

UNIVERSAL MONARCHS AND HEIRS OF ALEXANDER: IMPERIAL IMAGERY IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES V AND SÜLEYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT

Harry Gerald Henderson
University of Toronto

1. Introduction

In the sixteenth century, the imperial imagery adopted by Habsburg and Ottoman rulers underwent a stark transformation. As both dynasties moved onto the global stage, the way in which they represented themselves also expanded and adapted for this new global context. This essay will examine how this shift from local to global took place during the reigns of Charles V (d. 1558) and Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566). This shift was a temporary phenomenon: it encompassed only the two monarchs' rules and was promptly abandoned following their deaths. Charles and Süleyman both claimed to be universal monarchs whose dominions would encompass the globe and vanquish their greatest enemies. Particular focus will be paid to the two rulers' depiction as successors to Alexander the Great and Scipio Africanus. As I shall demonstrate, the imagery and iconography¹ that developed around points of conflict between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in this period encapsulate these claims as well as the competition between the two rulers, who strategically deployed various motifs.

2. Heir to Charlemagne, a New Alexander, Universal Ruler: Charles V

¹ By imagery, I am referring to the larger motifs located within associated artwork, and by iconography, I refer to specific aspects of the piece in question.

Like all the Habsburg emperors who came before him, Charles V saw himself as heir to Rome, through the possession of the Holy Roman Empire. He had also inherited the Low Countries and lands in Spain through his Burgundian and Spanish heritage, and the size of his realm immediately caught the eye of those around the emperor upon his imperial election in 1519. Many commented that not since the time of Charlemagne, did an emperor possess a realm so large.² Establishing a genealogy to Charlemagne to establish legitimacy was a common trend for Holy Roman emperors, but these earlier emperors never had the opportunity to establish a dominion spanning across Europe as Charles had.³ Many European humanists had compared Charles to a new Alexander.⁴ Charles was aware of these comparisons, and his grand chancellor in Spain (and later in the Holy Roman Empire), Mercurino di Gattinara, heavily supported imagery portraying Charles as a universal monarch and messianic figure who would herald the apocalypse.⁵

Alexander the Great had a long literary history in premodern Europe. During the Middle Ages, the Macedonian conqueror was seen as one of the so-called “Nine Worthies”: heroic, virtuous figures encompassing what a ruler or knight should strive to be. The Worthies were divided into groups of three, with Alexander being one of the worthy pagans, accompanied by Julius Caesar and the Trojan Hector.⁶ While the Habsburgs had indeed incorporated Alexander in their imperial iconography prior to Charles, they had only considered him a chivalric figure. Alexander is depicted in the triumphal arch of Maximilian I (d. 1519), a massive set of woodcuts commissioned by the emperor as a part of his patronage project to show dynastic splendour.⁷ In 1515, Alexander appeared alongside other classical heroes for Charles’s entry into the city of Bruges; however, he is used within a regional context, representing only Charles’ control over Flanders, not Charles’s realm as a whole.⁸

It was only in 1529, following the siege of Vienna, that Alexandrian imagery was first employed to support Charles’s claim to universal monarchy. A 1529 painting by Albrecht Altdorfer,

² Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), 21–22, 40, 171–73, 732–35.

³ Parker, *Emperor*, 732.

⁴ Parker, *Emperor*, 151–52.

⁵ Rebecca Boone, “Empire and Medieval Simulacrum: A Political Project of Mercurino Di Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of Charles V,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 4 (2011): 1037.

⁶ Andrey Egorov, “Charismatic Rulers in Civic Guise: Images of the Nine Worthies in Northern European Town Halls of the 14th to 16th Centuries,” in *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 207.

⁷ Albrecht Altdorfer et al., *Arch of Honor*, 1515, Woodcut, 45.7 x 62.2 cm (18 x 24 1/2 in), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/388475?imgNo=16&tabName=related-objects> (accessed September 1, 2023).

