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Two Marian Iconographic Themes in the Face of Islam on the Adriatic Coast in the Early Modern Period

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This paper analyzes the Islamic presence in the paintings of Marian iconography between the 16th and the 18th centuries on both sides of the Adriatic coast, or more precisely the iconography of *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception* and *Our Lady of the Rosary*, two themes equally and frequently represented in the above mentioned territory. In the first part of the paper we discuss the presence and the role of the famous Arab astrologist Albumasar, active in the 9th century, and the Prophet Muhammad in the context of the iconographic theme of *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception*, as well as the origin and the meaning of the inscriptions on their scrolls which serve as the interpretative key to understanding the role of the two Arab figures in the context of this particular Marian iconography. In the second part of this essay we analyze the iconography of *Our Lady of the Rosary* which, after the Battle of Lepanto, acquires a clear political value (when representatives of the Holy League are inserted into the paintings) to become explicitly anti-Ottoman in the 18th century.

Keywords: Mary's iconography, Disputation, Immaculate Conception, Albumasar, Muhammad, Islam, Our Lady of the Rosary, Battle of Lepanto, Holy League, Ottoman Slaves

Albumasar, Muhammad and the iconography of the Immaculate Conception

One of the most famous paintings of the Disputation over the Immaculate Conception on the Eastern Adriatic coast is located in the Franciscan church in Poljud in Split (fig. 1).¹ It was painted by Michele Luposignoli, a military engineer, architect and painter² in 1727 as a copy of the original painting dating from 1518, whose author was Nikola Bralić (Nicola Brazzo Giacortino).³ This is indicated by an inscription on the scroll which is located in the upper part of the painting. It reads as follows: *1518 del mese di genaro fece l'originale Nicola Bralich Giacortino ed io Michele Luposignoli ho estratto la presente copia come sta, e giace cos ricercato dalla confaternita della stessa B. Vergine di Concezion eretta nella chiesa delli RR. PP. Di Paludi l'anno 1727 fu zupano Paolo Craguievich.*⁴

As the original painting is lost, the question arises: what does the copy mean in this case – an accurate imitation or a free interpretation which took over the composition, but not the stylistic features of the figures that existed in the original Renaissance painting? The present painting is in the form of an upright rectangle in which a smaller painting (painted on a wooden support) is inserted, depicting the Madonna and Child in the theme of the *Virgo Lactans*. This painting dates back to the second half of the 15th century,⁵ but it is unknown whether it had been a part of a larger ensemble (triptych or polyptych),⁶ neither when it was inserted into the painting of the Disputation over the Immaculate Conception. The altar dedicated to the Conception of the Virgin Mary was already established in the church in the 16th century, since it was described by the Apostolic Visitor Agostino

Valier in 1579, when the first apostolic visitation of the church in Poljud occurred. The altar was described as: *Altare conceptionis B. Mariae est consecratum et habet palam honorificam et iconam parvam cum imagine Beatae Mariae, duo candelabra ferrea et tres tobaleas...*⁷ According to the description, the word *icon* probably refers to the smaller painting of the *Virgo Lactans* which, presumably, had already been inserted into the larger painting when the visitation took place.

The occurrence in the painting takes place in the interior which, in accordance with the rules of the central perspective, opens up like a window through which the scene is observed.⁸ The Virgin Mary is standing in an aedicule which is painted in the central part of the upper section of the composition. She is wearing a red dress and a bright blue mantle. She is painted standing upon a huge crescent with her head slightly bent and hands folded on her chest. She is surrounded by thirty-nine Doctors of the Church, saints, popes, cardinals and bishops who advocated the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception. Most of them are holding parchments, scrolls and books in their hands. In the original painting, all the scrolls were probably filled with texts but Luposignoli copied only seven of them. Therefore, it is almost impossible to identify all of the displayed figures.⁹ But our attention was especially drawn to two figures painted in the lower corners of the painting. Thanks to the inscriptions, they have been identified as an Arab astrologer Albumasar (fig. 2), practicing in the 9th century, and the Prophet Muhammad (fig. 3).¹⁰ It has also been suggested that this is a rare image of the Prophet, but we will endeavor to demonstrate otherwise by pointing out other examples found in paintings with the same iconographic theme in Italy. Furthermore, we will also endeavor to explain the origin and the meaning of inscriptions which serve as the interpretative key for understanding the role of the two Arab figures in the context of this particular Marian iconography.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm, the 10th-century scholar and bibliographer, Abū Ma'shar (Balkh, 787–Wāsiṭ, Iraq 886), whose name was latinised as Albumasar (Albumazar), abandoned the study of hadith when he was 47 years old and focused instead on mathematics, philosophy and above all on the study of astronomy and astrology. In the painting from Poljud he is represented in the lower left corner, holding a spherical astrolabe and a scroll with the following inscription: *In prima facie Virginis oritur Virgo in Mundo Puella imaculata, corpore decora in solio de Aurato hemon eris (?) cui nomen Hebrea, In Libro VI. Introduction Albumasar Astrologo.* The quotation seen on Albumasar's scroll derives from the 6th book of his manuscript *Introductorium in astronomiam*. This Arabic script was translated into Latin by Herman Dalmatin in 1140,¹¹ and the first printed editions were published in Augsburg in 1489, and in Venice in 1506.¹² The passage from which the quotation derives, reads as follows: *Virgo signum fertile, bipertitum, triforme. Oritur in primo eius decano ut Perse, Caldei et Egyptii, omniumque duces Hermes et Astalius a primeva etate docent, Puella cui persicum nomen Seclios Darzama, arabice interpretatum Andre nedefa id est virgo munda (puella dico Virgo Imaculata), corpore decora, vultu venusta, habitu modesta, crine prolixo, manu geminas aristas tenens, supra solium auleatum residens, puerum nutriens ac iure pascens in loco cui nomen Hebrea, puerum inquam a quibusdam nationibus nominatum ihesus significantibus Eiza (quem nos grece christum dicimus)...*¹³ The citation is actually a Latin translation of Albumasar's paraphrase of prophecies attributed to two pagan astronomers, Hermes and Astalius from Persia, who had predicted the birth of the Virgin in the first decade of the constellation Virgo:¹⁴ "And that is a beautiful virgin, full of dignity and grace, with long hair, comely to the eye, splendid in appearance, holding two ears of wheat; she sits upon a throne covered (by a cloth) and feeds a baby in a place called Abrie. And certain people call this child Jesus, which in Arabic is Elice."¹⁵

Introductorium in astronomiam is one of the most important astrological texts which significantly affected European philosophy, intellectual history, and especially the Christian apologetics.¹⁶ While translating Albumasar's text from the original Arabic, Dalmatin intervened with comments in Latin. Regarding "our case", the most important intervention he made in the passage is the phrase *Virgo imaculata*, which does not exist in the original text.¹⁷ The first Latin author who used fragments from Albumasar's astrological text was Herman Dalmatin¹⁸ in his work *De essentiis* dating from 1143.¹⁹ Between 1186 and 1193, Garnier de Rochefort, the abbot of Clairvaux, delivered a sermon to mark the celebration of Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception eventually evolved.²⁰ He cited the quotation, clearly wanting to evoke the



1 Michele Luposignoli after Nicola Bralić (Brazzo), *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception*, 1727, Franciscan church, Poljud, Split (photo: I. Čapeta Rakić)



2 *Albumasar*, detail of fig. 1



3 *Prophet Muhammad*, detail of fig. 1



4 Title-page of Albumasar's *Introductorium in astronomiam*, Venice, Melchior Sessa, 1506 (e-rara.ch)



5 Title-page of Albumasar's *De magnis conjunctionibus*, Venice, Melchior Sessa, 1515 (© The Osler Library, McGill University Library)



6 *Mary as the Throne of Solomon*, retable, c. 1360, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (with the permission of the photoarchive of Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, photo: J.P. Anders)

virginity of Mary by citing Hermes, Astalius and Albumasar and their respective descriptions of the constellation of the Virgo as a pagan prefiguration of the nativity of the Immaculate Virgin Mary.²¹ Many Christian theologians, apologists and preachers used the same principle in defense of Mary's sinlessness. By emphasizing the role of Albumasar for the defense of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, several medieval Christian writers were led to consider Albumasar himself as a prophet. It is noteworthy to mention a sermon written by Cornelio Musso, a Franciscan friar active in the 16th century, who became the bishop of Bitonto in 1544, and who also preached on the eastern Adriatic coast (Zadar). He paraphrased Albumasar by means of the following words:... *almeno mirate la stella, Maria, Maria a sua Madre dico, che nelle vostre, configurationi celesti, nel segno Zodiaco, se Albumasar non mente, che non fu però Christiano, Mette per il segno della Vergine tante stelle, che composte insieme fanno una fanciulla, con un figliuolo in braccio, che há due spiche in mano...*²² Therefore, Albumasar is presented on the painting as a prophet and an advocate of the doctrine of Mary's sinlessness. But apart from the spherical astrolabe and the scroll with the inscription, which undoubtedly indicate who he was, no other attributes, Oriental or otherwise, were given to him. As a matter of fact, he is dressed as a medieval gentleman.

