

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF
TURKEY

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Volume 3 traces the history of the later Ottoman Empire from the death of Mehmed III in 1603 to the proclamation of the *Tanzimat*, the administrative reconstruction of the Ottoman state, in 1839. This was a period of alternating stability and instability when trade between the empire and Europe flourished and, wartime apart, merchants and pilgrims could travel in relative security. However, despite the emphasis on the sultan's role as defender of the faithful and of social order, tensions did exist between the ruling elite in Istanbul and their subjects in the provinces, not least because of the vastness of the empire and the unpropitious natural environment with which those subjects struggled on a daily basis. This theme is one of the central motifs of the volume, where contributors look at the problems provincial administrators faced when collecting taxes and coming to terms with local soldiers and the politically active households of notables. Other sections focus on religious and political groups, non-Muslim minorities, women, trade, handicrafts, life in the Ottoman countryside and, importantly, music, art and architecture. The history sets out to demonstrate the political, cultural and artistic accomplishments of the Ottomans in the post-classical period, which runs contrary to traditional and still widespread notions that this was a period of stagnation and decline.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF

TURKEY

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THE CAMBRIDGE
HISTORY OF
TURKEY

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VOLUME 3

The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839

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Edited by

SURAIYA N. FAROQHI



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Arts and architecture

TÜLAY ARTAN

Painting in the provinces and in the capital

A provincial perspective: patronage and subject matter in Baghdad

In the Ottoman lands before the mid-nineteenth century, miniature painting was the principal site at which the heroic deeds of sultans, as well as lesser human beings and even landscapes, could be depicted; it was patronised by the sultan's court first and foremost. Many of the surviving manuscripts were commissioned either by the rulers or by members of their immediate circles. Provincial schools of painting were rare, although this impression may in part be due to accidents of survival.¹

In the early seventeenth century, miniature painting flourished once again in Baghdad, where this art had a long and distinguished pre-Ottoman history. This was due to the patronage of locally established Mevlevî dervishes, who mainly commissioned illustrated sufi biographies.² This revitalisation of Baghdad painting also was due to an ambitious patron, the governor Hasan Paşa (in office 1598–1603), son of the illustrious grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed and a renowned Mevlevî himself, who extended his protection over several dervish lodges. Hasan Paşa's aspiring and resourceful patronage of the arts was blamed for inviting comparison with that of his sultan, as the governor ordered a variety of costly objects, including a silver throne decorated with fruit trees and flowers. Among the manuscripts illustrated during his tenure in Baghdad there was the *Câmîü's-siyer*, a history of Islamic prophets, caliphs and kings, which included a miniature showing Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî's

¹ Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma döneminde Türk resim sanatı 1700–1850* (Ankara, 1977).

² Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974), pp. 55–63; Filiz Çağman, 'Mevlevî dergahlarında minyatür', in *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, Erol Şadi Erdiñç and Kemal Eraslan (Istanbul, 1979), pp. 651–77; Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, 1990).

fateful meeting with Molla Şemseddîn Tebrîzî, which was to make a scholar from the central Anatolian town of Konya into a world-famous mystic and poet (Fig. 19.1).

The miniatures of the Baghdad school differ from the courtly productions particularly in their depiction of figures with outsized heads and vivid facial features. Groups of people, from many walks of life and in a variety of costumes, mingle in large crowds, while individual figures are scattered all over the page. Altogether, most Baghdad miniatures stand in striking opposition to the colour schemes and stiff, rigid, conventional arrangements typical of the palace school. Even the landscapes are dramatised. At times there is a degree of experimentation with perspective: horses are depicted from the rear, while human figures are but partially visible between landscaping elements.

Although nearly thirty illustrated manuscripts and a number of detached folios have survived from the period between 1590 and 1610, very little is known about the way in which they were commissioned, apart from the activity of Hasan Paşa himself. Patrons favoured religious works, for example *Hadîkatü 's-sü'e'dâ*, *Maktel-i Hüseyin* and *Ahvâl-i Kiyâmet*. Apart from Mevlevîs and a few governors of Baghdad, it was probably the local gentry who were interested in illustrated accounts of the Karbala tragedy – the death of the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Husayn in battle. Of this and other events constitutive of Shiism down to the present day we possess quite a number of manuscripts with images, and this version of Islam remained important in the Baghdad region throughout the Ottoman era. Even a cursory examination of the productions of the Baghdad school in their striking originality reveals that not all artistic innovations were necessarily initiated by the Ottoman centre.

Illustrated genealogies, or royal portrait albums, were '(re)invented' during the reign of Murâd III (r. 1574–95) and came to be known as *Zübdetü't-Tevârih* and *Şemâ'ilnâme* (*Kıyâfetü'l-insâniye fî Şemâ'ilü'l-'Osmâniye*). While no longer produced in Istanbul after the death of Murâd III, two *Şemâ'ilnâmes* were illustrated in Baghdad under his successor, Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603). *Silsilenâmes* also appeared in this period, written by scribes living in Baghdad.³ These works contained the images of prophets recognised by Islam, caliphs and Muslim dynasties of the pre-Ottoman period, and finally the sultans ruling from Istanbul, thus conveying the message that the Ottomans were the last of the legitimate dynasties to rule the world before the end of time. Several such *silsilenâmes* from Baghdad made their way into the Topkapı collections,

3 Serpil Bağcı, 'From Adam to Mehmed III: Silsilenâme', in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 188–201.



Figure 19.1 Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî's encounter with his consecrator Semseddîn of Tabriz, a 'wild' mystic, in Konya: *Câmîü's-siyer*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1230, 112a.

presumably intended for Ottoman statesmen. The latter provided the models directly from the court ateliers of Istanbul, and the finished works wound up either in their own treasuries or else were passed on as gifts to the sultan, high-ranking palace officials and even other Islamic courts.

The sudden end of miniature production in Baghdad must have been brought about by turmoil in the area after a partial Iranian blockade of the city in 1605 and a rising of the Shiites in Karbala. Çerkez Yusuf Paşa, then governor, had commissioned an illustrated *Sefernâme* or campaign logbook; it was left unfinished as the patron had to abandon his post. Likewise, the Shirazi productions, which had been reaching the Ottoman capital via Baghdad, were no longer available after the turn of the century: none of the volumes today in the Topkapı Sarayı are dated later than 1602.

Nakkâş Hasan Paşa, or the artist behind the statesman

Artistic patronage also receded in seventeenth-century Istanbul, if not as abruptly as in Baghdad; this phenomenon remains unexplored in its wider dimensions. Military and economic setbacks come to mind as explanations, but the decline observed in courtly production is rather more complicated than that. Compared to artistic output dating from the sixteenth century, the number of manuscripts illustrated for the Ottoman court after 1600 is minimal. Moreover, the number of artists/artisans retained for palace service (*ehl-i hiref*) and employed in the arts of the book also decreased.⁴ It has been suggested that as military success became increasingly rare, miniatures in the *şehnâme* tradition disappeared because Ottoman imagery was confined to historical texts glorifying the sultan and his military vigour. However, there was more to Istanbul miniatures than just this one tradition: seventeenth-century albums and manuscripts survive in large enough numbers to show that outside the palace milieu, there were aspiring artists and patrons determined to enjoy painting and other arts of the book. Further study is evidently required.

Akin to the Baghdad productions, miniatures attributed to Nakkâş Hasan reveal a change in style under Mehmed III (r. 1595–1603).⁵ In the crowded design office (*nakkâşhâne*) Nakkâş Hasan worked together with his older colleague Nakkâş ‘Osmân, but he does not appear on the payrolls of the *ehl-i hiref*,

4 Rıfki Melül Meriç, *Türk nakış sa’natı tarihi araştırmaları I: Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1953–4).

5 Zeren Akalay (Tanındı), ‘XVI. yüzyıl nakkâşlarından Hasan Paşa ve eserleri’, in *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, Erol Şadi Erdiç and Kemal Eraslan (Istanbul, 1979), pp. 607–26; Zeren Tanındı, ‘Nakkâş Hasan Paşa’, *Sanat* 6 (1977), 14–125; Banu Mahir, ‘Hasan Paşa (Nakkâş)’, in *Yaşamları ve yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), p. 541.

for while he was active in the palace workshop, Nakkâş Hasan was on duty elsewhere as well. At the Ottoman court this type of double employment was becoming routine: military men or bureaucrats also known as artists were numerous among the palace personnel, most notably among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architects.

In the power struggles that followed the enthronement of Murâd III in December 1574, Nakkâş Hasan did well for himself: he is recorded as a gatekeeper (*kapıcı*) in 1581, when he also assisted Nakkâş ‘Osmân. When Mehmed III became sultan in January 1595, and the power structure of the new regime took shape, Hasan was appointed keeper of the ruler’s keys, then was put in charge of the sultan’s turban in 1596, and became the chief stable master (*büyük mîrâhûr*) a year later. Apparently he graduated from the palace as a senior gatekeeper (*kapıcıbaşı*) in the spring of 1603, obtaining the position of superintendent (*nâzır*) at the imperial gun-foundry, Tophane. After Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) had ascended the throne Nakkâş Hasan was appointed janissary commander, training troops for a campaign in Hungary.⁶ In June 1604 he left for Belgrade. At the onset of winter Nakkâş Hasan, now Hasan Paşa, returned to Istanbul, and was appointed a vizier in February 1605. At this time, just before Ahmed I visited Bursa, Hasan Paşa undertook the restoration of the local palace and designed a lantern. A few months later, he served as the deputy grand vizier (*kâymakâm*) preparing a campaign against rebellious mercenaries, distributing wages and overseeing military exercises; by December 1608, he appears as the fifth vizier in meetings of the imperial council. Early in the reign of Ahmed I, he was married to one of the many daughters of Murâd III. He was sent to Budin as the governor-general in November 1614, and was promoted to fourth and then to third vizier soon after the enthronement of ‘Osmân II. He participated in the Polish campaign, returning to the capital with the other members of the imperial council in September 1621, dying of an illness the following year.

Thus, despite what has been claimed in the secondary literature, Hasan Paşa had an active military–bureaucratic career, and the cape where his water-front palace once stood was called Nakkâşburnu in his memory. In spite of his numerous political responsibilities Nakkâş Hasan Paşa’s hand has been identified in over twenty manuscripts with historical and literary themes, including a *Divân-ı Fuzûlî* and a copy of Firdausî’s *Şahnâme*. Nakkâş Hasan also illuminated a *tuğra* of Ahmed I and signed his name on the lower left of this large panel.

⁶ Abdülkadir Efendi, *Topçular kâtibi Abdülkâdir (Kadri) Efendi tarihi (metin ve tahlil)*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 2003).

Panic, prophecy and metaphysics: the end of Ottoman heroism

At the turn of the seventeenth century many Ottomans saw themselves as living in times of uncertainty and stress, increased by the apocalyptic fears that for some people accompanied the Muslim millennium. Fortune-telling became popular even among certain members of the elite, and this led to a fashion for translations of the appropriate works from Persian and Arabic originals.⁷ A few such books were illuminated for the court. Each of the two copies of the translation of el-Bistâmi's *Cifru'l-câmi*, commissioned by Mehmed III and Ahmed I respectively, has been embellished by some fifty miniatures from the hands of different artists.⁸ Here the style of Nakkâş Hasan predominates: outlines are bold, colours do not mix, and hair is represented with extra care. Figurative representations of ordinary persons are rather experimental, but mythological creatures are standardised, with only their costumes varying (Fig. 19.2).

Şerîf b. Seyyid Muhammed, the translator of the text, revealed that the chief of the white eunuchs, Gazanfer Ağa (executed in 1602/3), took an interest in the translation, and perhaps the latter chose the tales to be illustrated. Since the *Cifru'l-câmi* included stories both from 'popular' and Orthodox Islam, its production may reflect the factional rivalries at court that finally cost Gazanfer his life. Soothsaying had been a respectable profession in pre-Islamic Arab cities, but fortune-telling is forbidden in orthodox Sunni Islam. However, the Shiites believed that the Prophet's son-in-law 'Alî and his descendants had the knowledge of all happenings until the end of time. Compilations of signs and numbers, along with the relevant explanations, served in this environment to calculate the timing of doomsday.

The second part of the manuscript recounts the supernatural occurrences or natural disasters that were regarded as signs of doomsday, apocalyptic prophecies being much on the agenda around 1000/1591–2. These included the coming of the Mehdî/Saviour/Messiah, a feature which had been appropriated by the Muslims and was viewed as yet another sign of the Apocalypse. In due course the Ottoman sultan was associated with this Saviour-figure. Hence the conquest of Constantinople was reinterpreted, identifying – at least by implication – Mehmed II with the Prophet. Furthermore, scenes from the reign of Selîm I (r. 1512–20), including battles against the rulers of Iran and Egypt, were also added to el-Bistâmi's text. The frequency with which Selîm I

7 Banu Mahir, 'A Group of 17th Century Paintings Used for Picture Recitation', in *Art Turc: 10e Congrès international d'art turc* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 443–55.

8 Hüsâmettin Aksu, 'Tercüme-i Cifr (Cefr) el-Cami' Tasvirleri', in *Yıldız Demiriz'e armağan*, ed. M. Baha Tanman and Uşun Tükel (Istanbul, 2001), pp. 19–23.



Figure 19.2 Dabbetu'l-arz, an apocalyptic creature: *Tercüme-i Cifru'l-câmî*, Istanbul University Library, T. 6624, 121b.

recurs makes it seem probable that in certain court circles he was recognised as the Mehdî. Later on, Murâd IV (r. 1623–40) also appropriated the title. Not only in Ottoman popular beliefs, but also in factional struggles at court the precursors of doomsday were linked to political figures and events of the time: thus the writer Gelibolulu Mustafâ 'Âlî chose his arch-enemy Sinân Paşa, five times grand vizier, as his personal Deccâl, the Islamic version of Antichrist.⁹ It is known that the translator of *Cifru'l-câmî* was close to Gelibolulu 'Âlî.

Belated Ottomanisation

Although the translator claimed that an illustrated version of *Cifru'l-câmî* in Arabic was available in the sultan's treasury, some of the extant illustrations, including images of the Mehdî, had no iconographic precedents and were based on free interpretations of the text by the artists and/or their patrons. In some other scenes where precedents were in fact available, they were adjusted to Ottoman versions of millennial beliefs, including the comet of 1577 and the saviour sultan.