⁸ Ethan Matt Kavaler, “Power and Performance,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 67/1 (2017): 228–29; Jochen Becker, “‘Greater than Zeuxis and Apelles’: Artists as Arguments in the Antwerp Entry of 1549,” in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring, trans. Willem Meijs (London: Routledge, 2002), 194.

commissioned for the Duke of Bavaria, depicts the battle of Issus, fought by the armies of Alexander the Great against the Achaemenid Persian Empire led by Darius III. The painting portrays Alexander the Great's army as German and Darius's as Turkish. The Latin plaque at the top of the painting declares Alexander's triumph over the Persians, and symbolically, the Holy Roman Empire's victory over the Ottomans.⁹ The painting shows an evolution in the imagination around Alexander, where the conquering Macedonian became more than a virtuous hero and grew to represent a motif of imperial fantasy of the West triumphing over the East.

Due to its proximity to the core of Habsburg domains, it is no surprise that the siege of Vienna and the subsequent Ottoman defeat became a popular topic for Habsburg propaganda. A common image featured Charles V meeting Süleyman the Magnificent on the battlefield outside the city, much like Alexander meeting Darius. A print from Erhard Schön's book on the siege made in 1530, *Des Türkischen Kayzers Heerzug*, depicts Charles and Süleyman and their armies going head-to-head. Charles and his army are depicted heroically in armour, while the sultan and his forces are dressed simply in robes.¹⁰ The print was produced in a large spread of fifteen sheets and included other scenes of Charles as a "protector of Christendom" assaulting the "hereditary enemy of the Christian Faith."¹¹ Alongside a myriad of pamphlets created by other German printers, Schön's book became extremely popular in Germany and was widely read around the empire.¹² While most prints focused on the fearsome threat the Ottomans posed to Europe, Schön's prints focused on Charles's deeds as a Christian warrior. This depiction of Charles was not common in pamphlets created about the siege but had a significant impact, as evidenced by a series of woodcuts designed by Maarten van Heemskerck in 1555–56. These woodcuts, titled "The Victories of Charles V," depict a similar event, with Charles on his horse fighting alongside his brother Ferdinand; on a hill behind them, the sultan waits, surrounded by his troops.¹³

During the siege of Vienna, Charles was busy in Italy, fighting in the War of the League of Cognac and finalizing the peace of Cambrai between France and the empire. When Ferdinand—Charles's brother and Archduke of Austria—alerted Charles of the Ottoman siege, the emperor simply responded there was nothing he could do.¹⁴ However, Charles told a different story

⁹ Rose-Marie Hagen and Rainer Hagen, "The Battle to End All Battles," in *What Great Paintings Say* (Köln: Taschen, 2003), 128, 131–33.

¹⁰ Bart Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555–56," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 20/1 (1990): 29–30.

¹¹ John W. Bohnstedt, "The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58/9 (1968): 18–19.

¹² Richard W. Bulliet, "The Other Siege of Vienna and the Ottoman Threat: An Essay in Counter-Factual History," *ReOrient* 1/1 (2015): 16–17, 20.

¹³ Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V," 24, 29.

¹⁴ James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119–22.

when he entered Bologna in triumph to meet Pope Clement VII later that year, on November 5, 1529. Accounts describe the emperor's army carrying wreaths signifying victory against the Ottomans, and his infantry "arrayed in the manner of a phalanx of Alexander the Great's soldiers."¹⁵ Charles could see the Alexandrian parallels to the victory in Vienna and capitalized on it. In the early months of 1530, Charles was crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Italy by the Pope, which only added to his imperial splendour.¹⁶ While visiting Mantua, Charles was depicted as the "master of the world" in a triumphal arch created for the emperor.¹⁷ Two years later, Charles gained the opportunity to meet the sultan in battle, as raids near Hungary resumed in 1532. In a grand imperial gesture, the emperor took control of military forces in Hungary, echoing the calls by his Burgundian ancestors for a crusade against the Turks. When he met Süleyman and his army, Charles dressed himself in a gilded jacket and extravagant headwear.¹⁸

