy in ignorance are in similar postures: their right arms are lifted, the boy holds a branch in his hand, while the Turk holds a handkerchief; and their left hands extend toward the ground. The Turk's iconic facial expression, seen in almost all Mitelli productions, reminds us of the facial expression of the Turk in the Game of the Eagle, which expression resonates with misery and fear.

Not only in depiction, but also in his function in the game, Mitelli's Turk is like his other Turks. As he describes in the instructions of the game, the Turk card wins nothing. Unfortunately, it is very hard, if not impossible, to comprehend the rules in Mitelli's instructions. This is due in part to the fact that they were written for an audience which was accustomed to game mechanisms in similar games. Therefore, game producers did not feel the necessity to explain everything in their instructions, which is, for us, an obstacle.

[136] See the etching in, British Museum, Inv. No: 1872,1012.3874.

3.2.2 Games Related to the Retreat of the Ottomans from Central Europe

Figure 3.10 Defeat of the Turks by Germans (c.1717), anonymous.

The Ottoman's retreat from Europe as a games theme attracted another game publisher around the beginning of the eighteenth century. This anonymous publisher used the theme for a pack of thirty-six playing cards published around 1717 (Figure 3.10).[137] Residing now in the British Museum, the cards are hand-colored.[138] Considering the German couplets at the bottom of each card, as well as the suit marks, it must have been published either in Austria or Germany. The four suit marks are acorns, leafs, hearts, and bells; and each suit is composed of a King, an Over Knave, an Under Knave, an Ace, and number cards from six to ten.

Despite all the missing information regarding its provenance, this pack of cards is significant in terms of its illustrations and inscriptions. As pointed out in Mitelli's etchings, the general aura of the pack reveals the change of momentum in Europe from a defensive position to repulsing the Turks back into Asia Minor that had begun since 1683. In the Ace of Hearts, the Imperial eagle of the Habsburgs holds the Turkish sultan in its claws. Time and Death are at a card play in the Ace of Bells; the inscription refers to the change of time to the Turkish retreat from Europe, now the Sultan is to stay "silent and still."[139] Death, from now on, will chase the Turks. Speaking to the Sultan in the Ace of Leafs, Death announces the end of his magnanimity and warns him to be prepared for his bitter end.[140] In the Ace of Acorns, two Turks are praying before a stone inscribed as "Mahomet" in what is presumably a Muslim temple, regretting to see what the once great power of Islam's leader has now turned into.[141]

---

[137] The illustration in the ten of Hearts shows Belgrade under the Habsburgs' cannon attack. That Islamic landmarks such as minarets and buildings mounted with crescents are visible, means that the city was under the Ottoman rule. Belgrade was captured by the Holy League army under Prince Eugene in 1717. The inscription recommends being patient because soon the city will be taken over from the Turks (*Belgrad wird verlohren seÿn / gib dich nur gedultig drein*). This suggests that the city was either soon to be conquered or the publisher intended a retrospective perspective. Furthermore, soldiers' uniforms and newly introduced socket bayonets in their rifles speak to the early eighteenth century as the date of the cards. See Games Index No: 26.

[138] The British Museum holds an identical incomplete pack, which are, however, only colored in the suit marks. British Museum, Inv. No: 1896,0501.251

[139] "Sultan du gewinst mehr viel, / Ich rede nichts [?] schweige still."

[140] "Deine großmuth hat ein end, / Sultan macht dein testament"

[141] "Mahomet du großer Man / Zeig nun deine Stärke an"

3.3 Whereabout is the Turk's Country—in Europe?

This is a modern question that has frequently been asked with regard to present-day Turkey's accession to the European Union. Doubtlessly, today's Turkey covers much less space in Europe than the Ottoman Empire did in the past. However, this geography-identity correlation worked differently during the period in which the Ottomans stretched their borders to their maximum in Europe. Without touching upon whether the Turk is European or not, which question I worked on in Chapter 1, I will discuss the extent to which the Turk's country was in Europe through the lens of early modern board games and playing cards.

Game playing gained educational purposes during the early modern period. Various board games and playing cards were designed to teach youngsters in various topics, including history, mathematics, religion, and geography. Geography received special attention from game designers partly due to the fact that board games provided for space formation onto a sheet of paper similar to that of maps.[142] This juxtaposition grew significantly with geographical discoveries and the increasing sense of geographical knowledge. Therefore, in order to teach children about geography in an entertaining way, board games and playing cards were published that took geography as their theme. These games included not only maps that were copied from professional maps but also the knowledge about those peoples who occupied a space outside Europe on the globe as it was then explored. Geographical board games used simplistic game mechanisms inspired by the spiral track and the rules of the Game of the Goose; unlike a typical Game of the Goose, they had varying numbers of compartments and obstacles. As in board games created during the early modern period, they depended solely on the chance element, which underpins the idea that their designers focused on the pedagogical purposes of such games over their entertaining quality.

[142] See Patterson (2017).

Figure 3.11 *La Jeu du Monde* (1645), by Pierre Duval.

According to games scholar Adrian Seville (2008), geography games that were based on Game of the Goose mechanism began with the court geographer (*géographe ordinaire du roi*), Pierre Duval (1618–1683). Nephew of an acclaimed geographer Nicolas Sanson, Duval received his first training under the supervision of his uncle; soon,

he began editing maps for a publishing house in Paris. By 1650 he was appointed geographer for King Louis XIV of France. At some point, he served as an officer in the King's household (*Maison du Roi*). His earliest geography game with a date is *La Jeu du Monde* (the Game of the World), published in 1645 in Paris (Figure 3.11).[143] He dedicated the game to the count of Vivonne, Louis Victor de Rochechouart de Mortemart who was then at the age of nine. This suggests that Duval prepared this game in order to turn the young count and his friends' geography lessons into an entertainment.

The game consists of sixty-three circles lined up in a spiral shape. Each of the circles include a map of the country, its name, and its major city. The countries span from locations in one of the four continents, which are represented with a color: America (green), Asia (yellow), Africa (red), and Europe (light brown). The game begins with America, which represented the relatively most outermost place for Europe. The players reach to Asia after traveling through African countries. The players, then, gradually tour the heart of the spiral, which ends at the larger circle dedicated to France, the winning circle. Players, according to the rules, roll two dice, the result of which defines how many circles a player moves. Then the player is supposed to tell the name of the country and its major city. As in the Game of the Goose, it is important to land on the last circle; if the dice roll is more than what the player needs to land on circle sixty-three, then the player moves backward as many circles as the extra numbers.

La Jeu du Monde represents a microcosm for early modern France. It is symbolic that the game begins with European colonies in the New World and ends with France. In other words, while advancing through the spiral track of the game, the players take a journey from the peripheries where exotic peoples live to the heart of civilization (Europe) and its center (France). When configuring the space that the Ottoman Empire should cover in the game, Duval preferred to split the Empire into smaller segments comprising two major units as the Turk in Asia (Aleppo as its major city) and the Turk in Europe (Constantinople as its major city). However, the actual space the Ottoman Empire should cover in the game includes other circles, like Barbary, Egypt, and a part of Nubia in Africa; Arabia, Georgia, and Tartary in Asia; and Greece and tributary countries such as Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldovia, and Little Tartary in Europe. With this configuration, it is obvious that Duval employed a nation-based division that put different

[143] See Games Index No: 69.

nations living in the Empire into focus. However, in the microcosmic world of the game created by Duval, the Turk is a part of Europe without questioning whether he is an accepted or unwanted entity.

This point of view that arises partly from the lack of a more sophisticated game mechanism was reviewed by Duval in his next game in 1662 (Figure 3.12).[144] Published in Paris, this time Duval reduced the geographical scope of the game to Europe as indicated by the name of the game "*Le Jeu des Princes de L'Europe*" (the Game of Princes of Europe).

Moreover, he improved the game mechanism by adding traps, rewards, and simple tasks on certain circles, like in the Game of the Goose, which meant that Duval had to change the configuration of the countries in order to fit the trap and reward circles on the desired countries. Therefore, the order of the countries and counties does not follow the center–periphery pattern as in *Le Jeu du Monde*; instead, the game starts from the Iberian Peninsula, travels through Europe in a random order (Holland, Switzerland, Italian Peninsula, Central Europe, North Europe and Scandinavia, East Europe, Balkans) and ends in France, "the eye and pearl of the World and which is to Europe as Europe is to the other parts of the Earth" (Seville, 2008, p. 4). According to the rules inscribed on the board, it is played with two dice and between two to six players. Before the game begins, players should agree on the amount at stake, as Duval puts it "*un Icu, un Liard, un Sol, un Teston, une Pistolle*" and stack them in the middle of the board. In Adrian Seville's translation, the special circles are explained as such:

[144] See Games Index No: 72.

Figure 3.12 Duval's (1662) *Le Jeu des Princes de L'Europe*.

> 5 *Portugal* Stay to make the voyage to the East Indies until another player arrives and pays (the Goose Well rule).
>
> 6 *Holande* Embark at Flushing for Dover, No. 60 England, to assist in the marriage ceremonies of the King of Great Britain to the Princess of Portugal. (Similar to Goose rule for initial throw of 9).
>
> 10 *Switzerland* Stay to make a debauch with those of this nation and pay his scot, while the others play twice.
>
> 22 *Sicily* Shipwreck at the lighthouse of Messina, where the perils of Scylla and Charybdis used to be, and pays.
>
> 41 *Denmark* Must pay the tax to the Sund to dislodge the Hollandais who have lent money to the King during the war.
>
> 50 *Muscovy* Must advance once according to the points on the dice (a Goose rule). The Muscovites do not permit entry to their country, yet you pay.
>
> 52 *Hungary* Receives from each player the agreed stake, for the fortification of the realm and to make levees against the Turk, meanwhile advancing to Transylvania, No 54.
>
> 57 *Little Tartarie* Must pay ransom in order not to be enslaved in Constantinople and must go to Spain No. 1 to begin the game again (compare the Goose death rule).
>
> 59 *Candie* Must be arrested to serve against the infidels and must stay until another takes his place (Goose prison rule). (Seville, 2008, pp. 4-5)

Duval reflected not only the general perception of European countries and what they were associated with in the minds of the early modern French, but also contemporary events. The information regarding the 1662 marriage of the King Charles II of England and the Portuguese Princess Catherine of Braganza, as Seville pointed, is an account that dates the publication of the game. Hungary is reflected in a defensive position against the Turk; therefore, players are supposed to contribute to the Hungarians' effort to defend themselves. Famous for their slave trade as one of the major providers of slaves for the Ottomans, little Tartary corresponds to the death trap in that the players takes the harshest punishment in the game by paying to the stake and traveling back to Spain to begin the game anew. The Turk and his centuries-long companion, the Tartars, were regarded in Duval's microcosmic Europe as unfavorable entities, yet still a part of Europe *en masse*.

Duval elaborated this perception in an undated game called "*Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe*" (the Game of the Kings of Europe).[145] Based on the give/take (*paga/tira*) mechanism that I outlined in the games of Brambilla and Mitelli, the game is designed in a manner that favors and disfavors some of the European countries from the French perspective, which view is highly dependent on the relationship between France and other European countries as well as countries with each other. The game is composed of a circle divided into sixteen pieces that are dedicated to one country or kingdom and containing inscriptions with a little map of that country. According to the rules inscribed on the board, the game is played with two to six people and three dice, whose combination hits one of the sixteen compartments that defines whether the player should pay to or take from the stake (Duval used the initials: "P" for *payement* = pay, and "R" for *recepte* = receive/take). Only four of the sixteen compartments are inscribed with "R," which reduces the chances for a quick win and increases that of longer play. The players become the ruler of the country they land on; therefore, they must read the text accompanying the map and act accordingly by either paying or taking. Typical in Duval's games, the winning country is France with a dice combination of 1+1+1. As stated in Table 2, the King of France donates all the stake to the winning player; therefore, he is the most generous. The King of Portugal has rarities that he acquired from the Orient, and the King of Sweden is rich with copper. Both Kings share their treasures with the players landing on their land. In the meantime, the King of Spain has to pay for his expensive overseas expeditions to the West Indies, Holland undertakes costly projects of controlling water by constructing dikes, the King of Denmark pays to hold Öresund Strait under his control, the King of Poland must pay to repress attacks by Cossacks and Tartars, Great Britain must finance its war with the Dutch, the Sultan must pay those players who do not want to be circumcised, and the Sultan's vassals must pay tribute to the Turk. In his "*Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe,*" Duval applied not only the geography but also a bit of the culture.

[145] See Games Index No: 71.

Country	Text	Dice Combination and Action	Country	Text	Dice Combination and Action
France	Le Roy fera don de tout ce qui se trouvera sur le Jeu.	III-R	*Denmark*	Le Roy de Danemarc fera paier l'Impost du Sund.	XI-P
Spain	Le Roy d'Espagne fera paier pour l'Equipage de ses flottes des Indes Occidentales.	IV-P	*Sweden*	Le Roy de Suede permettera de tirer du cuivre non de cest miniers mais de chacun Joveur.	XII-R
Portugal	Le Roy de Portugal fera present des raretés de ses Indes Orientales.	V-R	*Poland*	Le Roy de Pologne fera paier pour reprimer les courses des Petits Tartares et des Cosaques.	XIII-P
Holland (Pais Bas)	Les Estats des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas feront paier pour l'entretien de leurs Digues.	VI-P	*Duchy of Courland*	Le Duc de Curlande fera recevoir le Jeu estant asses riche sans vouloir exiger aucune chose.	XIV-R
Duchy of Lorraine	Le Duc de Lorraine fera payer pour la solde de cest troupes.	VII-P	*Grand Duchy of Moscow*	Le Grand Czar ou Grand Duc de Moscovie fera paier les drots pour la sortie de ses fourrures.	XV-P
Switzerland	Les Suisses, Cantons, et Alliés feront paier pour leur pension.	VIII-P	*Turkey*	Le Grand Seigneur ou Grand Turc fera paier ceux et celles qui ne	XVI-P

				voudront estre faits ou Eunuques ou Sultanes.	
Italy	Les princes d'Italie sçavoir le Pape le Ducs de Savoie de Toscane de Parme de Modene et de Mantove l'Euesque de Trente les Republiques de Venise de Genes et de Luques et les autres petits Souverains feront paier le droit d'Entrée en leurs estats.	IX-P	*Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldovia, Little Tartary*	Le Prince ou Ban du Roiaume de Transilvanie le Vaivode de Valaquie le Prince de Moldavie le Can de la petite Tartarie et les petites Republices de Raguse et de Maina feront paier pour faire leur Tribut au Turc.	XVII-P
German Empire	Le Princes de l'Empire d'Alemagne sçavoir l'Empereur les Princes Electeurs les Princes Ecclesiastiques les Princes Seculiers et les Magistrats des villes Imperiales et Anseatiques feront.	X-P	*Great Britain*	Le Roy de la Grande Bretagne fera payer pour contribuer au fray de la guerre contre Les Hollandois.	XVIII-P

Table 3 Countries in Pierre Duval's (c.1660) *Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe*.

Geographical games with educational purposes became so popular in the mid seventeenth century that they were adapted to a playing cards format. As opposed to the conformity of board games that resemble an actual map, this new format remained limited to the informative side of geographical games. Missing a map, playing cards included information about countries and the peoples populating those places. Educational in essence, these playing cards included more information regarding the country than their

board game equivalent. Therefore, they are rich in reflecting the points of view of the society that played with the cards toward those which were played. It is this observer–observed correlation that makes these cards significant other than the games played with them that only remain in minor importance.

One such deck of educational playing cards was published in 1675–76 by Henry Winstanley (1644–1703) in England (Figure 3.13).[146] Winstanley was known as a painter, engineer, architect, and engraver; he is famous for erecting the first lighthouse in 1698 on Eddystone Rocks on the English Channel that is known for being very dangerous for ships coming ashore. Before he met his tragic end in 1703 in a lighthouse that was swept away by an unusual storm while he and the lighthouse keepers were inside, Winstanley enjoyed a Grand Tour between 1669–1674, assumed to be an essential part of the education of the British aristocracy. The extent of his tour is yet unknown[147]; however, it is known that he was interested in engraving after coming back, perhaps as a way of documenting the architectural drawings he had drawn during the tour. He later turned to engraving as an occupation. The deck of cards he published must also be considered an expression of his desire to teach what he learned and gathered in his travels.

Winstanley used the standards of playing cards in his time. The deck is composed of fifty-two cards with four suits marked with French suit marks (hearts, tiles, clawers, pikes). Hearts represents Europe, tiles Asia, clawers America, and pikes Africa. Besides, each suit bears a symbol: roses for Europe, suns for Asia, moons for Africa, and stars for

[146] See Games Index No: 86.

[147] In a 1670–80 advertisement for his services, Winstanley writes that: "The undertaker of this great work can not be thought to designe extraordinary profitt to himselfe, considering the charge of copper plates, the expenses of journeys, especially to places farr remote to take designes &c. But that he hath seen most of the famosest houses in France, Italy & Germany & have been drawn to the expence & trouble of travalling by sight some of prints done after them in this kinde. And haveing likewise observed many most worthy houses in England, not onely of noble men but likewise of gentlemen, that have bestowed great charges in beautifieing their fronts with good architecture & symmetry, which is for ornament more than convenientcy. And notwithstanding these great expences, their houses are not only unknown to all forreigners that come not into England, but likewise to all people that travaile not about, and not heard of by many people of the same county. I have proposed this way to shew my endeavour to serve my country, by letting forreigne nations have a sight & small prospect of what is as much deserveing as in any Kingdom, & an easy way for all my country men to turne from leafe to leafe, & soe have a sight of as many houses in few minutes as would cost many dayes & weeks to travaile to them." From this statement, we can understand that he took a travel to Italy, but it is unclear what he meant by "all foreigners" and "foreign nations." The advertisement can be found in British Museum, No. 1852,0214.369.

America. Each suit has thirteen cards that include one King, Queen, Knave, Ace, and numerical cards from two to ten. The deck I work on has eleven cards missing; thus, there are forty-one cards that are in the holdings of the British Museum.[148] The missing eleven cards were donated to the Museum only in 2004.[149] Each card in the deck corresponds to a country and shows a picture of a couple dressed in the style of the locals to give an idea to the players of the appearance of the people living in that given country. Behind the characters is a cityscape that demonstrates the vernacular architecture. Each picture is accompanied by a text placed under it that gives information regarding the people, their history, territory, places under their sovereignty, some major cities, religion, and sometimes their relation to England. Ace cards are dedicated to the four continents, which are represented by a woman dressed as a queen.