On frontespices of his printed treatises which appeared with the illustration in Venice in 1506, and which we believe could have served as a visual model, Albumasar is shown in quite a different manner. In one illustration he is shown as a dark-skinned old man with a long beard, wearing a long robe and a turban (fig. 4), while on the other frontespiece from *De magnis conjunctionibus, annorum revolutionibus, ac eorum profectionibus*,²³ Albumasar is shown in the company of Ptolemy (fig. 5). Neither of the two above-mentioned graphic prints served as a model for the portrait of Albumasar in Split. This means that the author of the iconographic concept of the painting probably used written sources only. The same can be said of the other painting of Marian iconography which features Albumasar. It is a retablo from the Cistercian monastery in Worbeln, near Warburg in Westphalia, which dates back to the second half of the 14th century (fig. 6). Since 1842, it has formed a part of a collection in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatliche Museen in Berlin.²⁴ The central axis of the said painting depicts the Virgin and the Child in whom several iconographic themes are synthesized: she is the Throne of Solomon, Mary in the Sun and the Immaculate Virgin. Albumasar is shown in the lower right, next to Mary's throne. He is a bearded, mature-

aged man, wearing ancient clothes (*figura togata*) and no headgear. The only attribute that allows us to identify him as Albumasar is the ribbon with the inscription in his hand which reads as follows: *In prima facie virginis asce(n)det virgo pulcherrima ho(n)esta (et) mu(nda) ? et seq(uitur) nut(r)et puerum q(ae)dam gens vocat ih(esu)m.*²⁵

The other figure of interest here has a feature which clearly identifies him as a member of Islam, and that is a turban. Starting from the Middle Ages, Europeans regarded people who wore turbans as synonymous with unbelievers and members of Islam,²⁶ even if the person wore other items of clothing which could belong to any other entity or be entirely fantastical.²⁷ The figure shown in the painting of Immaculate Conception in Split has long been identified as the prophet Muhammad, primarily thanks to the scroll with an inscription which reads: *Nullus est, ex Adam qui non tenuerit satan preter Mariam et filium eius, Mohameto I, Ilo libro V Corani.* This citation was not taken from the Quran, as it says on the scroll, but rather from the collection of hadith,²⁸ and probably from the famous Sahih al-Bukhari which is considered the most authentic Islamic book after the Quran. The hadith is narrated by Abu Huraira and it states: "I heard Allah's Messenger saying, 'There is none born among the off-spring of Adam, but Satan touches it. A child therefore, cries loudly at the time of birth because of the touch of Satan, except Mary and her child'".²⁹

The author of the iconographic concept of the painting in Poljud did not use the collection of hadith written in Arabic, but rather their Latin translation. According to Réjane Gay-Canton, the first known author to use this hadith, for the purpose of discussion about the Immaculate Conception of Mary, was the Franciscan friar Marquard von Lindau in his treatise *De reparatione homini*³⁰ from the 14th century, which reached a vast religious audience, not only the Franciscans.³¹ Furthermore, he was one of the few writers to make a clear distinction between the Quran and the Tradition. The text, which also uses the same passage from the Islamic source to support the teaching of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, is a sermon *Necdum erant abyssi* from 1430 which is attributed to another Franciscan friar, Francesco da Rimini.³² A quote from the sermon reads: *Sed audite, fratres carissimi, stuporem inenerrabilem, audite, fideles, et intelligite verba illius perfidi Mahometi. In Alcorano suo, Alg. V, ad honorem Conceptionis Virginis et Filiieius sic loquitur: "Nullus est ex Adam, quem non tenuerit sathan, praeter Mariam et Filium eius". Si ergo infideles praeserant Virginem ab omni macula, quanto magis a fidlibus est praeservanda et laudanda tanta Virgo. Haec pro tanto dico, quia vitam istius Mahometi et eius legem vidi Parisiis.*³³ The sermon had a great reception, and the fact that the author cites the Quran as a source instead of the collection of hadith gave rise to the mistaken origin of the quote.³⁴

In the years 1523-1524, shortly after the pala on Poljud was painted, Francesco Signorelli created an altarpiece of Disputation over the Immaculate Conception for the church of St Maria al Calcinaio near Cortona³⁵ (fig. 7). It represents the Virgin Mary who is seated in the central axis of the composition. Above her is God the Father surrounded by the mandorla of yellow light and two angels. The Virgin is flanked by male figures who are holding books and scrolls with inscriptions. Our attention was especially drawn to the male figure sitting in the upper right row. He is dressed in a blue tunic and is wearing a sort of turban. The following inscription is written on the scroll: *NO[N] EST / IN FILII/S ADAE / QUE NO/TET [...] PTER / MARI/A ET / FILIV[S] EIVS.* Kanter, Testa and Henry believed that the quotation derived from the Book of Sirach 24:14, and consequently they identified this figure as the prophet from the Old Testament.³⁶ Vincenzo Francia cites only a part of the inscription (*Non est in Filio*), completely neglecting to identify the figure.³⁷ The figure we are interested in is of course Muhammad with the previously explained citation from the hadith written on the scroll which he is holding in his hands.³⁸

A few more interesting examples from the Italian Marche region are related to the depiction of Muhammad. In the Franciscan church of San Francesco in Massa Fermana there were two large paintings from 1530 by Vincenzo Pagani, which are not preserved today. Originally they served as organ doors in the cathedral at the nearby Fermo. They were described in the chronicles written by a friar, Giannicola da Castignano in 1766.

According to his description, one painting included the Immaculate Conception of Mary and, apart from other prophets and doctors of the church, also a representation of Muhammad, who was apparently sitting on the floor with the book of the Quran in his hands.³⁹ Already in 1546, the painter Durante Nobili signed his work in



7 Francesco Signorelli, *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception*, 1537, Church of St Maria al Calcinaio near Cortona (from: V. Francia, *Splendore di Bellezza*, 2004.)



8 Durante Nobili, *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception*, 1546, Church of San Gregorio, Mogliano (photo: I. Čapeta Rakić)



9 Durante Nobili, *Disputation over the Immaculate Conception*, 1549, Pinacoteca Civica, Massa Fermana (photo: R. dell'Orso)



10 Luigi Primo Gentile, *Triumph of the Immaculate*, 1633, Church of Santa Maria di Monserato, Rome (photo: A. M. Ribes Crespo)



11 *Institution of the Brotherhood of the Psaltery*, Fermo, Museo Diocesano (from: *Il volto di Maria*, op. cit., 2004, p. 101)



12 Leandro Bassano, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Vrboska (Isle of Hvar), Parish church (photo: Z. Bibić)

the church of San Gregorio in Mogliano, a small town near Fermo (fig. 8). The painting features the Immaculate Virgin surrounded by three church fathers. In the lower right corner of the painting is another male figure. He is wearing a turban, and pointing his finger towards the book. Francia interpreted this figure as the prophet Isaiah.⁴⁰ Although there is no inscription, the question arises: can this figure be interpreted as Muhammad as well, and could the above mentioned organ doors from Fermo have served as the iconographic model for this painting?