The siege of Tunis in 1535 served as the next stage in this shift in Habsburg propaganda. Seeking to stop Hayreddin Barbarossa (d. 1546), whose raids targeted Habsburg assets in the Mediterranean and distracted Charles from fighting the Ottomans in Hungary, Charles raised an army. Pope Paul III declared Charles's Tunisian campaign a crusade whose success would guarantee the conquest of Istanbul and Charles's realization of universal monarchy. After a brutal siege and campaign, Charles took Tunis but was unable to capture Barbarossa. While some advisors wished the emperor to enact the pope's plan, Charles returned with his tired army to Italy, presenting his shortened campaign as a grand imperial feat. In Sicily, Charles combined imperial and Christian imagery, cementing his place as both crusader and emperor; more specifically, he used the siege to capitalize upon his self-presentation as a contemporary successor to Scipio Africanus, a military leader victoriously returning from defeating the Carthaginians. While Charles had besieged only one city, and Barbarossa would launch raids on an even greater scale in the Mediterranean only a few years later, to Charles, the siege of Tunis had marked the advent of the emperor's universal rule. In Rome, Charles showed this rule by inviting nobles and statesmen from all over his empire to accompany the emperor's triumph through Italy.¹⁹

Van Heemskerck's "The Victories of Charles V" includes a depiction of the emperor's victory at Tunis, which sees him bravely charging into the city's gates on horseback. In the plate depicting the siege and in the majority of plates that show the emperor in armour, Charles is depicted wearing a heavily stylized and decorated armour.²⁰ His military outfit in these prints mimics the style of sixteenth-century parade armours, which were heavily used by the Habsburgs and served as a wearable

¹⁵ Parker, *Emperor*, 270.

¹⁶ Parker, *Emperor*, 273–74.

¹⁷ Parker, *Emperor*, 273–74.

¹⁸ Parker, *Emperor*, 318–22.

¹⁹ Parker, *Emperor*, 331–32, 334, 338–46.

²⁰ Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V," 30–31.

canvas for rulers to showcase their dynastic and political claims through embossed and engraved steel, rather than through ink on paper or brush and canvas. Parade armours were often crafted in *all'antica* style, which harkened back to Graeco-Roman armour and often combined motifs from the two.²¹ In representing Charles's armour as *all'antica*, these prints do not simply show Charles in an exotic military outfit but also serve to bolster Charles's imperial legacy, now utilized against a non-Christian enemy.

Charles's posturing as a new Scipio Africanus marked a distinct shift in the way Holy Roman emperors had previously displayed their Roman heritage through similar visual means. In the tenth century, Ottonian emperors portrayed themselves in a Byzantine fashion and declared themselves restorers of Rome.²² Thirteenth-century emperor Frederick II depicted himself in classical fashion on coins minted throughout his reign.²³ As explained above, earlier Habsburg rulers had used Alexander the Great to bolster their dynastic claims, while Charles took a distinct approach related to the Ottomans. In a similar fashion, while Holy Roman emperors used ancient Roman history to legitimize their power, Charles's reign saw a shift of this imagery to a Mediterranean stage and its strategic deployment in Charles's conflict against the Ottomans. In the sixteenth century, Carthage was seen as one of the archenemies of Rome, a city whose ruins were both closely tied to Rome, and a city which, according to Virgil's *Aeneid*, was fated to fall by Roman hands. Classical authors poised Carthage and Rome as two rivals fighting over dominion of the world, much as Charles and Süleyman were poised against each other.²⁴

The iconography utilized after the siege of Tunis became a mainstay in combat and parade armors produced by the Habsburgs. For example, a burgonet made for the emperor in 1536 presents four palm fronds embossed into the steel, which simultaneously resemble an unconventional laurel wreath and symbolize the emperor's victory in Africa.²⁵ A shield made shortly after the campaign, dubbed the "Apotheosis of Charles V," depicts a triumphant Charles in *all'antica* armour standing on a galley, with Fame, Victory, and Hercules alongside him. A woman can be seen tied to a palm tree, the spoils of war around her. A turban is placed on top of the tree, representing the defeated Ottoman enemy.²⁶ The woman possesses distinct European features and can be identified as Sophonisba, a

²¹ Alvaro Soler del Campo, *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain*, trans. Jenny F. Dodman (Madrid: T.F. Editores, 2009), 82–92.

²² Thietmar of Merseburg, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, ed. and trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 2; Nandini Das, "Time and Memory in Carthage," *Renaissance Studies* 35/3 (2021): 373–74.

²³ David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 15, 251.

²⁴ Das, "Time and Memory in Carthage," 364–65.