Similar to Duval's games that suggested a center–periphery relationship between France and other countries, Winstanley configured his cards to form a worldview in which he put Europe into the center and England in Europe's center. This view is more obvious in the information he gives in the Europe card:

> Europe is the Least of the Four Parts of the World and yet is not much Inferior to Any at this Present for Containing Many Nations most Polished and Ingenious, where Arts and Sciences Flourish and are Cherished: Trading abounding and Conversation without Danger, she may Boast her Riches, Fruitfulness and Stately Towns and Places, but above all in that the Christian Religion is wholly Professed in her bounds whereas the Rest of the World is for the most Part ignorant of a True Deity but what they learn of Christian Colonys that have seated themselfs amongst them to force as it were a Tribute of the Best of all that Europe can be sayd to want, of which nations, the Situation the Chief citys & Habits and Religions and Fruitfulness.

The hierarchy in the suits may suggest an order of preference that derives from a general English perspective regarding the rest of the world. This preference depends on variables such as politics and religion. Accordingly, the lineup of the Hearts is a political one in that the King card is for England, Queen for Germany, Knave for Italy, X for France, IX for Spain, VIII for Sweden, VII for Denmark, VI for Portugal, V for Poland,

[148] The British Museum, Inv. No: 1982,U.4622.1-41.
[149] The British Museum, Inv. No: 2004,1130.55.1-11.

IV for Holland, III for Moscow, and II for Turkey in Europe. For England the information reads:

> England and Scotland, are two Kingdoms, now united under the Title Great Britaine, is an Island though not the Greatest the most Considerable in all the World for Richese, Plenty & Strength…

In the lineup for the Tiles (Asia) Winstanley favored those countries that were known in biblical geography, in that the King is Jews, the Queen is Arabs, and the Knave is Babylonians. Visual representations are noteworthy in that in the King of Tile (Jews), the man (supposedly a prophet or Jesus Christ) carries a halo. In the background Christian graves are marked with crosses. In the Knave of Tiles (Babylonians) the Tower of Babel is visible in the center of the picture. The Biblical underlining is also present in the information provided for these three cards.

> *Jerusalem, Jews (King od Tiles)*: "Judea… is owen for Possession to the Hebrews whom God did Choose from Among the nations for his own People and brought them out of Egypt by the hand of Moses. They Flourished under Judges and King David & Solomon but Israel devided from the Tribe of Judah and Established a King at Samaris which caused great Wars between them. They suffered Captivity in Babylon but being Restored they Rebuilded the famous Temple which was sanctified by our Saviours Presence whom they Crucified…"
>
> *Mecca, Arabs (Queen of Tiles*): "… Containing these three Parts, Arabia desert in name & soil Except towards the south which was the country of Job, and also of the Wise Men that adored Christ at Bethlehem, and by some thought to be also the Country of the Queen that visited Solomon… here is Mont Sinai where the Law was giving to Moses, Mont Horeb where God appeared in the Bush, Mont Hor where Aron died… the Citys Mecca & Medina are Remarkable for the Tomb & Birth of Mahomet…"
>
> *Babylon, Babylonians (Knave of Tiles)*: "Babylon in Chaldea was Founded by Nimrod and much beautified by Nebuchadnezzar, and formerly was one of the Wonders of the World for its Magnificence & Mighty walls, near to which was also begun the building of the Tower of Bable… Its supposed that the Garden of Eden was here by reason of the Rivers & countrys, agreeing with the names in Scripture…not far distant from…Ninive…once awed by the Preaching of Jonah and the Inhabitants Penitence…"

Moreover, like in Duval, in Winstanley's configuration the American continent is the outermost post of the known world and, therefore, the most exotic one. It comprises not only the countries in the American continent, but also other newly explored areas such as Australia (capital Witsborg?) and geographically disconnected areas like Greenland (capital Bearford?).

Turks in the game are divided in two, as "Turks in Europe" (capital Constantinople) in the Hearts suit, and "Anatolians" (capital Bursa) in the Tiles suit. However, because this division is geographically based rather than country-based, there are several other cards that fall into the countries under the Ottoman sovereignty such as Egypt, Morocco, Arabia, and Tartary. The information written on the "Turks in Europe" card starts with a clarification:

> Turks in Europe, or the Dominions that the Grand Seignior has in it, is all Greece, which Comprehends the Kingdoms or Provinces of Peloponnesus, Epirus, Thessalie, Macedone the Patrie of Alexander the great. Here are also many other great Countrys and the chief citys at Present are Prevesa …

After counting major cities that the Ottoman Empire held in Europe, Winstanley made his final remark about the Turks in Europe: "… all which Countrys and Towns formerly most Populous, and Flourishing and now much Ruined by the Tyranny of this Most absolute Monarch…" However, in the "Anatolians" card (IX of Tiles) he used a rather neutral tone with a blend of Biblical references:

> Anatolia, or Asia Minor is a Peninsula bounded with Pontus Euxinus, the Ægean and Rhodean seas, and joined to the Main Asia near the head of Euphrates … here St. Paul had establisht many Christian Churches but now all is subject to the Grand Seignior in Religion & Laws…

The perspective about the whereabouts of the Turks that had been laid out by Duval and Winstanley was certainly shared by those who approached the issue. On the one hand, as I pointed out elsewhere (Parlak, 2018), the dominant image of the Turk into the eighteenth century made a shift from "threat" to "inferior Other"; on the other hand, the Turk was acknowledged as a part of Europe. The extent of this can be seen in different

educational games themed not only in geography but also history.[150] Visual sources of the time outside the games field also speak to the acceptance of the Turk's country as a part of Europe.

Figure 3.13 Henry Winstanley's (1675-1676) Geography-Themed Playing Cards.

[150] Some of these games include: "*Jeu de la Géographie*", 1644 playing cards (British Museum No: 1871,0513.592) "*Le Jeu des Nations Principales,*" 1660 (British Museum No: 1893,0331.104) "*Tableau Cronologique de l'Histoire Universelle,*" 1767 (British Museum No: 1893,0331.108); "*La Récréation Européenne ou jeu des Princes de l'Europe,*" 1770 (British Museum No: 1893,0331.115); "*La Geographie Universelle,*" 1780 (British Museum No: 1893,0331.107); "*Mappe-Monde ou Carte Générale de Toute la Terre*" late eighteenth century (British Museum No: 1893,0331.112).

CHAPTER 4: FROM “FIEND” TO “FRIEND”

The image of the Turk, as I explored in Chapter 1, is a multifaceted image that cannot be reduced to a single perspective; rather, throughout its existence, the image has gained many layers of meaning that reflect the point of view of the observer. Although the majority of these points of views are repetitively negative, this cannot overshadow the presence of its counterarguments. As shown in Chapter 3, the image of the Turk in early modern games was affected by the actual events, mostly hostile, that contribute to the perception in the minds of its creators. In its gradual alteration from a somewhat mighty king in early sixteenth century to the enemy of a unified Europe in the late seventeenth century, the influence of events defined the observers’ point of view. In this chapter, I will investigate a counter-narrative embedded in early modern board games and playing cards that does not fit into the mainstream historiography but does fit into the multifaceted image of the Turk. The Turk in these games stands as an antithesis to most of the scholarly work that I discussed in Chapter 1. However, they hold an integrity that questions the validity of the mainstream perception about the image of the Turk.

It is a fact that the “image of the Turk in early modern board games and playing cards” is already a restricted field in terms of source materials within the subject matter and time. It should also be noted that the antithetical images of the Turk in games are fewer in comparison to those images that I discussed in previous chapter. However, it is surprising to find this diversity in such a restricted field, which can only be explained by the elasticity of the gaming world that I explained in Chapter 2. Accordingly, within the boundaries of the gaming world, the shared focal point is to be entertained. The fun element in games allows even the most gruesome to be a part of this entertainment; thus, we often have death and the devil in games such as the Game of the Goose and tarot. The Turk, then, is reformulated in some games in a manner that challenges its perception in the real world.

4.1 Habsburg Games Sets

The struggle between the Ottomans and Habsburgs dominated much of the diplomacy in Central Europe that frequently resulted with wars.[151] It is known that even in truces, relations between the two empires carried high tensions. Such a climate of centuries-long enmity and rivalry obviously affected how societies simultaneously perceived the Turk, and the outcomes of this perception in arts, literature, music, and other domains of cultural productions. Nevertheless, sometimes this yielded extraordinary understandings, like those expressed in the chess set in Schloss Ambras in today's Austria.

To begin with, the set is dated to the sixteenth century during the climax of power for the two empires. Built as a wooden box containing the set, it was first documented in the inventory of the Ambras Castle in 1596.[152] The two sides of the box are painted with allegorical depictions of Lady Justice (Justitia) and Venus, two opposing characters. Justitia is holding a sword in one hand and a scale in the other; however, she is not blindfolded. Next to her is a crane, a symbol of vigilance, lifting a stone in its claw. Venus, on the other side of the box, holds a burning heart in her one hand and an arrow in the other, symbolizing passion and unpredictability. On her left side is a scale and on the right a bull, both of which are symbols of horoscopes. The two images visualize references related to the necessities of a sufficient chess player: good measurement of each movement, passion for fighting, and carelessness about the result, as it is just a pastime.

The game is played on an uncommon 8x15 checkered board and with an unconventional number of 64 figures in gold and silver colors, 11 of which are missing (Figure 4.1). In a hypothetically complete set, each side would be composed of sixteen pawns, one king, one queen, two horses, two rooks, and two bishops. Additionally, there would be four figures with unknown roles: two soldiers with Spanish helmet and ax, two soldiers carrying a Turkish headwear, mace and shield; two elderly men with long beards, and two bearded men wearing cylindrical hats (signifying their upper-class origin) and carrying on their chest the coat of arms of Bavaria. This unusual board and figure combination points to a medieval chess variant called "courier chess" that was played on

[151] It is ironic that the two empires had been allies during the Great War, the results of which eventually abolished them both.

[152] Schloss Ambras, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: PA 34. See Games Index No: 8.

an 8x12 checkered board with twenty-four figures on each side. However, the Ambras set surpasses even this configuration, which sheds doubt on whether it was ever played or remained a room decoration.

Figure 4.1 Schloss Ambrass Chess Set (c.1550).

The point of interest in the Ambras set is the combination of the figures that represent three different nationalities of Europe that played prominent roles in power struggles; namely Spanish, German, and the Turk. The first two figures were overtly influenced by the Habsburg rule that stretched to Spain and Austria. However, the unknown artist behind the set made a twist for the Turk in that this fiercest enemy of the Habsburgs turned into a companion. In other words, the Turk in the Ambras chess set figuratively fights together with his Spanish and German companions against the same enemy. The artist's point of view of the Turk is fundamentally opposite of that that I discussed in Chapter 3. While in Giuseppe Maria Mitelli's games the Turk is the ultimate enemy, the Ambras set puts him in a position in which he is no longer perceived and

projected as a threat but as a friend. The extent of this projection is limited because the function of the Turk figure in this experimental chess set is unbeknownst to us; however, its presence in this manner alone provides counter-arguments against the mainstream perception of the image of the Turk. Dimensions of this nuanced role given to the Turk should be sought in the flexibility of the game world that sometimes re-introduces concepts by centering them around a shared purpose, i.e. entertainment.

To this end, some of these high-end game sets that had been purchased or commissioned by the Habsburg dynasty include a wider Europe on one game board. One such set (without a board) belonging to Habsburgs was made around 1535–40 by a famous wood artists Hans Kels, who produced several more game boards for the entertainment of the upper class.[153] What remained from the set is only the counters in the shape of a medallion containing profiles or half-profiles of European leaders and royal women on one side, and their names on the other (Figure 4.2).[154] Twenty-seven in total, the counters belong to a game known as "*langen puff*" or "*trictrac,*" a backgammon variant that was popular during the Middle Ages and the early modern period.[155] Similar boards contain thirty counters, which means three of them are missing from the set. Among the persons depicted were enemies in real life, such as Emperor Charles V; King Francis I, the great rival of the Habsburgs; Francis's mother Louise of Savoy, who sent an envoy to Süleyman the Magnificent to ask for his help to save Francis who had been imprisoned by Charles V; Francis's sister Margarete of Navarra; King of England Henry VIII, the initiator of the English Reformation; Catherine of Aragon, wife of Henry VIII; Johann Frederick I, elector of Saxony and a great supporter of Luther; his wife, Sybille of Cleves; and the Emperor of the Ottomans, Süleyman the Magnificent. Such a dynastic panorama brings together in one game the conflicting camps of Europe: Catholics, Reformists, Muslims, French, and Germans. Nevertheless, persons in this spectrum do not necessarily fight due to the limitations of the game mechanism. Firstly, the game

[153] A notorious example of Kels's games box can be found in Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: Kunstkammer, 3419 (Holländer & Holländer, 1998, p. 201).
[154] Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: 3851-3877. See Games Index No: 4.
[155] Considering the number of royal women represented, the board might have belonged to a courtly woman, or produced for the entertainment of both men and women. The counters almost divide into two as male and female. In the remaining counters there are thirteen men and fourteen women; considering that the game is played with thirty counters, it is as if they were fifteen men and women. See: Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier (2002).

langen puff is played by two players who have fifteen counters each. However, the number of characters representing the camps are not fifteen, which indicates that the counters were randomly distributed between the players. Secondly, in *langen puff* all counters have equal value as in backgammon. Thus, the characters cannot be in conflicting positions unlike in real life. In a way, the set brings together the enemies but abolishes their cause of fights by forming a new imaginary platform that they can play upon for fun.

Figure 4.2 Counters for the game "*langen puff*" (1535-1540) by Hans Kels. On the top, Margarete of Austria (1480-1530), sister of Maximillian I; on her right, Süleyman the Magnificent. European royalties and the members of the Habsburg Dynasty.

4.2 Game of Monkeys by Altiero Gatti

The Game of the Goose was perhaps the most novel and popular board game toward the end of the sixteenth century. It is, according to Seville (2009), "historically the most important spiral race game ever devised" (p.1001). The game was sent as a present from Italy, its place of origin, by Francesco de Medici to Spanish Philip II around 1574–1587, and almost simultaneously it spread to the north toward Germany (1589), England (1597), and France (1601) (Parlett, 1999). While the mechanics of the game, as described in Chapter 2, remained almost unchanged for centuries, the theme of the game showed greater variety since the earliest times of the game.

Gioco della Scimia (Game of Monkeys) was published in 1588 by Altiero Gatti in his print house in Rome (Figure 4.3).[156] Not much is known about Gatti: he was from Siena but based in Rome and owned two presses. According to an inventory prepared after his death in 1596, it was revealed that he had over thirty thousand prints, comprising various big and small images of saints (*santini*), and other types of images including the Game of Monkeys. It is very likely that he learned about the famous Game of the Goose, and in his design, he changed the geese to monkeys. However, he used the same spiral track with 63 compartments, and he preserved the game mechanics such as the bridge (number 6), the inn (number 19), a pair of dice (number 26) the labyrinth (number 42), and the death (number 58). In the center of the board, male and female monkeys can be seen while dancing to the music played by another monkey carrying a cloak (a shepherd?).

The monkeys in the spiral track have surely representative qualities. Some of the monkeys are dressed in representing various nations in Europe, some carrying arms and weapons like soldiers, some are in obscene poses and some carry musical instruments. The monkey in number 5 wears a ruff around his neck as a symbol for his belonging to the upper class. Ruffs were especially in demand in sixteenth-century courtly fashion. Considering the *espada ropera* in his hand, it is probable that he represents an elite man of Spanish origin. The monkey in number 18 is overtly a Turkish archer with his headwear, typical Turkish composite bow (unfastened), and quiver. The details and accuracy of his dress and war equipment raise the assumption that he must have observed

[156] See Games Index No: 46.

a decent copy of a Turkish archer. He carries also a sword on his left side. The monkey on the 54th compartment is clearly a German soldier, wearing landsknecht trousers and shirt with slashes; he additionally carries a sword.

In his choice of monkeys, Gatti must have intended to ridicule society. Monkeys were especially used in early modern European art in a way that imitated human characteristics such as lust, gluttony, and avarice in scenes like drinking and smoking, playing board and card games, even copulating.[157] In his parody, Gatti did not spare the Turk from other nations. The Turk as an entity of daily life, with or without his physical

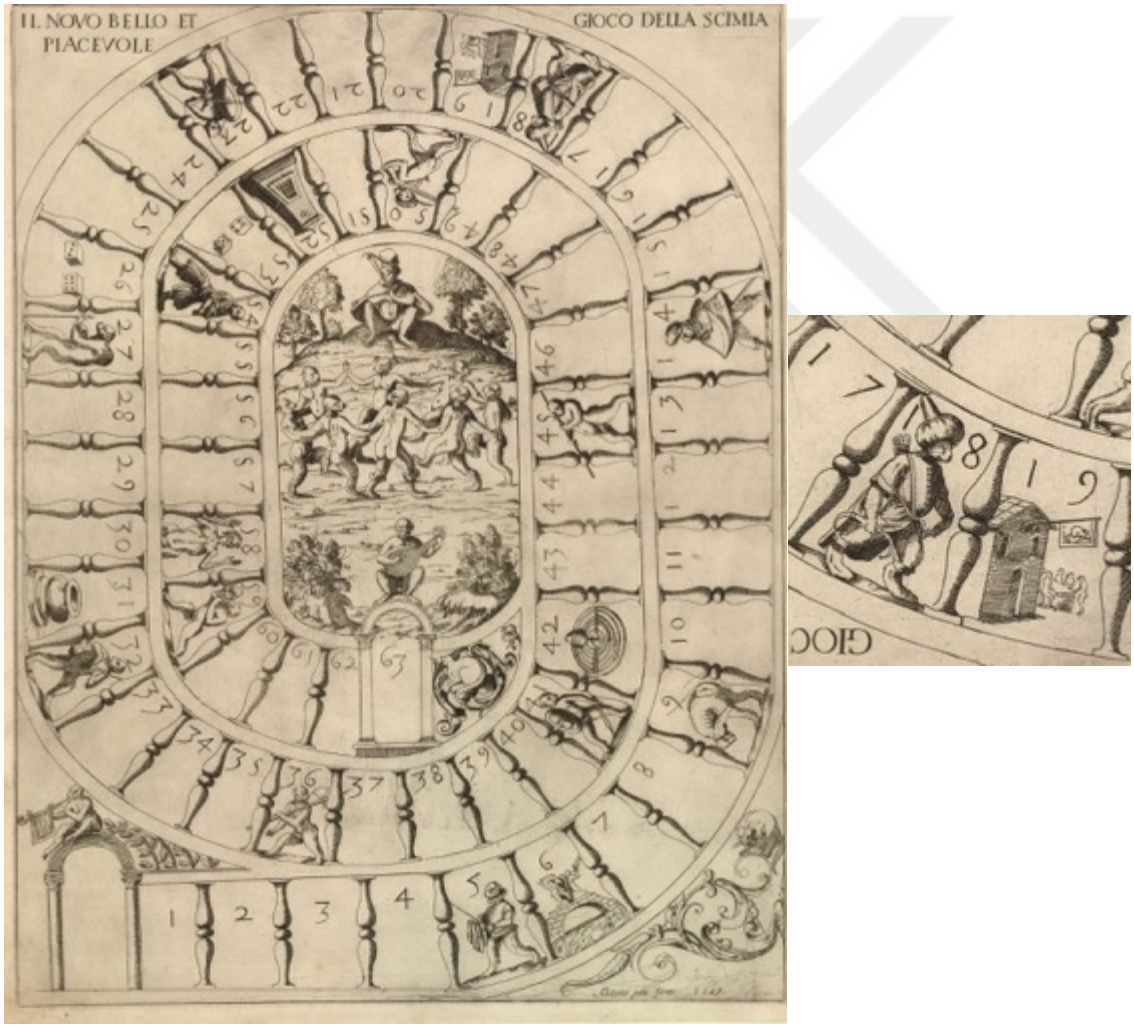

Figure 4.3 Altiero Gatti's (1588) *Gioco della Scimia.*

[157] The reflections of monkeys imitating human can be seen in early modern art themes of "monkeys in a tavern" and other scenes. See, for example, Ferdinand van Kessel; David Teniers the Younger; Pieter van der Borcht; and Jan Brueghel the Younger.

presence, was depicted together with other European entities without suggesting derogatory undertones.