Accordingly, at the end of the *Tercüme-i Cifru'l-câmîs*, we find displayed the portraits of the first thirteen rulers, the series concluding with those of the patrons, Mehmed III and Ahmed I, respectively. The text does not contain a description of the rulers' physical features, otherwise common in books of this type, but refers instead to thirteen historical and/or religious – perhaps apocalypse-associated – figures. Presumably the sultans have been linked to these mysterious personages in order to further legitimise the dynasty.

In the miniatures of the *Tercüme-i Cifru'l-câmî* Istanbul is depicted with refinement and attention to detail, thus making visible once again how the artists 'Ottomanised' their models. The Hippodrome is decorated with the famous copper equestrian statue of Constantine, and the Obelisk and the Serpents' Column which still adorn this place are depicted as standing in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia. However, unlike earlier miniatures this latter structure is represented as a mosque, as evident from the addition of a minaret and a gallery to accommodate late-comers to Friday prayers: another example of the Islamisation and Ottomanisation of the Istanbul cityscape.¹⁰

More prophetic revelations: the enigma of Kalender Paşa

Travel, business, partnership, marriage, sickness, the attacks of enemies and the pangs of jealousy, all are human experiences fraught with uncertainty, and

⁹ Cornell Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafâ 'Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, 1986).

¹⁰ Metin And, *Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm mitologyası* (Istanbul, 1998).

as such were of interest to the compilers of *fâlnâmes*, books of divination usable as aids by the would-be fortune-teller. Less frequently, propositions were made to the anxious reader concerning the move into a new house or household, purchasing animals or slaves, weaning a child, starting a religious education or visiting powerful people and asking for their help.

Two large-size books of divination dealing with topics of this kind survive from the early seventeenth-century palace milieu, and one of them was put together by another vizier of Ahmed I: Kalender Paşa was a benefactor of the arts and himself a noted master of manuscript illumination, and he himself trimmed, resized, ruled and glued papers to make up elegant albums (*vassale*).¹¹ Kalender Paşa first worked in financial administration, and in due course was appointed second finance director (*defterdâr*). As *şehremîni* he participated in the committee that surveyed the area where the construction of Sultan Ahmed's great mosque complex was scheduled to take place, and later he operated as a senior administrator on site; this responsibility continued even after Kalender had been returned to the position of second finance director. In the fall of 1612 he attended meetings of the imperial council together with his fellow artist Nakkâş Hasan; and by December of the same year, he had been promoted to the rank of pasha while continuing to oversee the construction of the Sultan Ahmed mosque. However, Kalender Paşa did not see it completed, as he died in the late summer of 1616.

It is quite possible that Kalender Paşa was known by this particular name or pen-name, which in Ottoman parlance refers to antinomian mystics, because of his association with some of the less officially recognised dervishes of his time. But it is also possible that Kalender originally had made his way to high office as an immigrant from the lands governed by the shahs, serving in the household of an Ottoman dignitary. Quite a few officials and patrons of Safavid-style manuscripts had managed to insert themselves into the ruling group in this manner, and literati, artists and craftsmen who relocated in the Ottoman territories after the Ottoman–Safavid war of 1578 had done the same. Evidently the *fâlnâme* of Shah Tahmâsb provided a model for all the books of apocalyptic and prophetic revelations esteemed by the Ottoman court at that time, and an early connection with Iran may have induced the statesman–artist known as Kalender to experiment in this field.

For the Ottoman *fâlnâme*, Kalender Paşa not only penned a preface in Turkish and wrote the captions for each illustration, but also executed the gilt

¹¹ Banu Mahir, 'Kalender Paşa', in *Yaşamları ve yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), p. 692. See also Abdülkâdir Efendi, *Topçular kâtibi Abdülkâdir (Kadri) Efendi tarihi*, vol. I, p. ii.

decorations himself. Characteristic of this compilation are a thick brush and bright colours, in addition to an emphasis on decorative details. The themes chosen for illustration are especially noteworthy; for the manuscript includes thirty-five oversize miniatures on religious and symbolic themes, from both the Old and New Testaments, in the shapes these stories took when incorporated into Islamic mythology. There were also legends rooted in the ancient Near East, such as traditions relating to the Wonders of the Creation, the planets and constellations of the Zodiac, as well as the deeds and miracles of prophets, saints and holy personages. Thus the manuscript was turned into a shorthand compendium of the iconography of biblical legends in Ottoman painting, fantastic figures being depicted with considerable visual bravura. This kind of artwork retained a devotional colouring although it was not sanctioned by the religious authorities and consequently conveyed no message connected to formal religion.

Among the miracles of prophets and saints, several scenes from the Old Testament were included in the *fâlnâmes*. Only a selection of the prophets recognised by Islam found their way into these manuscripts, probably singled out because of their particular importance to the sufi movement. Sufi writers and artists brought novel interpretations to these stories and initiated new iconographies, typically emphasising the moments just before the crucial miracles. As Muslim rulers greatly respected Solomon / Süleymân as the ideal king and were in awe of his supernatural powers, both the sufis and the most orthodox authors often referred to tales involving Solomon, and the same applied to the miracles of Moses. Kalender Paşa's *fâlnâme* also contained a depiction of Jonah, rescued by Cebrâil / Gabriel from the stomach of the fish (Fig. 19.3); this story too was reinterpreted by the sufis, especially by Celâleddîn Rûmî. On the other hand, the only New Testament character recast in the *fâlnâme* was Mary breastfeeding the infant Jesus. Islamic miniatures portraying the life of Jesus normally showed only his birth and execution, in the latter instance avoiding the depiction of the cross. These episodes were not treated in sufi literature, and as no alternative iconographic motifs were available the artists probably utilised European models.

The dervishes and their adherents introduced elements of mysticism and spirituality into the sagas of their heroes' lives. While the different dervish orders all had their favourites, these specific preferences cannot be detected in our manuscripts. Rather, it was the intellectual and spiritual motifs common to quite a few sufi orders that penetrated the iconography of the miniatures. Such texts found a ready audience at the Ottoman court of the years around 1600, when sultans were reputed for their piety and often inclined to listen to



Figure 19.3 Jonah being helped out of the belly of the fish by an angel: *Falname*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1703, 35b.

the advice of dervish sheikhs. These books evidently provided what many elite Ottomans needed most at the time: prophecy and magic, if not necessarily faith.

In addition to the *Tercüme-i Cifru'l-câmîs* and the *fâlnâmes*, two copies of the anonymous *Ahvâl-i Kıyâmet* (concerning God's judgement and the afterlife) deserve attention. This text is a Turkish adaptation of eschatological treatises in Arabic and Persian, listing the evils in this world which lead to punishment in the next. Although simple in execution, the two copies of *Ahvâl-i Kıyâmet* are noted for their inventive illustrations and iconography. While the themes are identical to those of the *Tercüme-i Cifru'l-câmî* and the two *fâlnâmes*, neither copy of *Ahvâl-i Kıyâmet* conveys any mystical content. While the two latter manuscripts were both produced in Istanbul, a few detached folios that apparently formed part of an iconographical cycle similar to one of the manuscripts in question are stylistically akin to the Baghdad school.

Exhaustion, fatigue and torpor: the rise of album paintings

There had been a moment in the last quarter of the sixteenth century when the partnership of Nakkâş 'Osmân and the writer seyyid Lokmân had brought the art of miniature painting to major florescence at the Ottoman court. After 1574, Murâd III and Mehmed III certainly were hard pressed in the face of military demands and economic stringency; yet they persisted in artistic patronage. Ahmed I, on the other hand, channelled his resources into an ambitious architectural project, the complex bearing his name, largely leaving the patronage of all other art forms to his statesmen. That the central design office, originally at the entrance to the Hippodrome, was moved for the construction of this complex may indicate the ruler's relative lack of interest in the pictorial arts. At this time, court production of miniatures was in crisis, as teams of artists now fought out fierce rivalries for diminishing patronage resources, but also struggled against fatigue and lassitude.

The appearance of album paintings in the early 1600s may indicate that patronage for more encompassing projects was currently unavailable. Thus a compilation known as the album of Murâd III but including more recent work contains single portraits of dervishes, women, warriors, young men, a prisoner and members of the Safavid court, in addition to a hunting scene and animals.¹² A well-known miniature from this album depicts the interior of a coffee house, an early appearance of genre painting in the Ottoman visual repertoire. In striking contrast to the languor and nervous exhaustion of the

12 Vladimir Minorsky, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1958), p. 439.

court ateliers, the artists represented in these albums negated, reinvented and expanded conventions, which they were able to do because they apparently worked on subjects of their own choice.

Other albums, known as *murakka'*, also date from the early seventeenth century. One of them, probably compiled by Kalender Paşa upon the sultan's request, contains earlier miniatures and single figures, but is of special interest for the scenes reflecting social life in the reign of Ahmed I.¹³ All these items were the work of anonymous artists, reflecting the distinctive style of the period and including some fifty portrait studies of a variety of social and ethnic types. Sultans' portraits, from 'Osmân I Gâzî to Murâd III were represented, but we also find nude women, while among the 'exotics' there were Jews, Europeans and Iranians. In the introduction the sultan's feelings towards art and artists were described – perhaps, as previously noted, not in an entirely realistic fashion. Then the preparations for the album and the types of paper used were detailed by the compiler, for whom this should not have been the first assignment of its kind. Together with the large-size pictures especially made in this period to facilitate the recitation of stories and fortune-telling, the album of Ahmed I defined the parameters of artistic production in years to come (Figs. 19.4 and 19.5).

Ahmed Nakşî, or was there any room for sarcasm?

Nevertheless, among the noted illustrated manuscripts of the early seventeenth century we still find representatives of the Ottoman historical tradition: thus the *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî/Hotin Fetihnâmesi* (c. 1622, completed before the murder of 'Osmân II) was the last representative of the Ottoman tradition of topographic painting; and copies of an Ottoman version of Firdausî's great work, the *Tercüme-i Şehnâme*, represent 'Osmân II and his court among selected themes from Iranian epics. Even so, royal portraits dominated courtly production at this time. Images of sultans were included even in popular Islamic classical genres, for example in a copy of Qazvîni's *Acâibü'l-Mahlûkât* (c. 1622), and the same thing applied to the two illustrated copies of Hoca Sa'deddîn's (d. 1599) dynastic history *Tâcü't-tevârîh*, both dated 1616.

But this fashion for portraiture is most apparent in an early seventeenth-century translation of Taşköprülüzâde's (d. 1561) biographies of several hundred eminent Ottoman scholars and sheikhs, known as the *Tercüme-i Şakâynk-i*

13 A. Süheyl Ünver, 'L'Album d'Ahmed Ier', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (1963), pp. 127–62.

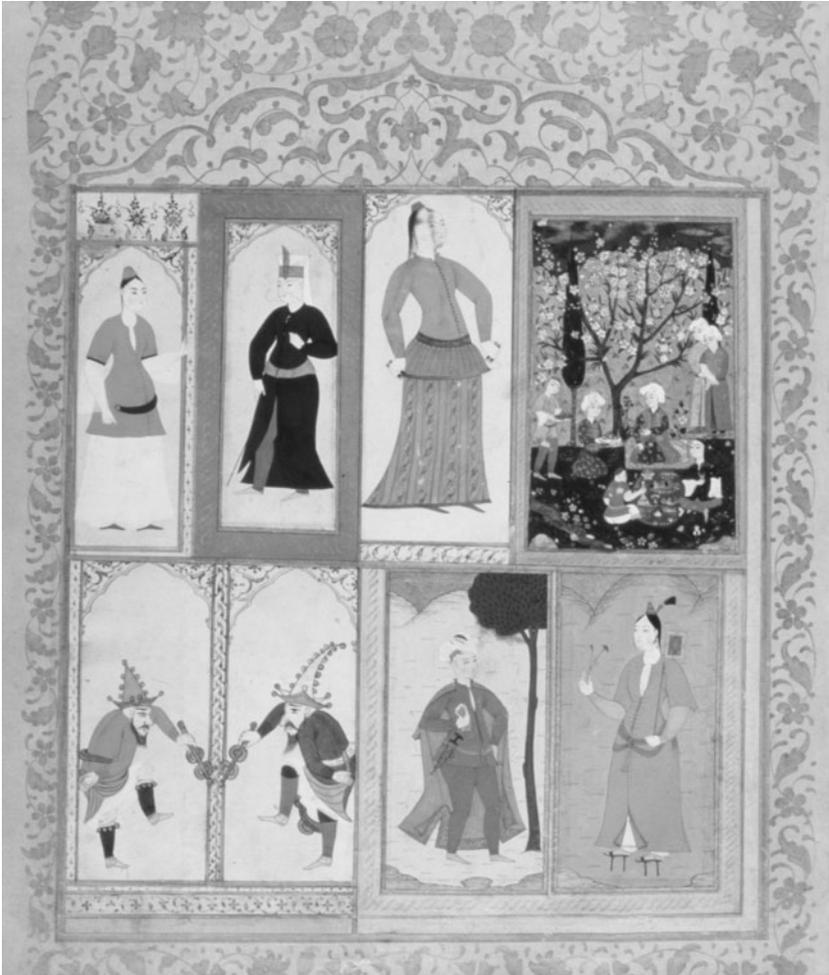


Figure 19.4 Miniatures from the Album of Ahmed I: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B. 408, 16b.