²⁵ Caremolo Modrone, "Burgonet," Armour, 1536, Royal Armouries Collections, Leeds, <https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-39981> (accessed September 1, 2023).

²⁶ del Campo, *The Art of Power*, 217–19.

prominent figure within Petrarch's fourteenth-century poem *Africa*, which first presented Sophonisba as a white princess and started a lasting iconographic and literary tradition.²⁷

Roughly ten years after the siege, another burgonet was made for Charles, depicting an Ottoman soldier on the helmet. The soldier is dressed in Roman armour and sports a turban and a long mustache, the stereotypical features given to Ottomans by European artists. He is being grabbed by Fame and Victory, who stretch him along the crest of the helmet. The two allegorical figures present the Ottoman soldier to the emperor; the words "Thus Yours, Invincible Caesar," (SIC·TVA·IVICTE·CÆSAR) are inscribed into the helmet. The *all'antica* armour worn by the soldier is curious, and suggests an acknowledgment of the Ottomans' imperial claims on Charles's part.²⁸ However, it is more likely that the Ottoman is being depicted here as a Carthaginian soldier.

A tapestry created for King Francis I of France (d. 1547) around the same time as this helmet depicts the Punic Wars and shows Carthaginians dressed in classically inspired armour, like that the Ottoman soldier is wearing.²⁹ This iconography surrounding Charles's self-depiction as a Roman general ties together anti-Ottoman propaganda and Charles's strategic use of ancient heritage: a defeated Ottoman soldier is presented to Charles the crusader, a Punic warrior to Charles the Roman conqueror.

Closer inspection of the woman tied to the palm tree in the "Apotheosis of Charles V" shows further connection to Petrarch's *Africa*. In the poem, Petrarch recounts that Carthaginians were brought to Rome after their defeat at the hands of Scipio Africanus, and that at the temple of Jove, they saw "the sceptres and bracelets and necklaces stripped from their necks" and "the shields and broken boats and Punic signs" of Carthage.³⁰ Around the woman in the "Apotheosis of Charles V," we find a variety of *all'antica* shields, armor, and goods that replicate the scene described in Petrarch's *Africa*, further reinforcing the Roman imagery surrounding Charles's conquest of Tunis. Together with other elements of Habsburg iconography depicting Charles as Scipio Africanus reborn, this connection links the Ottomans and the Habsburgs—more specifically, Charles—within a broader narrative that follows the footsteps of both the Caesars of Rome and Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Northern Africa.

This iconography remained with the emperor until the end of his reign. "The Victories of Charles V" presents the emperor over his vanquished enemies, showing an Ottoman Sultan alongside the king of France and a Protestant prince. Compared to the monumental expectations laid down by Habsburg propaganda, Charles's minor victories against the Ottomans were reshaped as achievements

²⁷ Robert John Clines, "Dido and Laura in Carthage: White purity, epidermal race, and sexual violence in Petrarch's *Africa*," *Postmedieval* 14/1 (2023): 89–118.

²⁸ del Campo, *The Art of Power*, 118–19.

²⁹ del Campo, *The Art of Power*, 145–49.

³⁰ Das, "Time and Memory in Carthage", 377.

of universal dominion. In reality, Charles's reign was one marked with disappointment and concession to the Ottomans.³¹ In 1547, Ferdinand was forced to pay tribute to the Ottoman sultan for land he owned in Hungary, and a second African expedition in 1541 ended in a complete failure. Süleyman captured Buda and much of Hungary, and issues within Europe exhausted Charles, ultimately leading to his abdication in 1555.³²

In the years following his reign, Charles's claim to universal monarchy was not further utilized by the Habsburg dynasty. Charles's son, Philip, marked his early reign by copying his father's iconography, but these motifs do not appear in the same number. In a burgonet made for Philip in the 1560s, Philip depicts himself not as Scipio Africanus, but as Scipio's grandson, using the imagery simply to strengthen his own legitimacy.³³ "The Victories of Charles V," which showed the emperor's triumph over his enemies, was only used by Philip as a point to be made against the rebellious Protestant Dutch.³⁴ While Philip did make Messianic claims to his rule akin to his father's, they never carried the same imagery and grandeur.³⁵ When the image of Alexander the Great was used in festivals for Philip, Alexander once again turned into a chivalric hero, as he was seen prior to Charles's reign.³⁶ Charles and the iconography around him still showed the emperor as a universal monarch, albeit only to legitimize Philip's rule.