4.3 John Lenthall's Fortunetelling Cards

As I expressed in Chapter 2, there is a close relationship between games and divination, one that revolves around the use of the chance element and the randomness that were initially important for both. For example, knucklebones that are known to be the earliest game object were simultaneously used for divination purposes. Tarot cards, in the same way, were enjoyed as essential tools for games and divination. Caillois (2001) explains this relationship in these terms:

> Numerous indications of the association between games of chance and divination are easily found. One of the most conspicuous and immediate is that the very same cards used by players in trying their luck may also be used by prophets to predict the future. Seers only use special games in order to enhance their prestige. Ordinary dinner plates may be used, newly inscribed with naive legends, impressive illustrations, or traditional allegories. At every point there is a quite natural transition from chance to superstition. (p.48)

One of such transitions occurs in playing cards where probability and chance play a major role. It is unbeknownst to us when they began to be used for fortunetelling, but thanks to their versatility, new playing cards were specifically designed and published for fortunetelling purposes in the end of the seventeenth century. Mostly used as a pastime activity, fortunetelling cards achieved high demand in the autumn months before the Christmas and the New Year festivals, during which the cards were among the most popular entertainments (Wayland, 1978-79). These cards closely resembled the usual playing cards in terms of their suit marks, numbers, and pictures. Besides, they contained couplets that carry an answer for the person who seeks information about her/his future. These early forms were replaced by elaborate configurations that kept the standard number of cards in a pack but significantly improved the mechanism to better fit the purpose.

One of the notorious fortunetelling playing cards makers in England was John Lenthall. Not much is known about Lenthall other than that his name is listed among stationers in London. According to the bibliographical notes on Lenthall in the British Museum, he lived in 1683–1762 (after). In addition to selling paper and pen in his shop,

he became famous for selling his prints, such as maps, and prominently, playing cards that he designed (or redesigned) in various themes including educational cards to teach Latin grammar (1878,1012.185-226), a pack of cards with birds, beasts, and mythological

Figure 4.4 John Lenthall's Fortunetelling Cards (early 18th Century); suit of diamonds.

characters (1982,U.4628), and a pack of cards with carnivalesque illustrations with mythological characters theming love (1896,0501.924.1-49).

In early 1700s, Lenthall designed and published an exquisite pack of fortunetelling cards (Figure 4.4).[158] The pack is composed of fifty-four cards, two of which are titled "the Use of the Cards" that contain information about the complicated mechanism of the cards and an exemplary configuration to illustrate the mechanism. The cards are divided into four standard suits as hearts, clubs, diamonds, and spades, each of which has thirteen cards inscribed with the Roman numerical system on top. Between the suit symbols and Roman numbers are the names of biblical, mythological, historical, or contemporary characters. Cards bearing the numbers XIII, XII, and XI are illustrated, respectively, with a king, a queen, and a knave. The remaining ten cards bear either a zodiac that is divided into thirteen parts, each of which contains a number and a word; or thirteen fortunetelling answers to the player's question. Zodiac cards, in addition, have one syllable located under the Roman numerals and a number under the suit sign. Likewise, the answer cards have one number located under the name of the character on top. The kings hold a board carrying five questions that a player might want to learn about; queens and knaves hold their hand books in a manner so that they show open pages to the reader. The questions suggest that the players were mostly, if not completely, women. The books are inscribed with numbers, letters, and words that lead the fortune-seeking players to an answer.

According to the manual prepared by Lenthall, the complex mechanism works thus: First, the player chooses a question written on the board in the King cards who bear the names of kings from the antiquity; Holofernes, Nimrod, Pharoh, and Herod. Above each question is a sequence of letters and a number that leads the player to one of the zodiac cards labeled with the same combination. Let us imagine the player wants to learn about "Whether they shall marry a Gentleman or a Tradesman." Above this question writes the combination of "Ver 15," which leads the player to one of the zodiac circles that has this combination, in our example the VII of Diamonds, named after the Apostle "Sosipater" (Sopater). The player lays this card on the table and then randomly picks another card from the deck; say, I of Hearts, named after Hermes Trismagistus, writer of the Hermetic Corpus. Now the player finds out what I (one) corresponds to in the zodiac

[158] See Games Index No: 87.

circle on the VII of diamonds, which are "fates 35." This new combination leads the player to one of the Queen and Knave cards on which characters hold open books with combinations. In our example, "fates 35" is located on XI (Knave) of Spades, named after Wat Tyler. Each of these books writes the name of a character that leads the player to one of the answer cards. In our example, Wat Tyler holds three books, one of which is hanged on his body; I choose "S. Marpesia 52," Queen of the Amazons. Among the thirteen answers written on the cards, we read number I because we picked this number earlier. Our answer is "By' th(e) hand you'l feel, they are Genteele." There is a glitch in the mechanism: Sometimes the result does not answer the question. There is no information about what the players should do in such cases. At other times, the result might indirectly answer the question. I believe this should be counted as a successful fortunetelling, albeit with a vague result.

Knaves in the pack are composed of various characters. The Knave of Hearts is a blindfolded cupid; that of Spades is Wat Tyler, leader of the English Peasants' Revolt in 1381, being a peasant himself, he carries a shovel; that of Clubs is Hewson, according to critics he represents John Hewson (d. 1662) the regicide, who became infamous by signing the death penalty that eventually led the execution of Charles I of England in 1649. Before rising in his military career, Hewson was a cobbler and, thus, he was also called Hewson the cobbler. According to Virginia and Harold Wayland (1978-79), this detail was underlined by Lenthall in his depiction of Hewson by making him wear a cobbler's apron. The Knave of Diamonds bears the name Mahomett in Turkish attire: a distinctive turban with a feather, a curvy mustache, a scimitar with a bird-head shaped pommel (vulture?), long dress, and *yemeni* boots. The name might be a variation of Mohammad (the prophet of Islam) or its adapted form into Turkish, Mehmet. Considering that the characters in the pack have mythological, biblical, and historical bases, it is likely that he represents the prophet. The name appears in this form in Continental texts, such as Voltaire's 1736 play *Mahomet*; however, its proximity to its Turkish version cannot be underestimated, which points to a Turkish influence over its European form.

Like other cards in the pack, Mahomett does not have a specific role other than conveying the fortune-seeker to an answer. Even this neutral function posits a new facet to the image of the Turk, while at the same time perturbing his mainstream image. This neutrality emerges not only in the Turk's function in the game, but also in the way he was

depicted. That he was depicted carrying a scimitar, which highlights the character's militaristic or violent background, provides a hint about how a Turk was imagined in eighteenth-century English society. However, bearing in mind his practical function in the game and the game's purpose of predicting the future, his image challenges the common perception of the image of the Turk.

4.4 Imaginary Confrontations: Turks vs Native Americans

As discussed in Chapter 2 in the light of Huizinga and Caillois's definitions, play is "different from ordinary life" (Huizinga, 1949, p. 4) and a "second reality against real life" (Caillois, 2001, p. 10). This stance against reality reveals itself in the imaginary world of games, where imaginary confrontations might occur for the sheer pleasure of entertainment. In creating a game world, this fundamental feature is only bounded with the imagination of its creators. As Mark J. P. Wolf (2012) states:

> They [imaginary worlds] are realms of possibility, a mix of familiar and unfamiliar, permutations of wish, dread, and dream, and other kinds of existence that can make us more aware of the circumstances and conditions of the actual world we inhabit. (p.17)

In today's digital games, possibilities of confrontations between imaginary or "based-on-reality" parties are endless: aliens vs. predators, Humans vs. Orcs, and Allies vs. Axis. Such versatility of the game world is based on the imagination of the game's inventor not only in digital platforms, but even in archaic board games. For example, the ancient Egyptian game "Hounds and Jackals" is an enactment of a chase between these two animals. Besides, throughout its journey from India to Europe, chess has taken the form of a war simulation between two parties. Thus, games that theme imaginary confrontations are not a novel invention; imaginary confrontation has been an innate feature of games since antiquity.

Figure 4.5 Chess Set, Turks vs Native Americans, by Johann Nicolaus Haberstumpf (c.1720).

One of such imaginary confrontations is the theme of an eighteenth-century chess set in Hamburg, in which Turks play against Native Americans. An ahistorical confrontation in essence, the set was crafted by famous relief artist Johann Nicolaus Haberstumpf (1691–1728) in c.1720 (Figure 4.5).[159] Turks, represented in white, wear typical long kaftans, *yemeni* boots, and turbans. Native Americans, in black, have feather decorations in their clothes and hats, in the usual manner with which they were depicted

[159] Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Inv. No: 1910.467. See Games Index No: 28.

in early modern art. Inlayed garnet stones on the kings and queens point at Eger, Bohemia as the place of origin where Haberstumpf was based (Cheb in today's Czech Republic) (Holländer & Holländer, 2005).

This apposition clearly indicates the intention to have two of the exotic peoples confront each other. Although there are no records of such a contact between these two sides, Turks and Native Americans were part of a discussion in the sixteenth century between two Spanish humanists, Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, in the context of questioning what a rightful political attitude toward Native Americans should be. In a nutshell, the Turks and Muslims played a significant role in constituting the Other of Europe, which view based itself on religious fundamentals. The political approach to non-Christians, therefore, was underpinned by a clash between two religions. After the voyages of Columbus, indigenous peoples of the New World were regarded as savages and idolaters, namely, the new Other; thus, the pre-Columbian mindset toward Muslims dominated the attitude toward Native Americans, overtly linked with *encomienda*. In debates on how a rightful approach should be conducted, las Casas and Sepúlveda agreed on differentiating the Turks and Native Americans but opposed each other on the nature of conduct.[160] In such a climate, the Native Americans were, borrowing the term from Nabil Matar, superimposed onto the Turks in an unfitting manner. In general, European thought comprehended the distinction between the Turks and Native Americans, and what is familiar and unfamiliar. Regardless, the question about in what context Turks and Native Americans came together in the game remains a question for further discussion. However, the underlining principles behind this juxtaposition might be sought in the view of a world in an age of discovery that had extended the knowledge of the New World. An increasing number of texts juxtaposed the East with the West. For Matar (1999), in the context of the Britons the connection was rather obvious:

> The encounter with and the 'discovery' of the two peoples, whether in geographical books or on the ground, was simultaneous…North Africa and North America became part of English knowledge in the same decades and in the same texts. (pp.99-100)

[160] For more on the debate, see: Mastnak (1994), and Hernandez (2011).

The apposition of Turks and Native Americans must have been enjoyed so much in that it takes place in two packs of playing cards called "*vexierkarten,*" this time not as the main theme but a part of the entertainment of noble ladies.[161] To begin with, it is dubious whether *Vexierkarten* was the name of a game or the specific playing cards designed for game(s). In a 1715 dictionary it is defined as:

> Vexier-Karten, Sind allerhand geschriebene oder in Kupffer gestochene Blätter in Form einer Karte, worauf entweder etwas dem Frauenzimmer in der Compagnie so dieselbe Stückweise nach einander herum aufhebet, in dem Spiel zu verrichten auferleget wird, oder sonst allerhand lustige und spitzfindige Reimlein darauf stehen, so des Frauenzimmers künfftiges Glück oder Unglück, Tugenden oder Fehlerkund thut, und im Vor-und Ablesen Materie zum lachen giebet. (Corvinus, 1715, pp. 2074-2075)

This definition implies that a kind of fortune-telling game was played with these cards. That the definition comes from the women's lexicon of upper-class women, clearly indicates the target group of the game. After all, as in Lenthall's cards, fortunetelling games in the early modern period were popular among, and thus targeted to, women.

The packs that are at issue here belonged to two art cabinets, both were gathered by famous diplomat and art dealer Philipp Hainhofer (1578–1647), who designed these cabinets for the high nobility. Based in Augsburg, Hainhofer worked with a team of up to thirty people. The two packs of hand-drawn cards, therefore, must have been made by the same artist, given the stylistic resemblances. Among the people who received his art cabinets were Philip II, Duke of Pomerania in 1610, and Gustav II, King of Sweden in 1632. The one that belonged to Philip II was burned during the World War II, but some of the objects were saved, which are in display in Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum; the one that belonged to Gustav II is still exhibited in Uppsala, Sweden (Figure 4.6).[162] The Berlin pack contains forty-seven cards and the Uppsala pack contains forty-two cards.

[161] See Games Index No: 13.

[162] Berlin pack: Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum, Inv. No: P84 (30), P84 (31). Uppsala pack: Uppsala University, Gustavianum, Inv. No: 0502-03, 0502-07. For more information on the Hainhofer art cabinets, see: Sundin (2019).

Figure 4.6 *Vexierkarten* (1610); Berlin Pack (top) and Uppsala Pack, (1632).

Both packs are two-sided: one side is a standard playing card with French suits; on the other are hand-drawn images. This double-sided form indicates that standard card games that require secrecy of the hand cannot be played since there are unidentical pictures on the other side of the card, which would easily give hints about what the opponent has in her/his cards. However, as expressed in the above definition of *vexierkarten*, the double-sided form can be suitable for fortunetelling games.[163] Pictures on the hand-painted side of the packs are composed of various images containing *commedia dell'arte* characters, musicians, physicians, hunters, upper-class people, peasants, landsknecht soldiers, various type of dogs, boatmen, a heraldic lion, and mythological creatures such as a winged griffon with the head of an eagle, torso of a lion, and rear legs of a goat. The Uppsala pack, additionally, includes pictures of exotic birds, flowers, judges, and risqué scenes of a woman and a man in a bath. In both packs, some cards have reversible images, whose combinations may suggest a reading regarding the gameplay. Those figures that reverse each other are *commedia dell'arte* characters, gentlemen and ladies or gentlemen, ladies and swaddled babies, peasant men and women, boatmen and beggars, servants and masters, bathing men and bathing women, hunters and preys or dogs, Turks and Native Americans, and birds and flowers.

It is hard to estimate the role and the function of the Turk and Native American images with insufficient information at hand. Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest in the light of Matar's thoughts on juxtaposing the Turk and the Native American that the two peoples became representative of a world that is outside Europe, the former was the familiar Other and the latter was the unfamiliar. An increasing sense of Eurocentrism must have been stimulated by the geographical discoveries during the early modern period. As a result, peoples of the East and West were compared to each other as a whole, and this whole represented what is not European. Matar summarizes this analogical approach thus: "The Muslim and the Indian were hybrid products of two different cultural encounters that were forcefully yoked together" (ibid. p.103). In the undertones of this forceful apposition lies the perspective that sees the Turk not as a threat; on the contrary, a familiar Other which had been in contact for centuries.

[163] This double-sided form has still been used in some of contemporary fortunetelling cards, like Zolar's Astrological Tarot.

The extent of imaginary confrontations is bounded to the imagination of the people who invent or produce the game. In this regard, the presence of other early modern European chess sets points to this direction. In these sets, the Turk confronts the Turk,[164] Romans against Orientals,[165] Europeans against Native Americans,[166] and Turks against North Africans.[167] Even devilish Turks on both sides can confront each other, as in the chessmen depicted in Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen's c.1550 painting depicting John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony playing chess while in captivity in Brussels with his Spanish guardian.[168] Variations of confrontations, such as Turks against other nations, continued to be a popular chess configuration in the periods after the early modern period.

[164] Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. No: R 5621-5653; Kunstgewerbesammlung der Stadt Bielefeld, Stiftung Hülsmann, Inv. No: H-D012, 1-32. (Holländer & Holländer, 2005). See Games Index No: 31.
[165] Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No: 8028-8059; see Games Index No: 37.
[166] See: Holländer & Holländer (2005, p. 108); source not provided.
[167] Private collection; see: Holländer & Holländer (1998, p. 94).
[168] See: Holländer & Holländer (2005, p. 67).

CHAPTER 5: WHAT HAPPENED AFTERWARD?

> –But the Turks have not studied the Greek classics. They are ignorant. They do not know Aristophanes or Homer or Demosthenes, not even the deputies. Et sans connaître les classiques grecs on ne peut être ni politicien, ni orateur, ni diplomate. Turkey does not exist. I assure you, sir, it is a mere question of brigandage.
>
> -Orient Express, John Dos Passos, (1922)

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the changing face of the image of the Turk in games that were produced after the early modern period. I attempt to pursue the notion I have defended in this thesis: games reflect the dynamics of their times. In light of the historical evolution of the image of the Turk in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, I will briefly show how games responded to the historical conjuncture of the Turks in the *longue durée* that was marked with Colonialism, the First and Second World Wars, and the digital revolution. The reader should bear in mind that this timeframe is not the focal point of this thesis. It is, nevertheless, integral to emphasize the consistency of my argument that supports the idea of multifaceted images of the Turk up to today.

The Ottomans lost territories in Europe not to major powers but to Ottoman Empire's former subjects, such as Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, and Bulgars. Independence movements in the empire grew so much as to pose threats against the Seraglio. First, Greeks gained independence in 1829, followed by Serbs and Romanians in 1878, Bulgaria in 1908, and Albania in 1912. The collapsing empire earned the Ottomans the epithet of "the sick man of Europe," which foretold its approaching bitter end. The image of the Turk during this period was marked by expressions such as desperation and hopelessness. This imagery was frequently used in European press; for instance, in 18 October 1908 issue of *Le Petit Journal* (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 *'Le Reveil de la Question D'Orient'*. In *Le Petit Journal* (1908) (Getty Images).

