

REVIEW OF: PİRİ REİS'TEN ÖNCE VE SONRA: TOPKAPI SARAYI'NDA HARİTALAR-
BEFORE AND AFTER PİRİ REİS: MAPS AT TOPKAPI PALACE, T. C. KÜLTÜR VE
TURİZM BAKANLIĞI, KÜLTÜR VARLIKLARI VE MÜZELER GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ,
TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ, 2013 PİRİ REİS DÜNYA HARİTASI'NIN
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This bilingual exhibition catalogue in Turkish and English was produced as part of the celebrations to mark the 500 year from the drawing of Piri Reis's world map in 1513 and has been published to high quality print production standards. It contains a series of articles from pages 10 to 63, concerning: Piri Reis and his map of the New World by İ. Bostan, on Piri Reis's world maps and the Kitâb-ı Bahriyye by F. Sarıcaoğlu, on Ottoman geography in the 16th century by M. Ak, on illustrated maps and the Topkapı Palace collection by G. Renda and on Ottoman cartography and the Topkapı Palace collections by F. Sarıcaoğlu. This is followed by the catalogue entries together with colour plates of 64 important maps, plans and charts and of details thereof that are housed in the Topkapı Palace Museum, its library and archive, some of which: Cat. No. 40, the *Map of the Beylik Water System supplying the Old Palace, Istanbul*, drawn at the start of the 17th c., Cat. No. 45, a 16th c. *Plan of the Trading Routes From Khorasan to Tabriz* and Cat. No. 46, the *Plan of Sultan Murad II Mosque at Skopje-Üsküb*, which was drawn to show the derelict state around the mosque after the fire of 1689 are published for the first time in this catalogue. These maps, plans and charts, drawn on hide, parchment, silk and on paper and including some printed examples, were exhibited in the Topkapı Palace Imperial Stables in the spring of 2013.

2015 is the 450th anniversary of the Ottoman Siege of Hospitaller Malta and on page 194 of this catalogue, in the section devoted to Sketch Maps, Fortress Plans and Siege Plans, one reads the following entry by Z. Atbaş, Curator of Manuscripts at the Topkapı Palace Museum:

“No. 50 Map made during the siege of Fort St. Angelo in Malta, Ottoman dated 1565 leather ink and paint, 67 by 60.5 cm Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Y.Y. 1118”

While the parallel Turkish title for this map reads, “*Malta Kalesi Kuşatması Sırasında Hazırlanan Plan*”

The facing page carries a fine colour photograph of this map, and a high resolution detail of the central area of this map covers the next two pages 196-7.

The different titles given to this map in English and Turkish are somewhat odd, as the *Malta Kalesi* and Fort St. Angelo are not in fact synonymous; while this map records not only the siege of

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Fort St. Angelo and Birgu and also the simultaneous siege of *değirmen burcu*, the bastion of the mills, the Ottoman name for Senglea and Fort St. Michael, derived from the two prominent windmills standing on the promontory adjacent to Fort St. Angelo and Birgu; but this map also records the earlier siege of Fort St Elmo on the Sciberras promontory that controlled the entrance to the harbours on either side of this promontory, a siege which took place in June, before the Ottoman siege of Fort St. Angelo, Birgu, Senglea and Fort St. Michael was begun. As this map shows not only the siege of Fort St. Angelo, Birgu and Fort St. Michael and Senglea, but also that of St. Elmo, it could perhaps better be entitled in English “The map of the Ottoman Siege of Hospitaller Malta”, as it is in this sense entitled in the Turkish version, the “*Malta Kalesi*” being understood as referring to the Hospitaller complex of fortifications, not just to Fort St. Angelo-Birgu.

In the English catalogue entry concerning this depiction of the siege the Curator writes: “*Although the fort of St. Elmo was taken during the siege, the city of Valletta did not fall and the Ottomans were forced to retreat.*”¹

However the foundation stone of the city of Valletta was laid on the 28th of March 1566 by the forty-ninth Grand Master of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta, Jean Parisot de la Valette (1494/5-1568, Grand Master from 1557 to 1568). That is six months after the 1565 siege had ended, with the city of Valletta, the present capital of Malta, founded by and named after this Grand Master.² The city of Valletta did not exist at the time of the siege, the city was constructed after the siege had ended and its construction was a direct consequence of the Ottoman siege of 1565. It became the capital in 1574 when the Knight’ convent moved from Birgu to Valletta.

¹ Piri Reis’ten önce ve sonra: Topkapı Sarayı’nda Haritalar-Before and After Piri Reis: Maps at Topkapı Palace, T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Müdürlüğü, 2013, 194.