In 1549 the same artist painted an altarpiece with the same iconography for the high altar of the church of San Francesco in Massa Fermana (now in the Pinacoteca Civica, Massa Fermana; fig. 9). One of the Christian theologians in this painting is Origen. Because of his cap which evokes oriental headgear, it was believed that he represented Muhammad. In 1771 the inquisitor of Monte Giorgio issued a decree according to which figures which were believed to represent the Prophet Muhammad on two paintings from the church of San Francesco in Masa Fermana (this one and the other painting by Vincenzo Pagani which is not preserved today) should be censored by being revised into the figure of St Simon.⁴¹ This case and another one regarding the painting of the Triumph of the Immaculate Virgin by Luigi Primo Gentile from 1633 in the Roman church of Santa Maria di Monserrato, witnessed a change in attitude toward representations of the Muslim prophet in the paintings of Christian iconography, since we find him in a subordinated position, located on the ground next to two other heretics: Pelagius and Martin Luther (fig. 10).

The Holy League, the Ottoman slaves and the iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary

The iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary, even more so than the one of the Immaculate Conception, is strictly linked to the Muslim issue, particularly following the Battle of Lepanto (1571), which was immediately interpreted as the providential triumph of Christianity over Islam.⁴² In the second part of this paper, in fact, we analyze how the image of Our Lady of the Rosary underwent changes between the 15th and 18th centuries along the Adriatic basin, investigating in particular the passage from a neutral iconography (before the Battle of Lepanto) to a political iconography (in which the victors of Lepanto are celebrated), up to the 18th century's explicitly anti-Islamic iconography (in which the Ottoman slave is portrayed as a humiliated, subdued prisoner). We examine a series of images mostly from the Papal Marca and from Dalmatia, which in the early modern era were strictly connected, but also coming from Veneto, Istria and Puglia.

One of the first elaborations of Rosary iconography in the Adriatic basin is the xylograph with the *Institution of the Brotherhood of the Psaltery* (fig. 11), probably printed in Venice at the end of the 15th century and now at the Diocesan Museum of Fermo, in the Marche Region.⁴³ In the central circle of the print, the Virgin with Baby Jesus gives the rosary to the saints, while the 15 mysteries of the rosary are depicted in the surrounding circles. At the top of the image there are Christ on the left and the Virgin on the right, both of them accompanied by angels, while at the bottom St Dominic is preaching to two groups of devotees, among whom there are a pope, along with other religious figures, and an emperor, with a king and his entourage. The pope could be Sixtus IV, who had regulated the devotion of the Rosary with two papal bulls in 1478 and 1479,⁴⁴ or Innocent VIII, who is quoted in one of the two plaques on the bottom edge of the print, as giver of indulgences for the devotees of the Rosary.⁴⁵ The emperor is maybe Frederick III, who had joined the first Brotherhood of the Rosary, established in Cologne in 1475.⁴⁶ The Pope, the emperor and other religious and political authorities have thus been part of the iconography of the Rosary since its origins, although sometimes they have not been represented. Pope Sixtus IV and the emperor Frederick III (with the feature of Maximilian II) are present, for example, in the *Celebration of the Rosary* painted by Albrecht Dürer in 1506 for the two brotherhoods of the Germans of Venice, housed in the church of St Bartholomew,⁴⁷ but they are missing in the *Our Lady of the Rosary* painted by the Venetian painter Lorenzo Lotto in 1539 for the brotherhood of the Rosary of Cingoli, in the Marche Region, hosted in the church of St Dominic.⁴⁸ In this first stage the brotherhood of the Rosary, founded within the Dominican order, promoted a religiosity based on the practice of the repetition of the prayer to the Virgin (rather than on charitable actions).⁴⁹ The Virgin and Christ are generally depicted in the act of donating to the saints or devotees crowns of roses or rosaries, that is, circles of beads, each bead corresponding to one *Hail Mary*.

After the Battle of Lepanto the iconography of the Rosary acquires a new meaning, since the 7 October 1571, the day of the victory, coincided with the first Monday of the month, when the celebrations for the Rosary were held in Rome. For this reason, Pius V, the pope in office, who had established the Holy League against the Ottomans, established the 7 October as the day for the celebration of the Virgin of Victory. This celebration was renamed in 1573 by Gregory XIII, who dedicated it to Our Lady of the Rosary, celebrated as responsible for the triumph of the Christian fleets over the Muslim ones.⁵⁰

On the Dalmatian coast, ruled by the Republic of Venice, the iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary immediately acquires a political value that is indirectly anti-Ottoman. In the images realized after Lepanto, in fact, we notice the presence of the pope, the doge and the king of Spain,⁵¹ in other words all the constituents of the Holy League that at the beginning was composed only of the Papal State, the Republic of Venice and Spain.⁵² This way the League is displayed and celebrated in its entirety as being responsible for the Ottomans' defeat. The presence of the pope is somehow updated and therefore invested with new meaning, thanks to the exclusion of the emperor and the addition of the doge and the king of Spain: the new iconography celebrates the Christian identity and the strong unity of the League not only against the Ottomans, but also against the other Christian Authorities, who, like the French Prince and the Emperor, didn't participate to the League.⁵³

The celebration of the Holy League is clear for example in the *Our Lady of the Rosary* (fig. 12) painted by Leandro Bassano in 1579 for the church of Vrboška, on the island of Hvar.⁵⁴ At the center of the image, the Virgin and the child deliver the rosary to the people, among whom there are surely, on the left, the pope Pius V, a man in armor (maybe Philip II or his half-brother John of Austria, who led the Spanish fleets in Lepanto), a doge (maybe Alvise Mocenigo), a cardinal and a bishop (difficult for the moment to identify); on the right there are some women, probably the partners of the men on the left side.⁵⁵ The same appears in the painting by Andrea Vicentino (fig. 13), produced in 1606 for the Dominican church of Stari Grad, also in Hvar, in which the painter re-elaborates a model already used in 1595 for the church of St Nicholas in Treviso (fig. 14): in both cases the painter shows in the foreground, on the left, a pope, a doge and a king.⁵⁶ In the painting by Baldassarre d'Anna (fig. 15), realized in the third decade of the 17th century for the church of St Bartholomew of Roč in Istria, there are John of Austria, Pope

Pius V, the doge Alvisse Moncenigo and other figures.⁵⁷ We can also find these same characters in many altarpieces representing Our Lady of the Rosary in Puglia (in the southern Italian Adriatic coast), where, after Lepanto, the political iconography prevails over the neutral one, with an important difference in comparison to Dalmatia: in the paintings realized for instance by Donato Antonio d'Orlando or by Gian Domenico Catalano (fig. 16), we can find Pope Pius V, King Philip II, often accompanied by John of Austria and other female figures, but the Venetian doge is always missing.⁵⁸ Thus, in the Our Lady of the Rosary from Puglia, ruled by the king of Spain, the Serenissima is not celebrated among the winners of Lepanto. More generally, in this series of images between the Dalmatian coast and Puglia, we notice sometimes the presence of some political authorities with different shapes of crowns, who should be analyzed individually depending on the specific historical context of the paintings.