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed after World War One, almost simultaneously the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk). The newly founded Republic of Turkey had to overcome enormous obstacles immediately after its birth. Turkey had to gain independence, expel invading forces, restore the economy, and build its institutions according to the doctrines of the new regime. The Turkish Independence War that had begun in 1919 was finally won in 1923, and Turkey declared its sovereignty by securing its borders. New economic models were introduced to revive the economy that had been destroyed by the collapsing

Ottoman Empire. In order to safeguard the regime, institutions were reorganized in accordance with progressive ideals such as secularism and nationalism.

As opposed to the imperial traditions, the new state was founded upon democratic and progressive grounds. Atatürk implemented a number of fundamental reforms to safeguard the Republic. Some of these progressive reforms (such as a democratic parliament, secular state, centralized education based on science, representation of the minorities, secular law, etc.) had already been discussed among the learned and literate segments of the Ottoman society long before the collapse of the empire.[169] The new state, however, provided a fitting platform to implement these fundamental reforms and for the transformation of Turkish society.

Modern constitution of Turkey that was based on a combination of various European jurisprudence was accepted in the parliament in 1924. The constitution declared a secular administration which meant the abolishing of the caliphate institution long-held by the Ottoman sultan since 1517. The modern administration, however, formed a directorate (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*) to regulate religious affairs of the Muslim society. This was followed by the centralization of education based on secular grounds and taught in mixed-gender schools, adoption of European style outfits (1925), closing-down of the independent religious authorities, such as dervish lodges (1925), accepting European calendar, Continental metric system and time (1925-31), accepting a new Turkish writing system based on Latin alphabet (1928), equal rights for women including right to vote and be elected in elections (1934), and adoption of surnames (1934). These and other regulations demonstrated a strong desire of Turkey to be a part of Europe both culturally and administratively.[170]

Under the leadership of the charismatic leader Atatürk, the Turks demonstrated great flexibility by adopting these new ideals. However, the momentum of revival gained during the leadership of Atatürk came to a standstill after his death in 1938 on the eve of

---

[169] The most notorious of these liberal groups called themselves *Jön Türkler* (New Turks), who were forced to operate undercover or freely in Paris, Berlin and London. This latter group, especially, was active in press and dissemination of these progressive and somewhat utopian ideals. For more information on social, cultural and state modernization discussions in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as well as modernization attempts and their repercussions in the society, see: Shaw & Shaw (2002), and Lewis (2002).

[170] These rather fast changes aroused serious reactions among the conservative part of the society, who did not want to be ruled in a "godless" state (Lewis, 2002).

World War Two. Although Turkey declared its neutrality in World War Two, it was affected by the global economic crisis that had been fomented before and after the war. While the great powers of the world engaged in aggressive displays of territorial expansion, Turkey stood in the background of global conflicts. In short, in the first three decades of its existence, Turkey focused on its stability while overcoming its internal obstacles. This stance can be summarized as intentional neutrality, and this withdrawal from the global scene can be observed in the games produced during the first half of the twentieth century. Because the games in this period focus on the world *en masse*, they either skip Turkey and the Turks or attribute to it only a minor importance.

The image of the Turk has never ceased its evolution. During the periods following early modern times, the Turk gained new meanings and connoted various perceptions that mainly derived from the state of the Ottomans. Toward the nineteenth century, the Ottomans lost not only their power but also a role in the competition of dominance in Europe, so much so that European dominance was officially recognized with a reformation accepted in 1836 known as "*Tanzimat*" (reorganization). According to *tanzimat* ideals, Ottoman bureaucratic and social life needed to adapt the new standards set by major European countries. In this regard, not only secular and progressive legislations were introduced but also dynamics of daily life changed, which at first glance, revealed itself in the dress code. In an attempt to preserve dominant Islamic traditions and adapt *à la française* clothes by emulating the West, the Ottomans successfully underwent a set of reforms that influenced their image.

It is hard to claim that this change of wardrobe affected the image of the Turk in the minds of Europeans. On the one hand, growing artistic movements, such as Orientalism, created an influx of fantastic images regarding the East, which were, in turn, rejected by the Ottomans, who were no longer interested in slave markets, nor had there ever been women bathhouses as shown in the pictures painted by Orientalists. As Nazım Hikmet, a prominent Turkish poet, recited in his poem *Piyer Loti* in 1925 as a reaction to the literature of Pierre Loti[171]:

> Resignation!
> Destiny!

[171] Louis Marie-Julien Viaud (1850–1923); A French *Turcophile*, naval captain and travel writer who lived in Istanbul and wrote literature about the Turks in a manner to favor them and criticized French politics on Turkey. He received several awards from Sultan for his efforts to introduce and defend Turkey in Europe.

Cage, inn, caravan
Fountain!
Dancing on silver trays a sultan!
Maharajah, padishah,
One thousand and one year-old shah.
Mother of pearl clogs hanging on minarets,
Women with hennaed noses
Are weaving tambourines with their feet.
In the winds, green turbaned imams, reciting prayer calls.

This is the Orient
seen by the French poet
This is the Orient
of the books that
Print 1.000.000 copy in a minute!
Nevertheless
Neither in the past
Nor today
Nor in the future
Such an Orient has ever been
Nor will ever be![172] (Turan & Güllüoğlu, 2008, p. 34)

During the period that began with the end of World War One until the death of Atatürk in 1938, the image of the Turk was under the influence of Turkish victory in the War of Independence and the positive atmosphere of the Westernization process. This rather short-lived period restored the image of the Turk; nevertheless, the period after Atatürk's death until today is marked by military coups and strong debates questioning the democracy, freedom of speech, and human rights in Turkey.[173] According to the Democracy Index prepared in 2018 by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Turkey ranks 110 out of 167 countries around the globe (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019).

5.1 Representational Decline: The Turk in Nineteenth-Century Games

Before I lay the topic here, it is important to summarize the evolution of games in the nineteenth century. As opposed to the trends in games produced in the fifteenth to

[172] My Translation.
[173] First of such incidents occurred in 1942 when Turkey implemented an unjust Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) that targeted only the non-Muslim minorities, who were systematically forced to pay unaffordable tax debt, otherwise forced to work in work camps as a punishment. The repercussions of this Nazism-driven act refuted the good image of Turkey sustained by the period when Atatürk governed the state. For more information on Wealth Tax and its effect on the image of Turkey, see: Lewis (2002).

eighteenth centuries, which mostly themed around random topics that did not have instructional values such as love and sheer fun, or around instructing moral values such as vices and virtues, nineteenth-century board games and playing cards are predominantly characterized by their educational values. This trend had begun at the end of the eighteenth century with the growing rationalism championed by the age of Enlightenment. As seen in the Games Index in this thesis, many board games and playing cards were produced with the intention to teach geography, history, ethnographic qualities of remote peoples, as well as religion and exotic animals. Such a change in the focal point of games suggests that the target group was children or adolescents whose educational program included learning about the world and cultures inside and outside Europe. Another common feature of educational games was that they no longer used gambling as a part of their game mechanism. One of the three most common game mechanisms, the so-called *Tira* and *Paga* (Take and Pay) system, was abandoned, if not completely; instead, the spiral track of the Game of the Goose and its variants were adopted in almost all of the educational games. In accordance with the zeitgeist of the Enlightenment, what players gained from playing educational games were knowledge, not coins.

One of the main determinant factors in the image of the Turk in nineteenth-century games was the imperialist ideology. Players set forth to a ludic travel around the world on a map-based game board with a spiral track that passed through exotic countries, in which they were informed about the peoples living in those places. The medium of travel varied according to the most exciting and advanced technology available in the time of the game, which might be a ship, a train, a balloon, an airplane, a zeppelin, or an automobile. Supported by pictures of peoples with their distinctive clothes, the informative texts often put the players in a position in which they observed, compared, and contrasted those peoples to their own cultures. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the informative texts decreased, while visual information increased thanks to advancements in printing technology. Sometimes the pictures show the most remarkable building or the landscape of a city in a given country, depending on the theme of the game. However, geographical information either in picture or in text frequently includes the raw materials and resources such as coal and petrol, habitat, fauna and flora, and the plantation of countries. The themes are centered around what can be materially obtained from a country shown in the game board. In the age of Imperialism, these games were

designed to help shape young players' imperial consciousness. This resonates with Edward Said's (1994) statement:

> In the expansion of the great Western empires, profit and hope of further profit were obviously tremendously important, as the attractions of spices, sugar, slaves, rubber, cotton, opium, tin, gold, and silver over centuries amply testify. So also was inertia, the investment in already going enterprises, tradition, and the market or institutional forces that kept the enterprises going. But there is more than that to imperialism and colonialism. There was a commitment to them over and above profit, a commitment in constant circulation and recirculation, which, on the one hand, allowed decent men and women to accept the notion that distant territories and their native peoples should be subjugated, and, on the other, replenished metropolitan energies so that these decent people could think of the imperium as a protracted, almost metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples. (p.10)

Games produced in this period overtly reflect an imperial agenda imposed upon the children of a privileged group in society. In its evolution from the simple and purely informative nature of map-based games in early modern times, as in Duval's games, to elaborate board designs demonstrating multidimentional implications with mountains and other geographical forms, the demands of the middle class played a defining role. In an increasingly expanding empire, it was the duty of the middle class to raise future generations with a knowledge of geography focused on the particular raw materials and resources awaiting them in a remote territory in the world. And it was the duty of the middle-class children players to endeavor following the track of the board game to reach the promised resources for the sake of the empire. Board games were cut out for these future officers, civil servants, generals, and merchants who could, with a throw of dice, set sail to exciting adventures in, for instance, Madagascar, where they could make contact with indigenous people and control plantations, or to Australia to mine for gold. Board games in this era, I assert, must have played an important role in a larger scheme in establishing imperial consciousness in children, which, in turn, provided endurance for the imperial enterprises in colonies. If nothing else, board games allowed children to imagine a larger world, ripe and ready.

Instruction booklets, few remained, demonstrate how the imperial resonance permeated into games. This is evident in the "Key" booklet of John Betts' "Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World" published in 1831 in London. To begin with, Betts

clearly states his target group and motivation for producing this new game, which, as he claims, is different from other similar products already in the market:

> The Inventor of this little Game has been induced to make the attempt, from the belief that an article of this kind is likely to become very useful to the Juvenile Class of Society, and that indeed it is a thing very much wanted.
>
> On merely looking at the title "Geographical Game," it may be observed, that there are already several published, which remark is very just, but on looking further into the Game, it will be found to be on a plan totally different, and he trusts it will be acknowledged greatly superior to any yet published, and for this reason; the whole of the Geographical Games hitherto published, (at least all that the writer has seen, which is not a few,) have been played by a teetotum, &c. leaving the issue of the Game entirely to chance. (Betts, 1831, p.2)[174]

Discontent with the chance element in the geographical games on the market, Betts designed his own game based on memorizing geographical information about 144 points on the world map and answering questions regarding the locations the points specify. In "answering the questions aright," Betts claims, the answers "will become fixed on the memory, which is the very object desired." The information Betts provided in the Key booklet is composed not only of geographical information, such as climate, fauna and flora, population, a little history and the raw materials in a given place, but also the commercial relationship between the location and the British Empire or opportunities for future enterprises. A focus on mercantile affairs is predominant. To illustrate the imperial perspective toward the rest of the world, Betts writes for Murzuq in today's Libya, for example:

> 110. Mourzuk.
>
> Is surrounded by a high wall with three gates, at which is collected a tax on all goods (provisions excepted) that are brought into the town. It has a large castle, and the ruins of many ancient buildings, which, intermixed with the humble cottages of earth and sand which form the residences of its black inhabitants, present a motley appearance. It has a considerable trade in foreign merchandize brought by the caravans from Cairo, Bornou, &c. (p.29)

[174] See Games Index No. 91.

For Kumasi, Ghana:

> 113. Coomassie.
>
> It is built on the side of a large rocky hill of ironstone, and is upwards of three miles in circuit. The four principle streets are about half a mile long and 150 feet wide. Most of the houses are small, having conical roofs, but there are some on a larger scale, with open porches in front. The king's palace is an immense building, consisting of a number of oblong courts and regular squares. It has manufactures of cotton cloths, fine pottery, and gold ornaments, and a considerable trade with the merchants in the coast in the articles of ivory and gold dust. Its population is 15,000. (p.29-30)

For Timbuktu, Mali:

> 116. Tombuctoo.
>
> It stands on a plain surrounded by sandy eminences, and is encompassed by a mud wall, having a gate on the N. E. side, which encloses a vast area; but the houses being spacious, and rarely more than one story high, it does not contain more than 50,000 inhabitants, a smaller number than might be expected from its extent. Amonst them are many weavers, smiths, and ingenious mechanics. Cloth and other European merchandize are brought from Barbary by caravans, who receive ivory, slaves, gold dust, senna, ostrich feathers, &c., in exchange. The city is subject to a well regulated police, and the inhabitants are generally rich. On the east is a large forest which abounds with elephants and yields fine timber. (p. 30)

And, finally, for Europe:

> Europe, although the smallest quarter of the world, surpasses the others in many respects. It is in the first place much better cultivated, is fuller of towns and cities; its buildings are stronger, more elegant, and commodious; and being entirely within the temperate zone, with the exception of a small part of Norway and Russia, there is neither the excessive cold nor the insupportable heat which inconvenience other parts. The inhabitants are all whites, and amount to about 150 millions, who for their skill and improvements in the arts, sciences, trade, navigation, &c. cannot be competed with. (p.9)

Betts was not alone in aiming to impart to the juvenile class accurate and detailed information about the world, which aim was also shared by other games producers in a

trending theme in the games market. In c.1845, David Ogilvy published "L'Orient or the Indian Travellers" with the subtitle: "A Geographical and Historical Game."[175] The board contains a world map in the center and thirty-six compartments that illustrate important historical steps in the British Empire's colonization of India, starting from the year 1714 during the reign of George I until Queen Victoria I; the latest year was stated with a question mark in the end, as 184?, which indicates the game was published during her reign. The game aims to reach India through three actual travel routes, colored differently on the map. They all start from London; one travels through the South Atlantic, rounds the Cape of Good Hope, and arrives at Calcutta; one follows the land route in Europe, sails from Geneva to Egypt, follows the land route until it embarks again in the Red Sea, makes a stop at Bombay, and ends at Madras. The third route follows the previous one and only sets sail from Venice to Egypt. The text on the advertisement sheet of the game, perhaps written by Ogilvy, completes the narrative of the game:

> The Inventor of this little bagatelle has selected events which have occurred during the reigns of six Sovereigns, from George I. to Victoria.
>
> He is chiefly indebted to Thornton and Mills for his information, and to these esteemed authors he begs to refer his young friends, if they wish to obtain a comprehensive view of the rise and progress of our Indian Empire.
>
> His object will be fully gained if the very brief outline which can be made interesting in a game should be the means of inducing further inquiry on the subject.[176]

Ogilvy follows a national agenda not only on teaching his young friends about the geography and history of England and Europe, but also on international affairs for mutual benefits. In an advertisement found in the booklet of "L'Orient or the Indian Travellers," Ogilvy introduces a new game that remains in preparation. The text read thus:

> YOUNG JOHN BULL AND HIS BROTHER JONATHAN. A Geographical and Historical Game. It is the design of the inventor of this game to bring the children of England and America into close connection, exhibiting the points of history reflecting credit on both

[175] See Games Index No. 97.
[176] For the text: http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=2443.

> countries, and by this means, opening out at the fountain head, that good feeling and brotherly love which is daily increasing betwixt them.

Nineteenth-century geographical and historical board games, to sum up, reflect an imperial perspective of the world, designed and repurposed to teach young middle-class children about the greatness of the empire. The predominantly Eurocentric worldview in games might result from the expansion of areas of engagement and the territories they engaged with. Game producers had the duty to set the tone of the engagement, and it is observed that they set this tone in accordance with the imperial agenda. In Betts's "Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World," the tone of the engagement focuses on obtaining a territory for the purpose of obtaining its raw materials. Ogilvy, in his "L'Orient or the Indian Travellers," promotes the imperial progress in a colony founded miles away from the center. However, he sets the tone in a manner to promote a newly established fraternity rhetoric between the center and its brother, America, in "Young John Bull and His Brother Jonathan."

Images of the Turks and Turkey in games that were produced in the long nineteenth century must be evaluated in this regard. The place that Turkey occupied in imperial ideology simultaneously shaped their place on the board. The Ottoman Empire, being Oriental and in Europe, reflected an image that contained a subtle backwardness peculiar to Orientals, and an exotic country in the vicinity of European countries, but also a respected empire with which partnerships were founded in the past. In the focus of the imperial narrative, the Ottoman Empire did not receive attention with its raw materials until petroleum was discovered in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The attention, however, began to shift to the ancient sites located in Asia Minor that were somehow culturally associated with Europe. As a result, on a world map that was ever-expanding with colonies and newly contacted places that were rich in raw materials, Turkey was in a decline in taking enough space. The games of this age demonstrated these perspectives while approaching the Turk. Let's observe this in an example.

Figure 5.2 *Picturesque Round Game of the Geography, Topography, Produce, Manufactures and Natural History of Various Countries of the World* (William Sallis, 1845).

William Sallis, active in London, published his "Picturesque Round Game of the Geography, Topography, Produce, Manufactures and Natural History of various countries of the World" in c.1845 (Figure 5.2).[177] The elaborate design of the board is one of the numerous significant differences between geographical board games produced in previous centuries in the nineteenth century, which difference is a direct result of the developments in printing technology and geography. The quality of the etching, the use of colors, cartographic accuracy (although not drawn to scale), geographical knowledge, and above all ludic characteristics in this game speak for the evolution that occurred in board games. The sketches of mountains, carefully shaded and placed in the polar zones, and of other details give the board a three-dimensional effect that differentiates the design from the formality, and lifelessness, of a map and elevates the experience of the players by suggesting that they, after all, play a game. Sallis's design in this game not only reflects the highest standards achieved in the intersection of cartography and board games but also a pinnacle in demonstrating the extent of this world view in the nineteenth century. The game is a showcase for middle-class children to demonstrate how far their empire extended and other possible opportunities that they could contribute to it.

In this respect, the long title of the game clearly states the focus, which is quite in line with the imperial ideology that the British Empire maintained around the world. Similarly, the game mechanism is designed to suggest the greatness of the British Empire. Sadly, the instructions of the game are missing. However, the game play must be similar to other geographical games in the market. There are 157 points on the map that the players should follow by the roll of a single die or a pair of dice. The track starts and ends in Britain, heart of the world.[178] It takes the young players to a detour passing through, in sequence, Europe, Asia, Australia, Africa, South America, North America, Greenland, North and South Pacific Island, and finally back to Europe. The sketches on the map must be related to the adventures players are faced with that frequently work as a part of the game mechanism, sometimes causing them to wait a turn or lose some coins, and sometimes giving them an advantage. The players, who are British, travel around the

[177] See Games Index No. 99.