² A similar misunderstanding concerning this siege has recently been published by D. Abulafia in, *The Great Sea, A Human History of the Mediterranean*. Penguin 2012, where one reads about a place called Vittoriosa before the siege, but which was not named as such until after the siege had ended and this renaming was a direct consequence of the 1565 siege. Its siege and pre-siege name, as also its usual name today was and it remains Birgu, the variant of the Italian term Borgo meaning inhabited suburb. As unfortunately for example on page 431, “*Opposite St Elmo, the Knights were based in Vittoriosa, the old port of Malta – now called Birgu- where they replicated their style of life on Rhodes...*”; as also p. 432, “*...by early July 700 men from the relief force were able to enter Vittoriosa.*”, p. 433; “*a much delayed assault on the Knight’ strongholds of Senglea and Vittoriosa.*” and, “*as the Turks tried to mine Vittoriosa*”; as also p. 435, “*The coming of the Knights and their choice of Vittoriosa rather than Mdina as their centre of government...*”. The city of Birgu-Borgo was renamed Vittoriosa as a direct consequence of the siege of 1565, the Knights were in fact based in their capital of Birgu-Borgo from 1530, renamed Vittoriosa after the siege, until the progress of construction of the city of Valletta reached the point when the removal of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John’s convent from Birgu to Valletta became possible in 1571. The ‘*old port of Malta*’, or rather one of the pre-Roman to the Latin conquest ports of Malta, was in all probability not at Birgu, (which, given its Italian name was a Latin foundation, a suburb to be associated with the Latin rebuilding of the small Muslim fort at the head of the creek as the *Castrum Maris*, subsequently the Knights’ Fort St. Angelo), but rather at the sheltered end of the creek at Burmola-Bornmla, re-named in 1721 Cospicua, where there was a supply of fresh water, and this area became the *manderacchio* (the boat-pen) under the Latins. Further, it is a matter of geographical fact that St. Elmo is not “*opposite*” Birgu-Vittoriosa (idem. 431), rather, Gallows Point-Fort Ricasoli is roughly opposite S. Elmo, while the Upper Barakka, Valletta, is opposite St. Angelo-Birgu.

The places that were besieged by the Ottomans that did not fall were: Fort St. Angelo and its suburb of Birgu or Borgo which was the capital city of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta prior to the construction of Valletta, with Fort St. Angelo named *senhuvan kulesidir*, the Osmalija approximation recorded on this map of the name that they gave to Fort St. Angelo, meaning the Fort of St. John, and Fort St. Michael and Senglea, recorded in other texts as *değirmen burcu*, the bastion of the mills, these settlements standing on adjacent promontories but which were linked by a pontoon bridge across the creek during the siege and with these two settlements on the opposite side of Porto generale-Grand Harbour from where the future city of Valletta would stand. It was from where the city of Valletta stands today that Ottoman batteries in 1565 bombarded Fort St. Elmo until it was taken by assault, and was one of the places from where Ottoman batteries bombarded both St. Angelo-Birgu and Senglea, as is clearly depicted on this siege map, a battery in the approximate location today of the Valletta, Upper Barakka Gardens, near where the signalling battery today fires the noonday gun. Because the Knights' capital of Birgu did not fall to repeated Ottoman assault, the Ottomans withdrew their last forces and artillery from in front of Birgu by the 9th of September. The city of Birgu was subsequently renamed Vittoriosa - Città Vittoriosa, the victory being to have withstood the Ottoman siege. It is noteworthy that the Turkish text to this same catalogue entry makes no mention of Valletta:

“*Kuşatmada, Saint Elmo Kalesi alınmasına ragmen, şehir düşmemiş ve Osmanlılar geri çekilmek zorunda kalmışlardır.*”, with the un-named *şehir*-city referred to being the *malta kalesi*-consisting largely of Fort St. Angelo – Birgu – St. Michael and Senglea.

Because the siege of Fort St. Elmo and the subsequent siege of Birgu-Senglea are both recorded on this map, with the Ottoman conquest of Fort St. Elmo completed on the 23rd of June and by the 27th of June Ottoman batteries had begun to be established enabling the siege and bombardment of Birgu and Senglea to begin, it is evident the *terminus ante quem* for this map was in July 1565. As the batteries are lined with cannon firing upon Birgu-Senglea, it can be suggested this map was most probably drawn before the last two weeks of August when these cannons began to be removed from these batteries. By the 28th of August the siege participant Francesco Balbi di Correggio noted in his diary entry, “*We knew that they had embarked a great number of their guns, for each night we could hear them being withdrawn – even though it was done very stealthily, and with none of the triumphant shouts with which they had been brought up.*”³, and by the 4th of September, “*Since they (the Ottoman forces) had few guns left for bombardment they fired them off as rapidly as possible.*”⁴, with the cannon being steadily removed from the batteries during the second half of August for return to the fleet prior to the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from Malta on the 13th of September. The important battery of two cannon briefly located in the houses of Bormla from the 7th to the 9th of September⁵ is not depicted, although the 8 cannon battery on Sta. Margarita hill is recorded,⁶ leading to the

³ F. Balbi di Correggio, *The Siege of Malta 1565*, E. Bradford Trans., London (2003) 161(hereafter Balbi 2003).

⁴ Balbi 2003, 165.

⁵ Balbi 2003, 166, a battery of a reinforced cannon and a basilisk, which seem formerly to have been at the end of Corradino, *ibid*, 125.

⁶ Matteo Perez D'Aleccio, in his painting entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*, depicts eight cannon in the battery on the heights of Santa Margarita in front of the Hermitage, while Francesco Balbi records about the

suggestion that this map was most probably complete at some point between the 22nd of July when the full complement of 64 cannon were installed in the batteries and mid-August, when the decision was made to withdraw Ottoman forces, or perhaps it was drawn subsequently but to record the events of the period extending from the 28th of May into the second week of August.