Nu'mâniye (c. 1619). This volume includes miniatures showing these long-dead luminaries either alone or else along with their colleagues, students or the sultans of the times – always seated, and preferably outdoors. The artist responsible for the illustrations of the *Tercüme-i Şakâynk-i Nu'mâniye* has identified himself as Nakşî (Ahmed) Bey (d. after 1622) in connection with a miniature at the end of the volume, in which the artist had represented himself together

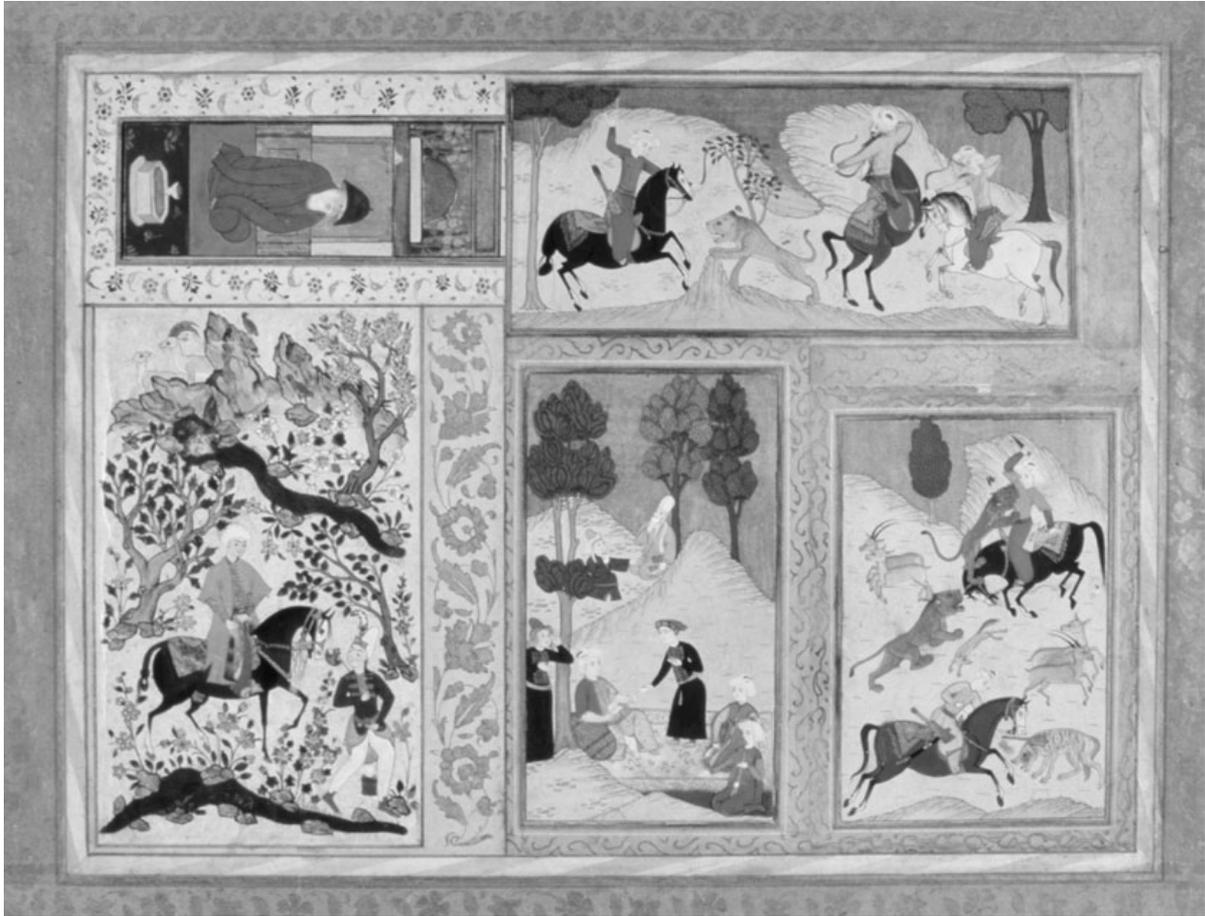


Figure 19.5 Miniatures from the Album of Ahmed I: Topkapı Palace Museum Library, B. 408, 17a.

with the translator and the deputy grand vizier.¹⁴ Apparently around 1600 some artists, enjoying high status and esteem, had begun to take pride in representing themselves.

Like his peers Nakkâş Hasan Paşa and Kalender Paşa, Nakkâş Ahmed did not appear on the payrolls of the artisans and artists retained by the palace. Contemporary sources identify him as a poet and an astrologer (*müneccim*), who officiated as the time-keeper/horologer (*muvaakkıt*) of the Süleymaniye mosque; he seems to have lived in the Istanbul quarter of Ahırkapı and worked for the court as a freelancer. But this position as a relative outsider may not have precluded high official esteem. In this context it is worth noting that the manuscript ends with a note to the effect that it was completed through the efforts of two Mehmeds and two Ahmeds, identified as the translator Muhtesibzâde Mehmed Belgrâdî, the grand vizier Hâdım Mehmed Paşa, the author Taşköprülüzâde Ahmed Çelebi and Ahmed Nakşî himself; in the secondary literature Hâdım Mehmed Paşa has been misidentified as ‘Osmân II. As documentary evidence further indicates that the painter worked solely during the brief reign of ‘Osmân II, it seems plausible that Ahmed Nakşî was caught up in the tragic end of the sultan in 1622. Ahmed Nakşî’s work has been identified in over 100 miniatures, most of which are found in six manuscripts and three albums.

Ahmed Nakşî had established a partnership with the court biographer, (Gânîzâde) Mehmed Nâdirî (d. 1627) – in line with the previous partnerships of ‘Osmân and Lokman, and later of Hasan and Ta‘likîzâde. Born into a family of literati and married to the daughter of Şeyhülislâm Sun‘ullâh Efendi, Nâdirî figures prominently in a variety of sources. However, various poems that he presented to the sultan and court dignitaries are full of complaints about his rivals and enemies. In this tension-ridden environment Ahmed Nakşî illustrated the *Dîvân-ı Nâdirî*, compiled by the poet himself with support from the chief of the white eunuchs, Gazanfer Ağa. Ahmed Nakşî must have had access to the sultans’ collections of illustrated manuscripts, and presumably he was also exposed to some late sixteenth-century European engravings available at the palace library. Thus such new artistic development as occurred during the reign of ‘Osmân II was due to this highly original painter.

14 A. Süheyl Ünver, *Ressam Nakşî: hayatı ve eserleri* (Istanbul, 1949), p. 25; Esin Atıl, ‘Ahmed Nakşî, an Eclectic Painter of the Early Seventeenth Century’, in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art, Proceedings*, ed. Géza Fehér Jr. (Budapest, 1978), pp. 103–21.

Ahmed Nakşî contributed to a *şehnâme* intended to glorify the martial valour of ‘Osmân II, and his work is exceptional for the energy and excitement of the Polish campaign that it transmits to the viewers. The artist’s compositional schemes are distinguished by great numbers of figures, each with a discernable physiognomy, experimentation with perspective – particularly when depicting architectural details – a refined and delicate brushwork and a preference for rich colours. In his landscapes, the artist has utilised various techniques to strengthen the feeling of depth and expand the space beyond the picture frame: for this purpose, trees, minute figural compositions and architectural complexes are depicted in the background. Ahmed Nakşî shows a marked sense of perspective, especially noticeable in the depiction of vaults, arched windows and doors. His figures, with their gestures and shaded renderings of drapery folds, indicate his familiarity with Western art. He prefers to position each figure in such a way as to stress individual facial features, or else he shows people and horses from the rear in a manner reminiscent of Andrea Mantegna. In the miniatures of the *Divân* and in those of the *Şehnâme*, crowded compositions are preferred, as opposed to the single figures and occasional buildings in the *Şakâyiık*, which may represent the artist’s early work.

Moreover, a whimsical attitude can be detected in the painter’s inclusion of animated rocks, and also of books, scrolls and pieces of paper with legible messages. Even when portraying Murâd III and ‘Osmân II in traditional compositional schemes, Ahmed Nakşî still reveals his characteristic eclecticism and humour. To the procession celebrating Murâd III when leaving the Topkapı Palace, he has added a curious gate-keeper peeping from behind the imperial gate and a pickpocket being caught red-handed by a guardsman [Fig. 19.6].

Equestrian portraits and the hunt: a false front?

One of the most interesting sets of miniatures dating from this period concerns horsemanship, veterinary science, chivalry and the hunt, and is known as the *Tercüme-i Umdetü’l-mulûk*, by Emîr Hâcib ‘Âşik Timûr.¹⁵ In the 1610s this work was translated from Arabic into Turkish for Ahmed I, himself a passionate hunter. The Ottoman version includes 164 miniatures illustrating breeds of horses and mules, their trappings and riders, as well as a number of fantastic creatures, featuring direct borrowings from Timurid and Turcoman models [Fig. 19.7].

¹⁵ Esin Atıl, ‘The Art of the Book’, in *Turkish Art*, ed. Esin Atıl (Washington, 1980), pp. 137–238, at p. 212.

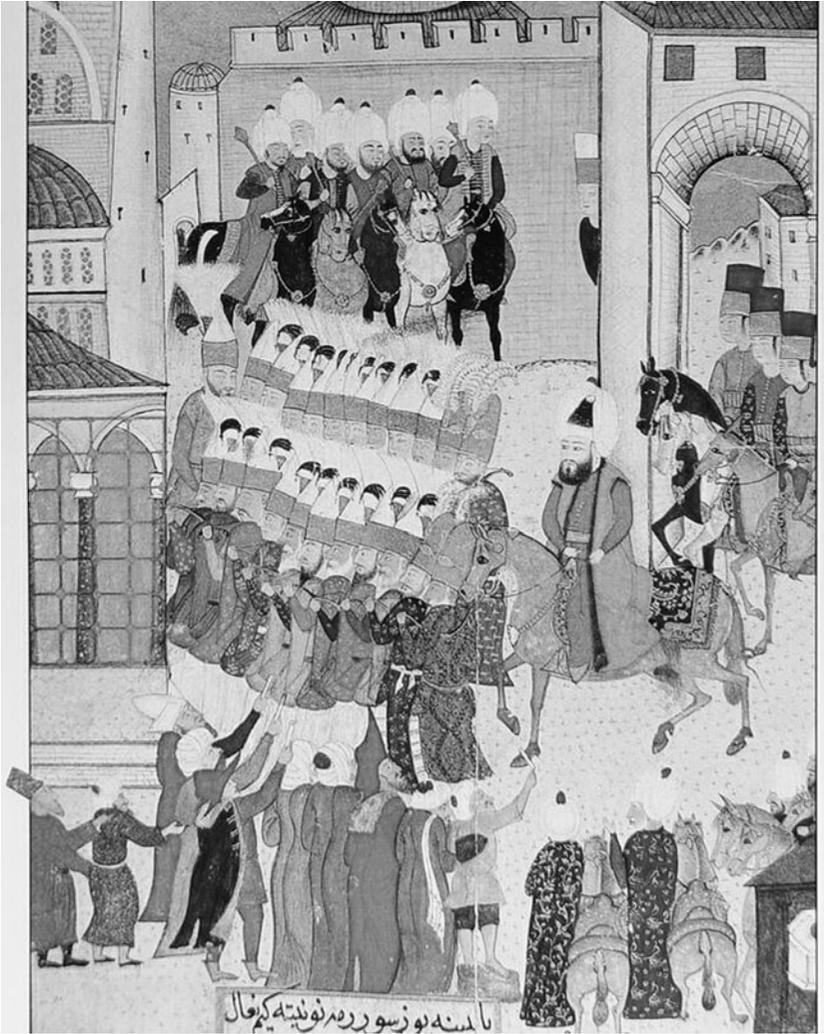


Figure 19.6 Ahmed Nakşi's depiction of Mehmed III leaving the Topkapı Palace for Friday prayers: *Divân-ı Nâdirî*, H. 889, 4a.

Elegant horses are also found in a small album, possibly produced for lesser patrons.¹⁶ The equestrian portrait of 'Osmân II in this album has been copied

¹⁶ Banu Mahir, 'Portraits in New Context', in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 298–335, at p. 322, see also pp. 317–18.



Figure 19.7 A group of musicians at a hunting party: *Kitab-i Tuhfetu'l-mülük*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 415, 241b–242a.

into other manuscripts; its inclusion can be attributed to this ruler's reputation as an accomplished horseman and a horse-lover. In fact, 'Osmân II has always been portrayed on his beloved grey horse, which was later distinguished by a gravestone with a dedication. This portrait of 'Osmân II has been attributed to Ahmed Nakşî, and the colour scheme, representation of nature and attention to detail do point to the school that developed under the latter's guidance.

While equestrian portraits of 'Osmân II were only painted during the sultan's short lifetime, those of his brother Murâd IV were all posthumous. Sultan Murâd's equestrian portrait, depicting the long-deceased ruler as a military hero, was included in two albums prepared in the second half of the seventeenth century, which originally contained eighteen large paintings to be used as aids for the recitation of stories.¹⁷ Out of the eleven surviving sultans' portraits, five depict the rulers on horseback. By the early seventeenth century this mode of depiction was favoured by Ottoman painters in addition to the traditional model showing the enthroned sultan. The rulers deemed suitable for representation as riders were not necessarily selected for their actual talents of horsemanship. Thus Sultan İbrâhîm (r. 1640–8) appeared on horseback, but his son Mehmed IV, a great Nimrod, to our present knowledge was never depicted in this manner.

Murâd IV, Evliyâ Çelebi and the decline of palace craftsmen

In stark contrast to his predecessors Murâd III and Mustafâ I, Murâd IV embarked on several military campaigns, mainly against the Iranians. While enjoying one victory after the other, he was still unsure of the permanency of his successes against the Shiite Safavids of Iran. It is also true that his patronage was constrained by economic difficulties and military priorities; moreover, Sultan Murâd died when still young, and this probably explains why he did not commission accounts of his campaigns in the style favoured by his ancestors: İbrâhîm Mülhemî, who narrated Murâd IV's life and achievements, was the last official *şehnâmeçi* on record, but there were no illustrations. We learn from his former page Evliyâ Çelebi that the sultan had commissioned an illustrated history of the Revân campaign from a certain Pehlivân 'Alî, but such a book has not come to light.¹⁸ Antoine Galland, who arrived in Istanbul in 1672–3,

¹⁷ Mahir, 'A Group of 17th Century Paintings'.