[178] According to an online rare books website that claims they had sold an original copy of the game with its instructions booklet, the producer of the game states that "London, its capital, is the most extensive seat of commerce in the world." For details, see: https://www.crouchrarebooks.com/instruments/view/sallis-willam-picturesque-round-game-of-the-geography-topography-produce-ma

world and come back to its center after surviving dangers in exotic lands, remote places, wild beasts, and indigenous people. Mining in Siberia, plantations in South Carolina, and farming in Australia are among the economic activities highlighted on the board. The missing instructions must include the details of raw materials and other valuable resources, as in Betts's "Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World," that the players can collect by landing on the territories.

The Turk and Turkey in Sallis's abovementioned game, as well as in Betts's and Ogilvy's, are in a representational decline. The larger the scale of the map, the less the space and importance that Turkey holds in the game. Turkey in Sallis's game, covering a land both in Europe and Asia Minor, is represented with the numbers 34 and 36, without mentioning any of its cities. Having no sketch on the space that Turkey covers on the map, it is possible to assume that there is no adventure occurring for the players in Turkey. In Betts's game, Turkey is represented only by Istanbul out of 144 locations on the map. Finally, in Ogilvy's Indian Traveler game Turkey received no representation other than appearing on the map. This decline in representation can be compared to geographical games focusing on Europe, in which case, Turkey receives better visibility. Joseph Myers' c.1870 "The Game of the European Tourist/ A New Game of Travel or a Journey through Europe" is one of such games in which Turkey is represented by nine cities out of one hundred locations distributed unevenly in the whole of Europe encompassing Caucasus, Siberia, and Mesopotamia.[179] As the rules booklet indicates, the players arriving at Istanbul, for example, "enters into a partnership in the fig trade, and advances to be a great Sultan. For these and his other great successes, he has to receive from the pool 20 counters" (Roveabout, c.1870, p.10).[180] The representational decline of Turkey on the map of geographical games reveals itself overtly in twentieth-century games, which I will investigate in the next section.

5.2 Out of the Game: The Inexistence of the Turk in Twentieth-Century Games

The long twentieth century is characterized by the two world wars, the effects of which can be followed in games. Until the outbreak of the World War One in 1914,

[179] See Games Index No. 103.
[180] The rules booklet can be found at: http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1301.

geographical board games with a focus on colonies, raw materials and resources were still some of the most common themes children played along with world travel and globetrotting games.[181] For example, different variations of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days*, published in 1873, could be found in the market adapted into board games.[182] Along with the developments in technology such as the internal combustion engine that required petroleum, the mediums of transportation in games changed to faster trains, motorships, automobiles, and from zeppelins to airplanes.[183] This trend began to change around 1910s toward games that were themed around armies, soldiers, war, and heroism, as a direct result of the growing militarism in the social and political atmosphere on the eve of the Great War. The escalated tension and subsequent wars between Allies and Axis blocs during World War One manifested itself on game boards that glorified regiments, triumphs on the battlefields, and the liberation of cities. Among such games are "*Jusqu'au Bout*" (Until the End, produced in 1916 in Paris),[184] "*Jeu de la Victoire*" (Game of the Victory, produced in c.1917 in Paris),[185] "*Het Nieuwe Oorlogsspel*" (The New War Game, produced in 1918 in The Hague),[186] and another "*Jeu de la Victoire*" (Game of the Victory, produced in 1919 in Paris),[187] all of which illustrated actual battles between the two camps of the Great War. After the World War One, world travel games made a return to the games market, such as "*Il Volo d'Oriente col "Gennariello*" (The Flight to the East, produced in 1926 in Milan), "*Tutte le Strade Conducono a Roma*" (All Roads Lead to Rome, produced in 1928 in Bergamo), "*Maggi's Fliegerspiel*" (Maggi's Pilot Game, produced in 1920–30 in Switzerland).[188] With the outbreak of World War Two, board games swiftly took world travel as their central theme again together with the ever-dominant world travel games. Among these militaristic games are "*Jeu du Pas de l'Oie*" (Goose Parade March Game, produced in 1944 in Belgium),[189] "*Le Jeu de la Division Leclerc*" (The Game of the Division Leclerc [after the French General Philippe

[181] See Games Index No. 41, 83.
[182] See Games Index No: 61.
[183] See Games Index No. 42, 43, 44, 84.
[184] See: De Fleurs (1916).
[185] See: Marca (c.1917).
[186] See: Berhaut (1918).
[187] See: *Jeu de la Victoire* (1919).
[188] See: *Il Volo d'Oriente col Gennariello* (1926); for others, see Games Index No. 62, 107.
[189] See: Schellinck (1944).

Leclerc de Hauteclocque], produced in 1945 in France).[190] There were also political/ideological propaganda games during World War Two, such as "*Jagd auf Kohlenklau*" (Hunt the Coal Thief, produced in 1944 in Germany; the game promoted to save coal to be used by the German army),[191] and "*Juden Raus*" (Jews Out, produced in 1938 in Germany).[192] And again, imperialism and the world tour returned to entertain children after World War Two, such as "*Die Große Weltreise*" (The Big World Tour, produced in 1947 in Hamburg),[193] "*Reisspel*" (Travel Game, produced in 1985 in the Netherlands),[194] as well as political games such as "*Europa Unita*" (United Europe, produced in c.1955, in Rome).[195]

Majority of the games mentioned above share one significant feature: Turks and Turkey neither appear nor are mentioned. It is undeniable that there are game in which Turks and Turkey are present, like those I included in the Games Index; however, Turks and Turkey are predominantly absent in the majority of games covering various popular themes such as war, geography, and world travel. The image of the Turk in twentieth-century games shifted from representational decline in the previous century to inexistence on the board of the game. Although the Ottoman Empire made maybe its last big move and joined World War One together with Germany and Austro-Hungarian Empire, most of the games singled out the Turks as if they had never been a part of the war.

In its evolution to inexistence, I find these two events significantly determinant. First, the general perspective toward the Turk in this century was the popular metaphor of the "sick man of Europe." The bitter end for the Ottoman Empire was long foreseen by the big players in Europe. Although the Ottoman Empire did not let Allied forces reach Istanbul with a heroic defense at Dardanelles, they were in the losing bloc of the war. When World War One ended in 1918, Istanbul was invaded by Allied forces. Under such circumstances, the Ottoman Empire was forced to sign the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, which left Turks a territory covering Central and North Anatolia. In the meantime,

---

[190] See: La Jallerie (1945).
[191] See: Lepthian-Schiffers (1944).
[192] There are two surviving copies of this game, which poorly sold during its time, one copy of which is in the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City. For more information, see: (Morris-Friedman & Schädler, 2003).
[193] See: *Die Große Weltreise*. (1947).
[194] See: *Reisspel* (1985).
[195] See: *Europa Unita* (c.1955).

Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) declared a sovereign Anatolian government and did not recognize the Treaty of Sèvres. The Turk who once posed a great threat to Europe was under a serious threat by the latter. This struggle of survival and the European's perspective of the Ottomans on the eve of their disappearance from the map was captured in a dialogue in John Dos Passos's travelogue when he met six Turkish doctors on their way to Ankara, the center of the Anatolian government, who were complaining to him about Western countries:

> All we want is to be left alone and reorganize our country in peace. If you believed in the rights of small nations, why did you let the British set the Greeks on us? You think the Turk is an old man and sick, smoking a narghile. Perhaps we are old men and sick men, but originally we were nomads…We are sober and understand how to fight. If necessary we will become nomads again. If the Allies drive us out of Constantinople, very good. It is a city of misery and decay. We will make Angora our capital…The Turks are all in Angora with Mustapha Kemal." (Dos Passos, 2015, p. 26)

The second major event was World War Two, which struck the newly founded Republic of Turkey (1923). Turkey after the World War One had engaged in a long struggle of inner stability while implementing its social revolutions based on Western ideals on one hand and suppressing the resistance against these ideals that aroused from some part of the society on the other. Economic growth, as well, needed to be sustained. Although Turkey declared its neutrality by avoiding entry into the war through a number of successful politics, the turbulence in the global politics did not spare Turkey. Economic recessions before, during, and after World War Two weakened the country. Thus, Turkey in the twentieth century was not a major player in global platforms, which position revealed itself as inexistence in the game space. By inexistence I do not mean that Turks and Turkey totally vanished from the game space. Surely, there are games in which Turks and Turkey can be seen on the map or in the track of the game. However, there are considerably fewer in comparison to the number of those games that Turks and Turkey did not appear.[196] In addition, the little space that Turks and Turkey occupied on the game board frequently reflected a perspective that did not update itself in accordance with the

[196] Here I cannot provide statistical data, which inquiry requires an extensive study that is not the concern of this chapter; however, the Games Index indicates a substantial disappearance of the image of the Turk in games produced in the twentieth century.

modern ideals of Turkey. The little repertoire of games with the image of the Turk, for example, demonstrates stereotypical portrayal of the Turk wearing a fez that had been strictly banned and totally abolished from social dress codes in the new state.[197] For another example, Ankara, the new capital of modern Turkey, is marked on the board in only a few games, while Istanbul is seen as the only noteworthy city.[198] These findings indicate a clear loss of attention toward the subject of Turkey by its European counterparts, allies, and friends.

Another important inquiry is about Turkey's location, which I covered in Chapter 3 of this thesis, whether it is in Europe or elsewhere. Given the substantial loss of territory in Europe, where is the modern Turkey for European perspective? There are various perspectives on this issue, as it was the case in the early modern period. The image of the Turk in modern Turkey, as in the past, holds a multifaceted structure. It is even one of the hottest debates among Turkish people whether they are European or not. I acknowledge the validity and significance of these questions; however, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to answer them. However, we can approach the topic from the point of view of the games produced in twentieth-century Europe. As I discussed throughout this thesis, games reflect the values and dynamics of the real world; and by investigating games we can get glimpses of how Turkey is conceptualized in the real world.

The games in Figure 5.3 are similar design and date of production. *Viaggio in Europa*, different variations are still available in the games market, was produced in Italy in 1990. Its earliest forms were published in 1980s, and it has changed slightly during the course of time.[199] *Reisspel* was produced in 1985 in the Netherlands under the sponsorship of a bank.[200] In terms of gameplay, they both simulate a tour around Europe with little differences. In *Viaggio in Europa* the players are supposed to guide a group of tourists traveling around Europe, while in *Reisspel* the players follow a numbered track that passes throughout Europe. Both games bear depictions of tourist attractions of a given territory, such as architecture and landmarks. In addition, they both mark fauna and produce in a place, although this is not the main focus in depictions in *Reisspel*.

---

[197] See Games Index No. 63.
[198] See Games Index No. 45, 64, 107.
[199] See Games Index No. 65.
[200] See footnote 331.

Figure 5.3 European Tour themed board games: *Reisspel* (1985) (top) and *Viaggio in Europa* (1990)

The main differences, however, are in the scale of the two maps: *Viaggio in Europa* has a map larger in scale than that in *Reisspel*, which marks Iceland, the whole of Scandinavia, the Western part of Russia, and the European part of Turkey, which is marked with two cities (Edirne-Adrianople and Istanbul); thus, it encompasses the whole of Europe. In *Viaggio in Europa*, the producer remained true to the conventional extent of Europe as a continent. The 2007 German edition of the game has an even larger scale map that shows two thirds of Anatolia, on which there are no cities marked. In *Reisspel*, however, some places are omitted, such as Iceland, half of Scandinavia, and Turkey; the easternmost point in the game is Moscow, which is marked in number 22.

Viaggio in Europa and *Reisspel* are only two of the examples for the multi-faced image of Turkey and, indirectly, the Turkish people in twentieth-century board games; while the former accepts Turkey as a part of Europe, the latter excludes it due, in part, to its intentionally restricted map in scale and in purpose. This argument can also be followed in board games produced in the twenty-first century, which have the same theme, travel around Europe. The maps of *10 Days in Europe* (Schmidt Spiele, 2002), *Ticket to Ride: Europe* (Moon, 2005), and *Discovering Europe* (Gosling & Gosling, 2011) all include Turkey in Europe as a whole with its Anatolian part. These games also provide different maps in scale and scope. *10 Days in Europe* is played on a conventional map of Europe but excludes Cyprus; *Ticket to Ride: Europe* excludes Iceland but covers Turkey with Constantinople, Angora, Smyrna (Izmir), as well as Erzurum, in the East of Turkey; *Discovering Europe* expands the games' playable space to North Africa with Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, but excludes Iceland and Cyprus. Moreover, the map of *The Legendary Asia* addition of *Ticket to Ride: Asia* (Moon, 2011) (the Asia version of the game series) also covers Turkey and marks Ankara on the map. These diverse attitudes on the map of Europe demonstrate the diversity of perspectives toward Turkey, which perspective is available not only in the twenty-first century but was also since the early modern period. The whereabouts of Turkey and the Turks' country is one of the integral components of the multifaceted image of the Turk as I discussed throughout this thesis. Each game manifests its own perspective on the subject, which perspective is under the influence of political ideologies, as I demonstrated in the representational reduction of Turkey in the nineteenth century and its invisibility in twentieth-century games.

5.3 Resurrection: The Image of the Turk in Digital Games

As expressed in Chapter 2, games are unique in adapting to the latest mediums and platforms (printing, digital, online, 3D, augmented reality, etc.). Along with *incunabula* focusing on biblical texts and illustrations, playing cards were the first to be published when the printing revolution had begun in the early fifteenth century. Since games were closely associated with gambling and idleness, religious and ruling authorities went forward with forbidding and limiting gaming practices, which availed not much success. The popularity of board games and playing cards grew over the course of the years; nevertheless, the fear of committing to sin and immoral deeds remained perturbed. Thus, early modern designers of board games and playing cards projected this paradoxical relationship between fear and fun in their products by adjusting their games to theming moral values (e.g. love, vices, and virtues), as well as creating game mechanisms (e.g. *memento mori* and death traps) to remind players of certain worldly issues such as time and death. On the other hand, authorities tried to control the publication of playing cards by introducing stamp tax.

Such fundamental differences between early modern and contemporary games occur not just in game space that has evolved to an ever more encapsulating environment for players. Today the number of games that players can choose is endless. Besides, games turned to an industry; it is estimated that the worldwide growth of the game industry in 2018 is going to reach to $134.9 billion (Warman, 2018). This means games take much wider space in our lives.

There are also similarities. As there were in the early modern period, there are still administrative concerns about the dangers that games are associated with. In comparison to early modern games, religious concerns seem to be rectified in today's secular West; however, video games are still regulated by legal authorities in accordance with social concerns. It is a common practice for state departments to censor some elements in games in different countries according to their social concerns, among which are racism, adult content, and violence. An infamous online social network game "Blue Whale," which is allegedly linked to the death of 130 players who had been commanded to commit suicide, aroused great global concerns, so much so that the top result of a Google search for "Blue Whale Game" is almost always suicide prevention webpages. First-person shooter games

raise similar alarms in mass shooting incidents. These examples demonstrate the fear (and danger) today's players are subjected to as opposed to their early modern fellows.

The Turk image in contemporary games is purged from the propagandist representations it had in the past. This derives, in great part, from the pressure on game producers to comply with certain regulations that require political correctness. Especially in strategy games, the Turk can be a playable unit in the game that players choose to play with, just like a player can choose to play Nazis against Allies. An acclaimed example for such games is "Medieval: Total War" (Creative Assembly, 2002). Set in the middle ages, the game is a turn-based strategy that starts in 1087 (death of William the Conqueror) and ends in 1453 (the Fall of Constantinople). It is played against an artificial intelligence that controls all the gameplay except the faction the player chooses. There are fourteen playable factions on a Mediterranean-centered map stretching from Europe to the Middle East and North Africa. Among the factions, the Turks are counted as a strong unit with a powerful infantry and special army units, the Janissaries. If a player can sustain good politics with other factions and withstand the Mongolian raids around the thirteenth century, then s/he can win the game. In that sense, the game has a striking historical accuracy. A failure in forming effective political connections with European factions will likely result in a crusade. However, the Papal State may still order Catholic factions to join in a crusade, or else they may face the risk of excommunication.

The Turk in today's games is no longer an umbrella title that represents other countries or nations. In today's games, Turks are not Arabs, and Arabs are not Iranians. The intellectual repertoire of game producers is sufficient to introduce players these subtle differences that have been omitted or ignored before. In *Civilization V*, another much-admired turn-based strategy game developed by Firaxis Games (2010), the game is played on a world map that starts from prehistoric times and goes as far as the future. The players could choose among a wide spectrum of eighteen fractions, which reached to forty-eight with later additions. Among the fractions are formerly never or less-represented civilizations such as, to name a few, Assyrians, Aztecs, Mayans, Moroccans, Polynesians, and Zulus.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis, in essence, is a counterargument to the perception of the image of the Turk in the mainstream scholarship, which often revolves around propositions to this end: "The discourse analysis that has been conducted in this thesis reveals that the Western image of Turks has been uniform, constant, and consistent" (Tiryakioglu, 2015, p. 223). Quite the contrary, I propose here that the Turk is indeed a multifaceted image that cannot be rendered to a single reading. The reflection of the Turk is bounded to the manner in which it is expressed by the one who creates the image. Throughout the history, it has depended on the position of the one who created, used, or disseminated the image. It has consistently evolved and gained different meanings. Moreover, the point of view that mainstream scholarship has dictated to us cannot represent the collective mind of Europe or the West, which approach is very simplistic and fantastic, too. An inductive approach to the discussion is outdated and has no currency. One of the important problems in historical research, as those who are interested in historical methodology agree with, is the possibility that the sources are biased. Bearing in mind that the historical sources regarding the image of the Turk are mostly a product of propaganda, it is significant to pronounce counternarratives. With this thesis, I hope to provide a balanced perspective on the image of the Turk by underlining the counternarratives and level out the biases that have been accepted as true and for granted.

A comparative look at the history of board games and playing cards indicates that the Turk has been expressed in more than one way that included, among all, hostility, derogation, as well as friendship and admiration. An observation of domains other than games should bring a similar outcome but games can singlehandedly provide a wide spectrum of representations of the Turk. However, as this thesis intended to underline, the basis for this wide spectrum in representation should be sought in the initial features of the game world, which is dynamic, flexible, and different from the real world. Driven by sheer desire for entertainment, those who played these games experienced a nuanced image of the Turk.