The final part of the sentence from the catalogue quoted above:

“...the Ottomans were forced to retreat.”, in the Turkish text, “*Osmanlılar geri çekilmek zorunda kalmışlardır.*”, carries the implication that the Knights of St. John, the Maltese population and the slaves inside the fortifications, the defenders of Birgu and Senglea, or the arrival on the 7th of September of a part of the Christian relief force from Sicily, a force comprising in total 8- 10,000 men, forced the Ottomans to retreat. This however was not the case.

The planned withdrawal of Ottoman artillery from their gun platforms established for the bombardment of the fortifications of Birgu and Senglea, upon Corradino (6 plus 2), Santa Margarita (6 or 8), Mount Salvator-Kalkara (38), Mandra (6), Paulo Micho’s vineyard (2), and from Sciberras (4), began before the end of August.⁷ The Ottoman withdrawal was begun in the second half of August and it seems to have been planned in the second week of August, although Serdar Kızılahmedli Mustapha Pasha’s confidence in the capture of Hospitaller Malta had already been badly damaged by the end of June and Francesco Balbi reports that Mustapha had sent a dispatch to this effect to the Sultan.⁸ The withdrawal of Ottoman forces from Malta was planned and it was begun prior to the dispatch of the Catholic relief force and this was a consequence of a number of factors, but the prime factor was the loss of Ottoman military moral. This loss of moral had three substantial reasons:

Firstly, the length of the siege, lasting over three months, a length caused primarily through the month long siege of Fort St. Elmo which was to open the Marsamxett harbour to permit the Ottoman fleet to moor in safety, when the focus instead should rather have been following the landings at Marsascala, St. Thomas Bay and Marsaxlokk, to directly besiege and conquer the *malta kalesi*-Birgu-Senglea, ignoring Fort St. Elmo. Instead there was the month long siege of St. Elmo which permitted the strengthening of the Knights’ fortifications of Birgu-Senglea to be continued, uninterrupted by any sustained assault, only occasional cannon fire from the Sciberras promontory, for an entire month, during which for example an entire parapet was constructed from the Post of Aragon to Bormla.⁹ If the Knights’ capital had been besieged from late May, directly after the

22nd of July that St. Michael (L’Isola) was under fire from six guns on Santa Margarita hill, Balbi, 2003, 125, there is the possibility that two of the battery of cannons on the Santa Margarita hill were at this time firing at Birgu.

⁷ On the 28th of August Francesco Balbi states, “*We knew that they had embarked a great number of their guns, for each night we could hear them being withdrawn – even though it was done very stealthily, and with none of the triumphant shouts with which they had been brought up.*” Balbi 2003, 161. On July 22nd 64 heavy guns and 4 basilisks in 14 batteries opened the bombardment of Birgu-Senglea, Balbi 2003, 123. Balbi relates 38 were on Mt. Salvador, 6 on Santa Margarita, 6 in the Mandra, 2 at Paulo Micho’s vineyard, 8 on Corradino Hill and the other 4 on Mt. Sciberras, Balbi 126-6.

⁸ Balbi 2003, 94.

⁹ “*Friday June 1st During this stage of the siege, work went on night and day in Birgu and St. Michael (Senglea). The captain of each position made whatever improvements were necessary to his fortifications. Some were raising walls, others building parapets and fighting-positions, while yet others were either raising the ground level with barrels of earth, or levelling it off – whichever was necessary.*”, Balbi 2003, 63; “*Monday, 11 June, Meanwhile, in Birgu also,*

landing on the 20th, it would have fallen, probably in late June or July and significant Hospitaller resistance would then have been broken. Admittedly this would have left the fleet moored by Gallows Point¹⁰ without a secure harbour in the event of a storm for the length of the siege of Birgu-Senglea, but with fresh troops and a clearer objective provided in the taking of the Hospitaller capital, “*the headquarters of the infidels*,”¹¹ it can be doubted if the siege would have lasted either for as long as it did, or would have produced the somewhat inconclusive result in the short term as it did.

Secondly, the death of Turgut Reis (Dragut) conqueror of Candia in 1538 and of Tripoli in 1551, who had sacked parts of Malta in 1547 and 1551 and who, with Piyale Pasha’s fleet, had won the 11th of May 1560 Battle of Djerba fought against the galleys of the Holy League in which 65 of the League’s ships including 30 galleys were sunk or captured, was mortally wounded on the 17th of June at the siege of St. Elmo. He remained alive until after receiving news of the capture of Fort St. Elmo on the 23rd of June, which was a conquest which he had done so much to bring about, through the careful positioning of batteries to prevent any further reinforcement reaching the garrison of St. Elmo from Birgu.

Thirdly, led by the French Knight de Lugny, there was the opportunist, if not premeditated, slaughter on the 7th of August after midday of all of the numerous Ottoman sick and wounded and of the Ottoman doctors and their assistants and non-combatants in the Ottoman hospital which had been established by the camp in the Marsa and of those in its surroundings, together with the burning of the hospital tents,¹² by 200 troops, 100 mounted, from Mdina. This was a somewhat strange action, given the Hospitaller Knights’ avowed healing vocation, regardless of faith of the sick or injured, and an action which in its timing caused the rout of Ottoman troops at the point of victory, having reached the top of the walls of Fort St. Michael. The 2,000 Ottoman troops formerly guarding the Marsa camp and hospital for the wounded, due to the increasing numbers of Ottoman sick, had been withdrawn to be employed in the major simultaneous assault on Fort St. Michael (Senglea) and Birgu of the 7th of August, after which the decision was taken to withdraw.