¹⁸ Evliya Çelebib [Derviş Muhammed Zilli], *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 307 yazmasının transkripsiyonu – dizini*, vol. I, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 291–2.

recorded that he saw a chronicle of Murâd IV's reign with five or six miniatures in the bazaar, but this book has not been located either.¹⁹

Evidently under pressure from the Kâdîzâdeliler, religious fundamentalists whom Murâd IV even seems to have cultivated for a while, the number of artists and artisans employed by the palace dropped dramatically.²⁰ In 1605 there had been ninety-three *nakkâşân* recorded in the *ehl-i hiref* registers; the next year the number dropped to fifty-seven and then to fifty-five. In 1624 only forty-eight men were left, and the name of their chief was not even recorded. The next available document is from 1638, when thirty-three artists/artisans were on call, headed by the *ser-bölük* 'Alî. Until 1670 the number varied between forty and sixty, and dropped to less than ten after this date. These figures seem to refer only to those artists and artisans stationed in the capital; there may have been others working in Edirne on an ad hoc basis. In 1690 a certain Hasan Rıdvân was listed as the head of this group, while from 1698 to 1716 this same personage was on record as the former chief, but he does not seem to have had a successor. Thus apparently the practice of retaining Istanbul-based experts for palace service was on the way out.

Evliyâ Çelebi's remarks can help us make sense of the rather limited data furnished by the registers: this author recognises three categories of artists active in Istanbul: the *nakkâşân-ı üstâdân* working for the court; the *nakkâşân-ı musavvirân*, who were experts in figural representations; and the *fâlcıyân-ı musavver*, or painters cum fortune-tellers, working at a shop in the Mahmûd Paşa bazaar, who used paintings by several masters on huge sheets of Istanbul-style paper.²¹ Perhaps the first-named produced various decorations, which might consist of flowers, geometrical ornaments, landscapes or architectural representations; members of the second group by contrast may have painted portraits or compositions of human figures on single folios later to be collected in albums. These paintings depicted prophets, sultans, heroes, sea and land battles, as well as love stories. Evliyâ reported that in addition to the court ateliers, located on the top floors of the sultans' menagerie (Aslanhâne), there were 100 other workshops spread out over the city, while yet further artists worked in their homes; he estimated that the total number reached 1,000. The portrait painters had four workshops and their number was limited to forty, and the only representative of the *fâlcıyân-ı musavver* was Hoca Mehmed Çelebi, who used to tell stories of sea and land battles, prophets, sultans, heroes and romantic lovers found in medieval Iranian epics, basing his tale

19 Antoine Galland, *İstanbul'a ait günlük hatıralar* (1672–1673), ed. Charles Schefer (Ankara, 1987).

20 Atıl, 'The Art of the Book', p. 216.

21 Mahir, 'A Group of 17th Century Paintings'.

on the painting that his customers might choose. Evliyâ did not mention any of the court painters by name, but he did note Miskalî Solakzâde, also known for his history-writing and musical performances, as well as Tiryâkî 'Osmân Çelebi and Tasbâz Pehlivan 'Alî of Parmakkapu as the renowned *musavvirân* of his times, specialising in battle scenes. Murâd IV's commissioning of an illustrated history of the Revân campaign to Pehlivan 'Alî probably indicates the latter's status as a freelance painter affiliated with the court – the miniaturist was evidently not a member of the official workshop. An oversized equestrian portrait mentioned previously, which showed the sultan as an Arab warrior and was later included in an album, should probably be assigned to one of these artists.

Apart from Ahmed Nakşî, miniaturists active after 1600 have mostly been considered inferior to their predecessors; yet this judgement is probably unfair, as time and again we encounter examples of bold experimentation with conventions and symbols entailing significant pictorial innovations. As a good example, there are the illustrations decorating a manuscript called *Tercüme-i İkd al Cuman fi Târîh Ehl-ez Zamân*. This translation of 'Aynî's (d. 1485) history of Islam, originally composed in the Mamluk period, incorporates cosmography and geography. Copied in three volumes in 1693–4, the first volume features allegorical miniatures of planets and constellations, represented as nude females probably modelled on European prototypes. These same motifs recur in a later copy of *İkd al Cuman* dated to 1747–8, this time showing bold figures of naked men and women together with a variety of animals, inspired by the illustrations in Western European atlases. Until recently it had been assumed that after 1650, court commissions for high-quality miniatures more or less disappeared. But this has proven to be inaccurate as well, now that we have come to appreciate the creativity of the painter Levnî and that of his teacher Musavvir Hüseyn, also known as Hüseyn İstanbulî, who worked on *silsilenâmes* and costume albums at the court of Mehmed IV in Edirne.

We probably must take Evliyâ Çelebi's account of the library of the Kurdish ruler of Bitlis, Abdal Hân, with a grain of salt.²² According to the traveller, this ruler owned more than 6,000 manuscripts and albums, including samples of calligraphy and illuminated Qur'ans. Supposedly Abdal Hân possessed 200 European books as well, mostly on scientific subjects, many with

22 Michael Rogers, 'The Collecting of Turkish Art', in *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Collection of Nasser D. Khalili*, ed. Alison Effeny (Geneva and London, 1995), pp. 15–23, at p. 15.

coloured illustrations, and 200 albums of miniatures, including many pages by the finest Persian and Ottoman artists. There was also a European painting of a sea-battle which, said Evliyâ, was so vividly depicted that it seemed the ships were still fighting. It has been argued that such a collection was beyond the capabilities and even dreams of Ottoman viziers, and inaccessible to the sultans as well. But granted that Evliyâ's account may be exaggerated, it shows what a highly educated Ottoman of broad interests might wish to collect. In addition, if the list of Abdal Hân's books has even some connection to reality, it must mean that the palace no longer monopolised illustrated manuscripts.

Patronage of grandees, or masking envy and rivalry

In fact, throughout the seventeenth century, state officials sometimes acted as patrons. We have already encountered the *Sefernâme*, which described an expedition undertaken by Çerkez Ağa Yusuf Paşa, the governor of Baghdad, from Istanbul to Basra in 1602–3. In addition, Malkoçoğlu Yavuz 'Alî Paşa (d. 1604) sponsored the *Vekâyî'-i 'Alî Paşa*, describing his journey to Egypt where he was to serve as governor in 1601–3. Ken'ân Paşa, one of the viziers of Murâd IV, commissioned the *Paşanâme*, a poetic account of his military and naval activities, including his 1627 campaign in the Balkans, and his subsequent victory over Cossack pirates in the Black Sea. All these accounts can be considered *gazavât-nâmes* – in other words, they presented the patron as a successful fighter, preferably (though not necessarily) against the infidels.

On stylistic grounds the miniatures accompanying the text of the *Sefernâme* have been attributed to the Baghdad school. It is the only known Ottoman *journal de voyage* with illustrations made during the lifetime of the traveller. The Mevlevî or Konya connection is evident from a miniature depicting the dance of these dervishes, and moreover the patron has been shown while paying a visit to the tombs of the Seljuk sultans located in this town. In the *Vekâyî'-i 'Alî Paşa*, or *Vak'anâme*, the scene showing Ali Paşa leaving the Topkapı Palace represents not only the grandeur of his retinue but also a remarkable artistic style. As to the *Paşanâme*, it is the last example of the illustrated Ottoman history of the kind so popular in the sixteenth century; unfortunately the artist is unknown. Possibly the *Paşanâme* was produced for Murâd IV by 'Alî Paşa in order to inform the ruler of the exploits of his vizier. Since there are no surviving illustrated *şehnâmes* to glorify the victories of Murâd IV himself, it is surprising to find one of his viziers engaging in such a demonstrative gesture.

Palace dignitaries also sponsored illustrated manuscripts, with Gazanfer Ağa a particularly distinguished patron.²³ A Venetian by birth, and a member of the court that the later Sultan Selîm II maintained in Kütahya, he was brought to Istanbul when this prince acceded to the throne, and castrated late in life. He was the chief of the privy chamber (*hasodabaşı*) for twenty years, followed by another thirty as chief white eunuch and overseer of palace affairs (*babü 's-sa'âde ağası*). Gazanfer Ağa befriended the author Gelibolulu Mustafâ 'Âlî, who in turn praised his patron in his chronicle. An illustrated copy of the *Divân-ı Nâdirî* included two depictions of Gazanfer Ağa, together with the sultan at the victorious battle of Haçova, and another as the dignitary approached his still-extant theological school (*medrese*, built in 1596). The chief black eunuch, Habeşî Mehmed Ağa, and Zeyrek Ağa the Dwarf were also on record as patrons.

Lesser patrons: sponsoring early costume albums

Apparently in the seventeenth century, outsiders to the court first became interested in Ottoman illustrated manuscripts. With the rise of Oriental travel in the late sixteenth century, increasing numbers of Europeans visiting the Ottoman lands were inclined to purchase, as mementoes of their trips, miniatures – preferably of a sensational character: bizarre-looking dervishes, erotic Turkish baths, executions and tortures, but also men and women of various stations in life. Freelance painters producing for the larger market in Istanbul were ready to satisfy tourist demands. It has been claimed that renderings of single figures, which we have encountered for instance in the album of Ahmed I, were due to increasing Western influence.²⁴ However, I would argue that the focus on vivid expression in the depiction of a variety of societal groups is not unlike that practised by contemporary poets such as 'Atâyî, Nâbî or Nedîm, who also were concerned with renditions of social reality, quite often undertaken in a critical spirit.

An album of single figures preserved outside the palace library is datable to the reigns of Ahmed I and 'Osmân II.²⁵ Apart from the aforementioned

23 Zeren Tanındı, 'Topkapı Sarayı'nın ağaları ve kitaplar', *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 3, 3 (2002), 41–56.

24 Leslie Meral Schick, 'Ottoman Costume Album in a Cross-Cultural Context', in *Art Turc: 10e Congrès international d'art turc* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 625–8.

25 Güner Inal, 'Tek figürlerden oluşan Osmanlı resim albümleri', *Arkeoloji-Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 3 (1984), 83–96; Nermin Sinemoğlu, 'Onyedinci yüzyılın ilk çeyreğine tarihlenen bir Osmanlı kıyafet albümü', in *Aslanapa armağanı*, ed. Selçuk Mülayım, Zeki Sönmez and Ara Altun (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 169–82; Günsel Renda, '17. yüzyıldan bir grup kıyafet albümü', in *17. yüzyıl Osmanlı kültür ve sanatı, 19–20 Mart 1998, sempozyum bildirileri* (Istanbul 1998), pp. 153–78.

portrait of the latter sultan, it features a series of young men and women. This delicate album, which in some of its best miniatures resembles the brushwork, colours and style of Ahmed Nakşî, was probably prepared for a distinguished Ottoman. Another well-known album, dated 1618, comes from the collection of Peter Mundy, an English traveller; it focuses on members of the court, including women. A further album datable to 1617–22, with depictions of the sultans, court officers, janissaries and commoners including women and foreigners, was appropriated by English travellers in the early seventeenth century and found its way into Sir Hans Sloane's grand collection. Especially noteworthy is the near-complete depiction of the palace personnel, with careful representations of their apparel as signs of office and rank.

*Edirne and court patronage in the second half of the
seventeenth century*

From this period we possess two folders which once again contain depictions of popular religious stories, in addition to a series of sultans' portraits, including that of Murad IV; these images were probably intended to aid a narrator or fortune-teller in his task. Dated to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the sultans' portraits in these folders are notable for their uniformity in style: the images of Orhan, Murâd II, Mehmed II, Bâyezîd II and 'Osmân II are based on the models shown in the illustrated *Tâcü't-Tevârîh* or in earlier *şemâ'ilnâmes*, while Murâd I, Mehmed III and Murâd IV are all depicted on horseback, the iconography of which dates back to the single portraits of Süleymân I. It has been argued, convincingly in my opinion, that the extant sultans' portraits do not form a complete series because only those rulers who were considered saintly or heroic were included in this collection.

It is highly probable that the paintings in question were presented to Mehmed IV during his circumcision festival in October 1649 or else during the festival of 1675, which that same ruler organised as an adult. Other evidence exists of artists who presented their work to Mehmed IV in search of recognition; thus the *Mecmû'a-i Eş'âr*, containing numerous miniatures, flowers rendered in watercolour and paper-cuts, was prepared single-handedly by Mahmûd Gaznevî and submitted to Mehmed IV in 1685.²⁶

²⁶ Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul, 2003).

*A treasury count of 1680: what was there
to read and to look at?*

The small number of illustrated manuscripts dated to the post-1650s may suggest that Mehmed IV showed only a passing interest in illustrated books. But in spite of the anti-sufi, 'fundamentalist' inclinations of his entourage, some exceptional patrons of art were active nonetheless. It is unlikely that no miniatures, albums or manuscripts were prepared during the long sojourn of Mehmed IV in Edirne, for his court there was regarded as a lively place, with musicians and literati in attendance, who enjoyed perhaps not the patronage of the ruler himself but certainly that of his dignitaries. Evliyâ recorded instances of private enterprise in manuscript production and mentioned the rates charged by the copyists. Possibly salaried staff could undertake private commissions whenever there was not enough official work to occupy their time. Such a practice may have been invented in this period of limited patronage; but on the other hand, it may have occurred in earlier periods as well, and thus account for the duplicates of pictorial compositions by a single artist which have occasionally come down to us.

A treasury record from 1680 may give us an idea of the illustrated manuscripts kept in this especially protected section of the palace; these included literary and religious works, six of them *şehnâmes*; since some of the latter came in sets, there were altogether eleven volumes.²⁷ In addition to 'classic texts' in translation, there were genuine Ottoman manuscripts, mainly historical in character, such as for example *Zübdetü't-târîh* and a sixteenth-century work on the Americas known as *Menâkıb-ı Yeni Dünyâ*, probably the text that we today call *Târîh-i Hind-i Garbî*. The treasury also contained a book of festivities or *Sûrnâme*, a dynastic history of unknown authorship called merely *Tevârîh-i Âl-i 'Osmân*, in addition to an unidentified volume with illustrations. There were also four albums with miniatures, and others containing samples of calligraphy. Not all the manuscripts owned by the sultans were located in the treasury; there was a further supply in various kiosks and chambers scattered over the palace grounds. Some of the latter were probably taken to Edirne as examples for artists working in this city.