Unlike what happened on the Dalmatian coast and in Puglia, in the Marche, which was under the rule of the Papal State, the commissioners preferred a neutral iconography at least until the 17th century.⁵⁹ Pope and king appear quite rarely and the doge, like in Puglia, is never represented. In 1575, a few years after Lepanto, Simone de Magistris realized an *Our Lady of the Rosary* (fig. 17) for the town of San Ginesio, which had proudly taken part in the battle. However, in the painting there are no references to the victory.⁶⁰ The same painter executed the three other works with the same iconographic theme, but only in the *Our Lady of the Rosary* (fig. 18), painted around 1590 and now in the Benedictine monastery of Ascoli Piceno, does the artist mention the pope, the king and maybe a flag of the battle.⁶¹ In the Piceno area the neutral iconography prevailed⁶² and, in the province of Pesaro in the 1580s, Ercole Ramazzani painted the same subject three times, also preferring a neutral iconography.⁶³ On the contrary, in two paintings by Ernst van Schayck from the 1620s (one for the city of Sant'Elpidio a mare and the other for Polverigi), we have a political iconography, with the representation of the pope, the king and other figures.⁶⁴

Even if in the Marche a neutral iconography prevails until the 17th century, during the 18th century, in the same region, the Our Lady of the Rosary is used with a clear anti-Ottoman and anti-Islamic message in two specific cases. In the *Our Lady of the Rosary*, now kept in the sanctuary of Our Lady of Mercy of Petriolo (fig. 19), in the province of Macerata, and in the *Our Lady of the Victory*, painted by Giacomo Falconi da Recanati by 1787 for the church of Saint Pius V in Grottammare (fig. 20),⁶⁵ in the province of Ascoli Piceno, some Ottoman slaves, captured during the battle of Lepanto, appear chained under the throne of the Virgin as war booty.⁶⁶ In both cases the Virgin is surrounded by Ottoman flags and is standing on a pedestal, painted with scenes from the naval battle. While in the first painting the mysteries of the Rosary are represented on the curtain at the top, in the second painting the reference to the Rosary is limited to a crown of roses carried to the sky by angels.⁶⁷

The revival of the cult of the Rosary and its anti-Ottoman iconography in the 18th century in the Papal States is certainly linked to the fact that on October 3, 1716, after the victory of Prince Eugene of Savoy against the Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Peterwaradin (which took place on August 5, 1716) and after the defeat of Sultan Ahmed III in front of the island of Corfu (which took place on August 22 following), pope Clement XI ratified a decree of the Congregation of Rites, through which the celebration of October 7 was extended to the universal Church.⁶⁸ Despite these new victories, Lepanto in the 18th century was still a legendary battle. In fact, in the work from Grottammare the main theme is still the triumph of Lepanto, whose only protagonist is Pope St Pius V, who is pointing with one hand to St Peter Cathedral, and with the other to the Ottoman slaves. An analysis of the context in which this painting was executed reveals the clear political message of this image. The church of St Pius V of Grottammare was meant to be the heart of the new town built on the coast at the request of Pope Pius VI, following a landslide that had hit the ancient upper town in 1779.⁶⁹ The choice of entitling the church to St Pius V under the pontificate of Pius VI is significant: the saint, canonized in 1712, had been taken as a model by the pope in office, who seemed to have inherited the intransigent fervor of his namesake predecessor in the battle against the enemies of Catholicism. In the process of the canonization of Pius V, his resolute action against the Ottomans had played a central role.⁷⁰ Even though the painting from Grottammare was made several years after the canonization, the Ottomans during the 18th century represented a concrete threat for the papal Adriatic coast, since assaults by Ottomans are documented on the Picenum coast until the start of the 19th century.⁷¹ The pres-



13 Andrea Vicentino, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Stari Grad (Isle of Hvar), Church of St Dominic (photo: I. Čapeta Rakić)



14 Andrea Vicentino, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Treviso, Church of St Nicholas (from: M. Abiti, 2004, p. 50)



15 Baldassarre d'Anna, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Roč (Istria), Church of St Bartholomew (photo: I. Čapeta Rakić)



16 Gian Domenico Catalano, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Tricase, Church of St Dominic (photo: R. Casciaro)



17 Simone de Magistris, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, San Ginesio (Macerata), Collegiate (photo: R. Dell'Orso)



18 Simone de Magistris, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Ascoli Piceno, Benedictine monastery (photo: R. Dell'Orso)



19 Giacomo Falconi da Recanati (attributed to), *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Petriolo (Macerata), Santuario della Madonna della Misericordia (photo: R. Dell'Orso)



20 Giacomo Falconi da Recanati, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, Grottammare (Ascoli Piceno), church of St Pius V (photo: P. Di Girolami, with the permission of the Archbishopsric of Montalto)

ence in the painting of the church of St Peter in the background, indicated by Pius V, emphasizes not so much the relationship of the new town with Rome, the center of the Papal State, but rather the protection that the Pope in office, who had the same name as the saint, ensured for the outskirts of his country against the Ottoman threat at the door. Finally, the painting, through the image of the Ottoman slave is also intended as a warning, showing what happens to anyone who tries to attack Christianity.⁷²

Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of these two Marian themes in the Adriatic basin showed that the two coasts, in the long term, reacted in different ways when facing Islam. The most interesting difference is definitely the one that emerged in the 18th century. In 1727 the Franciscans of Split reactivated the image of two Muslims (Muhammad and Abumasar), using them as announcers of the pureness of the Virgin and therefore trying to incorporate them into the Christian system. In 1771, on the other coast, the inquisitor of Montegiorgio asked instead to erase the image of a figure misinterpreted as Muhammad and during the same years two Our Lady of the Rosary were realized, in which Muslims are humiliated, reduced to war booty. This polarity between the two coasts is probably due to the fact that the Republic of Venice after the Peace of Passarowitz of 1718 had always tried to establish more and more diplomatic agreements with the Ottoman Empire,⁷³ which the Papal States however considered still a dangerous threat to their coasts.⁷⁴ Maybe for this reason in the image produced in Split Islamic characters are included and depicted in a positive way, whereas on the coast of the Marche region they are still humiliated as slaves.

We think that this analysis can be a significant example of how the Adriatic culture must not be considered a monolith, characterized by identical phenomena on both coasts, and of how sometimes the differences are far more important than the affinities.

* This text is a contribution of both authors, confronted on the method and practice of the iconological reading of the images. The first part of the essay have been written by Ivana Čapeta Rakić and the second by Giuseppe Capriotti, both members of the research team of the international project "Antes del orientalismo: Las imágenes del musulmán en la Península Ibérica (siglos XV-XVII) y sus conexiones mediterráneas / Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in Iberia (15th-18th centuries) and their Mediterranean connections".

1 K. PRIJATELJ, *Barok u Splitu*, Split, 1947., pp. 68-69; J.A. SOLDI, "Marijanski ikonografski tipovi u umjetnosti Hrvatske XV. i XVI. stoljeća", in: *Teološki radovi 12, Advocata Croatiae, Zbornik radova hrvatske sekcije VIII. Međunarodnog mariološkog i XV. marijanskog kongresa, Zaragoza, 3-12.10.1979*, A. REBIĆ (ed.), Zagreb, 1981, pp. 239, 250; J.A. SOLDI, "Tipi iconografici mariani nell'arte croata del XV e XVI secolo. De cultu mariano saeculo XVI", in: *Acta congressus mariologici – mariani internationalis caesaroaugustae anno 1979 celebrati, vol. II. Studia indolis generalioris de Maria in concilio Tridentino in liturgia et in arte Christiana, Romae, 1985*, pp. 382-384; L. KRIVIĆ, *Franjevačka crkva i samostan na Poljudu u Splitu*, Split, 1990, pp. 16-18.; I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, *Kroz Marijin Ružičnjak: zapadna marijanska ikonografija u dalmatinskome slikarstvu od 14. do 18. st.*, Split, Književni krug, 1998, pp. 123., 125.; R. TOMIĆ, *Splitska slikarska baština*, Zagreb, 2002, pp. 133-140.

2 A. DUPLANČIĆ, "O Mihovilu Luposignoliju, vojnim inženjerima i mjernicima u Dalmaciji u 18. stoljeću", in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 29*, Split, 1990

3 It is still an open question whether it is the same person as the painter Nicola Braccio of Pisa, who was active between 1507 and 1536 in the Dalmatian cities of Zadar, Šibenik and Trogir and who was also a brother in law of Lorenzo Luzzo, another painter active in Dalmatian towns. K. PRIJATELJ, *Kroz povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji (XIII-XIX. st.)*, Split, 1995, p. 219; R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 136-139.

4 The inscription is mentioned by a number of researchers, including: O. OZRETIĆ, "Paludi di Spalato", in: *Bollettino d'archeologia e storia dalmata IV*, Split, 1881, p. 40; L. JELIĆ-F. BULIĆ-S. RUTAR, *Vodja po Spljetu i Solinu*, Zadar, 1894, pp.