The consequence of these three factors, together with widespread sickness, poor supplies through raids upon the logistic chain, upon the moral and physical condition of the Ottoman troops was clear by the second week of August when this decision seems to have been taken. Further, there was the increasing threat of the late summer weather breaking in a storm and endangering the fleet returning to Istanbul. There was no possibility of Ottoman forces remaining on the island overwinter, no intent for the Ottoman occupation of Malta, even if Birgu and Senglea had fallen, given the devastation brought about through the siege to the fortifications,¹³ and the

no time was lost in improving the defences.” idem. 78; “18th June, “*Day and Night we worked on the fortifications of Birgu and Senglea*”, idem. 85; “*The defences of this peninsular (Senglea) and of Birgu had been considerably improved during the siege of St. Elmo.*” ibid. 93; “*Praise be to God, they had wasted so much time on St. Elmo, that we had been able to get our fortifications reinforced...*” idem. 101.

¹⁰ Where the Ottoman fleet was moored during the month long siege of St. Elmo, Balbi 2003, 191.

¹¹ A. Cassola, *The 1565 Ottoman/Malta Campaign Register*. Malta 1998, 19.

¹² Balbi 2003, 145-6.

¹³ Francesco Balbi writes that by the 27th of July, “...both St. Michael and the Post of Castille had been practically levelled to the ground.”; “*the leaders of the relief force went to Birgu, as much to see the Grand Master La Valette as to see the enormous damage to our battlements. These were so ruined that even the oldest veterans were astounded.*” Balbi 2003, 187.

drained state of the local food supplies caused by the three month siege, together with the proximity of numerous Christian forces in Sicily with closer lines of communication, with resupply from Ottoman territory endangered if not entirely interdicted, as Ottoman cargo vessels from Tunis and elsewhere attempting to resupply Ottoman forces on Malta had been captured during the course of the siege,¹⁴ while Ottoman naval patrols from Malta had failed to detect before their landing either the arrival of the small relief force of 700 men from Spanish Sicily on the 2nd of July or the arrival of a part of the larger relief force from Sicily on the 7th of September, nor did the large Ottoman fleet significantly interdict the passage of vessels between Malta and Sicily throughout the course of the siege.¹⁵

Within the historical context of Crusade and Jihad, a context which was clearly recorded by the Sultan:

*“I intend to conquer the island of Malta and I have appointed Mustafa Pasha as commander in this campaign. The island of Malta is a headquarters for infidels. The Maltese (that is the Hospitaller Knights of St. John) have already blocked the route utilised by Muslim pilgrims and merchants in the eastern part of the White Sea (Mediterranean), on their way to Egypt.”*¹⁶

And the context within which this map was drawn, with the white cross on the red background of the flag of the Crusader Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John of Jerusalem on Malta clearly depicted, flying from the summit of Fort St. Angelo, from the Post of Castille, Birgu, from the representation in all probability of the battlements of Mdina¹⁷ and from Fort St. Michael (the flag is drawn but remained unpainted),¹⁸ it seems slightly odd to reads:

“Flags bearing crosses fly from the towers in the city, which the Ottomans failed to capture. On the opposite shore is the Fort of St. Elmo, which was captured in a battle in which Turgut Reis was killed.”, *“Osmanlılar tarafından alınamayan şehirdaki kulelerde haçlı bayrakları, karşı yakada ise, Turgut Reis’in öldüğü bir savaş sonucunda alınan Saint Elmo Kalesi gösterilmiştir.”*

Surely within this context of Holy War, of Crusade and Jihad, it would be more correct to describe Turgut Reis as a *shahīd-şehit*, that is, he was a martyr, as he died aged nearly 80 as a consequence of his participation in a religious war, in fighting the jihad.

The Ottomans did not invade Malta because they needed or wanted to take and to hold the islands - they invaded Malta to destroy, ‘*the headquarters of the infidels*’¹⁹, the headquarters of the Crusaders-of the Order of the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, which had been a Crusader maritime force in the Mediterranean from the 14th c. onwards and which had been raiding and enslaving Muslims, including pilgrims, sailors, coastal dwellers and fishermen and who had been driven from

¹⁴ As for example the large merchantman from Tunis with wheat, rice and other provisions and 80 Ottomans, which was captured by 8 of Don Garcia’s galleys, and sent to Syracuse in August, Balbi 2003, 170.

¹⁵ Eg. Balbi 2003, 66 and fn.

¹⁶ A. Cassola, *The 1565 Ottoman/Malta Campaign Register*. Malta 1998, 19.

¹⁷ Rather than *it-Torri Gauci* and *it-Torri tal-Kaptan*, as in, A. Ganado & M. Agius-Vadala, *Maps representing the Great Siege of Malta*. Vol. 1, Malta (1994) 431.