The image of the Turk in games has never been uniform. Throughout its evolution and from early on it has manifested plural meanings, which have been occasionally influenced by politics. According to my findings, the Turkish image in games began to

appear in the late fifteenth, early sixteenth century when printing technology and engraving techniques improved from simple figures to more elaborate depictions. This occurred firstly in the production of playing cards. In those early depictions, one can find the changing tone of expressions from neutrality to admiration, as well as fear. In accordance with the heightened political tensions in the late sixteenth century when the Ottoman advance into Central Europe was at its climax, depictions of the Turk in games reflected a barbarous Oriental approaching from the East. However, even then, board games from Italy and Austria challenge such a monotonal reading. The Turk was in the game with all his grandeur that reflected not only admiration but also companionship.

One of the historical turning points for the relationship between the Ottomans and Europe is the Battle of Vienna in 1683 and the Ottomans' loss of power and the subsequent retreat from Europe that took over two hundred years. Games produced in the early eighteenth century reflects the excitement in Europe in the wake of a unity against the Ottomans. The more cities were liberated from the Turks, the more heightened the excitement. Thus, the Turk in eighteenth-century games is often depicted as a loser who was successfully forced by a unified Europe to go back to where he came from. However, the newly emerged geographical games in the eighteenth century demonstrated the Turk and Turkey as a part of Europe. No matter how backward, different, or infidel he was, the Turk in games was a respected European with his country that stretched through Europe, the Balkans, and North Africa.

The nineteenth century is marked by European imperialism, a growing worldview that integrated geographical discoveries, and industrial revolution, all of which were missed by the Ottomans. The declining empire was no longer a threat to Europe. It gained little attention in British and French empires' search for raw materials and the establishment of colonies to support the industrial revolution and the transformation it required. Geographical board games in this era projected diminishing attention toward the Turks, too; while information regarding the wealth of a remote place on the map was seen more valuable. New trade routes from Britain to, say, Australia passing through South Africa or to the Pacific islands resulted with new tracks to appear on the game board, which inevitably skipped the Turks' country. Nevertheless, a traveler of Europe still had to travel to Turkey. The track of European travel-themed board games could not

miss Constantinople, although a predominant representative of the decline of the Ottomans.

The twentieth century was marked by the two World Wars and the political and economic turbulence they created. The Ottoman Empire was already regarded as the sick man of Europe in this era, which expression foretold the collapse of this outdated old empire. Being in the losing part with its archenemy, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire collapsed soon after the World War One and Turkish territories were invaded by Allied forces. Almost simultaneously the Republic of Turkey was founded in the little space in Anatolia that remained from a once-giant empire. Many board games produced in this era had militaristic themes, such as the World War, armies, flags of countries in war, and confrontations of Allies and Axis. Although the Ottoman Empire joined World War One, most of the games do not even mention them as a part of it. The representative decline of the Turks that took place in the nineteenth century board games was gradually succeeded by its inexistence on the game board in the twentieth century. This peculiar case is almost implicitly referential to how the Ottoman Empire was seen by Europe in the nineteenth century and its almost demise from the scene of the history in twentieth century.

The newly founded Republic of Turkey in 1923 did not change this perception. Although Turkey now had a new regime, a progressive structure and a Western model, Turkey comes back to the game's scene in the second half of the twentieth century. In this I find that the neutral position of Turkey in World War Two and its focus on its inner stability played an important role. Thus, Turkey and Turks were missing in the board games that themed World War Two. This situation was also observed in geographical board games. In popular board games about world travel and globetrotting, Turkey was either missed out from the games' track or represented with minor importance. In later decades, however, Turkey was visited by travelers/players only if the games had a wider scale of the map of Europe. As I demonstrated in Chapter 5, some games included Turkey in Europe, while some preferred to exclude it on the map. This ambivalent approach to Turkey manifests itself in marking either the imperial capital Istanbul or the new capital Ankara as the most memorable place to visit.

The twenty-first century has been marked by the digital revolution. We have been experiencing this new medium as if it occupied every field of life, including the game

world. Digital games in our epoch approach the Turk in great versatility but mostly in relation to its history. Modern Turkey and Turks rarely appear in digital games. The popularity of historical games plays an important role in this. When he exists in a game, however, the Turk is depicted neither as terrible nor backward. Today's games are mostly politically correct, and their content is controlled by national media offices.

One of the major contributions of my thesis is the Games Index I presented at the end of the Introduction section. Although it is not perfect, the Games Index is the first attempt to enumerate the games that contain the image of the Turk produced in Europe since its first appearance in c.1500. The Index covers currently 107 board games and game-related tools, such as playing cards and counters; and this number is likely to increase as much databases, museum catalogs, archives, and private and museum collections are investigated. I strongly believe the Index will be beneficial for researchers investigating the field of Ottoman and Turkish studies, as well as for cultural historians and other related fields of inquiry. An exciting approach of inquiry is the statistical data that can be obtained from the Index, which will provide new perspectives. Such quantitative methods will surely result in more insight. To this end, I provided an exemplary inquiry at the end of Chapter 6.

The Games Index I provided in this thesis should encourage other researchers in this field toward preparing similar indexes that enlist games that contain representations of other nations. Games are rich cultural texts. They contain concise but intense information that demonstrates the perspective of the society that played these games.

A limitation of this study is that the databases for sources are fragmented. This was the biggest challenge in collecting my sources. Historic games are usually found in museums and private collections. Due to the scope of my inquiry, I have browsed the collections of museums that are based in Germany, Austria, Italy, England, France, the Netherlands and the USA; and I tried to reach the museums in Spain, Portugal, Scandinavian countries, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, and Russia. It is unfortunate that the study did not include sources from these countries that shared a common history with Turkish people. The scope of the work posed another limitation: the language. During the data collection period I had to conduct my inquiry in several languages of which I am not a master. This research would be better equipped if it were made by a researcher who could conduct the inquiry in the languages and alphabets of the above-

mentioned countries. As a researcher, accessing the databases, another limitation, is limited to the willingness of the museums or collectors. In the absence of an online access to the databases, which is the case at the moment, the number of items to investigate falls dramatically. Online access is not enough; the museums and collectors must provide visuals of the items, which obviously requires a substantial budget. The games I enlisted in the Games Index were found in the collections of those museums and collectors that I could access online or browse their catalogs. I also established personal contacts with historic games enthusiasts who publish catalogs for museums and for their own interests.

Notwithstanding the relatively limited sources, I strongly believe my research achieved maturity; finding more games containing the image of the Turk will not refute my points here; they will only strengthen them. After all, what I propose with this thesis is a perspectival look at history to achieve better objectivity. However, more historic games that demonstrate the Turk as a friend or companion would undeniably help us to establish a greater degree of balance in our perception on the matter. For this very reason, further research should definitely be done in more museums and collections disseminating a wider geographical scope in Europe.

Discussion and Analysis of the Games Index

The Games Index enlists games that contain images of the Turk/Turkey. It is currently composed of 107 games that distribute to six countries in Europe and covers a timeframe starting from 1500 to 2000. Germany holds the highest number of games with 45; this follows Italy, 20; France, 20; Britain, 20; Russia, 1; and Switzerland, 1. The Index does not include digital games. Below graphs help us visualize the data presented in the Games Index.

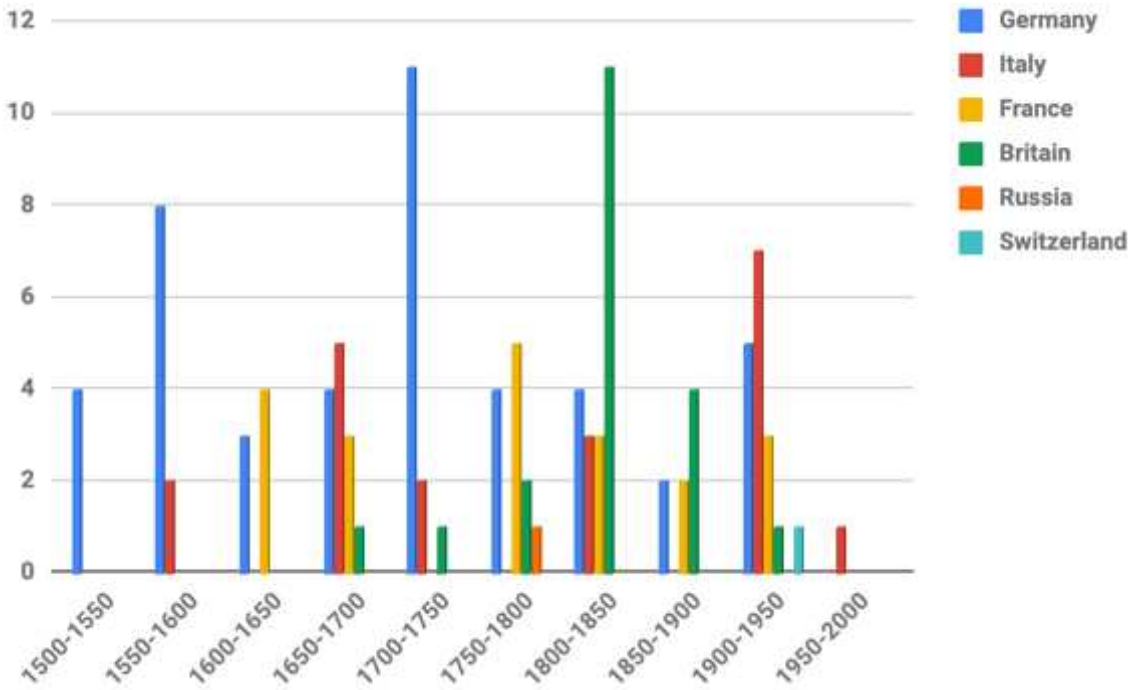

Table 4 Frequency-Time distribution of games that contain images of the Turk

Table 4 demonstrates the frequency-time distribution of the Games Index. Accordingly, Germany has the best distribution throughout the timeframe. The earliest games and games tools containing the image of the Turk were produced in Germany. One note is due here: Germany does not refer to today's modern Germany. Due to the fragmentary structure of the Holy Roman Empire, I prefer to include the Habsburgs and other German polities into one category, except Switzerland. There were twelve games produced in the period 1500–1600, when the Ottoman Empire reached its climax and posed a threat to Central Europe. This timeframe also coincides with the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent who ruled the Ottomans in 1520–1566. During his reign, he led two campaigns against the Germans, in the last of which he died. The number of games decrease in subsequent one hundred years, which might be resulted from the Thirty Years' War in Europe and internal turbulent atmosphere. The Turk perhaps was not a popular image to include in German games produced during this period. This follows, however, a peak in production in years 1700–1750, soon after the great victory in the Battle of Vienna in 1683. The Holy League of 1684 was formed after the battle and won decisive victories against the Ottomans in Central Europe, such as liberating Buda in

1686. After a drop to an average of four games for two hundred years, the increase in 1900–1950 is linked to the increase of world-traveling games. There has not yet been found any German World War One game that contains the image of the Turk.

The sudden rise in Italian games in 1650–1700 is, in large part, due to the contribution of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli. His contribution also continued in the first half of the eighteenth century, which increased the number of games in Italy over this period. Due to the demand and popularity in world-traveling games in 1900–1950, there was the peak of Italian games. This theme seems to have arrived in Italy half a century later than in Britain, which corresponds with the fact that British Imperialism had started before the Italians.

French games on average were characterized by the geography theme. The earliest games with this theme were produced in France in the period 1600–1650. The same theme peaked in 1750–1800 when French colonialism had begun. French games in this and later periods are usually about world travel, on the boards of which Turkey could occasionally cover some space.

The peak in British games in the period 1800–1850 surely coincides with the growing Imperialism fostered by the search for raw materials to satisfy the Industrial Revolution. The majority of the games in this and the following periods are about world-traveling and visiting remote colonies. Turkey, not a colony, could only be mentioned in world-traveling–themed games. Russia and Switzerland, having only one game for each, do not constitute enough data to evaluate.

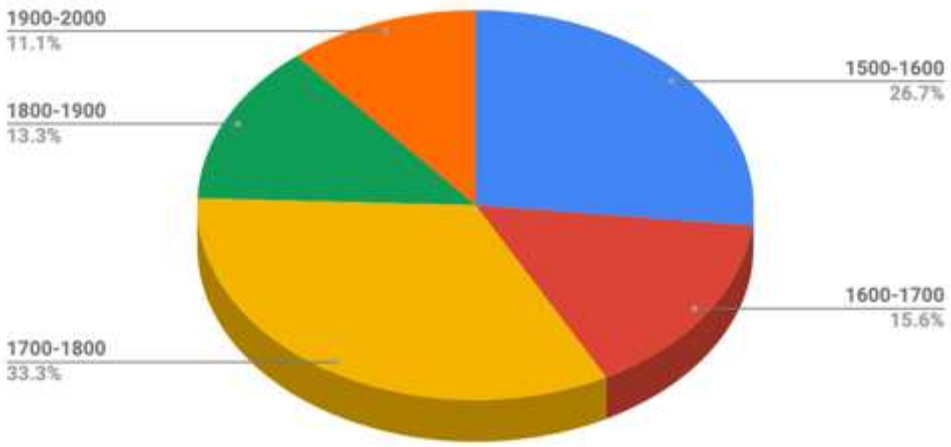

Table 5 Percentages of games in Europe containing the images of the Turk per century.

The pie chart in Table 5 demonstrates the percentages of games per centuries in which they were produced. What stands out in this chart is that games gradually leave out the Turk. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century games, comprising over forty-two percent, show interest in the Turk in a variety of themes including war, geography, history, and playing cards with or without themes. However, the increase in the eighteenth century reveals that the Turk/Turkey appeared as an outcome of the interest in geographical games. The gradual decline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries clearly points to the representational decline and the inexistence periods of the Turk both from the game world and in the real world, which I discussed in this chapter.

The below bar chart (Table 6) demonstrates this diminishing trend. In order to find the proportion of games that bear the Turkish image, I compared the number of games with the Turk to the grand total of games, produced in the last three centuries, so that we can see the diminishing visibility of the Turk in games. One crucial note is due here: The data for the grand total of games was retrieved from Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville's online collection of board games "*Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso*", which currently holds 2,551 board games. The website of the collection (www.giochidelloca.it) allows this data to be searched according to a number of variables such as country of origin, date of production, producer(s), title, and theme. The grand total I use here does not represent the total number of games ever produced in a given century. Endeavoring to such a work requires access to databases and collections that hold games. I will investigate one such collection (Vlaams Spellenarchief at Bruges, Belgium) that contains over twenty thousand games with the help of one of the contributors to the collection, Fred Horn.

As the bar chart demonstrates, the proportion of the games with the image of the Turk in the eighteenth century is around twelve percent. In the subsequent centuries, however, this number steadily falls, first to 5.1% (period of representative decline) and then to a striking 1.8% (period of inexistence). These findings are in accord with the historical evidences I laid out in this chapter. The gradual demise of the image of the Turk in games is, in part, linked with the decline of the Ottomans in global political platforms.

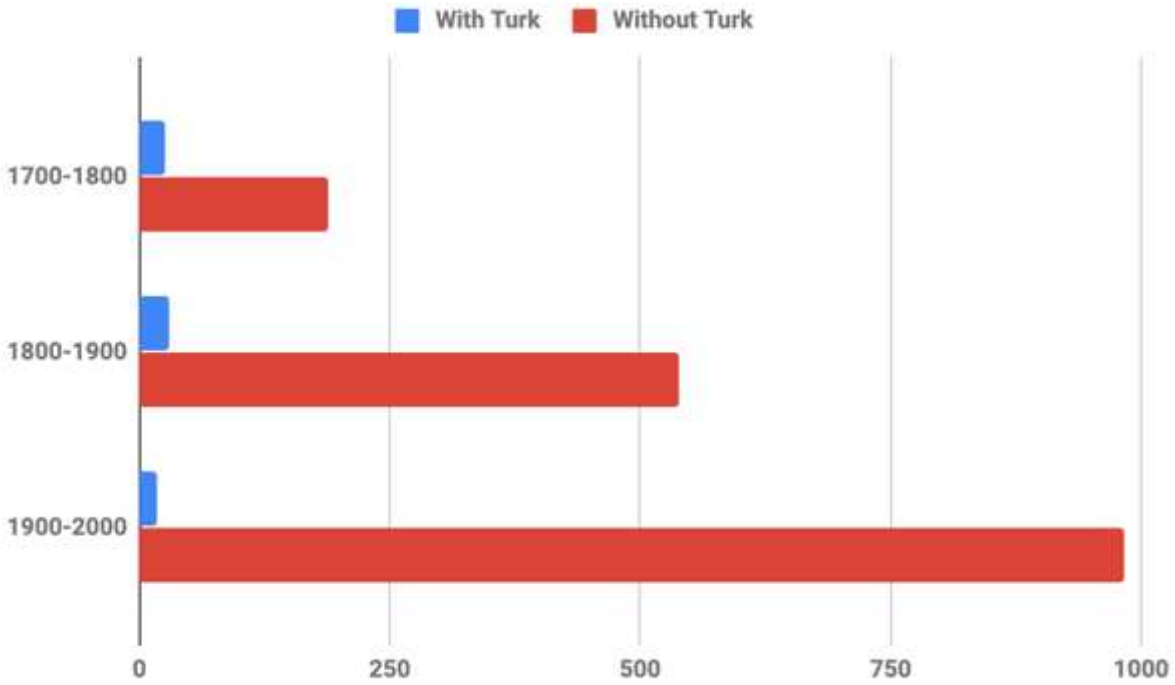

Table 6 The proportions of games with Turkish image to the grand total of games produced in the last three centuries

GAMES CITED

10 Days in Europe. (2002). [print] Published by: Schmidt Spiele, Berlin.

Amman, J., (1588). *Charta Lusoria.* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 24 May 2018]. Inv. No: 1896,0501.381.1-51.

Basset, P. A., (1815). *Jeu Instructif des Peuples et Costumes des Quatre Parties du Monde et des Terres Australes*. [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1427 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 1427.

Berhaut, A., (1918). *Het Nieuwe Oorlogsspel*. [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=112 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 112.

Betts, J., (1831). *The Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World*. [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1352 [Accessed 5 May 2019].

Brambilla, A., (1589). *Il Novo e Piacevole Gioco del Pela il Chiù.* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 14 March 2018]. Inv. No: 1893,0331.32.

Creative Assembly, 2002. *Medieval: Total War*. [Microsoft Windows] Activision.

De Fleurs. (1916). *Jusqu'au bout. Nouveau Jeu de la Guerre de 1914*. [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=443 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 443.

Defeat of the Turks by the Germans. (c.1717). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 21 July 2018]. Inv. No: 1896,0501.251.

Die Große Weltreise. (1947). [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1720 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 1720.