*In search of beauties: from the gardens of high-ranking ladies
to the covered bazaar*

Orientalists have often noted that the sellers of books in Istanbul's covered bazaar (*bedesten*) did not appreciate the value of their goods, but that whenever

²⁷ Topkapı Palace Archives: D. 12 A and D. 12 B.

they found a prospective buyer they demanded huge sums. Yet foreigners and locals were able to find many books in the *bedesten* because of the numerous Ottoman–Iranian conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: for this was the destination of many books appropriated as the spoils of war. Quite often books left behind by deceased Ottomans were sold in the covered bazaar as well.

French collectors of the seventeenth century amassed significant numbers of illustrated manuscripts in Istanbul's *bedesten* and had them transferred to Paris; this elite group included Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and, a generation later, Louis XIV and his minister Colbert. According to Antoine Galland, scholar, librarian and purchasing agent, the French ambassador, Charles de Nointel, bought a large-sized *Kitâbü'l- Mansûb*, a work on astrology including paintings of the planets and twelve constellations; the diplomat expressed his surprise at seeing the constellations depicted in the European symbolic language. Then a book-dealer in the Istanbul quarter of Mahmûd Paşa, possibly Evliyâ's Hoca Mehmed Çelebi, unearthed some Persian miniatures on illuminated/gilded folios – these pieces Galland found much too expensive. But he did purchase an album of floral paintings, a few volumes of Persian classics such as *Gülistân* and *Bostân* embellished with miniatures and/or illuminations, as well as a large-sized illustrated Ottoman history from Süleymân to Murâd IV.

Direct commissioning of Ottoman miniatures by European patrons is evident from the Cicogna album, a visual documentation of the tenure of the Venetian Bailo during the Cretan war.²⁸ This volume includes images by both Ottoman and European artists. In addition to the portraits of different sultans, by now de rigueur, there are courtly scenes, one of them depicting the young Mehmed IV attending a council meeting. Others focus on the harem, on the basis of what evidence is difficult to tell: the sultan's mother (*vâlide sultân*) is here shown in the company of musicians. Apart from the palace – possibly the Edirne complex is intended – we find landmarks of Istanbul and aspects of daily life in the capital. The horrors of war are much in evidence, including the punishments suffered by the letter-carriers who had served the Venetian Soranzo, and battle scenes abound. Presumably the Cicogna album had been conceived as a complement to another similar piece published by Franz

28 İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezi, *İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi koleksiyonlarından yüzyıllar boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul görünümüleri/Vedute di Venezia ed Istanbul attraverso i secoli dalle collezioni del Museo Correr Venezia e Museo del Topkapı* (İstanbul, 1995), pp. 223–94.

Taeschner.²⁹ The painters represented in both these albums are apparently identical; there is a marked attention to detail, a narrative gusto diametrically opposed to the formal and refined Persian-style pictorial art, in addition to humour and vivacity of observation. Some of the paintings may be compared to a faience plate possibly by a Greek artist, dated 1699, which represents an infidel taken prisoner by a janissary. It is believed that the Taeschner and Cicogna albums were commissioned by Mehmed IV upon the request of the Venetian Bailo.

A Paris connection is significant for certain albums whose origins remain unclear. French ambassadors in Istanbul, especially de Nointel, seem to have employed local artists producing for the market with considerable frequency. One of the albums thus commissioned – dated 1688 – was presented to the French king.³⁰ It includes the portrait of a sultan attended by his sword-bearer and stirrup-holder, perhaps Süleymân II because of the date on the album. But Mehmed IV is also a possibility, as the latter's beloved *haseki*, Gülnûş Emetullâh, figures in both albums with imperial grandeur (Fig. 19.8). The second album must have also been prepared in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Given the artistic quality, markedly higher than customary in this period, and also the painterly style of the Paris albums, it is probable that they were produced in Istanbul or Edirne for palace circles. These manuscripts include depictions of the grand vizier and other members of the court, together with commoners of all walks of life, including possibly a painter personally known to the artist. The women depicted, supposedly the suite of the *vâlide sultân*, are notable for their costumes and especially their headgears. Like the portraits of royalty in the previous albums, the painting is probably due to the refined brush of Mehmed IV's celebrated artist Musavvir Hüseyin, although a European in contact with Hüseyin's school cannot be ruled out either.³¹

Gold, silver and colour: the hallmarks of Musavvir Hüseyin

During the reign of Mehmed IV, portrait series in the *silsilenâme* tradition re-emerged, showing the figures in medallions and tracing the origins of the

29 Franz Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben: Ein türkisches Miniaturen-Album aus dem 17. Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1925).

30 Hans Georg Majer, 'Individualized Sultans and Sexy Women: The Works of Musavvir Hüseyin and their East-West Context', in *Art Turc: 10e Congrès international d'art turc* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 463–71.

31 Metin And, 'Sanatçı cariyeler, yaratıcı Osmanlılar', *Sanat Dünyamız* 73 (1999), 70–4.



Figure 19.8 Haseki Sultân with attendant, by Musavvir Hüseyin: Album, Bibliothèque Nationale Od. 7, pl. 20.

dynasty back to Adam.³² Curiously, this revival coincides with the catastrophic defeat of the Ottoman army before Vienna. Immediately before Kara Mustafâ Paşa set out in 1683, the portraitist Hüseyin depicted Mehmed IV on a tall throne reminiscent of the 'Arife Tahtı created for Ahmed I by the eminent architect and maker of decorated furniture Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa. That he combined the sultan on the throne with a circular medallion may indicate Hüseyin's familiarity with European portraiture, earlier depictions of seventeenth-century sultans on a similar throne being found in costume albums produced for the European market. Furthermore, the portrait of Ahmed I signed by a certain 'el fakîr Süleymân' and depicting the sultan on the sumptuous 'Arife Tahtı may have provided the model for later artists wishing to represent this spectacular throne. Possibly the artist Süleymân, who does not appear in *ehl-i hiref* registers, was a member of the privy chamber trained under Nakkâş Hasan Paşa, yet he seems to have worked for external patrons as well. Even Musavvir Hüseyin, who had painted the royal portraits preserved in the 1688 albums with such skill and success, apparently had links to workshops engaged in the mass production of albums for European customers.

Musavvir Hüseyin is known to us through two signed *silsilenâmes* – one of these is dated to 1682 – and by four others that have been attributed to him. Of the latter volumes two bear the dates 1688 and 1692. When the *silsilenâmes* were being produced, Musavvir Hüseyin must already have proved himself as a painter. Fully aware of his reputation, he not only signed his works but even sealed one of them, a unique practice among Ottoman painters. The portrait of Mehmed II in the manuscript today kept in Ankara proves that the artist had access to paintings in the treasury and was confident enough to abandon the Nakkâş 'Osmân tradition, embarking on a new interpretation of Sinân Beg's well-known portrait of Mehmed II. Moreover, the depictions of Adam and Eve at the beginning of both signed manuscripts reveal the artist's familiarity with Christian iconography. In particular, the inclusion of Eve is a novelty, as earlier genealogies had featured only Adam and the Archangel Gabriel.

32 Şevket Rado, *Subhatu'l-Ahbar* (Istanbul, 1968); Sadi Bayram, 'Musavvir Hüseyin tarafından minyatürleri yapılan ve halen Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü arşivi'nde muhafaza edilen silsilenâme', *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981), 253–338; Hans Georg Majer, 'Gold, Silber und Farbe', in *VII. Internationaler Kongress für Osmanische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte (1300–1920)*, ed. Raoul Motika, Christoph Herzog and Michael Ursinus (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 9–42; Banu Mahir, 'Hüseyin İstanbuli', in *Yaşamları ve yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 585–6; Hans Georg Majer, 'New Approaches in Portraiture', in *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 336–49.

Quite possibly Musavvir Hüseyin was at one time attached to the retinue of the grand vizier Kara Mustafâ Paşa; for one of the multiple copies of Hüseyin's *silsilenâme* was included in this dignitary's personal belongings taken along to Vienna and remaining there as Habsburg booty. Kara Mustafâ Paşa was the last grand vizier mentioned in this text, while the sultan was highly praised as a conqueror and the final sentence wished him further conquests. Thus we may reasonably assume that the manuscript had originally been a present to the sultan that the latter passed on to his grand vizier, as a good omen for the Vienna campaign.

With regard to Mehmed IV's portraits in the two later genealogies it has been concluded that while this ruler was still on the throne, the painter had to adhere to an established format, thus keeping a respectful distance from his subject; this was less necessary after the dethronement of 1687. The later two volumes attributed to Musavvir Hüseyin have both been in France since 1688 and 1720 respectively, when they were rebound by local artisans. Presumably Hüseyin continued to work after the downfall of his patrons, and French diplomats were part of his new clientele. Although the artist deployed his remarkable mastery in the use of gold, silver and colour only when depicting the sultan, in his other works he relied on his fine brushwork and sophisticated colouration to give them distinction.

Levnî: poetry or painting?

The reputation of early eighteenth-century Ottoman miniatures rests solely upon the works of the painter Levnî, who has facilitated the task of historians by signing quite a number of his productions.³³ Possibly a Greek from Salonika by origin, Levnî had moved to Edirne while still quite young. He first worked as a *nakkâş*, gained experience in the decorative designs known as the *sâz* style, and then grew into a distinguished portraitist, having studied the work of Musavvir Hüseyin very closely. He was also a poet writing in Ottoman Turkish.

In the first half of the eighteenth century the demand for manuscripts seems to have declined; this has been explained by the foundation of the first Ottoman Turkish printing-press in 1729, or else, where illustrations are concerned, by the novel fashion of decorating domestic interiors with paintings of flowers, fruits and landscapes. But this tendency did not prevent the production of a few highly distinguished books: thus two volumes of a monumental

33 Gül İrepoğlu, *Levnî: Nakış, Şiir, Renk* (Istanbul, 1999).

manuscript document the festivities in honour of the 1720 circumcision of the sons of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30).³⁴ Levnî also produced twenty-two sultans' portraits for a *silsilenâme* and an album of images showing individual men and women.

Apart from the aesthetic values involved, and the grandeur of the whole undertaking, the book of circumcision festivities illustrated by Levnî and known after the author of the text as the *Sûrnâme-i Vehbî* is important for the historian; it shows us how the men leading the Ottoman state viewed the society which they governed, and more specifically its cleavages along class and ethnic lines. In this respect, the processions Levnî depicted are of remarkable precision. Compared to the *sûrnâme* produced under Murâd III (1582) its eighteenth-century counterpart shows the festivities in much greater detail, and displays a particular interest in the depiction of various human types.

Some of Levnî's album paintings refer to Iranian subjects: certain people are identified as dignitaries from the Safavid court. Thus an elegantly reclining young man is identified as a favourite of Şah Tahmâsp by the name of Şah 'Osmân; the model for the album paintings was by that time about a century old, possibly from the reign of 'Osmân II. To these exotic figures Levnî added youths from Bursa; several of these must have been performers, also with Iranian connotations. A group of female musicians, a dancer, and women openly exhibiting their beauty and allure allow us a glimpse of how elite Ottomans perceived sexuality, masculinity, femininity and sexual 'normality' (Fig. 19.9).

Thus political and social challenges notwithstanding, costume albums continued to be produced after the court had moved back to Istanbul in 1703. While seventeenth-century painters of women had sometimes indulged a taste for the bizarre, now a playful interest in women predominated. Levnî's erotic portraits of young men and overtly sensual women were, however, very much in line with the graceful royal ladies painted by his teacher Musavvir Hüseyin. Attention to detail in the depiction of their costumes, including colours, patterns, materials and cuts, makes Levnî's album into an exquisite journal of women's fashions.

Also by Levnî are some genre paintings, now scattered in collections outside the Topkapı Palace, but originally part of a single album and probably executed

34 Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul, 1999); Stéphane Yerasimos, Doğan Kuban, Mertol Tulum and Ahmet Ertuğ (eds.), 'Surname': *An Illustrated Account of Sultan Ahmed III's Festival of 1720* (Bern, 2000).



Figure 19.9 A dancing-girl, by Abdülcelil Levnî: Album, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, 2164, 18a.

before 1723. Three miniatures occupy a double folio, two of them depicting ladies partying on the Bosphorus (Fig. 19.10) and the other a gathering of young men.³⁵ Two further miniatures reflect a Mevlevî environment. One of them depicts a gathering of seven dervishes smoking and drinking coffee on the hills behind the shores of Dolmabahçe.³⁶ The second one depicts a ritual dance at the Beşiktaş Mevlevî lodge.³⁷

Behind Levnî's productivity there stood the resourceful patronage of the ruler. Sultan Ahmed's love of books is well documented; he did not hesitate to appropriate the library of 'Alî Paşa, once his grand vizier and son-in-law, and the ruler's interest in book-collecting was shared by many high officials. Among other things Grand Vizier Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa owned examples of calligraphy by Karahisarî and other famous practitioners of this art, an illuminated Persian Qur'an, an album of sultans' portraits, a volume of miscellaneous illustrations, an atlas of the Mediterranean, twenty-two other maps and eighteen items that were presumably maps used by the military. As it has proved impossible to locate any of the books once belonging to Grand Admiral Kaymak Mustafâ Paşa, it is only through his post-mortem inventory that we learn of his treasures: there was an illustrated *Şemâ'ilnâme*, several volumes filled with various illustrations and examples of calligraphy, six collections of portolans and two of prints. However, the grand vizier's *kethüdâ* had kept only fourteen volumes at home; this personage seems to have acquired books more for the sake of self-satisfaction than with a view to endowing a future library. So perhaps it is all the more significant that his small collection included a *Tabakâtü'l-âşîkîn*, two volumes of the *Şehnâme*, an *İskendernâme*, a *Timurnâme*, all illustrated, and four more volumes with pictures merely described as '*musavver murakka'at*'.³⁸ Chief Black Eunuch Beşir Ağa (d. 1746) was also known for his passion for books, and a number of manuscripts in the palace library bear his stamp. He appears several times in the most precious illustrated manuscript of the period, the *Sûrnâme-i Vehbî*, but whether he had anything to do with its production remains unknown.

35 Nurhan Atasoy, 'Türk minyatürlerinden üç gündelik hayat sahnesi', *Sanat tarihinde doğudan batıya/Ünsal Yücel anısına sempozyum bildirileri* (Istanbul, 1989), pp. 19–22.