¹⁸ And with a plenary indulgence and a pardon granted for all the sins of the defenders by Pope Pius IV (1559-65), and, “*with the secure hope that, if they fell in the siege, they would find a place in heaven.*” Balbi 2003, 110; “*We were fighting above all for the faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ, and for our lives and liberty.*” Ibid,129.

¹⁹ A. Cassola, *The 1565 Ottoman/Malta Campaign Register*. Malta (1998) 19.

their former capital of Rhodes City on the island of Rhodes after a 6 month siege by Sultan Süleyman's forces, evacuating Rhodes, their island-castles off the S.W. Anatolian coastline and the mainland Castle of Petronium - St. Peter (Halicarnassus-Bodrum) by the 1st of January 1523 and so opened after more than 200 years the maritime trade and pilgrimage route from Istanbul to Alexandria. The siege of Malta in 1565 was ordered by this same Sultan, following the capture of Trabulus al Gharb-Tripoli from the Knights in 1551 by Sinan Pasha and Turgut Reis (Dragut), due to the repeated and continuing Crusader depredations made by the fleet of the Knights of St. John upon Muslim Ottoman shipping, pilgrims, merchants and coastal territory. The large 3 masted black vessel of the *kalyon*-galleon type depicted on this map, moored in the creek by Senglea, across the creek from Birgu, was a captured Ottoman *kalyon*, named the *Sultana*, which had belonged to the Sultan's Chief Kızlar Ağa. It is recorded as being such in the Ottoman inscription beside it, and the *Sultana* was one of the largest vessels afloat in the Mediterranean at that time and had in June 1564 been captured by the squadron led by the future Knights of St. John's Admiral, Mathurin d'Aux de Lescout (Romegas). Its crew and passengers were enslaved,²⁰ its cargo worth 80,000 ducats taken. Its capture and the Knights' activities in the eastern Mediterranean were the most immediate reasons for the launching of the Ottoman campaign, as the Sultan's household and the pilgrimage route under the Sultan's protection were affected. One of the aims of the two cannons brought into the houses of Bormla from the 6th to the 9th of September, with the Ottoman final withdrawal nearing, was to sink the *Sultana*, in which the Ottoman gunners were unsuccessful, as it was moved from its exposed position on the Birgu waterfront to the blind side of the creek for the Ottoman gunners, by Senglea. Previously during the siege efforts had been made by the Ottoman gunners not to hit the ship when it was moored by Birgu, where it is depicted for example in the oil painting entitled "*Dimostrazione di tutte le Batterie*" by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio,²¹ as the Ottomans wanted to recapture it intact, as was noted by the siege participant Francesco Balbi de Corregio in his account.²² The Grand Master ordered two of the Knights' galleys, the St. Gabriel and Corona to be scuttled, while the other two galleys and the St. John were in the slipway area, *il Menqa*, the inlet between Fort St. Angelo and Birgu,²³ so although there are four galleys, in addition to the ex-Sultana

²⁰ One of those initially enslaved from the vessel, the Greek convert to Islam, Baptist, leaving his wife and children behind, joined his co-religionists on the 21st of May, Balbi 2003, 50-51.

²¹ For the recent post-restoration photograph of these painting see, *The Siege of Malta 1565, Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's frescoes at the Grand Master's Palace, Valletta*, Ed. C. Cini, 2009, for depictions of this ship, 57, entitled "*La Presa di S. Elmo. A. di 23 Giug. 1565*", where it is depicted adjacent to Fort St. Angelo; 62, entitled "*L'Assedio, e Batteria dell'Isola, e dis. Michele. A di 27. Giugno 1565*", (detail on 64), where it is depicted moored on the St. Angelo side of the pontoon bridge across the creek, on the Birgu waterfront; 81, entitled "*Assalto per Mare e per terra al Isola, e S. Michele A di 15 Lug. 1565*", where it is depicted moored on the St. Angelo side of the pontoon bridge across the creek but by *il Menqa*; 93, entitled "*Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*", where it is depicted moored on the Birgu waterfront further in from *il Menqa*, by the pontoon bridge.

²² Balbi 2003, 166, "*Until now they had never fired upon this ship, because they hoped to capture it intact. For our part, as soon as we saw they were bombarding the ship, we felt confident that they were about to leave, and that they had news of our relief force being on the way. So that the merchantman should not sink, the Grand Master had a number of hawsers passed around her. These were made fast to the shore with a great many ships' anchors, and in this way we managed to save the vessel.*"

²³ Balbi 2003, 57; and as is depicted in Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's painting entitled "*Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*", *Matteo Perez d'Aleccio's frescoes at the Grand Master's Palace, Valletta*, Ed. C. Cini, Malta, 2009, 93.

kalyon, depicted on this map, by the 26th of May, two had been scuttled to prevent their damage and they were raised after the siege, the others were protected from Ottoman cannon fire as they were concealed in il Menqa, between St. Angelo and Birgu and survived the siege. It seems the Ottoman mapmaker knew there were four Knights' galleys in the creek and so depicted them, but they were not in these locations when the *Sultana* was moored by Senglea in September, although they may have been in these locations before the 26th of May.