- 213-214; L. DONATI, "Artisti minori di Dalmazia", in: *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, Anno VI-vol XII, Fasc. 69, Roma, 1931, p. 458; A. DUDAN, *Dalmazia nell'arte italiana II*, Milano, 1922, p. 452; L.J. KARAMAN, "Muhamedova slika i Razmilovićeve korali na Poljudu u Splitu" in: *Hrvatski narod*, 22. kolovoza, Zagreb, 1943; K. PRIJATELJ, *Barok u Splitu*, Split, 1947, pp. 68-69; L. KRIVIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1990, pp. 16-17; R. TOMIĆ, *Franjevačka crkva i samostan na Poljudu u Splitu*, Split, 1997, pp. 11, 13-14; I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 123; R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 136.
- 5 Z. DEMORI STANIČIĆ, "Bogorodica s Djetetom - Gospa od Milosti" kat. jed. S/14. in: *Milost susreta, Umjetnička baština Franjevačke provincije sv. Jeronima*, (ed.) I. FSKOVIĆ, Zagreb, 2011, pp. 152-153.
- 6 R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 139.
- 7 Archivio segreto vaticano, Congr Vescovi e Regolari, Visita Ap., 80, f. 58r, quote according to: I. ČAPETA, "Restauracija slike Benedetta Diane iz franjevačke crkve na Poljudu u Splitu" in: *Kulturna Baština* 33, 2006. The altar was not mentioned in the visitation from 1603, and the visitation dating from 1625 describes it in the following manner: *Visitavit altare Sanctae Mariae Conceptionis lapideum sacratum, de necessariis, et Iconia decenti provisum, tamsi illud interdixit, donec sepulchrum inferius removeatur, ut ocludatur*. Archivio segreto vaticano, misc. Arm. VII, vol. 100, f. 172v, 173.; Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Visite e Collegi, vol. 2 p. 898.
- 8 L.B. ALBERTI, *O slikarstvu*, Zagreb, 2008, p. 73.
- 9 J.A. SOLDI, *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 383-384.; L. KRIVIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1990, pp. 16-17.; I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1998, pp. 123-125.; R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2002, pp. 136-139.
- 10 A local legend associated with the prophet Muhamad represented in this painting says that at the end of the 16th century the church and the convent in Poljud were spared from robbery and arson because members of the Ottoman army saw their Prophet on the painting. L. KRIVIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1990, p. 18.
- 11 The manuscript was also translated into Latin by John of Seville (Johannes Hispaniensis) in 1133; cfr. M. VICELJAMATIJAŠIĆ, *Ikologija*, Rijeka, 2013, p. 20; W. HÜBNER, "The culture of Astrology from ancient to Renaissance" in: *A companion to astrology in the Renaissance*, B. DOOLEY (ed.), Leiden-Boston, 2014, p. 21.
- 12 H. HERMELINK, "Datierung des liber introductorius von Albumasar (Kitāb al-mudḥal al-kabīr von Abū Ma'šār)" in: *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften*, Bd. 46, H. 3, Wiesbaden, September, 1962, pp. 264-265
- 13 The first printed edition of *Introductorium in astronomiam* translated by Herman Dalmatin (Hermannus Dalmata), published in 1489 in Augsburg by the publisher Erhard Ratdolt, was used for the purpose of this article. The digital edition is available at: <https://archive.org/stream/ita-bnc-in1-00001014-001#page/n90/mode/2up> (accessed 29 March 2016). The pages are not paginated.
- 14 P. LUCENTINI, "L'Asclepius ermetico nel secolo XII" in: *From Athens to Chartres, Neoplatonism & Medieval Thought Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau*, (ed.) H.J. WESTRA, Leiden-New York-Köln, 1992, p. 410.
- 15 Quote in English taken from: G. FEDERICI VESCOVINI, "The Theological debate" in: *A companion to astrology in the Renaissance*, B. DOOLEY (ed.), Leiden-Boston, 2014, p. 109.
- 16 A. HEISIG- K. HEISIG, "Arabische astrologie und christliche apologetik im rosenroman" in: *Romanische Forschungen*, 71. Bd., 3./4. H. Frankfurt am Main, 1959, pp. 414-419.
- 17 M. KAUNTZE, *Authority and Imitation, A study of Cosmographia of Bernard Silvestris*, Leiden-Boston, 2014, p. 124.
- 18 S. KUTLEŠA, "Croatian Philosophers I, Herman of Dalmatia (1110–1154)" in: *Prolegomena: časopis za filozofiju* 3/1, Zagreb, 2004, pp. 57-71; A.G. AVILÉS, "Alfonso X, Albumasar y la Profecía de Nacimiento de Cristo" in: *Imafronte*, 8-9, Murcia, 1992-1993, p. 192.
- 19 *Ex Hermete et Astalio, Persarum astrologis, Abumaixar in astrologie tractatu inserit, a nobis in eodem libro in hec verba translatus: «Oritur, inquit in primo Virginis decano, puella (in lingua eorum seclios darzama, quod prout arabes interpretantur adre nedefa, apud nos significat virgo munda) supra solium auleatum, manu geminas aristas tenens, puerum nutriens et iure pascens, in regione cui nomen Hebrea; puerum autem nominatum Ihesum», quem, opinor, ex hac lectione instructi, visa stella eius, et Magi cognoverunt*. The quotation is taken from: C. BURNETT, *Herman of Carinthia, De essentiis, a critical edition with translation and commentary*, Leiden-Köln, 1982.
- 20 S. DE FIORES, "Il dogma dell'Immacolata Concezione. Aprocchio storico-teologico dal Quattrocento al Settecento" in: *Una donna vestita di sole, l'Immacolata Concezione nelle opere dei grandi maestri*, G. MORELLO-V. FRANCIA-R. FUSCO (eds.), Roma-Milano, 2005, p. 22.