36 Jean Soustiel, 'Fransa sanat piyasasında Osmanlı el yazmaları ve minyatürler', *Antik & Dekor* 42 (1997), 84–92.

37 Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (New York, 1965), p. 113; Baha Tanman, 'Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi'ne ilişkin bir minyatürün mimarlık ve kültür tarihi açısından değerlendirilmesi', in *17. yüzyıl Osmanlı kültür ortamı* (Istanbul, 1998), pp. 181–216.

38 Tülay Artan, 'Problems Relating to the Social History Context of the Acquisition and Possession of Books as Part of Collections of Objets d'Art in the 18th Century', in *Art Turc: 10e Congrès international d'art turc* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 87–92, at pp. 90–1.



Figure 19.10 A garden party of ladies along the shores of the Bosphorus, by Abdülcélil Levnî: Album, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin/Georg Niedermeiser, J 28/75, Pl. 4301.

*Festivities, flowers and beautiful people: from
delight to conventionalism*

In the reign of Sultan Ahmed III Ottoman court society lived extravagantly, in a manner often compared to a *fête champêtre* of rococo France. Far more than in earlier centuries, court life involved feasting and entertainment in the kiosks, summer palaces and gardens along the waterfronts of the capital. Celebrations of royal births, circumcisions and marriages also appealed to some non-courtiers, and artists were encouraged to capture the pleasures of life for the patrons' delight. This can be deduced from the subject matter of contemporary poetry and miniatures which illustrate the worldly entertainments of people of all ranks. In miniatures illustrating the seventeenth-century work known as the *Hamse-i 'Atâyî*, the intimate lives of Istanbul's newly rising elite are reflected, while the *Sûrnâme-i Vehbî* shows the people of the capital enjoying pageants, banquets and fireworks.

European artists domiciled in Istanbul were becoming prominent in this period. In 1699 the painter Jean-Baptiste Van Mour (1671–1737) came to the Ottoman capital with Ferriol, the French ambassador. He was commissioned to record landscapes and prepare sketches of exotic people and events, and we owe to him portraits, ceremonial scenes, and even a painting showing the rebels of 1730, whose revolt ended the reign of Ahmed III. Van Mour's portrayals of elite women complement Levni's, detailing costumes and headgears with comparable gusto, and his studio was a cosmopolitan centre where an elegant society of foreign diplomats and their attendants mingled with Ottoman artists. Contacts of this type opened new perspectives for those Ottoman painters who previously had been suffering from a sentiment of monotony and torpor. Levni may well have discovered perspective and moved towards an elaborate concept of space due to of his contact with this artistic circle. But even among lesser painters, the changeover to gouache-tempera by the middle of the eighteenth century suggests that locals were now working in the ateliers of Europeans in the capital or in other port cities. In these paintings, shadow and depth, largely unknown to miniaturists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became the norm.

As to the female figures of the mid-eighteenth century painter 'Abdullâh Buhârî, they present an iconographic novelty, for their noble status is powerfully stressed; this is especially true of a painting showing an elegant lady which bears the artist's signature and the date of 1745.³⁹ Buhârî's elite women

39 Banu Mahir, 'Abdullah Buhari'nin minyatürlerinde 18. yüzyıl Osmanlı kadın modası', *P Sanat Kültür Antika Dergisi* 12 (1998–9), 70–82.

are rather doll-like, stout and grim faced. Some miniatures suggest that the artist may have been working from live models (Fig. 19.11). Buhârî's most famous work shows a woman in her bath; but here the novelty is not so great as one might think, for earlier models were available, especially a costume album from the 1650s which includes an analogous scene.

Among albums from the later eighteenth century, we might mention, for the sake of completeness, three items dated to the reign of 'Abdülhâmid I (r. 1774–89) which reflect recent changes in the court and state apparatus. Some of the patrons are now known to us, for instance Stanislas Kostka, translator to the Polish ambassador in Istanbul. The manuscript came into the possession of the last king of Poland in 1779–80; possibly the order had originated with him.⁴⁰ A further monumental volume is the so-called Diez album, executed by order of 'Abdülhâmid I for the Prussian ambassador General Diez, sent by Frederick II.⁴¹ It was probably the practical purpose of such compilations to provide foreign envoys with an almost complete list of Ottoman ranks and officers, including the military and the attendants of the harem, with occasional glimpses of commoners thrown in. While one album includes single figures only, the other two deserve attention for their depiction of architecture: we encounter the exteriors and interiors of stately mansions, a public bath, a coffee-house, a fountain, a Mevlevî lodge and a mosque. The latter two albums also include rituals and ceremonies: 'Abdülhâmid I girding the sword at his accession; the excursion of palace women in a carriage pulled by six horses; a reception of foreign ambassadors; the sultan attending Friday prayers; the procession of a high dignitary; and last but not least entertainments in the harem.

Possibly from the hands of the artists who painted the Diez Album we possess two sets of miniatures illustrating the *Zenânnâme* and the *Hûbânnâme* (1792–3). These long poems by Fâzıl Bey Enderûnî (d. 1809–10) detail the merits and defects of the women and men of different regions, with special emphasis on Istanbul and surroundings. Both albums are interesting due to their depictions of people from the lower classes of society and ethnic/religious minorities, with a number of foreigners added on. Much cruder paintings, collected in two other albums dated to the early nineteenth century, also

40 Tadeusz Majda and Alina Mrozowska, *Tureckie Stropje i Sceny Rodzajowe* (Warsaw, 1991); Metin And, 'Varşova'da bir çarşı ressamı albümü', *Antik & Dekor* 51 (1999), 62–7; Jolanta Talbierska, 'Turkish Garments and Scenes from the Collection of King Stanislaw August Poniatowski: İstanbul and Warsaw, ca. 1779–1780', in *War and Peace: Ottoman–Polish Relations in the 15th–19th Centuries*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 273–323.

41 Metin And, 'I. Abdülhamit'in Prusya elçisine armağan ettiği Osmanlı kıyafetler albümü', *Antik & Dekor* 19 (1993), 20–3.



Figure 19.11 An elegant lady from Istanbul, by Abdullah Buhari: Album, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2143, 11a.

illustrate people of modest estate hardly ever shown in other sources. Moreover, the *Zenânnâme* includes examples of genre painting, such as an outing of ladies to a famous beauty spot, a lady giving birth, women in a bath and some wayward women; the artist seems to have been familiar with the lowlife of the capital. Probably there once existed many more miniatures of this type than have come down to us; unfortunately circulation patterns remain unknown.

However, most miniatures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were not of the same quality as the *Zenânnâme* and the *Hûbânnâme*; in fact, the demise of miniature painting should be dated to this period. Portraits of young men and women revealing knowledge of anatomy were signed by artists such as Konstantin, Rafail, Istrati and Mecdi; they all found their way into an album. It was also during those years that small format oil-paintings became popular: the Ottoman elite were entering into a different world.

Monumental architecture

The conventions of the imperial canon

We will abide by custom in discussing not the *architectures* of the Ottoman lands, but the totality of *Ottoman architecture*, even though this will at times mean that our account overstresses homogeneity and shows divergences less clearly than one might wish for. Yet the period to be discussed is marked exactly by major differences in styles between the provinces and the capital. In order to understand how these came about, it is crucial to visualise the ideological and material foundations of Ottoman architectural patronage.⁴² It is well known that revenues derived from agriculture paid for the state's building enterprises, just as they made it possible to provision and equip the Ottoman army and pay the salaries of administrators. As the published Ottoman state budgets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not include any expenses linked to building activity, it has been argued that the sultan, members of the imperial family and high-ranking dignitaries paid for the construction of monumental socio-religious complexes from their personal funds.⁴³ Newer work on state budgets of the eighteenth century has not invalidated this argument.

42 Tülay Artan, 'Questions of Ottoman Identity and Architectural History', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. D. Arnold, T. A. Erkut and B. T. Özkaya (London, 2006), pp. 85–109.

43 Mustafa Cezar, 'Ottoman Construction System in the Classical Period', in Mustafa Cezar, *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System* (Istanbul, 1983), pp. 251–96.

Now it is possible to debate to what extent and under what circumstances Ottoman administrators distinguished between the rulers' personal funds and the state treasury; this question remains complicated and confusing. In the case of dignitaries and the female members of the dynasty the financial sources of architectural patronage came from the surpluses these people derived from their commercial and industrial enterprises or else from the state revenues assigned to them. It was almost always the latter, mostly in the form of rural/agricultural land held as revenue assignments (*dirlik*, *temlik*) and tax-farms (*mukâta'a*, *mâlikâne*), that constituted the material base of construction activity. Such allocations came either as payment for office or else were meant to ensure the livelihood of the sultan's relatives.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, viziers, governors-general and provincial governors had been major recipients of revenue, and patronised almost all the major non-sultanic projects. Female relatives of the sultans also channelled a considerable share of their revenues into architectural patronage; unlike those of the governors, their projects were normally confined to the capital.⁴⁴ All such construction was supervised by the sultans' architects, officially appointed and on the state payroll.⁴⁵ In this kind of patronage system there was no room for stylistic differences between the centre and the provinces, between the acts of patronage due to the sultans themselves and those initiated by lesser mortals. The central canon, established in the capital for the public, monumental embodiments of imperial institutions, was disseminated virtually everywhere through mosques and mausoleums, baths, caravanserais, bridges, hospices and even graveyards. A plethora of state officials, both in their capacities as patrons and sometimes in their roles as artists and architects as well, became representatives of 'the Ottoman way'. Thus certain artistic canons, as well as rituals, ceremonies, codes and manners designed at the court and developed in the capital, were transported to the provincial centres, serving to spread the imperial image, to co-opt provincial elites and to legitimise Ottoman rule.⁴⁶

44 Tülay Artan, 'Periods and Problems of Ottoman (Women's) Patronage on the Via Egnatia', in *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies: Via Egnatia under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699, 9-11 January 1994*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon, 1997), pp. 19-43.

45 A. Dündar, *Arşivlerdeki plan ve çizimler ışığında Osmanlı imar sistemi (XVIII.-XIX. yüzyıl)* (Ankara, 2000).

46 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "'In the Image of Rûm": Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth Century Aleppo and Damascus', *Muqarnas* 16 (1999), 70-95.

Safiye Sultan and the palace factions

Around 1600 Istanbul's 'seven hills' were already crowned with the most magnificent monuments of Ottoman power and piety. Together with the Topkapı Palace, socio-religious complexes centred round a mosque, each commissioned by a sultan starting with Mehmed II the Conqueror, dominated the silhouette of the Ottoman capital. Since the city centre was also heavily built over, selecting sites for the two major architectural enterprises of the 1600s was rather difficult. Safiye Sultân, wife of Murâd III and mother of Mehmed III, made do with a problematic site on the waterfront, close to the tip of the peninsula, while the complex of Sultan Ahmed I ended up on a high point behind Hagia Sophia.

Other problems were even more serious: at the end of the sixteenth century, Mehmed III, like his father Murâd III, had avoided commemorating his name by an imperial project in Istanbul; lack of funds was only part of the story. Despite the conquest of the Hungarian fortress of Eğri in which he had led the army in person, Mehmed III's reign was not renowned for its military and political successes. Furthermore, it was long established that mosques commissioned by sultans should be built out of wealth acquired by conquest. Thus it was remarkable that Mehmed III made his mother stand in for him, so to speak, by encouraging her to build a major socio-religious complex; or else it was Safiye herself who wanted to augment her authority after the death of her predecessor, Nûrbânû.

Political careers for artists?

When Mi'mâr Sinân died at a very advanced age (1588) the inspector of water-mains, Davud Ağa (1575–82, 1584–8), an official of the second rank among the imperial architects, was appointed successor to the dead master.⁴⁷ The two had collaborated on many projects, beginning possibly with the Selimiye complex in Edirne. Perhaps their association was based on common origins in the janissary corps; according to the chronicler Selânikî, Davud had made himself a reputation as an engineer. Even during Sinân's tenure, especially when the older man was on the pilgrimage to Mecca, Davud had been responsible for certain projects, both in the palace and in the city, where he built a mosque and a public bath for the chief of the black eunuchs, Habeşî Mehmed Ağa (1586–7). While completing unfinished projects of Sinân's, Davud Ağa also

⁴⁷ Muzaffer Erdoğan, 'Mimar Davud Ağa'nın hayatı ve eserleri', *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 12 (1955), 179–204.

embarked on new ones, including two kiosks in the palace gardens, both commissioned by the grand vizier Sinân Paşa for Murâd III.⁴⁸ However, after his appointment as chief architect, Davud Ağa did not get to attach his name to the major projects of the period, such as the complexes of Gazanfer Ağa, the chief white eunuch, and Cerrâh Mehmed Paşa, the grand vizier, both completed in 1593–4. The two architects' contributions to monumental civic architecture, featuring marble revetments, monumental columns, Iznik tiles of a new colour scheme and precious building materials from afar, reflect a mature, centralised construction industry.

In the summer of 1597 Davud Ağa embarked on a mosque for Safiye Sultân, mother (*vâlide*) to the current ruler, Mehmed III.⁴⁹ But due to technical problems on site, and the need to spend money on the relocation of the Jewish Karaite community that previously had inhabited the area, the pace of building was slow. Davud Ağa drew up a plan that is a variation of that devised by Sinân for the Şehzâde mosque, both the prayer hall and the courtyard being square in shape. Reverting from the eight-pier plan perfected by Sinân at the end of the century to his earlier four-pier scheme, Davud Ağa seems to have avoided challenging his illustrious predecessor. When he died in 1599, perhaps from the plague, there were rumours that he had been executed for 'advanced thinking' – in other words, for heresy.⁵⁰

On the other hand Safiye had made many enemies; as a result, the celebrations marking the commencement of work were postponed for several months. In 1600 her son temporarily moved her away from the seat of power to the Old Palace, because of her conflict with some palace grandees and janissaries over the money being spent on her charities.⁵¹ In this period Safiye also took over the Cairo mosque of 'Osmân Ağa, the chief black eunuch (d. 1602) and formerly her servitor; it was completed in 1605, after her own death. But during those years she was once again removed from power, and this time it was final: immediately after his accession in 1603 Ahmed I sent her away to the Old Palace. She could thus have had little hope of finishing her great project.