It is most unfortunate that the numerous Ottoman inscriptions on this important map were not translated into Turkish and English in the catalogue entry²⁴ as they reveal somewhat more and somewhat different information from what one is led to believe from the adjacent published catalogue entry concerning these inscriptions, which reads:

"Legends describe the places where Serdar Mustafa Pasha, Piyale Pasha and other commanders fought.", *"Serdar Mustafa Paşa, Piyale Paşa ve diğer beylerin savaştıkları yerler yazılarla belirtilmiştir."*

However, Serdar Kızılahmedli Mustafa Pasha, the Ottoman military commander's actual name is not recorded in these inscriptions, but at the head of French Creek is the inscription, *"bu benderlerinin yapuş duğu yer dir"*²⁵, which presumably marks the battle position of the Sultan's slave Mustapha Pasha and his Janissary troops, his tent was moved after the capture of St. Elmo from the Marsa to the Belvedere on Santa Margarita Hill and then from the 6th of August to the Kalkara Valley until the 7th of September.²⁶ While another of the map inscriptions records the post of Piyale Pasha's troops, *"piyale paşa kullarının yapuşduğu yer dir"* by Birgu, although it does not mark the position where Piyale Pasha was himself, but where his troops (*kul-slaves*), fought; and, as mentioned in the catalogue entry, the post of a number of other leaders, *"bazı beğler yapuşduğu yer dir"*, is recorded in the inscription by the cannons on the Kalkara/Bighi peninsular.

However, in addition to these three legends, there are a further ten legends recorded on this map. Fort St. Elmo is named, *sentreme kullésidir*, while Fort St. Angelo is named, *senhuvan kullésidir*, meaning the castle of St. John. The width and depth of the St. Elmo ditch is given as 22 and 15 *zira* respectively in the text off the point of St. Elmo, and the width of 14 and a depth of 25 *zira* is given for the Birgu ditch. The *zira*, like the cubit, measured about 22 inches, indicating a depth of about 45ft. (c. 14m.) and a width of about 25ft. (c. 7m.) to the Birgu ditch. On this siege map the Birgu ditch is both marked, has been measured and is named as such, *hendek*=ditch.

The inscription by the vessels in Galley Creek records, *"kapu ağasının barçasıdır"*, the ship (which was called the *Sultana*) belonging to the Palace dignitary (the Chief Kızlar Ağa). By Senglea

Balbi 2003, 168 relates that on the 8th of September *"the Grand Master gave orders that we should bring out the three galleys that were in the ditch of St. Angelo and get their armament aboard."* The earlier Angevin single galley shed was by il Menqa on its Birgu side, where today stands the modern apartment block of St. Angelo Mansions, see S. Mercieca, "La Navigation du Savoie Project and the search of Malta's Late Medieval Ship-shed, 3-40, in Ed. S. Mercieca, *Mediterranean Seascapes*, 2006, 23-4.

²⁴ There are translations of these inscriptions given in, A. Ganado & M. Agius-Vadala, *Maps representing the Great Siege of Malta*, Malta, 1994, Vol. 1, 432-3, from T. Sükrü (1934), translated by M. A. Riccioli, and F. Kurtoğlu, which are here emended.

²⁵ I have appreciated the assistance provided by: Yrd. Doç. Dr. G. Dinç, Yrd. Doç. Dr. C. Çelik and, Araş. Gör. M. Demir in the translation of the inscriptions recorded on this map from Osmanlija into modern Turkish.

²⁶ Balbi 2003, 140, 167.

Point the chain between the Birgu side of *il Menqa*, not from St. Angelo, and Senglea is recorded, “*zincire çekilmiştir*”, in addition to the chain being depicted with 3 links on the map; and the entrance to Marsamxett records “*içinde yatan (gemilerindir ?)*”, that inside (this harbour) are moored (the Sultan’s) ships (?); and by the Marsa there is a long inscription somewhat erased which seems to read, “*buradan araba ile sandaleri Maltacanibina geçerdiler*”,²⁷ marking the route of the transport of the boats overland from Marsamxett into Porto Generale-Grand Harbour, employing a method like the channel with greased skids employed by Turgut Reis when surrounded by Andrea Doria’s fleet to pull his 20 ships overland and launch them on the other side of the island of Djerba in 1550, rather than all these vessels, perhaps more than 80 vessels of varying size, “*some of them very large*.”²⁸, all being carried by hand, a physical impossibility for the larger vessels, but which is depicted for the small oared boats in Matteo Perez d’Aleccio’s painting including this scene entitled, *Dimostrazione di tutte le batterie*.²⁹ The Ottoman battery established on the Upper Barakka, where the saluting battery is today, is recorded, as well as being depicted, “*bir miktar toplar bura den döver*”, a battery of cannon fires from here.