- 21 A.G. AVILÉS, *op. cit.*, 1992-1993, p. 192; J.P. MIGNÉ, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 205, sermon 32, Paris, 1855, pp. 774-779. The digital edition is available online at: https://books.google.hr/books?id=fZTYAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=hr&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=albumazar&f=false (accessed 30 March 2016).
- 22 C. MUSSO, *Prediche del reuerendissimo monsignor F. Cornelio Musso, ... fatte in diuersi tempi, et in diuersi luoghi*, Venezia, 1582, p. 162.
- 23 De magnis conjunctionibus, annorum revolutionibus, ac eorum profectionibus was also printed in Venice under publisher Melchiorre Sessa in 1515
- 24 C. GERHARDT, "Die tumba gygantis auf dem Wormelner Tafelbild 'Maria als Thron Salomons'", in: *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 142, Münster, 1992, pp. 247-275; A.G. AVILÉS, *op. cit.*, 1992-1993, pp.189-200.
- 25 A.G. AVILÉS, *op. cit.*, 1992-1993, pp. 189-200.
- 26 J.B. FRIEDMAN, "The Art of the Exotic: Robinet Testard's Turbans and Turban-like Coiffure, in Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker" in: *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, vol. 4, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2008, pp. 173-191; R.E. MACK, *Bazaar to Piazza, Islamic trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600*, Barkeley-Los Angeles, 2002, p.152.
- 27 J. KUBISKI, "Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (Cité des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)" in: *Gesta*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2001, pp. 161-180.
- 28 Hadith is one of various reports describing the words, actions, or habits of the Islamic prophet, Muhammad. The hadith literature is based on spoken reports that were in circulation in society after the death of Muhammad. The most famous collection of hadith is the Sahih al-Bukhari which is considered the most authentic Islamic book after the Quran. Lav Krivić was the first author who claimed that the citation derives from the collection of hadith, but he did not specify the source of the quotation. L. KRIVIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1990, p. 18. Soldo believed that this was a quote from Officium of Immaculate Conception which was compiled by friar Bernardin de Bustis from Milan (BERNARDINUS DE BUSTIS, *Officium et missa de immaculata conceptione*), and which was approved in 1480 by Pope Sixtus IV; cfr. J.A. SOLDI, *op. cit.*, 1985, p. 383. Soldo's research was accepted by Prijatelj Pavičić and Radoslav Tomić. I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1998, p. 123; R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2002, p. 138. Sanja Cvetnić cited the opinion of Rusmir Mahmutćehajić who wrote: "Among the four sayings written about it in the collection of Sahih Muslim, IV, p. 1261, the nearest version to the one in Poljud reads: 'Satan touches every son of Adam in the day when his mother gives birth except Mary and her son';" cfr. R. MAHMUTĆEHAJIĆ, "Islam, katoličanstvo i pravoslavlje. O maticama pojmovnih preslikavanja" in: *Habitus*, 8, Novi Sad, 2002, pp. 79-109, note 84 (also in: *Forum Bosne*, 18, Sarajevo, 2002, pp. 265-315.) The quotation is taken from: S. CVETNIĆ, "Osmanska vojska i politička ikonografija u 17. i 18. stoljeću u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj" in: *Peristil*, 53, Zagreb, 2010, p. 155.
- 29 *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al-Bukhâri, Arabic-English*, translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Maktaba Dar Us Salam, 1997, volume 4, book 60, ch. 44, p.402. The digital edition is available online at: https://archive.org/stream/SahihAlBukhariArabicEnglishVolume/Sahih%20Al-Bukhari-Arabic_English_Volume-4-Ahadith-2738-3648#page/n401/mode/2up (accessed 25 April 2016).
- 30 The full quotation reads: *Nec mirum, quod ista affirmo, cum et Saraceni istud praeconium sibi attribuebant. Nam in libro suo, qui dicitur Alkoron vel secundum alios Albokon, qui per discipulum Machmeti editus fuerat – et est authenticus inter ipsos – sic inquit ille Machmetici discipulus: Audivi, inquit, nuntium dei dicentem: Nullus de filiis Adam nascitur, quem non tangit Satan praeter Mariam et filium eius. Quapropter et ipse Machometus collaudans virginem in suo Alkorano sic inquit: "O Maria, utique deus deputavit te et elegit te super omnes feminas saeculorum" – "O Maria, deus angelorum nuntiavit tibi verbum summum de se, nomen eius Messias. Et Jesus, Mariae filius, honorabitur in hoc saeculo et in alio, et alloquitur in cunabulo". Haec iste.* MARQUARD VON LINDAU, *De reparatione hominis*; the quotation is taken from: R. GAY-CANTON, "Wenn Heiden und Juden den Christen zum Beispiel werden. Die Kontroverse um die Empfängnis Marias im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit" in: *Germanistik in der Schweiz*, 9, Berne, 2012, p. 18.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 15-28.
- 32 Previously it was attributed to Bernardino of Siena. F. DE ARIMINO, O.F.M., "Sermo ad clerum de conceptione beatae Virginis Mariae (S. Bernardino Senensi olim adscriptus)" in: *Tractatus quatuor de Immaculata Conceptione B. Mariae Virginis*, A. EMMEN-C. PIANA (eds.), Quaracchi-Firenze 1954, pp. 335-391.
- 33 R. GAY-CANTON, "Lorsque Muḥammad orne les autels. Sur l'utilisation de la théologie islamique dans la controverse autour de l'Immaculée Conception de la fin du XVe au début du XVIIIe siècle" in: *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques Et Théologiques*, tome 94, Paris, 2010/2, p. 233

- 34 Another example is the sermon by the Franciscan Pietro Arrivabene da Canaletto *De Conceptione Virginis Marie* from 1485 in which we can read the following quote: *Sic Machometus in Alchorano suo dicit: Nullus est de filiis Adam, quem non tangat sathan nisi Maria et filius eius*. P. ARRIVABENE DA CANNETO, *De conceptione virginis Marie*, in: C. CENCI, "Fr. Pietro Arrivabene da Canneto e la sua attività letteraria (II)" in: *Archivum Franciscanum historicum*, 62, Roma, 1969, p. 187; R. GAY-CANTON, *op. cit.*, 2010/2, pp. 201-248.
- 35 L.B. KANTER-G. TESTA-T. HENRY, *Luca Signorelli*, Milano, 2001, p. 253; V. FRANZIA, *Splendore di bellezza. L'iconografia dell'Immacolata Concezione nella pittura rinascimentale italiana*, Vaticano, 2004, pp. 193-194.
- 36 L.B. KANTER-G. TESTA-T. HENRY, *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 253.
- 37 V. FRANZIA, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 193-194.
- 38 Rejane Gay-Canton was the first one to establish this hypothesis. R. GAY-CANTON, *op. cit.*, 2010/2, pp. 201-248.
- 39 ASF, Volumi della Provincia di S. Pacifico, vol. N, *Notizie dell'antichissimo convento de Frati Minori riformati di Massa nella Marca 1766*, pp. 141-142. The quotation is taken from: F. COLTRINARI, "La collezione storico-artistica della pinacoteca di Massa Fermana: una lettura" in: *Pinacoteca civica di Massa Fermana Catalogo scientifico*, F. COLTRINARI-P. DRAGONI (eds.), Cinisello Balsamo, 2014, p. 36.
- 40 V. FRANZIA, *op. cit.*, 2004, 142.
- 41 80 ASF, Convento di Massa, b. 195, c. 42v: "nell'anno 1771 fu depennato per ordine del Vicario del Sant'Ufficio di Monte Giorgio Maumetto che stava dipinto uno nel quadro dell'altare maggiore e depennato ancora l'altro che stava dipinto nel quadro pendente alla porta della chiesa. Quello poi che stava dipinto nel quadro dell'altare maggiore fu riformato dal pittore col farlo comparire il vecchio Simeone"; cfr. F. COLTRINARI, *op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 36,44.
- 42 N. CAPPONI, *Victory of the West. The Great Christian-Muslim Clash at the Battle of Lepanto*, Cambridge, Mass., Da Capo Press, 2007; A. BARBERO, *Lepanto. La battaglia dei tre imperi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2010. Beyond the conflict, the battle of Lepanto was also an extraordinary chance to know the Ottoman world. See P. BRUMMETT, "The Lepanto Paradigm Revisited: Knowing the Ottomans in the Sixteenth Century", in: *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, A. CONTADINI-C. NORTON (eds.), Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 63-93.
- 43 The print was glued to the wooden case of the Byzantine icon, now worshipped in Fermo's cathedral, and was found in occasion of the restauration of the icon. Cfr. D. REDAGLIA-G. GUIDA-F. TALARICO, "Il restauro dell'icona della Madonna di Fermo", in: *Bollettino ICR*, n. 1, 2000, pp. 86-127. The print has been analysed by B. MONTEVECCHI, "La Madonna del Rosario", in: *Il volto di Maria*, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 101-112.
- 44 G.G. MEERSSEMAN, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e Pietà dei laici nel Medioevo*, III, Roma, Herder, 1977, pp. 1171-1172.
- 45 See B. MONTEVECCHI, *op. cit.*, 2004, p. 102. The author for this reason proposes to date the print between 1484 and 1492, the years of Innocent VIII.
- 46 See G.G. MEERSSEMAN, *op. cit.*, 1977, pp. 1170-1171.
- 47 G.G. MEERSSEMAN, *op. cit.*, 1977, pp. 1174-1175; P. HUMFREY, "La Festa del Rosario di Albrecht Dürer", in: *Eidos. Rivista di cultura*, 2, 1988, pp. 4-15; A. BUBENIK, *Reframing Albrecht Dürer. The Appropriation of Art, 1528-1700*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 59-61.
- 48 G. LAVAGNOLI, "La Madonna del Rosario di Cingoli. Una lettura semiotica", in: *Lorenzo Lotto e le Marche. Per una geografia dell'anima* (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 14-20 aprile 2007), L. MOZZONI (ed.), Firenze, Giunti, 2009, pp. 232-243.
- 49 L. CINELLI, "Le confraternite del Rosario fra XVI e XVII secolo", in: *Hagiologica. Studi per Réginald Grégoire*, A. BARTOLOMEI ROMAGNOLI-U. PAOLI-P. PIATTI (eds.), Tomo II, Fabriano, Monastero San Silvestro abate, 2012, pp. 1259-1275.
- 50 M. ROSA, *Religione e società nel Mezzogiorno tra Cinque e Seicento*, Bari, De Donato, 1976, pp. 222-223.
- 51 I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, *op. cit.*, 1998, pp. 78-114.
- 52 R. CANOSA, *Lepanto. Storia della "Lega Santa" contro i Turchi*, Roma, Sapere 2000 edizioni multimediali, 2000, pp. 129-140.
- 53 On the intentional political use of the Virgin of the Rosary to create unity among Christians see F. ARICI, "La devozione della Vergine del Rosario tra mitografia e mito politica", in: *Il rosario: teologia, storia, spiritualità*, R. BARILE (ed.), Bologna, ESD, 2011, pp. 213-227. On the standpoint of the King of France and of the Emperor toward the Holy League see: A. TENENTI, "La Francia, Venezia e la Sacra Lega", in: *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto*, G. BENZONI (ed.), Firenze, Olschki, 1984, pp. 393-408 and A. WANDRUSZKA, "L'Impero, la casa d'Austria e la Sacra Lega", in: *Ibid.*, pp. 435-443.