But for a while yet Davud Ağa's plan was pursued by his successor, Dalgıç Ahmed. The new chief architect had previously worked with both of his predecessors. He had already made a name for himself as a specialist in

48 The projects completed by Davud are the mosques of Nişancı Mehmed Paşa (1584) and Mesih Mehmed Paşa (1586): Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Târih-i Selânikî*, 2 vols., ed. Mehmet İpşirli (İstanbul, 1989), vol. I, pp. 244–5, 320.

49 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 761. 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 763–4; Erdoğan, 'Mimar Davud', p. 185.

51 Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford, 1993), p. 257.

mother-of-pearl inlay, an activity that apparently introduced him to geometry and, eventually, to engineering. Ingeniously managing the problems on site, he built stone foundations reinforced with iron and a series of bridges, possibly linking together a number of islets.⁵² But when the construction had reached the level of the lower casements Ahmed I put a stop to the project, and Dalgıç Ahmed may have been dismissed at this time. In early 1606, Sedefkâr Mehmed had taken over his position. This was quite remarkable, for as the eighteenth-century chronicler Na'îmâ was to note, until about 1650 chief architects were normally appointed for life. Dalgıç Ahmed, however, now in the capacity of *binâ emîni*, a bureaucrat in charge of financial matters only, undertook the reconstruction of the bridges in Silivri (until October 1606). In this period, moreover, he joined the class of military administrators (*ümerâ*) and became the governor-in-chief of Silistre. He was on his way to join forces with Nakkâş Hasan Paşa, another artist cum military man sent out to suppress a major revolt of mercenaries, when he was killed in February 1608. By this time he already had established a pious foundation (*vakıf*), and thus must have achieved a degree of status and wealth.⁵³

Along with that of Nakkâş Hasan, Dalgıç Ahmed Paşa's career exemplified a change in the recruitment of artists working for the palace; major figures were now required to prove their mettle in bureaucratic and military positions, in addition to devoting themselves to the arts of their choice. This changeover, rather than the deaths of geniuses such as Nakkâş 'Osmân or Sinân, was to determine seventeenth-century court art and architecture.

Sultan Ahmed the Pious and his mosque

Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, who designed the mosque complex that was to commemorate the young sultan's desire to serve his faith, had been educated in the palace. As a youth he had excelled in music and mother-of-pearl inlay; after presenting samples of his handiwork to Murâd III, he was rewarded by various official appointments. In later life, he had a military career, serving in the Arab and Balkan provinces and on the western frontiers. But more recently he had worked in Istanbul as the inspector of water-mains (1597–1606), an office that had become a springboard for the position of chief architect.⁵⁴

Construction began in 1606, which was a particularly difficult year; there were uprisings in the capital following the treaty of Zsitva Török, which

52 Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 340.

53 Şehabeddin Akalın, 'Mimar Dalgıç Ahmed Paşa', *Tarih Dergisi* 9 (1958), 71–80, at p. 79.

54 Zeynep Nayır (Ahunbay), *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmed külliyesi ve sonrası (1609–1690)* (Istanbul, 1975).

ended a long and costly war with but minor territorial gains. Furthermore, the ongoing struggle against Anatolian mercenaries had created considerable stress. Thus Ahmed I must have decided to build in the accustomed fashion in order to legitimise his rule even though so far his reign lacked any spectacular political and military successes.

Choosing a location for the complex was the first problem: real estate of the appropriate size had become difficult to find in the increasingly crowded perimeter of Istanbul's walls, and it was also considered necessary for the new structure to form an ensemble with the already-existing public buildings. Presumably the proximity of Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome, which at the time was used for public festivities, made the site of the medieval Byzantine palace seem desirable for the new pious foundation. The final decision was made by the sultan himself, who came in person to break the first sod.⁵⁵ From that moment onwards he devoted his life to the completion of the complex, but without abandoning his pleasures.

Several men of religion and specialists in Islamic law (*'ulemâ*) declared their disapproval; the *şeyhülislâm* in his hostility even provoked a revolt. It was falsely claimed that to exceed four minarets, as Ahmed I planned to do, was sacrilege; for this supposedly meant an impermissible competition with the Great Mosque in Mecca. Many dignitaries apparently agreed with the views of Gelibolulu Mustafâ 'Âlî, who had felt that rulers should only establish major pious foundations if they had previously gained booty in successful wars.⁵⁶ After all, a concern about costs, both monetary and artistic, obviously made sense: the preparatory clearing of the entire south side of the Hippodrome involved the demolition not only of sizeable Byzantine ruins, but also of several palaces belonging to viziers and even to an Ottoman princess, some of them having been built by Mi'mâr Sinân in person.⁵⁷

However, Ahmed I found a defender of his project in his prayer leader, Mustafâ Sâfi, who sharply contested Mustafâ 'Âlî's views. Writing in 1611, when the mosque project was in full swing, Sâfi claimed that an excess of

55 Mustafa Sâfi Efendi, *Mustafa Sâfi'nin Zübdetü'l-tevârih'i*, ed. İ. H. Çuhadar (Ankara, 2003), p. 48b.

56 Howard Crane, 'The Ottoman Sultans' Mosques. Icons of Imperial Legacy', in *The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi (New York, 1991), pp. 171–243, at pp. 204–5; Rhoads Murphey, 'Politics and Islam: Mustafa Sâfi's Version of the Kingly Virtues as Presented in his Zübdetü'l-tevârih, or Annals of Sultan Ahmed, 1012–1023 AH/1603–1614 AD', in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Province, and the West*, 2 vols., ed. Colin Imber and Keiko Kiyotaki (London and New York, 2005), vol. I, pp. 5–24, at p. 8.

57 Orhan Ş. Gökyay, *Mimar Mehmed Ağa, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya armağan* (Ankara, 1976), pp. 158–63, esp. p. 159.

virtue was in itself impossible, and that the subjects needed to experience the ruler's generosity; it was this sentiment that formed a basic source of the state's well-being and a principal cause of the dynasty's preservation.⁵⁸ Sâfi also claimed that his ruler was just, pious and God-fearing, and tried to refute the accusation that the current construction projects indicated that Ahmed I was not exempt from the sin of pride. Sâfi conceded that in his everyday life the sultan was expected to set an example in frugality, especially given the difficult circumstances in which the people found themselves; but his construction of pious foundations should in no way be interpreted as a sign of vainglory. This emphasis on modesty and avoidance of pride was especially timely as major rebellions of mercenaries were still continuing in Anatolia.⁵⁹ With the same intention, Sâfi attempted to balance his coverage of high-profile and large-scale projects with accounts of more mundane undertakings targeting practical public needs.

Against all odds, a grandiose mosque complex was built, the last of its kind on the historic peninsula, involving both Mehmed Ağa as chief architect and Kalender Paşa, the well-known producer of miniature albums, first as the *şehremîni*, then as the *binâ emîni* and *binâ nâzırı*, all concerned mainly with financial matters. Construction began in late March 1610, and Kalender Paşa continued to supervise the construction of the Sultan Ahmed complex even after he had been promoted to the office of finance director. He died in the late summer of 1616, just before work on the mosque was finished (1617).⁶⁰ The chief architect, Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, managed to complete the project on his own, before his death in 1618.

Originally the Sultan Ahmed complex included a school of law and divinity (*medrese*), a public kitchen (*imâret-tâbhâne*), a locale for Qur'an readers (*dârülkurrâ*), a hospital (*dârüşşifâ*), a public bath, a shop-lined street (*ârâsta*) and kiosks where drinking water was passed out (*sebils*); these buildings were completed between 1617 and 1620. As Ahmed I had died in 1617, his mausoleum was added to the complex. These free-standing structures, many of which are no longer extant, conformed to urban architecture in that they created continuous façades opening into the surrounding streets, rather than into an inner courtyard, as had been the case in earlier complexes.⁶¹ The mosque, while imposing, was conventional, and in spite of its harmonious and graceful exterior, dominated by six minarets, it did not show the tensions created by

58 Murphey, 'Politics and Islam', p. 8. 59 Ibid., pp. 11, 13-14.

60 Yilmazer (ed.), *Topçular kâtibi Abdülkâdir (Kadri) Efendi tarihi*, vol. I, *passim*. See also Mahir, 'Kalender Paşa', p. 692.

61 For a plan: Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı başkenti İstanbul* (İstanbul, 2002), p. 190.

curvilinear and spherical masses, spaces and rhythms that are found in the Süleymaniye. Nor did it possess the quietude and classical proportions of the Selimiye in Edirne, that masterpiece of Mi'mâr Sinân's.

The interior of the mosque is a quatrefoil: a central dome flanked by four half-domes. Three of the half-domes are supported by three lesser domes, and the half-dome where the prayer niche is located is held up by two such structures. A novelty in Ottoman architecture was the royal pavilion, designed as a sumptuous space with a view of both the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. Here the sultan could rest and receive visitors before and after prayers. It was decorated with opulent furniture and objets d'art, some of which had been made by the chief goldsmith, Derviş Mehmed Zillî, father to the traveller Evliyâ Çelebi. Later royal mosques were all provided with such a space.

While much appreciated, the blue tiles decorating the mosque could not match those used in the buildings of Sinân, and those decorating the mausoleum were of even poorer quality.⁶² As the kilns in Iznik were closing down one by one, the potters introduced standardisation in order to cope with economic stringency and unpredictable demand; this meant that the same tile designs recurred in numerous buildings. Even so, however, the rich decoration of prayer niche, preacher's pulpit and royal loggia, together with the carpets, stained-glass windows, decorative painting, reading desks, ostrich eggs and lighting elements, impressively exemplified the arts of the period. Particularly sumptuous were the window shutters decorated with mother-of-pearl inlays, attributed to the architect Sedefkâr Mehmed in person.

Restoration work at the Kaaba, another major enterprise of Ahmed I and Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, was also a contested area. That the holy site was in disrepair had been known ever since the reign of Murâd III, and Mi'mâr Sinân had planned extensive repairs. But apparently some powerful 'ulemâ declared the repair work unlawful. As the Hungarian and Iranian campaigns were under way at this time, work was postponed in consequence.⁶³ Finally, after his pilgrimage in 1610–11, the former *şeyhülislâm* Sun'ullâh reported that repairs were urgently needed. Accordingly, Mehmed Ağa was commissioned to draw up new designs based on Mi'mâr Sinân's earlier suggestions.

Secular building

While his magnificent and controversial socio-religious complex was under way, the young sultan also pursued projects of urban renewal. In 1613

⁶² Raby, '1600', p. 278.

⁶³ Howard Crane, *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye: An Early Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, facsimile with translation and notes (Leiden, 1987), p. 56.

water-mains were built to supply the Tophane district on the Bosphorus, including Fındıklı, Kabataş and Salıpaazarı.⁶⁴ Then fountains were erected in a district whose water supply came from a relatively distant source, prompted by the widespread suffering caused by the drought of 1611.⁶⁵ During this period the hills between Galata and Beşiktaş, to the north of the Golden Horn, were first settled; the French ambassador, de Brèves, established one of the earliest embassies in this area, also known as the vineyards of Pera.⁶⁶

The architectural patronage of Ahmed I marked the shores of the capital: apart from the Kasr-ı 'Âli in the gardens of the naval arsenal on the shores of the Golden Horn (1613–14), a seven-domed kiosk known as the Beşiktaş Palace as well as the summer abode of İstavroz, located on both shores of the Bosphorus, were restored and revitalised under his reign.⁶⁷ Between the Karabâli gardens and Beşiktaş, land was reclaimed from the sea; it is therefore known as Dolmabahçe. Mansions of high-level dignitaries stretched along the Bosphorus waterfront as far as Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme. Defterdarburnu was named after the seaside villa of the finance director, Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa, the son of an affluent Albanian baker in Edirne.

In the winter months of 1613 and 1614 the sultan had renovated the Edirne Palace for the use of his hunting parties, and also constructed a pleasure pavilion (Kasr-ı Ahmed/Kasr-ı Hümâyûn) in the Topkapı Sarayı. Designed by his chief architect, Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, this pavilion displays the last fine examples of Iznik tile-work. The linings of the decorative wall niches feature coiling scrollwork and flowers in vases, repeated higher up between the windows of the upper row. Noteworthy is the abundance of inscriptions, one of which bears the date of 1608–9; in addition to pious texts, we find verse panegyrics of Ahmed I. The sultan, himself a renowned poet, was here praised by the finest authors of his reign.⁶⁸ Small wooden writing-desks decorated with mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell also located in this chamber may well have been designed by Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa.

64 Cengiz Orhonlu, 'Fındıklı semtinin tarihi hakkında bir araştırma', *Tarih Dergisi* 8, 11–12 (1955), 51–70.

65 Murphey, 'Politics and Islam', pp. 16–17.

66 Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul tarihi, XVI. asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul, 1952), p. 252; Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1717), vol. I, p. 181.

67 Tülay Artan, 'Aynalıkavak Kasrı', *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, vol. VII, pp. 485–6; Tülay Artan, 'Beşiktaş Sarayı', *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, vol. II, pp. 164–5 and 171–3; Afife Batur, 'Beylerbeyi Sarayı', *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, vol. II, p. 206.

68 Kemal Çiğ, S. Batur, C. Köseoğlu and Michael Rogers, *The Topkapı Saray Museum. Architecture: The Harem and Other Buildings* (Boston, 1988), p. 34.