3. A New Iskander, Heir to Osman, Universal Ruler: Süleyman The Magnificent

During the reign of Charles V, Ottoman imperial imagery underwent a similar shift. Much like the Habsburgs, the Osman dynasty utilized ancestral claims to justify their rule; however, it was specifically under Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent that Ottoman imagery shifted to a global perspective. As Charles was the heir to Charlemagne, Süleyman was the heir to Osman, the founder of the Ottoman state.³⁷ Also like Charles, Süleyman was the true heir to Rome, a warrior of the faith, and the successor to Alexander the Great. Much as a rich literary tradition arose surrounding Alexander the Great in Europe, so too did stories of Alexander arise in the eastern Mediterranean. Alexander, or as he would have been known to the Ottomans, Iskander, first came to the attention of the Ottoman sultans

³¹ Parker, *Emperor*, 755–60.

³² Parker, *Emperor*, 377–87, 663–74; Tracy, *Emperor Charles V*, 207.

³³ del Campo, *The Art of Power*, 125–27.

³⁴ Rosier, "The Victories of Charles V," 26, 38.

³⁵ Geoffrey Parker, "The Place of Tudor England In the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 170–85.

³⁶ Hugo Soly, "1549: A Year of Grace for Emperor Charles V and His Subjects in the Low Countries," in *Charles V, Prince Philip and the Politics of Succession: Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault, 1549*, ed. Margaret M. McGowan and Margaret Shewring (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 48.

³⁷ Colin Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth," in *Studies in Ottoman History and Law* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 309.

through contact with Persian versions of the Alexander Romance,³⁸ such as the *Iskandarnamah* or *Shahnamah*, chronicling Alexander the Great and later Persian rulers.³⁹

The earliest work merging Alexander with the Ottoman rule is the *İskendernāme* made for Bayezid I, but Alexandrian imagery does not resurface until the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, painting himself as a new Alexander. Sultan Mehmed II also revitalized the use of Roman imagery for the Ottomans, using the conquest of Constantinople to merge Roman imagery with Turkic imagery of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. Furthering this Roman adoption, the Persian sources on Alexander presented the Macedonian as a Roman, and thus established a genealogy where the Roman Empire was a successor of Alexander.⁴⁰ Another important action Mehmed II took was styling himself as a Roman emperor in a way Europeans would understand. Mehmed II commissioned a painting of himself in the western style by Venetian artist Gentile Bellini. He advertised to Venetian diplomats his knowledge of classical sources, and of Arrian's *Anabasis* discussing Alexander. The Ottoman court was taken aback by these imperial claims, and it was only until the sixteenth century that this imagery reached its culmination.⁴¹

Süleyman came to the Ottoman throne surrounded by these imperial claims. At the time of Süleyman's accession in 1520, the Ottomans had acquired lands in Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and started to see themselves as the defenders of the Islamic world. Ottoman sultans were known as *gāzī's*, Turkic warriors who were obligated to take on great campaigns for the spread of Islam. By the reign of Süleyman, *gāzī* had come to represent frontier raiding but was still used by Süleyman as a justification for his expansion beyond the core of the Ottoman empire. Süleyman's claim to universal rule was seen from the start of his reign. Süleyman's father was upheld as a defender of the faith,⁴² and Süleyman used universal imagery to create his own image and legitimacy, as the beginning of his reign was marked with instability. A law code from 1525 defines Süleyman as *ṣāhib-ķirān*, a great ruler who is destined to conquer the world. The law code also dubs Süleyman caliph, providing Süleyman with spiritual authority to augment his universal claims.⁴³

A major aspect of these claims entailed claiming the title of Caesar from Charles V and denying the emperor's claim to universal rule. Süleyman's court historian, Celalzade Mustafa, claims that the campaign of 1529 was undertaken to prove to the world which ruler was the true universal

³⁸ Su Fang Ng, "Heirs to Rome," in *Alexander the Great from Britain to Southeast Asia: Peripheral Empires in the Global Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 61–66.