Duval, P., (1645). *La Jeu du Monde.* [print - online]. Available at: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection https://www.davidrumsey.com [Accessed 4 January 2019]. List No: 6728.000.

Duval, P., (1662). *Le Jeu des Princes de L'Europe.* [print - online]. Held at: The British Library, System no: 004838733, Shelfmark(s): Cartographic Items Maps 1078.(8.).

Duval, P., (c.1660). *Le Jeu des Princes Souverains de l'Europe,* [print]. Held at: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Inv. No: GE D-12173.

Ensemble Studios, (1997). *Age of Empires*. [Microsoft Windows]. Microsoft.

Europa Unita. (c.1955). [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1035 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 1035.

Filosofia cortesana de Alonso de Barros. (1588). (Print by Mario Cartaro). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 13 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1869,0410.2463+.

Firaxis Games, (2010). *Sid Meier's Civilization V*. [Microsoft Windows] 2K Games.

Flötner, P., (c.1545). Playing Cards. [print]. Held at: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Inv. No: SP. 7814 1-47.

Gatti, A., (1588). *Gioco della Scimia.* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 19 May 2018] Inv. No: 1869,0410.2461.+

Gosling, M. & Gosling, G., (2011). *Discovering Europe.* [print]. Published by: Gosling Games, Ireland.

Haberstumpf, J. N., (c.1720). Games Box [ebony-boxwood-amber]. In: Holländer, H; Holländer B., *Schachpartie Durch Zeiten und Welten*. Heidelberg, Wachter-Verlag, 2005, p. 111. Held at: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Inv. No: 1910.467.

Il Nuovo et Piacevole Giuoco del Biribisse. (c.1642-1691). (After Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 5 June 2018] Inv. No: 1893,0331.39.

Il Volo d'Oriente col Gennariello. (1926). [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=840 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 840.

Jagd auf Kohlenklau. (c.1943-44). (printed by Lepthian-Schiffers). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 20 July 2018]. Inv. No: 2004,1231.15.

Jeu de la Victoire. (1919). [print – online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=112 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 416.

Kels, H., (c.1535-40). Game Counters. [boxwood, hazel]. In: Holländer, H; Holländer B. *Spielwelten der Kunst*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Press, 1998, p. 209. Held at: Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: Kunstkammer, 3851-3877.

Kels, H., (1537). Games Box [oak, hazel, palisander, mahogany, rose tree]. In: Holländer, H; Holländer B. *Spielwelten der Kunst*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Press, 1998, p. 202. Held at: Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: Kunstkammer, 3419.

Kändler, J. J., (1762). Chess Board (Turks vs. Turks). [porcelain]. In: Holländer, H; Holländer B. *Schachpartie Durch Zeiten und Welten*. Heidelberg, Wachter-Verlag, 2005, p. 120. Held at: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Inv. No: R 5621-5653; Kunstgewerbesammlung der Stadt Bielefeld, Stiftung Hülsmann, Inv. No: H-D012, 1-32.

La Jallerie. (1945). *Le Jeu de la Division Leclerc.* [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=57 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 57.

Lamorisse, A., and Levin, M. I. (1959). *Risk* [print]. Hasbro.

Lenthall, J., (c.1670-1685). Animals-Themed Playing Cards. [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 19 July 2018] Inv. No: 1982,U.4628.

Lenthall, J., (c.1670-1685). Love-Themed Playing Cards. [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 19 July 2018] Inv. No: 1896,0501.924.1-49.

Lenthall, J., (c.1670-1700). Latin Grammar-Themed Playing Cards. [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 19 July 2018] Inv. No: 1878,1012.185-226.

Lenthall, J., (early 18th Century). Fortunetelling Cards Early [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 21 June 2018] Inv. No: 1896,0501.942.1-54.

Lepthian-Schiffers. (1944). *Jagd auf Kohlenklau.* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1491411&partId=1&searchText=2004,1231.15&page=1 Accessed 2 May 2019] Inv. No: 2004,1231.15.

Löwe, P. H., (c.1820). Chess Set (Romans vs. Orientals). [tin, painted]. Held at: Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No: 8028-8059.

Marca, J. L., (c.1917). *Jeu de la Victoire*. [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=936 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 936.

Master PW, (c.1500). Round Playing Cards. [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 23 March 2017]. Inv. No: L 20-91.

Mitelli, G. M. (c.1683-1690). *Il Gioco del Aquila* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 24 May 2017]. Inv. No: 1852,0612.458.+

Mitelli, G. M. (1690). *Giuoco del Passa Tempo* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 12 November 2018]. Inv. No: 1896,0501.1088.

Mitelli, G. M. (c.1690-1718). *Gioco della Fortuna e di Disgratia* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 27 May 2018]. Inv. No: 1893,0331.29.

Mitelli, G. M. (1692). *Gioco de Signori Soldati Spiantamondo, con le sue Cariche e Sopranomi* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum [Accessed 25 November 2018]. Inv. No: 1893,0331.21.

Moon, A. R., (2005). *Ticket to Ride: Europe* [print] Published by: Days of Wonder.

Moon, A. R., (2011). *Ticket to Ride: Asia* [print] Published by: Days of Wonder.

Myers, J. (c.1870). *The Game of the European Tourist/ A New Game of Travel or a Journey through Europe.* [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1301 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 1301.

Nuovo et Piaccevole Gioco detto il Barone (c.1650). (After Jacques Callot). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 4 June 2018]. Inv. No: 1893,0331.33.

Nuovo Giuoco del Biribissi (19th Century). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 7 May 2018]. Inv. No: 1893,0331.58.

Ogilvy, D. (1845-47). L'Orient or the Indian Travellers Game. [print - online]. Available at: Victoria and Albert Museum http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O26492/lorient-or-the-indian-travellers-board-game/ [Accessed 2 May 2019]. Inv. No: B.11-1997.

Ravensburg, O. M., *Viaggio in Europa* (1990). [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=2277 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 2277.

Reisspel. (1985) [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=2170 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 2170.

Sallis, W. (c.1845). *Picturesque Round Game of the Geography, Topography, Produce, Manufactures and Natural History of Various Countries of the World.* [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percors No: 2530.

Schellinck, E. (1944). *Jeu du Pas de l'Oie.* [print - online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=450 [Accessed 2 May 2019] Collection No: 450.

Schloss Ambrass Chess set (c.1550). [wood, colored in silver and gold]. Held at: Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inventory No: PA 34, and PA 772.

Vexierkarten. (c.1610). [hand painted]. Held at: Berlin Kunstgewerbe Museum, Inv. No: P84 (30), P84 (31).

Vexierkarten. (c.1632). [hand painted]. Held at: Uppsala University, Gustavianum, Inv. No: 0502-03, 0502-07.

Westwood Studios, (1995). *Command & Conquer*. [Microsoft Windows]. Virgin Interactive.

Winstanley, H. (c.1675-1676). Geographical Playing Cards [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 19 July 2018]. Inv. No: 1982,U.4622.1-41.

Winstanley, H. (c.1675-1676). Geographical Playing Cards [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 19 July 2018]. Inv. No: 2004,1130.55.1-11.

ART AND HANDCRAFT ITEMS CITED

Callot, J. (c.1622-1670) *Les Baroni* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1564735&partId=1&searchText=X,4.211&page=1[Accessed 4 June 2018]. Inv. No: X,4.211.

Dürer, A. (c.1465). *Five Foot Soldiers and a Mounted Turk* [print - online]. Available at: Metropolitan Museum. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/377315 [Accessed 5 September 2018]. Accession number: 19.73.100.

Flötner, P. (c.1515-1520) *Triumphal Arch* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1340459&partId=1&searchText=E,2.354&page= [Accessed 25 January 2019]. Inv. No: E,2.354.

Flötner, P. (1540) *The Procession of Gluttony* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1439796&partId=1&searchText=1986,1004.2&page=1 [Accessed 25 January 2019]. Inv. No: 1986,1004.2.

Master MZ. (c.1503) *Memento Mori* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1404190&partId=1&searchText=1845,0809.455&page=1 [Accessed 9 August 2018]. Inv. No: 1845,0809.455.

Medal Demonstrating Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy (1479). [silver - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=953539&partId=1&searchText=M.3150&page=1 [Accessed 9 September 2018]. Inv. No: M.3150.

Meister PW. (c.1499-1503). *Two Lansquenet* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1365617&partId=1&searchText=1847,1009.38&page=1 [Accessed 12 September 2018]. Inv. No: 1847,1009.38.

Mitelli, G. M. (1678) *Proverbi figurati consecrati al Serenissimo Principe Francesco Maria di Toscana / Chi ha Tempo, non Aspetti Tempo* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3369917&partId=1&searchText=1872,1012.3874&page=1 [Accessed 9 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1872,1012.3874.

Mitelli, G. M. (1678) *Proverbi figurati consecrati al Serenissimo Principe Francesco Maria di Toscana / L'invidia fà alli altri la fossa et ella ci casca dentro* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3347623&partId=1&searchText=1872,1012.3834&page=1 [Accessed 9 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1872,1012.3834.

Mitelli, G. M. (1678) *Proverbi figurati consecrati al Serenissimo Principe Francesco Maria di Toscana / Non conosce la pace e non la stima chi provata non ha la guerra in prima* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3368937&partId=1&searchText=1872,1012.3856&page=1 [Accessed 9 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1872,1012.3856.

Mitelli, G. M. (1678) *Proverbi figurati consecrati al Serenissimo Principe Francesco Maria di Toscana / Quando comincia ad inalzarsi la superbia allora si comincia ad abassar la fortuna* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3369912&partId=1&searchText=1872,1012.3873&page=1 [Accessed 9 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1872,1012.3873.

Mitelli, G. M. (1683) *Al fin d'Mustafa* [print - online]. Available at: Museum Boijman. https://www.boijmans.nl/en/collection/artworks/164318/al-fin-d-mustafa [Accessed 12 March 2019]. Accession No: L 2016/17 (PK).

Mitelli, G. M. (1686) *A strali d'Austria e sempre segno il trace* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1433714&partId=1&searchText=1852,1009.1049&page=1 [Accessed 8 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1852,1009.1049.

Mitelli, G. M. (1686) *E vinto Buda e al tuo beato piede manda Augusto l'insegne o Santa Fede* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1433716&partId=1&searchText=1852,1009.1048&page=1 [Accessed 8 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1852,1009.1048.

Mitelli, G. M. (1692) *Foglietto che non falla. Tempo guerrier e Fortuna che gira* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1433500&partId=1&searchText=1852,1009.1039&page=1 [Accessed 18 February 2017]. Inv. No: 1852,1009.1039.

Mitelli, G. M. (1700) *Giuoco della pigniatta. Quello che la pigniatta rompera, l'oro e l'argento e tutto pigliarà* [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1433549&partId=1&searchText=1852,0612.512&page=1 [Accessed 8 February 2019]. Inv. No: 1852,0612.512.

The Virgin with the Clock (c.1490). (After Israhel van Meckenem). [print - online]. Available at: Available at: The British Museum. [Accessed 9August 2018]. Inv. No: 1870,0709.658.

van Meckenem, I. (c.1480) *Memento Mori* (After, Master W & the Key; Mater ES). [print - online]. Available at: The British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1401804&partId=1&searchText=1870,0709.658+&page=1 [Accessed 9August 2018]. Inv. No: 1848,1125.19.

van Nieulandt, J. (c.1521-26). *Karel V, Ferdinand I, Isabella, Eleonora, Catharina en Maria te paard* [print – online]. Available at: Rijksmuseum. http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.37661 [Accessed 18 October 2018]. Object Number: RP-P-1928-138.

van Oostsanen, J. C. (1518). *The Counts and Countesses of Holland on Horseback* [print – online]. Available at: British Museum. https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1467737&partId=1&searchText=E,7.19.&page=1 [Accessed 5 September 2018]. Inv. No: E,7.19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agoston, G., 2015. The Ottoman Empire and Europe. In: H. Scott, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, R. C., 2003. Progress and Poverty in Early Modern Europe. *The Economic History Review,* 56(3), p. 403–443.

Altınay, R., 2009. Satranç. In: *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul: Türk Diyanet Vakfı, pp. 178-181.

Amman, J. (1588) *Charta Lusoria*. [online]. Available at: Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/uh-20/start.htm [Accessed 10 November 2018]. M: Uh 20.

Arıkan, Z., 1984. Guillaume Postel ve "De la Republique des Turcs". *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi,* 2(1), pp. 68-82.

Atıl, E., 1986. *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Suleyman the Magnificent.* New York:Harry N Abrams Inc.

Bakhtin, M., 1968. The Role of Games in Rabelais. *Yale French Studies,* Issue 41, pp. 124-132.

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975-976 / 1567–1569).* [online]. Available at: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Arşivleri (Republic of Turkey State Archives) https://www.devletarsivleri.gov.tr/varliklar/dosyalar/eskisiteden/yayinlar/osmanli-arsivi-yayinlar/7_nolu_muhimme_1.pdf [Accessed 27 February 2017].

Bateman, V. N., 2011. The evolution of markets in early modern Europe, 1350-1800: a study of wheat prices. *The Economic History Review,* 64(2), pp. 447-471.

Bellhouse, D. R., 1988. Probability in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Analysis of Puritan Casuistry. *International Statistical Review / Revue Internationale de Statistique,* 56(1), pp. 63-74.

Betts, J., 1831. *Key to the Interrogatory Geographical Game of the World*. [online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1352 [Accessed 5 May 2019].

Bisaha, N., 2006. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks.* Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bornet, P., 2012. Introduction: Games and Religion in History. In: P. Bornet & M. Burger, eds. *Religions in Play: Games, Rituals, and Virtual Worlds.* Zürich: Theologischer Verlag.

Bradford, E., 2009. *The Sultan's Admiral: Barbarossa: Pirate and Empire Builder.* London: Tauris Parke.

Brown, P. F., 2004. *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family.* New Haven:Yale University Press.

Caillois, R., 2001. *Man, Play and Games.* Trans. Barash, M. Oxforshire: University of Illinois Press.

Calenzio, E., 1460-70. *Hector*. [online]. Available at: Corpus Corporum http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/xanfang.php?tabelle=Calenzio_Elisio_cps15&corpus=15&allow_download=0&lang=0 [Accessed 3 November 2018].

Caxton, W., c.1474. *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*. Adams, J, ed. (2009) [online]. Available at: University of Rochester Middle English Text Series https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/adams-caxton-game-and-playe-of-the-chesse [Accessed 15 March 2018].

Colish, M. L., 2009. Juan Luis Vives on the Turks. *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, pp. 1-14.

Correggio, F. B. D., 1568. *The Siege of Malta, 1565: Translated from the Spanish edition of 1568.* Trans. Bradford, E. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.

Corvinus, G. S., 1715. *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon.* [online]. Available at: Deutsches Text Archiv http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/show/corvinus_frauenzimmer_1715 [Accessed 13 January 2019].

Crawford, C., 1982. *The Art of Computer Game.* [online]. Available at: Digital Press the Video Game Database http://www.digitpress.com/library/books/book_art_of_computer_game_design.pdf [Accessed 12 May 2019].

Cuspinian, J., 1654. *De Turcarum Origine.* [online]. Available at: Europeana Collections https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/record/92004/NKCR___NKCR__22_K_000122_2NLJ2L3_cs.html [Accessed 12 May 2019].

Dabīrsīāqī, M., 1991. Chess. *Encyclopædia Iranica*, V(Fasc. 4), pp. 393-397.

Daniel, N., 1989. Crusade Propaganda. In: *A History of the Crusades: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe (Vol.VI).* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 39-97.

David, F. N., 1962. *Games, Gods and Gambling.* New York:Hafner Publishing Company.

Davids, T. W. R., & Davids, C. A. F. R. (1899). *Dialogues of the Buddha*. [online]. London, H. Frowde, Oxford University Press. Available at: The Internet Archive https://archive.org/details/DialoguesOfTheBuddha-Part3/page/n1[Accessed 24 January 2019].

Daniel Crouch Rare Books. *Rare game map of the world*. [online]. Available at: Daniel Crouch Rare Books https://www.crouchrarebooks.com/instruments/view/sallis-willam-picturesque-round-game-of-the-geography-topography-produce-ma [Accessed 2 May 2019].

Demir, R., 2013. Osmanlı Şiirinde Öteki ve Başkası Olarak Kâfir İmgesi. *Turkish Studies,* 8(8), pp. 431-445.

Depaulis, T., 2016. Bingo! A Material History of Modern Gaming. In: M. Zollinger, ed. *Random Riches: Gambling Past & Present.* New York: Routledge, pp. 36-56.

Díaz Tanco de Fregenal, V., 1547. *Libro intitulado Palinodia, de la nephanda y fiera nacion de los Turcos.* [online]. Available at: Google Books https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=9WBpAAAAcAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s [Accessed 6 April 2019].

Dos Passos, J., 2015. *Orient Express.* New York: Open Road Distribution.

Dummett, M. & Abu-Deeb, K., 1973. Some Remarks on Mamluk Playing Cards. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Volume 36, pp. 106-128.

Düzdağ, M. E., 2012. *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları.* Istanbul: Kapı Yayınları.

Egilsson, O., c.1628 *The Travels of Reverend Ólafur Egilsson, captured by pirates in 1627.* Trans. Nichols, A. (2011). England: Clays Ltd.

Eisenstein, E. L., 2012. *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Emecen, F. M., 2017. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi (1300-1600).* Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Endebrock, P. & Radau, S., 2014. *Spielkarten aus dem Historischen Museum Frankfurt am Main, eine Auswahl.* Berlin: s.n.

Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zıllî., (17th Century) *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi.* Reprinted in: Dağlı, Y; Kahraman, A. S; Dankoff, R. Ed. (2003) *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi.* Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Falkener, E., 1892,. *Games ancient and oriental and how to play them.* [online]. Available at: The Internet Archive https://archive.org/details/gamesancientorie00falkuoft/page/n4 [Accessed 6 March 2017].

Farley, H., 2009. *A Cultural History of Tarot, From Entertainment to Esotericism.* London:I.B.Tauris.

Feliciano, M. J., 2011. Picturing the Ottoman threat in the sixteenth-century New Spain. In: J. G. Harper, ed. *The Turk and Islam in the Western eye, 1450 - 1750.* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 243-265.

Filelfo, G. M., 1476. *Amyris.* In: A. Manetti, ed. *Amyris.* Bologna: Pàtron, 1978.

Firdevsî-i Rûmî, 1503. *Şatranç-nâme-i Kebîr.* Trans. M. A. Çatıkkaş *Şatranç-nâme-i Kebîr* Ankara.:Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Fontaine, M. M., 1997. For the Good of the City: The Bishop and the Ruling Elite in Tridentine Modena. *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 28(1), pp. 29-43.