During the crucial assault on the 7th of August, a turning point in the campaign, Piyale Pasha was it seems on the other side of the harbour, on the Sciberras peninsular, an unsurprising location for the Admiral given that the Ottoman fleet was moored in Marsamxett and the fleet is clearly indicated moored there in this map. On the Sciberras peninsular he received false information that the Christian relief force from Sicily had landed and destroyed the Ottoman hospital and because of his troops advance and then their precipitate retreat against these imaginary superior forces in the Marsa, at the very point of Ottoman victory in the siege of Senglea and Birgu there came the panic and retreat of the Ottoman forces from the walls of Senglea and Birgu. Francesco Balbi describes this turn of events, changing almost certain Ottoman victory into defeat, as an act of God: “*Victory was ours this day, but through Divine Help rather than human endeavour. The enemy had intended that this should be their last assault and, in order to make sure, they had left not a single man in their camp, nor even anyone who could fight in the fleet... We lost a great many dead (in the 9 hour battle), yet our Lord God came to our help in the following way. ...it would seem that Our Lord inspired the cavalry who were in Mdina...*”³⁰ and 100 cavalry and 100 troops proceeded to butcher the numerous Muslim sick and wounded in the Ottoman hospital in the Marsa and set fire to the tents. Francesco Balbi’s linking of the Almighty as inspiring the idea of the French Hospitaller Knight Captain De Lugny to descend from Mdina and slaughter the Ottoman sick and wounded in the Marsa Ottoman tent hospital is certainly noteworthy; while he incorrectly reports that Uluç Ali Reis (1519 - 21 June 1587)³¹ a convert to Islam from Calabria, who commanded the left of the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in 1571 and where he captured the flagship and the banner of the Knights of St. John, the banner he presented to Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1575), died in the assault on the bastion of Castille (Birgu) on

²⁷ In this catalogue, the article by F. Sarıcaoğlu on ‘Ottoman cartography and the Topkapı Palace collections,’ 49-63, refers to the fact that this map, “*contains notes about the action.*”, *ibid* 53.

²⁸ Balbi 2003, 109.

²⁹ *The Siege of Malta 1565, Matteo Perez d’Aleccio’s frescoes at the Grand Master’s Palace, Valletta*, Ed. C. Cini, Malta, 2009, 93 and detail, 94.

³⁰ Balbi 2003, 145.

³¹ Also known as: Giovanni Dionigi Galeni, Aluch Ali, Uchali, Ouchali, Uluc Ali, Occhiali, Ochali Fartas, Kılıç Ali Paşa.

the 7th of August;³² rather Candelissa Reis, but there is no indication that Admiral Piyale Pasha, the victor at Jerba in 1560, was himself present in the position by the Birgu ditch during the siege where his troops (*kul*-slaves) are recorded on this map. It is recorded that Serdar Mustapha Pasha's command position was in the Belvedere on the Santa Margarita hill, overlooking both Birgu and Senglea until August 6th and, in the critical assault on the 7th of August against both Birgu and Senglea he was in the thick of the fight (likewise leading his troops in the later assault of the 20th of August when he was concussed by a cannon shot that struck off his turban,³³), and he then withdrew to the nearby Santa Margarita hill to regroup his troops and to determine what had actually happened that had caused the panic at the point of conquest and the fleeing of the troops under his command.³⁴ Francesco Balbi reports the subsequent exchange between Mustapha Pasha and Piyale Pasha in which it is clearly indicated from Mustapha Pasha's words that Piyale was at that crucial time on the Sciberras peninsular: "*If you had marched on the Marsa after you had formed up your men, this panic would never have occurred. Even if you had not advanced, you should never have retreated in such haste and disorder.*"³⁵ A cynic of human nature would have said Piyale Pasha through his actions had smashed the cup of victory from the lips of Mustapha Pasha, and it is noteworthy that on their return to Istanbul Piyale Pasha with the ear of the Sultan retained his post while Serdar Kızıl Ahmedli Mustapha Pasha did not.

However, even though Ottoman forces withdrew from Hospitaller Malta, in both the short and the longer term the 1565 Ottoman siege of Malta would have to be described as an Ottoman victory. This is firstly because the Knights' fortifications had been reduced through the Ottoman bombardment to mounds of rubble, "*These were so ruined that even the oldest veterans were astounded.*"³⁶ A total of 130,000 Ottoman cannon balls of both stone and iron, had been fired at the Hospitaller fortifications, with 65,000 cannon balls of cast iron recovered in the months after the siege,³⁷ and on the 6th of January 1566, the ambassador of King Charles IX (1550-1574) to Spain from 1565 to 1572, Raimond de Beccarie de Pavie, baron (Seigneur) de Fourquevaux who wrote concerning the state of the fortifications of Birgu-Borgo that in the event of another Ottoman attack in 1566, "*the Catholic King will send 3000 Germans, 5000 Spanish and Italians who will dig in on the mountain of St. Elmo (the Sciberras promontory), for the Borgo is beyond repair.*",³⁸ consequently, if the Ottoman fleet had returned to Hospitaller Malta in 1566 it is evident that the Knights were without adequate fortifications and they would have been driven out. Secondly, it was an Ottoman victory given the physical evidence of fear of Ottoman power indicated by the immense series of fortifications that were subsequently constructed over the next 200 years on Malta by the Knights of

³² Balbi 2003, 147.

³³ Balbi 2003, 157.

³⁴ "*Not understanding what had happened, Mustapha Pasha formed his men up and marched them to Santa Margarita, where he could take advantage of a secure position and of the artillery sited there. As soon as he reached it, he halted, waiting to find out what had really taken place.*", Balbi 2003, 146.

³⁵ Balbi 2003, 147.

³⁶ Balbi 2003, 187.

³⁷ Balbi 2003, 187.