- 54 G. GAMULIN, "Gospa od Ruzarija u Vrboskoj", in: *Peristil*, 10-11, 1967, pp. 83-94; Z. BIBIĆ, "Oltarna pala gospe od ružarija u Vrboskoj i ostala djela slikarske obitelji Bassano na otoku Hvaru", in: *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara*, XII, 2014, pp. 192-216. On the domenicant convent of Hvar, plundered by the Turks, and then rebuilt in 1580, see S. KRASIĆ, "Dominikanski Samostan u Starom Gradu na Hvaru (XV-XX. st.)", in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 39, 2001-2001, pp. 311-354.
- 55 We disagree with the proposals of identification made by Z. BIBIĆ, *op. cit.*, 2014.
- 56 See I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ, "O autorima dviju slika posvećenih pobjedi kod Lepanta", in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 17, 2, 1993, pp. 51-56 and M. ABITI, *Il tempio di San Nicolò a Treviso*, Treviso, Vianello, 2004, pp. 49-51. Andrea Vicentino realized also another *Our Lady of the Rosary* with political iconography, now preserved in the church of St Quirinus of Krk; cfr. I. ŽIC, *Crkveno slikarstvo na otoku Krku*, Rijeka, Glosa, 2006, pp. 128-130.
- 57 N. KUDIŠ, "Pala Baldassarrea d'Anne u Roču", in: *Peristil*, 35-36, 1992-1993, pp. 159-164; EADEM, "La pittura tardo manierista nella Diocesi di Parenzo-Pola: il contesto storico e religioso, la committenza e gli autori", in: *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, 30, 2006, pp. 227-245, in particular 238-239. Another similar painting, also realized by Baldassarre d'Anna, is preserved in the parish church of Osor. See G. GAMULIN, "Prijedlozi za slikarstvo renesanse i manirizma u Veneciji", in: *Radovi IPU*, 10, 1986, pp. 69-81. Among the other paintings with political iconography in Dalmatia we can quote the *Our Lady of the Rosary* by Matteo Ingoli from Ravenna, preserved in the parish church of Omiš, see: K. PRIJATELJ, "Pala Mattea Ingolija u Omišu", in: *Studije o umjetninama u dalmaciji*, III, Zagreb, s.e., 1975, pp. 41-43 and R. TOMIĆ, "Umjetnička baština Omiša", in: *Omiš i Poljica*, Zagreb, Naklada Ljevak, 2006, pp. 243-265, in particular p. 251, and the one preserved in the church of St Ivan Krstitelj of Kaštel Stari, studied by A. BABIN, *Crkva Sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Kaštel Starome*, Kaštela, ožujak, 2012, pp. 53-62. More rarely we can find also in the Dalmatian coast images of the Our Lady of the Rosary with a neutral iconography; see: K. PRIJATELJ, "Dvije Ridolfjeve pale gospe od Ružarija", in: *Studije o umjetninama u Dalmaciji*, II, Zagreb, s.e., 1975, pp. 47-48.
- 58 On the iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary in Puglia see C. GALEO, "Aspetti dell'iconografia rosariana in Puglia tra il XVI e la prima metà del XVII secolo", in: *Le confraternite pugliesi in età moderna*, L. BERTOLDI LENOCI (ed.), Fasano, Schena, 1988, pp. 527-564. On the situation in Calabria, which was part of the Reign of Naples, see A. ANSELMINI, "L'iconografia della Madonna del Rosario nella Calabria spagnola", in: *La Calabria del vicereame spagnolo. Storia, arte, architettura e urbanistica*, A. ANSELMINI (ed.), Roma, Gangemi, 2009, pp. 487-517. For the specific situation of Salento see: M. CAPOTORTI, "Il mito di Lepanto e la sua utilizzazione nell'iconografia sacra in età posttridentina. Episodi salentini", in: *La Puglia, il manierismo e la controriforma*, A. CASSIANO-F. VONA (eds.), Galatina, Congedo, 2013, pp. 147-156. The author mentions an *Our Lady of the Victory*, preserved in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria in the town of San Vito dei Normanni and realized to celebrate the victory of Lepanto. Even though it is a work produced within the Reign of Naples, the doge is represented among the victors, together with the pope and the emperor.
- 59 On the iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Marche, see: M. PARAVENTI, "Nascita e sviluppo dell'iconografia del rosario tra '400 e '500 e la sua diffusione nelle Marche nel corso del XVI secolo", in: *Le Marche: folklore-religiosità. Atti del primo congresso, Aspetti della religiosità popolare delle Marche* (Serra de' Conti, 25 novembre 1990), C. PRETE-S. TROJANI (eds.), Serra de' Conti, Istituto di ricerche per la religiosità popolare e il folklore nelle Marche, 1994, pp. 77-107; C. QUATTRINI, "L'iconografia della Madonna del rosario nelle Marche: origini nordiche e nascita di una tradizione locale", in: *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, XIX, 2, 1990, pp. 5-12.
- 60 See the entry by Giampiero Donnini, in: *Simone De Magistris. Un pittore visionario tra Lotto e El Greco*, V. SGARBI (ed.), Venezia, Marsilio, 2007, pp. 232-233, with previous bibliography.
- 61 See the entry by Andrea Viozzi, in: *Simone De Magistris, op. cit.*, pp. 246-247; for the other works on the same subject see *ibid.*, pp. 248-249 and pp. 260-261.
- 62 In the excursus made by Benedetta Montecvecchi, only two images represent political authority (the ones preserved in Monsampolo del Tronto and Cupra Marittima); See B. MONTEVECCHI, *op. cit.*, 2004.
- 63 C. CALDARI, "Un pittore a servizio del sacro: le compagnie del Rosario ad Arcevia e nei castelli", in: *Ercole Ramazzani de la Rocha. Aspetti del manierismo nelle Marche della Controriforma*, D. MATTEUCCI (ed.), Venezia, Marsilio, 2002, pp. 49-57. In the province of Pesaro, Cardinal Girolamo Rusticucci from Fano, who had had an important role in the discussions for the constitution of the Holy League against the Turks, had also a very important role in the dissemination of the cult of the Rosary; see: C. PRETE, "Il cardinale Rusticucci e le arti: episodi di committenza tra Roma e le Marche alla fine del Cinquecento", in: *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 30/31, 2001/02, pp. 153-165 and S. BELLAVIA, "Il cardinale Girolamo