Garzón, J. A., 2001. *En pos del incunable perdido: Francesch Vicent: Llibre dels jochs partitis dels schachs, Valencia, 1495.* [online]. Available at: Biblioteca Valenciana http://bivaldi.gva.es/en/consulta/registro.do?id=224 [Accessed 5 February 2018].

Golladay, S. M., 2017. *Los libros de acedrex dados e tablas: Historical, Artistic and Metaphysical Dimensions of Alfonso X's Book of Games.* Ph.D. The University of Arizona. Available at: https://repository.arizona.edu/handle/10150/194159.

Grieb, M. H. ed., 2007. *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon: Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. [e-book] Available through: https://www.degruyter.com/view/product/161497 Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Saur. Retrieved 22 May 2018.

Guerzoni, G., 1995. Playing Great Games: the Giuoco in Sixteenth-Century Italian Courts. *Italian History and Culture,* Volume I, pp. 43-63.

Hankins, J., 1995. Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* Volume 49, pp. 111-207.

Hargrave, C. P., 1966. *A History of Playing Cards and a Bibliography of Cards and Gaming.* [online]. Available at: The Internet Archive https://archive.org/details/historyofplaying00harg [Accessed 2 May 2018] New York.:Dover Publications.

Hattox, R. S., 1996. *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hernandez, B. L., 2011. The Las Casas-Sepúlveda Controversy: 1550-1551. *Ex Post Facto,* pp. 95-104.

Hess, A. C., 1970. The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525. *The American Historical Review,* 75(7), pp. 1892-1919.

Hindî Mahmud, 1579. *Sergüzeştnâme-i Hindî Mahmûd.* Reprinted in: Karataş, A. ed. 2013. Istanbul: Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı.

Hirzel, S., ed., 1872. *Die Chronikender Deutschen Stadte Nurnberg.* [online]. Available at: The Internet Archive https://archive.org/details/diechronikender06kommgoog/page/n7 [Accessed 12 March 2018].

Hoffmann, D., 1972. *Spielkarten: Inventarkatalog Der Spielkartensammlung Des Historischen Museums.* Frankfurt (am Main): Historischen Museum Press.

Hoffmann, D., 1974. *Kartenspiel des Meisters PW / A Pack of Cards by Master PW.* München: Heimeran Verlag.

Hoffmann, D., 1983. *Die Welt der Spielkarte.* München: Hugendubel Heinrich GmbH.

Hoffmann, D., 1994. *Altdeutsche Spielkarten, 1500-1650: Katalog der Holzschnittkarten mit deutschen Farben aus dem Deutschen Spielkarten-Museum Leinfelden-Echterdingen und Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg.* Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum.

Hoffmann, D., 1995. *Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte der Spielkarte.* Marburg: Jonas Verlag.

Holländer, H. & Holländer, B., 1998. *Spielwelten Der Kunst.* Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

Holländer, H. & Holländer, B., 2005. *Schachpartie Durch Zeiten und Welten.* Heidelberg: Wachter-Verlag.

Huizinga, J., 1949. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* Reprint 1980 London: Redwood Burn Ltd.

Hunt, J. M., 2005. Betting on the Papal Election in Sixteenth-Century Rome. *Center for Gaming Research Occasional Paper Series*, May, Volume 32, pp. 1-8.

Husband, T. B., 2016. *The World in Play: Luxury Cards 1430–1540.* New York.:Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Ingram, A., 2013. *Corpus Linguistics software tools (CQPweb) and the 'Turk' in early modern England.* In: P. Wilcox, ed. Digital Methods and Methodologies, 2013, Oxford University Research Archive.

International Abstract Games Organization (IAGO).
Available at: http://iagoweb.com/game-genres.html
[Accessed 1 February 2019].

Isenmann, E., 2014. *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150-1550: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadtregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft.* Köln Weimar: Böhlau Verlag.

İnalcık, H., 1992. A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy. In: İ. Başgöz, ed. *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire.* Bloomington.: Indiana University.

İnalcık, H., 1999. Osmanlı-Rus İlişkileri, 1492-1700. *Türk-Rus ilişkilerinde 500 yıl, 1491-1992*, pp. 25-36.

İnalcık, H., 2000. Modern Avrupa'nın Gelişmesinde Türk Etkisi. In: *Osmanlı ve Dünya Osmanlı Devleti ve Dünya Tarihindeki Yeri.* Istanbul: Ufuk Kitapları, pp. 79-93.

İnalcık, H., 2017. *Devlet-i Aliyye: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Üzerine Araştırmalar - II.* Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Jönsson, A., 2005. Card-playing as a Mirror of Society: On Johannes of Rheinfelden's Ludus cartularum moralisatus. In: O. Ferm, V. Honemann, ed(s). *Chess and Allegory in the Middle Ages.* Stockholm.: Mandarin AB, pp. 359-374.

Jaffe-Berg, E., 2016. *Commedia dell'Arte and the Mediterranean: Charting Journeys and Mapping 'Others'.* New York.:Routledge.

Jensen, D. L., 1985. The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy. *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 16(4), pp. 451-470.

Jezernik, B., 2010. *Imagining 'the Turk'.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Kafadar, C., 2017. *"Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken" Dört Osmanlı: Yeniçeri, Tüccar, Derviş ve Hatun.* Istanbul: Metis .

Katritzky, M. A., 2006. *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia Dell'Arte 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records.* Amsterdam.:Rodopi.

Katritzky, M. A., 2009. Eight Portraits of Gelosi Actors in 1589?. *Theatre Research International,* 21(2), pp. 108- 120.

Kelly, J. L., 2011. *Renaissance Futures: Chance, Prediction, and Play in Northern European Visual Culture, c.1480-1550*. Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley.

Klabbers, J. H. G., 2009. *The Magic Circle: Principles of Gaming & Simulation.* 3 ed. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Klebebände (Band 15), p. 347. [online].
Available at: University of Heidelberg Historic Literature-Digitized http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/fwhb/klebeband15/0353 [Accessed 9 May 2019].

Knolles, R., 1603. *The generall historie of the Turkes from the first beginning of that nation to the rising of the Othoman familie.* [online]. Available at: Early English Books Online (EEBO) http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A04911.0001.001 [Accessed 4 November 2017].

Krstič, T., 2015. Islam and Muslims in Early Modern Europe. In: H. Scott, ed. *Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 670-693.

Kumrular, Ö., 2010. The Creation of the Image of 'the Turk' in the Sixteenth Century Mediterranean: Self-Reflection versus Antipropaganda. In: B. Jezernik, ed. *Imagining the Turk.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, pp. 27-46.

Kynan-Wilson, W., 2016. The Ottoman Imagery of Jacopo Ligozzi in Medici Florence. In: *The Grand Ducal Medici and the Levant : Material Culture, Diplomacy, and Imagery in the Early Modern Mediterranean.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, pp. 101-111.

Kynan-Wilson, W., 2017. *Costume Albums.* Leiden: Brill.

Lanza, F. F., 2005. Habsburg-Osmanlı Rekabeti Bağlamında 16. Yüzyılda İspanya'da Türk İmajı. In: *Dünyada Türk Imgesi.* Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, pp. 87-108.

'Le Reveil de la Question D'Orient'. (1908) *Le Petit Journal*, [online]. 18 October, 935, p.1. Available at: Getty Images https://www.gettyimages.ca/detail/news-photo/austria-bulgaria-and-turkey-fighting-over-the-eastern-news-photo/146140695 [Accessed 5 June 2018].

Levin, D. J., 2007. *Unsettling Opera: Staging Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, and Zemlinsky*, Chicago.: The University of Chicago Press.

Levy, J. S., 1985. Theories of General War. *World Politics,* April, 37(3), pp. 344-374.

Lewis, B., 2002. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey.* 3rd Edition ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Luther, M., 1529. *Vom Kriege wider die Türcken*. [online]. Available at: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10087116 [Accessed 7 May 2018].

Luther, M., 1529. *Auch eine Heerpredigt wider den Türken.* [online]. Available at: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10703292-1 [Accessed 7 May 2018].

Luther, M., 1541. *Vermahnung zum Gebet wider die Türken.* [Manuscript-online]. Available at: Heidelberg Historic Literature-Digitized https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg731/0005 [Accessed 7 May 2018].

Martorell, J., 1490. *Tirant lo Blanch.* [online].
Available at: http://einesdellengua.com/tirantloweb/tirantloblanch.html
[Accessed 20 June 2018].

Mastnak, T., 1994. Fictions in Political Thought: Las Casas, Sepúlveda, the Indians, and the Turks. *Filozofski vestnik,* 2(15), pp. 127-149.

Matar, N., 1999. *Turks, Moors and the Englishmen in the Age of Discovery.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Mayor, A. H., 2013. *Prints & People: A social history of printed pictures.* New York.:Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Mäyrä, F., 2008. *An Introduction to Game Studies.* London.:Sage Publications.

Merriman, R. B., 1944. *Suleiman The Magnificent 1520-1566.* Cambridge, Massachusets.:Harvard University Press.

Meserve, M., 2008. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought.* United States of America: Harvard University Press.

Milano, A., 1984. Antichi Giochi su Carta. In: *Come giocavamo: giochi e giocattoli 1750/1960.* Milano: Fratelli Alinari spa.

Miller, F. J., 1917. *Seneca's Tragedies with an English translation.* London.: William Heinemann Ltd.

Miller, J., 2013. The Scottish Mercenary as a Migrant Labourer in Europe, 1550-165. In: E. Zürcher, ed. *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500-2000.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, p. 169–200.

Morris-Friedman, A. & Schädler, U., 2003. Juden Raus!" (Jews Out!) – History's most infamous board game. *Journal of Board Game Studies,* Volume 6, pp. 47-59.

Murray, H., 1913. *A History of Chess.* London.:Oxford university Press.

Necipoğlu, G., 1989. Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman- Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry. *The Art Bulletin,* 71(3), pp. 401-427.

Nietzsche, F., 1887. *On the Geneology of Morals.* Trans. M. A. Scarpitti., 2013. London: Penguin Classics.

Pambst, P., 1546. *Looßbuch zu ehren der Römischen, Ungarischen und Böhmischen Künigin.* [online]. Available at: Bayerische Stadtsbibliotek https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00029447&pimage=00003&einzelsegment=&v=100&l=en [Accessed 10 August 2018].

Parlak, Ö. F., 2018. *Playing the Turk: Early Modern European Board Games and Playing Cards as a Counterargument to History.* Berlin, Lit Verlag, pp. 189-204.

Parlett, D., 1991. *A History of Card Games.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Parlett, D., 1999. *The Oxford History of Board Games.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Parlett, D., 2011. *What's it All About? On abstraction & representation in games.* [online]. Availabe at: Parlett Games https://www.parlettgames.uk/gamester/whatsit.html [Accessed 20 may 2017].

Parmaksızoğlu, İ., 1953. Bir Türk Kadısının Esaret Hatıraları. *Tarih Dergisi,* 5(8), pp. 77-84.

Patterson, S., 2017. *Game on: Medieval Players and their Texts.* Ph.D. The University of British Columbia. Available at: The University of British Columbia Library http://hdl.handle.net/2429/61364 [Accessed 6 August 2018].

Pedani, M. P., 2014. Venetian Slaves in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period. In: S. Hanß & J. Schiel, eds. *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500-1800) / Neue Perspektiven auf Mediterrane Sklaverei (500- 1800).* Zurich: Chronos Verlag, pp. 309-324.

Piccione, P. A., 2007. The game of Senet and the Migration of the Soul. In: I. Finkel, ed. *Ancient Board Games in Perspective.* London.:British Museum Press, pp. 54-63.

Pratesi, F., 2015-2016. 1377: Firenze – Condanne ai giocatori di naibi. *The Playing-Card,* 44(3), pp. 166-173.

Quran.com. 2016. *The Noble Qur'an.*
Available at: https://quran.com/5/90?translations=101,85,22,21,20,18,95
[Accessed 24 August 2018].

Rabelais, F., 2006. *Gargantua and Pantagruel.* Trans. M. A. Screech. 2006. London: Penguin.

Radau, S. & Himmelheber, G., 1991. *Spielkarten: Kataloge des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums München.* Berlin: Dt. Kunstverlag.

Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011. *Turkish Citizens Living Abroad.* Available from: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-expatriate-turkish-citizens.en.mfa [Accessed 13 April 2019].

Roberts, J. M., Arth, M. J. & Bush, R. R., 1959. Games in Culture. *American Anthropologist,* August, 61(4), pp. 597-605.

Rockoff, M. & Meisch, S., 2005. Climate Change in Early Modern Literature. Which Place for Humanities in the Sustainability Sciences?. In: S. Meisch, J. Lundershausen, L. Bossert & M. Rockoff, eds. *Ethics of Science in the Research for Sustainable Development.* Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag, pp. 273-298.

Rouillard, C. D., 1941. *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520-1660).* Paris: Boivin.

Rowlands, J., 1987. The Procession of Gluttony. *Print Quarterly,* 4(2), pp. 158-162.

Roveabout, R., c.1870. *The European Tourist. A New Game of Travel or A journey through Europe*. [online]. Available at: Giochi dell'Oca e di Percorso http://www.giochidelloca.it/scheda.php?id=1301 [Accessed 2 May 2019].

Rycaut, S. P., 1668. *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire.* [online]. Available at: Early English Books Online (EEBO) http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A58003.0001.001 [Accessed 21 May 2017].

Saavedra, M. d. C., 1617. *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda.* [online]. Available at: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcpv6g0 [Accessed 20 May 2019].

Said, E. W., 1994. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Schilling, H., 1983. Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe. *Histoire sociale -Social History,* 16(31), pp. 7-33.

Schlieter, J., 2012. Simulating Liberation: The Tibetan Buddhist Game “Ascending the [Spiritual] Levels”. In: P. Bornet & M. Burger, eds. *Religions in Play: Games, Rituals, and Virtual Worlds.* Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, pp. 93-116.

Schmidt, S. K., 2004. Constructions both Sacred and Profane: Serpents, Angels, and Pointing Fingers In Renaissance Books with Moving Parts. *The Yale University Library Gazette,* April, 78(3/4), pp. 101-127.

Schmidt, S. K., 2017. *Interactive and Sculptural Printmaking in the Renaissance.* Leiden: Brill.

Schoch, R., 1993. *Das Flötner’sche Kartenspiel.* Vienna: Piatnik Edition.

Schwoebel, R., 1967. *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Seville, A., 2008. The geographical Jeux de l'Oie of Europe. *Belgeo,* 3(4), pp. 427-444.

Seville, A., 2009. *The Sociable Game of the Goose.* Lisbon, Associaçaõ Ludus, pp. 3-17.

Seville, A. & Spear, J., 2010. The Game of the Goose in England – a tradition lost. *The Ephemerist,* Issue 151.

Shaw, S. J. & Shaw, E. K., 2002. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey.* 7th Edition ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smoller, L. A., 1986. Playing Cards and Popular Culture in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg. *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 17(2), pp. 183-214.

Stenros, J., 2017. The Game Definition Game: A Review. *Games and Culture,* 12(6), pp. 499-520.

Stone, L. C., 1964. *English Sports and Recreations.* 2 ed. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Suits, B., 1978. *The Grasshopper: Games, Life and Utopia.* Reprint 2014. Peterborough, Ontario.:Broadview Press.

Sundin, G., 2019. The Games of Philipp Hainhofer. In: R. O'Bryan, ed. *Games and Game Playing in European Art and Literature, 16th-17th Centuries.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 249-276.

Sutton-Smith, B. & Roberts, J. M., 1971. The Cross-Cultural and Psychological Study of Games. *International Review of Sport Sociology,* 6(1), p. 79–87.

Tafur, P., 2014. *Travels and Adventures (1435-1439).* [online]. Available at: The Internet Archive https://archive.org/details/ldpd_6352599_000/page/n153 [Accessed 13 March 2019].

Thatcher, O. J. & McNeal, E. H. eds., 1905. *A Source Book for Medieval History: Selected Documents Illustrating the History of Europe in the Middle Age.* C. Scribner's Sons: New York.

The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019. *Democracy Index,* London: The Economist.

Thibault, M., 2018. *The Meaning of Play.* Ph.D. Università Degli Studi di Torino.

Tiryakioglu, N. O., 2015. *The Western Image of Turks from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century: The Myth of 'Terrible Turk' and 'Lustful Turk'.* Ph.D. Notthingam Trent University.

Tolasa, H., 2004. *Kendi Kalemiyle Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa: Bir Osmanlı Türk Sipahisi ve Esirlik Hayatı.* Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.

Toledo, P., 2005. "Türkler ve Hıristiyanlar arasında" adlı komedide Türk imgesinin biçimlenmesi. In: *Dünyada Türk İmgesi.* Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, pp. 267-282.

Tosney, N. B., 2008. *Gaming in England, c.1540-1760.* Ph.D University of York.

Turan, G. & Güllüoğlu, F. eds., 2008. *Nâzım Hikmet Bütün Şiirleri.* 4th Edition ed. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Vázquez de Acuña, I., 1956. *Costumbres Religiosas de Chiloe y su Raigambre Hispaña*. Chile: s.n., pp. 29-33.

Valensi, L., 2015. *Avrupa'da Müslümanlar: 16. - 18. Yüzyıllar.* Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Vaughan, D. M., 1976. *Europe and the Turk: a pattern of alliances, 1350-1700.* New York: AMS Press.

von Hilgers, P., 2012. *War Games: A History of War on Paper.* London: MIT Press.

Warman, P., (2018) Newzoo Cuts Global Games Forecast for 2018 to $134.9 Billion; Lower Mobile Growth Partially Offset by Very Strong Growth in Console Segment. *Newzoo*, [online]. Available at: https://newzoo.com/insights/articles/newzoo-cuts-global-games-forecast-for-2018-to-134-9-billion/ [Accessed 3 May 2019].

Wayland, V. &. H., 1978-79. Lenthall Pack no: XVIII. *The Journal of the Playing-Card Society,* Volume VII, pp. 12-21.

Wilson-Chevalier, K., 2002. Art Patronage and Women (Including Habsburg) in the Orbit of King Francis I. *Renaissance Studies,* 16(4), pp. 474-524.

Wittgenstein, L., 1953. *Philosophical Investigations.* Trans. G. E. M. Anscombe. Reprint 1986. Oxford.:Basil Blackwell.

Witzmann, R., 1983. *Das Spiel Der Mächtigen: Der Türkenkrieg von 1683.* Vienna: Piatnik.

Wolf, M. J. P., 2012. *Building Imaginary Worlds.* New York: Routledge.

World Bank, 2014. *Turkey's Transitions: Integration, Inclusion, Institutions,* Washington: The World Bank.

Yalom, M., 2005. *Birth of the Chess Queen: A History.* New York.:Harper Collins.