³⁸ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, Vol. 2, 1974, 1022.

St. John, mainly in the seventeenth century,³⁹ involving the movement by hand of some millions of tons of limestone due to the threat of another Ottoman siege, and through this process, diverting the Knights' over time increasingly limited resources that could otherwise have been employed in their maritime crusade against Muslim Ottoman shipping in the eastern Mediterranean and in coastal raiding and the enslaving of Muslims, and therefore the siege of 1565 in its long term consequences can undoubtedly be understood as being a quite considerable Ottoman victory rather than a victory for the Catholic Order of the Knights of St. John.

Concerning comparative material, there are two major near contemporary works both combining much the same viewpoint and likewise also depicting both the siege of Fort St. Elmo and that of Birgu-Senglea, but both of which contain depictions of the two cannon battery in the houses of Bormla in action between the 7th and 8th of September: the oil painting on stone entitled "*Dimostrazione di tutte le Batterie*" by Matteo Perez D'Aleccio (1547-d. after 1628) in the Grand Master's Palace in Valletta, painted between 1576 and 1581, records a very similar type of view, and which, from 1582 onwards was published as an engraving and which was repeatedly copied and republished. Secondly, the painting by Ignazio Danti (1536-86) of the Siege of Malta in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche of 1580-83 in the Vatican, which is related to Matteo Perez D'Aleccio's work. Both of these provide valuable near contemporary comparisons with this Ottoman siege map, even if both were painted under more propitious circumstance over a longer period of time and from the other side of the ditch. Any comparison made between them clearly indicates map making skills of a high order were practiced in the field by the Ottoman military in the mid-16th c. This siege map presents an interesting combination of precision in respect for example to the depth, width and location of the ditches of both St. Elmo and Birgu, combined with a more suggestive, rather than accurate, depiction of other distances and proportions, as for example: between the relative sizes of the city of Mdina and of Fort St. Elmo and Fort St. Angelo, and in respect to the nature of relative distance represented by including the former capital of Mdina on this map; as also the relatively small size given to Manuel Island within Marsamxett, and the great width that is given to the Birgu promontory on this siege map, in comparison with that of the Kalkara/Bighi promontory, when the reverse is in fact the case, and yet, the relative distance of the passage between the point of Manuel Is. and the Sciberras promontory in Marsamxett, and of the passage between St. Angelo point and the

³⁹ Contra D. Abulafia, *The Great Sea, A Human History of the Mediterranean*, 2012, 605, where one reads, '*Apart from its superb sixteenth century fortifications...*', when it is rather the case that the mighty fortifications of Malta visible today were largely constructed not in the sixteenth, but during the course of the seventeenth century, particularly after the fall of Candia-Crete to the Ottomans in 1669, and with construction of fortifications extending on into the eighteenth century, these include: the more than 2 km. of the Santa Margarita-Firenzuola lines from 1636 onwards, the vast 8 km. Cottonera lines of fortifications constructed from 1670 onwards and remaining incomplete into the 19th c., the 5 km. of fortifications of Floriana begun by 1636, the construction of more than 2.5 km of fortifications of Fort Ricasoli the largest fort built on Malta at the entrance to Porto Generale-Grand Harbour from 1670, and the construction of Fort Manuel from 1723. Few, if any traces remain today of the 16th c. post-siege fortifications constructed at Fort St. Elmo, Fort St. Angelo, Birgu-Vittoriosa, Senglea and Valletta, the post-siege 16th c. fortifications of which have all been substantially rebuilt and altered or demolished to account for changes in siege warfare and other developments, with much of this redevelopment work carried out during the 17th c. See for example, A. Hoppen, *The Fortifications of Malta by the Order of St. John 1530-1798*, Malta, 1999, *passim*.

Sciberras promontory is represented on this map as being equal, which is in fact the case. Although in terms of the representation of the physical geography the depictions made by Matteo Perez d'Aleccio and Ignazio Danti are more accurate, a different, more focussed series of sets of specific information are conveyed by a reading of this Ottoman siege map within recognisably the same topographic outline and for narrative purposes it is perhaps the more informative piece of cartography, related in type to the later Cat. No. 46.

Further, missing from the references given in respect to this siege map is mention of the two volumes by A. Ganado, M. Agius-Vadalà & G. Mifsud Chircop, *A Study In Depth Of 143 Maps Representing The Great Siege Of Malta Of 1565*, Malta, 1994, which carries an image of this map on the front cover and in Vol. II, 135, Plate No 104, and a text accompanying the illustration, Vol. I, 428-433

A more general point concerning this exhibition catalogue, as is the case with other similar catalogues with photographs of objects carrying inscriptions, there is the matter of the legends/texts that are recorded on these maps, plans and charts in: Arabic, Osmalija, Greek, Italian, German etc. The images made of these maps are of high resolution and it surely would have been of the most considerable benefit to the reader to supply as standard the transliterated text and the translations into both Turkish and English in this bilingual publication of all the legends-texts recorded on these maps, charts and plans. Where, to a certain extent this work has been done, as for example in the publication of Cat. No. 46, although not all the legends have been translated, a richer and more rewarding compilation of the information provided by these maps, charts and plans is made accessible to the reader-user of the catalogue from this exhibition.