³⁹ Minoo S. Southgate, "Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97/3 (1977): 280–81.

⁴⁰ Ng, "Heirs to Rome," 62–66.

⁴¹ Ng, "Heirs to Rome," 62–66.

⁴² Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth," 309–10, 318–20.

⁴³ Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 188–90.

monarch.⁴⁴ After Charles's grand triumph in Bologna, Süleyman surpassed Charles' display by parading throughout Hungary to the front lines. Süleyman's grand vizier Ibriham Pasha had Venetian artisans construct a four-tiered crown for the sultan's triumph. The crown, which was completely new to Ottoman imperial iconography, was made to mimic a papal tiara, and the fourth tier of the crown was made to symbolize the crown Charles V used at Bologna. Süleyman claimed political and spiritual dominion through this crown, cementing his claim to universal monarchy. European diplomats were told that the crown was an Alexandrian relic, cementing Süleyman as the heir of Alexander, and the conqueror of the East and West. The four crowns also represented the four cardinal directions, and similar iconography was used on a turban worn by the sultan while on parade in Baghdad in 1534.⁴⁵

As Süleyman's reign progressed, those around him became less enamoured by the emperor's claim to *şāhib-ķirān*,⁴⁶ and Süleyman shifted his image again. Unlike Charles, who in the face of minor victories, and numerous distractions in Europe, kept the moniker of a universal monarch, Süleyman portrayed himself as a powerful and orthodox Muslim ruler. Conflicts with Safavid Persia caused the Ottomans to change their imagery again much as they changed their imagery with the Habsburgs, with Süleyman now acting as a ruler waging war against the "heretical" Safavid Persians.⁴⁷ By the 1540s, after victories against the Habsburgs and Safavids, Süleyman was presented through his merit first, and universal rule second; he became a "distributor of crowns" and lawgiver rather than a universal monarch,⁴⁸ and even Charles V was portrayed as the universal monarch of Europe, and not the world. In 1553, a similar title was bestowed upon Süleyman, who, seeking legitimacy over the Safavids, proclaimed himself as the universal monarch over the Muslim world.⁴⁹

4. Conclusions

As both Süleyman and Charles took the throne of their respective realms, they found themselves with a great amount of potential and power behind their rule. To establish legitimacy and prestige, both adopted the moniker of universal monarch. In this adoption, previously used imperial and religious imagery was adapted to a global stage, wherein both rulers claimed ancestry to the Roman emperors of old, and Alexander the Great, who had come to represent a great world-conquering figure. Charles V and Süleyman clashed in 1529, spurring imagery using traditional and new motifs to represent the all-encompassing glory of these universal monarchs. While Süleyman saw initial defeat, ushering in a wave of imperial splendour for Charles, Süleyman eventually began to see victory after

⁴⁴ Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*, 188–90.

⁴⁵ Gulru Necipoglu, "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71/3 (1989): 407–17.

⁴⁶ Necipoglu, "Suleyman the Magnificent," 420.

⁴⁷ Imber, "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth", 318.

⁴⁸ Şahin, *Empire and Power*, 191.

⁴⁹ Şahin, *Empire and Power*, 190–93.