- Rusticucci e le sue committenze marchigiane”, in: *Storia dell'arte*, 106, 2003, pp. 25-54. Only in one case the cardinal preferred a political iconography with the representation of the pope and the king of Spain; see C. PRETE, “Una pala dedicata al culto del Rosario e un nuovo ritratto del cardinale Girolamo Rusticucci”, in: *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 32, 2003, pp. 101-109.
- 64 G. LAVAGNOLI, “Ernst Van Schayck (1575-1631): un pittore di Utrecht in viaggio tra la Romagna e le Marche”, in: *Historia Nostra. Rivista di arte storia e cultura*, 2, 2009, pp. 29-45.
- 65 For the first analysis see: G. CAPRIOTTI, “Dalla minaccia ebraica allo schiavo turco. L'immagine dell'alterità religiosa in area adriatica tra XV e XVIII secolo”, in: *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el mediterráneo (ss. XIV-XVIII)*, Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2016, pp. 357-373.
- 66 It is an iconography developed following the Battle of Lepanto both in the Adriatic area (G. CAPRIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 2016, pp. 367-368) and in Tuscany (J.M. MASSING, “The Iconography of Mediterranean Slavery in the Seventeenth Century”, in: *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, E. MCGRATHM-J.M. MASSING (eds.), The Warburg Institute-Nino Aragno Editore, London-Turin, 2012, pp. 85-119).
- 67 According to Giuseppe Crocetti the work of Petriolo, from a stylistic point of view, could be attributed to Alessandro Ricci, a painter from Fermo; see: G. CROCETTI-G. BERNASCONI, *Il santuario della Madonna della Misericordia di Petriolo*, Petriolo, Confraternita del SS.mo Rosario, 1986, p. 60. In effect the canopy with the mysteries of the Rosary, that slide on the curtain, is found in many Our Lady of the Rosary by this painter, in particular in the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Pian di Pieca di San Ginesio (Macerata) and in the Collegiate church of Santa Vittoria in Matenano (Fermo). The latter is associated with the circular pedestal in the painting of Petriolo. I thank Giacomo Maranesi, for having suggested appropriate comparisons. On Alessandro Ricci see: *Filippo e Alessandro Ricci. Pittori nella Marca del Settecento*, S. PAPETTI-M. PAPETTI (eds.), Milano, Federico Motta, 2009 and G. MARANESI, “Nuove acquisizioni sulla pittura marchigiana del Settecento. I pittori Ricci e Gilberto Todini nel monastero di Santa Chiara a Fermo”, in: *Il capitale culturale. Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, XIII, 2016, pp. 79-116. More recently Massimo Papetti have properly proposed to attribute the work of Petriolo to Giacomo Falconi for the evident similarities with the altarpiece of Grottammare. See: *Il Museo sistino di Grottammare: guida alle opere*, P. DI GIROLAMI-B. MONTEVECCHI-M. PAPETTI (eds.), Firenze, Nardini, 2003, p. 43. I thank Cav. Mariano Mercuri for the information about the work of Petriolo. These attributive problems will be explored in detail in a forthcoming essay.
- 68 L. CINELLI, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 1267.
- 69 G. CAPRIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 2016, pp. 371-372.
- 70 M. CAFFIERO. “La ‘profezia di Lepanto’. Storia e uso politico della santità di Pio V”, in: *I Turchi, il Mediterraneo e l'Europa*, G. MOTTA (ed.), Milano, Franco Angeli, 1998, pp. 103-121. The celebration of the victory of Lepanto is intrinsically linked to the figure of Pius V also in the images; see: C.E. SPANTIGATI, “Il culto di San Pio V nella diffusione delle immagini”, in: *Il tempo di Pio V. Pio V nel tempo*, F. CERVINI-C.E. SPANTIGATI (eds.), Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006, pp. 313-327.
- 71 On the Turkish presence on the Adriatic see: *Pirati e corsari in Adriatico*, S. ANSELMINI (ed.), Cinisello Balsamo, Amilcare Pizzi, 1998; M.P. PEDANI, “Beyond the Frontier: the Ottoman-Venetian Border in the Adriatic Context from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries”, in: *Zones of fracture in Modern Europe, Baltic Countries-Balkans-Northern Italy*, A. BUES (ed.), Wiesbaden, HarrassowitzVerlag, 2005, pp. 45-60; M.P. PEDANI, “Gli ottomani in Adriatico tra pirateria e commercio”, in: *I Turchi, gli Asburgo e l'Adriatico*, G. NEMETH-A. PAPO (eds.), Duino Aurisina, Associazione culturale italoungherese “Pier Paolo Vergerio”, 2007, pp. 57-64. Some Turkish raids, along with cases of Muslim slaves baptisms, had been reported by G. Mascaretti in: *Memorie storiche di Grottammare*, Ripatransone, Jaffei, 1841, pp. XXX-XXXI. See in addition E. LIBURDI, “Sanbenedettesi schiavi in Barberia”, in: *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche*, VI-1, 1943, pp. 169-186; O GOBBI, “Battesimi di schiavi musulmani nell'Ascolano: rituale e integrazione fra XVII e XIX secolo”, in: *Proposte e ricerche*, 43, 1999, pp. 222-233.
- 72 G. CAPRIOTTI, *op. cit.*, 2016, pp. 371-372.
- 73 M.P. PEDANI, *op. cit.*, 2005, p. 55.
- 74 S. BONO, “Schiavi marchigiani dal Cinquecento al Settecento”, in: *Pirati e corsari in Adriatico*, *op. cit.*, 1998, pp. 123-133.

Ivana Čapeta Rakić – Giuseppe Capriotti

**Dvije marijanske ikonografske teme pred licem Islama
Jadranski primjeri u ranom novom vijeku**

U ovom se tekstu analizira i tumači ikonografska uloga koja je dodijeljena pripadnicima Islama u djelima marijanske ikonografije, točnije u dvjema specifičnim temama: *Disputa o Bezgrešnom začecu Marijinu* i *Gospa od Ružarija*. Te su dvije teme u razdoblju od 16. do 18. stoljeća podjednako često bile prikazivane na slikarskim djelima na obje strane jadranske obale, koje predstavljaju geografsku okosnicu ovoga rada. U prvom dijelu se razmatra uloga slavnog arapskog astrologa i filozofa Albumasara, koji djeluje u 9. stoljeću i koji je prikazan u lijevom, donjem kutu slike *Disputa o Bezgrešnom začecu Marijinu* iz franjevačke crkve Uznesenja Marijina na Poljudu u Splitu. Tu je sliku naslikao Mihovil Luposignoli, vojni inženjer, arhitekt, projektant oltara i slikar 1727. godine kao kopiju prema starijem izvorniku iz 1518. godine, a čiji je autor bio izvjesni Nikola Bralić (Nicola Brazzo Giacortino). Albumasar u rukama drži armilarnu sferu i svitak s natpisom koji je preuzet iz njegove knjige prevedene na latinski pod naslovom *Introductorium in astronomiam*. Citat se odnosi na parafrazu proročanstva dvojice poganskih astronoma, Hermesa i Astalijusa. Istraživanjem je utvrđena duga egzegeza spomenutog citata zahvaljujući čemu je nekoliko kršćanskih apologeta pogrešno smatralo Albumasara prorokom, koristeći ga pritom u obrani nauka o Bezgrešnom začecu Marijinu. Slična je uloga dodijeljena i prikazu proroka Muhameda koji je na istoj slici prikazan u desnom, donjem kutu. Premda se u dosadašnjoj literaturi isticalo da je ovo jedan od njegovih rijetkih figuralnih prikaza, u ovom smo radu ukazali na još nekoliko postojećih primjera. Riječ je o djelima koja prikazuju *Disputu o Bezgrešnoj* Francesca Signorellija u crkvi Santa Maria al Calcinio pokraj Cortone, a vjerujemo da je Muhamed prikazan i na slici u crkvi San Gregorio u Mogliano, koju je 1546. godine potpisao slikar Durante Nobili. U drugom dijelu članka razmatra se ikonografska tema *Gospa od Ružarija*, koju je širio dominikanski red, poglavito nakon bitke kod Lepanta, i koja se predstavlja kao providonosna pobjeda kršćanstva nad islamom. Nakon bitke se nastavlja prikazivati „neutralna“ ikonografija s dominikanskim svecima i otajstvima, poglavito u djelima zapadne obale Jadrana. Istodobno, na objema obalama, a poglavito istočnoj, *Gospa od Ružarija* se uprizoruje zajedno s pobjednicima bitke kod Lepanta (papom, španjolskim kraljem, venecijanskim duždem ili njihovim predstavnicima), čime ova ikonografska tema dobiva jasno političko značenje. Iznimno se na zapadnoj obali, tijekom 18. stoljeća, tema transformira u eksplicitno protu-osmansku (ili protu-islamsku), kad se osmanski robovi uprizoruju kao ratni plijen ispod Bogorodice. Za kraj, kroz poredbenu perspektivu, ovaj članak također analizira povijesne uzroke koji su generirali ove ikonografske specifičnosti u svjetlu različitih gospodarskih i trgovačkih odnosa dviju obala imale s osmanskim carstvom.

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