victory. The sultan's success, which affirmed his legitimacy alongside changing policies, prompted Süleyman to move away from his claim as universal ruler, looking inward and depicting himself as a stable law-giving monarch. In the face of defeat, campaigns cut short, distractions in Europe, and minor victories, Charles was instead forced to continuously uphold his claim of universal monarch, in a driven attempt to gain the legitimacy and power needed for him to accomplish his goals. With Charles's passing and ambition cut short, his son and successor did briefly keep the imagery of the universal monarchy alive, albeit purely to establish the legitimacy of his own reign. By using new and adapted iconography, connecting different strands of imperial ancestry, and faith, Charles and Süleyman utilized global imagery to sustain their claim to universal monarchy, and thus legitimacy and stability for their reign, and used said imagery as an important tool in the rivalry between the two sovereigns.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abulafia, David. *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
<https://books-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks0/oxford/2011-06-22/1/52666>.
- Altdorfer, Albrecht, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Springinklee, and Wolf Traut. *Arch of Honor*. 1515.
Woodcut, 45.7 x 62.2 cm (18 x 24 ½ in). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/388475?imgNo=16&tabName=related-objects>.
- Becker, Jochen. “Greater than Zeuxis and Apelles’: Artists as Arguments in the Antwerp Entry of 1549.” In *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring. Translated by Willem Meijs. London: Routledge, 2002.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315259086>.
- Bohnstedt, John W. “The Infidel Scourge of God: The Turkish Menace as Seen by German Pamphleteers of the Reformation Era.” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58, no. 9 (1968): 1–58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1006112>.
- Boone, Rebecca. “Empire and Medieval Simulacrum: A Political Project of Mercurino Di Gattinara, Grand Chancellor of Charles V.” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 4 (2011): 1027–49.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/23210622>.
- Campo, Alvaro Soler del. *The Art of Power Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain*. Translated by Jenny F. Dodman. Madrid: T.F. Editores, 2009.
- Das, Nandini. “Time and Memory in Carthage.” *Renaissance Studies* 35, no. 3 (June 2021): 360–85.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12705>.
- Egorov, Andrey. “Charismatic Rulers in Civic Guise: Images of the Nine Worthies in Northern European Town Halls of the 14th to 16th Centuries.” In *Faces of Charisma: Image, Text, Object in Byzantium and The Medieval West*, edited by Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Martha Dana Rust. Explorations in Medieval Culture, vol. 9. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018.
<https://brill.com/display/title/26902>.

- Hagen, Rose-Marie and Rainer Hagen. "The Battle to End All Battles." In *What Great Paintings Say: 100 Masterpieces in Detail*, 128–33. New York and Köln: Taschen, 2003.
<https://archive.org/details/whatgreatpaintin0000hage/page/128/mode/1up>.
- Imber, Colin. "The Ottoman Dynastic Myth." In *Studies in Ottoman History and Law*, 305–22. Analecta Isisiana: Ottoman and Turkish Studies. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010.
<https://books-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks7/degruyter/7/2022-05-13/8/9781463230104>.
- John Clines, Robert. "Dido and Laura in Carthage: White Purity, Epidermal Race, and Sexual Violence in Petrarch's Africa." *Postmedieval* 14, no. 1 (March 2023): 89–118.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/s41280-022-00258-8>.
- Kavaler, Ethan Matt. "Power and Performance." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 67, no. 1 (2017): 214–55.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26593104>.
- Modrone, Caremolo. *Burgonet*. 1536. Armour. Royal Armouries Collections. Leeds.
<https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-39981>.
- Necipoglu, Gulru. "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry." *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (September 1989): 401–27.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3051136>.
- Ng, Su Fang. "Heirs to Rome." In *Alexander the Great from Britain to Southeast Asia: Peripheral Empires in the Global Renaissance*, 49–75. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
<https://books-scholarsportalinfo.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/en/xml/chapter?id=/ebooks/ebooks4/oso4/2019-04-18/1/oso-9780198777687-Ng&chapterId=oso-9780198777687-chapter-2>.
- Parker, Geoffrey. *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019.
- . "The Place of Tudor England In the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 167–221.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0080440102000063>.

- Richard W. Bulliet. "The Other Siege of Vienna and the Ottoman Threat: An Essay in Counter-Factual History." *ReOrient* 1, no. 1 (2015): 11–22.
<https://doi.org/10.13169/reorient.1.1.0011>.
- Rosier, Bart. "The Victories of Charles V: A Series of Prints by Maarten van Heemskerck, 1555–56". *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 20, no. 1 (1990): 24–38.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3780760>.
- Şahin, Kaya. *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139540643.009>.
- Soly, Hugo. "1549: A Year of Grace for Emperor Charles V and His Subjects in the Low Countries." In *Charles V, Prince Philip and the Politics of Succession: Imperial Festivities in Mons and Hainault, 1549*, edited by Margaret M. McGowan and Margaret Shewring, 47–61. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
- Southgate, Mino S. "Portrait of Alexander in Persian Alexander-Romances of the Islamic Era." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 97, no. 3 (July 1977): 278–84.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/600734?origin=crossref>.
- Thietmar of Merseburg, and David Warner. *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*. Manchester Medieval Sources Series. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001.
- Tracy, James D. *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.