Mehmed Ağa and the Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye

The life of Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa is narrated in a biography, known as the *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye*, and written by a certain Ca'fer Efendi who was a client of Mehmed Ağa. At first sight the *Risâle* appears as a rather bizarre collection of factual data and dubious insinuations, but it repays closer study because it is the only Ottoman treatise on an imperial architect and on architecture in general. It reveals the making of an important artist, who had been brought to Istanbul as a janissary recruit, possibly from İlbasan in central Albania; it also allows us to identify some of the works of Mehmed Ağa, including the fountain of Ahmed I on the shores of the Bosphorus and his pavilion at the Topkapı Palace. Descriptions of a few elegant pieces with inlays in precious materials testify to the active interest that Mehmed Ağa continued to take in this art: these included the preacher's pulpit in the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Mecca (1611). Appended is a useful glossary of technical terms and architectural principles of measurement in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

The *Risâle* reflected the anxieties experienced by educated Ottomans at the turn of the millennium (1000/1591). In the story of Mehmed Ağa's shift from music to geometry and mathematics, as told by Ca'fer Çelebi, we sense an inclination to take dreams and prophecies very seriously. Thus, after having dreamt of a band of gypsy musicians, Mehmed Ağa turned to a sheikh of the Halveti order of dervishes by the name of Vişne Mehmed Efendi (d. 1584), who was also a religious scholar. Upon this man's interpretation of his dream, he gave up the practice of music.⁶⁹ But Mehmed Ağa's biographer did not necessarily concur with his hero in this matter. On the contrary, the latter part of the *Risâle* contains a lengthy discussion of Ottoman music, which the author justified by a compositional necessity: as the book had begun with a discussion of Mehmed Ağa's involvement with music, it needed to end with a reference to this art, so highly esteemed at the Ottoman court.

Calculations indicating how many years had passed since the creation of Adam and other biblical events, and a prediction of the date of doomsday, indicated that Ca'fer Efendi, too, was concerned with preparations for the next world. All this was very much in line with the calculations in certain manuscripts illustrated for the Ottoman court at just this time. However, in the end, both the biographer and his hero decided to place their trust in the Muslim religion, convinced that it was this and nothing else that would save them from punishment at the Last Judgement.⁷⁰

69 Crane, *Risâle*, pp. 8, 24–9, 33.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–9.

Apparently religion was also a source of consolation for the tensions of the chief architect's professional life: Ca'fer Efendi recorded that many public buildings put up under previous holders of this position were actually the works of Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, who was thus deprived of the credit that should have been his due. At the time of writing (1614–15), the Sultan Ahmed mosque, to which Ca'fer Efendi gave special prominence, was not as yet completed.⁷¹ But Mehmed Ağa was already quite weary and complained that the burden of work was weighing down on him. He also disapproved of the dignitaries of his own time, with the one exception of Kuyucu Murâd Paşa, conflicts among the *ulemâ* forming a special cause of disillusion.⁷²

Mi'mâr Kâsım Ağa and his liaisons dangereuses

The reigns of Mustafâ I and 'Osmân II were brief and sordid, and the chief architects of the time deeply involved in the internecine struggles typical of that period. It is something of an enigma that in 1626 a chief architect named Kâsım Ağa had an impressive sarcophagus prepared for his own burial. On the face of it, this move may indicate that here a person of wealth prepared to meet his end in a suitably dignified fashion. However, our sources refer to a chief architect called Kâsım Ağa, nicknamed the 'old one' for his long life and tenure of office, whose story we can only trace from 1634 onwards. Thus either there were two architects called Kâsım Ağa, or else the man who prepared for death in 1626 escaped with his life after all. If the latter is true, Kâsım Ağa must have held on to his position until 1656, surviving to serve under Murâd IV, İbrâhîm and Mehmed IV.⁷³ However, due to his political involvements and perhaps also because of artistic deficiencies, he was deposed twice during this period (1635–8 and 1639–43).

As the document establishing his pious foundation indicated, Kâsım Ağa came from the region of Berat in Albania, and was thus a compatriot of the grand viziers Kemânkeş Kara Mustafâ Paşa (1638–44) and Köprülü Mehmed Paşa (1656–61). His political career was determined by the fortunes of the various grandees with whom he allied himself. Both Evliyâ Çelebi and Na'îmâ refer to his ambitions and his appetite for worldly riches. In early 1651, Kâsım Ağa attempted to become *kethüdâ* in the household of the *vâlide* Kösem Mâhpeyker, the mother of Murâd IV and İbrâhîm, and the grandmother of Mehmed IV. He finally managed to obtain this position only under her

71 Nayır, *Sultan Ahmed külliyesi*, pp. 42–4; Crane, *Risâle*, pp. 10–11 after TSM Archives D. 205 and D. 4411.

72 Crane, *Risâle*, p. 43.

73 Semavi Eyice, 'Mimar Kasım Hakkında', *Belleten* 43 (1979), 767–808.

successor, Hadîce Turhan, at the same time intriguing to get his fellow Albanian Köprülü Mehmed appointed grand vizier. In this he also succeeded; yet after Köprülü's appointment Kâsım was no longer heard of, and not even the date of his death is known.

Given his concern with palace intrigues and also the lack of patronage, Kâsım did not have much opportunity to show his engineering or artistic skills – if any. Despite the destructive fires of 1633 and 1640, and an earthquake in 1648, construction and development in the historic peninsula languished. Exceptionally, Grand Vizier Kara Mustafâ Paşâ, one of Kâsım's many allies, sponsored a complex at Çarşıkapı (1641), while Kösem Sultân's khans remained the only examples of royal patronage in the central city.

However, there was some activity on a hilltop over Üsküdar, where Kösem commissioned the Çinili complex, a mosque, theological and elementary schools, twin baths and fountains. The mosque, completed in 1640, became famous for its good-quality Kütahya tiles, usually mistaken for Iznik manufactures: while the designs were praiseworthy, the colour scheme had been reduced to blues and greys.⁷⁴ All these features were strictly conventional. Shortly before her death in 1650, the young sultan's grandmother also ordered the building of the Valide Hanı, composed of two adjoining structures in the busy commercial centre of Eminönü, in order to create sources of income for the Çinili complex. In none of these can Kâsım's hand be detected.

Within the Topkapı Palace Murâd IV's contributions were significant. An elegant pavilion commemorated the conquest of Revân (Erivan, 1635–6), and a second one, equally sumptuous, was put up to celebrate the reconquest of Baghdad (1638–9). These kiosks were built by Hasan Ağa, thus confirming the impression that important commissions were not entrusted to Kâsım Ağa, the political appointee.

Both the Revân and Baghdad kiosks are cruciform in plan and possess central domes; they are surrounded by columned porticoes with broad eaves. As to the decoration, it consists partly of reused tiles from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and partly of newly commissioned items. Window-shutters and cupboard doors show inlaid work of good quality, and so do the stained-glass windows of the upper rows. Both kiosks, commanding a superb view of both the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, are faced with marble and tiles. Split marble panelling, a technique which involves the arrangement of symmetrical

74 Şerare Yetkin, *Kütahya dışındaki Kütahya çinileri ile süslü eserler* (Kütahya and Istanbul, 1981–2), pp. 83–110.

patterns out of thinly cut slabs, as well as other revetments in marble and porphyry, distinguish the Revân Köşkü. On the other hand, the portico of the Baghdad kiosk shows panelling in the Mamluk style of Cairo – why this model was selected remains unknown to the present day.

In addition, unprecedented care was given to the villages on the shores of the Bosphorus, which since the 1620s were being threatened by Cossack raids. Close to the northern end the fortresses of Kavakhisar, Rumelikavağı and Anadolu-kavağı were constructed, and the number of waterfront mansions and gardens continued to grow.

Changing modes of legitimisation

Murad IV, although victorious and daring, did not embark on a monumental mosque-building project to leave his personal and dynastic mark on the cityscape. An explanation lies in the major economic setbacks marking the years after 1617. Financial stringency was further increased by the special payments that needed to be made to the soldiers at the enthronement of every new sultan; after the death of Ahmed I, these fell due four times within a very short period.⁷⁵ Possibly the ‘fundamentalist’ movement of the Kâdîzâdelis, with whom Murâd had allied himself in a curious way, also had an impact: these people professed contempt for worldly display, and their opinion may have discouraged the sultan from taking a more active role as a builder. Moreover, Murâd IV had never campaigned against the ‘infidels’, and it may have seemed doubtful whether the booty gained from fellow Muslims was appropriate for establishing a new pious foundation.

Apart from Murâd IV, seventeenth-century sultans were disinclined to risk their legitimacy by acting as commanders of campaigns whose outcomes could no longer be predicted with any confidence. With direct military leadership devolving more and more upon the grand viziers, these stay-at-home – or, at best, infrequently campaigning – sultans were not in a position to build imperial mosque complexes. By contrast, the palace kept growing, with each sultan contributing a pavilion or loggia of his own to symbolise his sovereignty and commemorate his name. But this was a relatively private affair, visible only to those privileged enough to be admitted to the restricted world of the Topkapı Palace. In the reign of İbrâhîm, the circumcision pavilion was given a new and prominent façade by mixing new and old tiles, including items from the privy chamber of Süleymân I. At the same time a marble terrace (*sofa-ı hümayûn*)

⁷⁵ Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, *Le Serail ebranlé: essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans, XIVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2003).

with an ornamental pool and fountain and the flimsy but sumptuous İftâriye kiosk were built (1641).

Simultaneously, sultans became concerned with the legitimisation of their rule through messages of dynastic durability. This must have been because many seventeenth-century sultans were very young when enthroned, and in some instances even mentally disturbed. Thus they did not possess the authority enjoyed by their sixteenth-century predecessors. At the same time, the rules of succession changed, with the oldest male member of the dynasty acceding to the throne; but for decades this process was anything but clear-cut. Perhaps because they were conscious of the fragility of the royal line, Ahmed I, 'Osmân II and Murâd IV all visited Bursa to pray at the tombs of the early Ottoman sultans; Ahmed I also went to Gelibolu and paid his respects to the remains of Süleymân Şah and other fighters believed to have led the early Ottoman expansion into the Balkans. These novel customs indicate that in troubled times the sultans reassociated themselves with their illustrious and long-deceased ancestors, thereby demonstrating the continuity and legitimacy of the dynasty.

In mid-century the young Mehmed IV was removed to Edirne to avoid the capital's military rebellions and the food scarcities due to the Venetian–Ottoman war over Crete. Entrusted with extraordinary powers, the old grand vizier may also have wished to render the sultan inaccessible to rival factions. Edirne functioned as the de facto seat of government for nearly fifty years, although Istanbul remained the official capital. Like his predecessors Mehmed IV also visited the tombs of early Ottoman warriors in Gelibolu, at the same time profiting from the victories of his Köprülü grand viziers to commission a record of his reign (*vekâyi'nâme*) as well as a book of festivals (*sûrnâme*) and an illustrated genealogy (*silsilenâme*). Thus rather than imposing mosques, it was ceremonies and an occasional patronage of manuscripts which now were expected to convey messages about the enduring power of the House of 'Osmân.

From Eminönü to the Dardanelles: the sultans' mothers as patrons of architecture

In 1661 Hadîce Turhan Sultân, the mother of Mehmed IV, resumed work at Safiye Sultân's derelict mosque, after a fire had cleared the Jewish settlement which had in the meantime re-established itself in the area. This structure, the only imperial project dating from the reign of Mehmed IV, was completed within just two years. We do not know how much Mustafâ Ağa, the architect in charge, actually contributed to the project, and to what extent he reused

the plans of his predecessors. But he carried the ultimate responsibility for an interior dominated by a central dome flanked on the south–north axis by half-domes, similar to the arrangement of Sinân’s Şehzâde mosque. As the half-domes were given the same diameter as the main dome, there was much less emphasis on the central space than in the Şehzâde mosque. Even so, given the height of the highest dome, a pyramidal silhouette was achieved, which provides a striking accent on the Istanbul waterfront.

However, the most innovative part of the vast complex and one of the most exquisite examples of Ottoman secular architecture is the royal pavilion, built over a high and deep arch abutting the mosque. It has a separate entrance and provides access to the spacious royal loggia (*hünkâr mahfili*) which is more enclosed than similar spaces in earlier mosques. Decorated with tiles, it was clearly meant to serve the sultan’s mother. Dependencies include a shop-lined passage, the still-popular Mısır Çarşısı; in the mausoleum also forming part of the complex, five sultans and numerous other members of the royal family came to be buried.

At about the same time a disastrous fire at the harem of the Topkapı Palace necessitated major reconstruction: between 1665 and 1668, three courtyards along with numerous chambers were decorated with tiles in a novel colour scheme, featuring floral designs, bouquets in vases, cypress tress and verses from the Qur’an. The twin pavilions, also known as the princes’ apartments, were also decorated in 1666, and epitomise the arts of the seventeenth century. Religious verses on tiles in a blue-and-white design form a band between the two tiers of windows, while inside the lower window-niches there are gilt verse inscriptions incised in marble, praising Mehmed IV and wishing him a long and fortunate reign. Rebuilding and restoration at the imperial palace was apparently due to Merzifonlu Kara Mustafâ Paşa, who in the 1660s served as a deputy to the current grand vizier.

The settlement of the court in Edirne did not generate much architectural activity. Evliyâ mentions a few palatial mansions; that of Musâhib Mustafâ Paşa seems to have surpassed even those of the grand viziers. (Re)construction work at the royal palace did not entail a single major project. Like its Istanbul counterpart, this complex grew in an organic, agglutinative way. Shortly after Mehmed IV’s move to Edirne, a tower of justice was constructed according to the Istanbul model. In 1665, the imperial council hall and the audience hall were rebuilt and redecorated.⁷⁶ We can safely assume that the latter two

76 F. Çetin Derin (ed.), ‘Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa *Vekâyi’nâmesi* (1648–1682)’, Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul University (n.d.), pp. 101, 158–9.

buildings, destroyed along with the remainder of the complex, resembled the twin pavilions in the Topkapı Palace.

Non-royal foundations and the Köprülüs as particular patrons of architecture

Building new mosques may have been less popular among seventeenth-century founders of public charities because the capital already contained so many of these structures. Thus when complexes of pious foundations were built after 1600, the size of the mosques was often reduced or they were even omitted altogether; this trend was to continue after 1700. In some instances the theological school came to function as the centrepiece of a group of smaller buildings, including the tomb of the benefactor. In the Kuyucu Murâd Paşa complex, the *medrese*, a *sebil*, a mausoleum and shops were even joined into a single building. However, by the second quarter of the century, in the complexes of Bayrâm Paşa (1634) and Kemânkeş Kara Mustafâ Paşa (1642; no longer extant) the unified structure was once again abandoned, and the builders reverted to earlier models.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman elite came to consist of a limited group of families whose members reserved for themselves positions within one or another branch of the palace service or government bureaucracy.⁷⁷ This was a significant change from the conditions prevailing in the sixteenth century, when government service had involved much greater dependence on the sultan. Shifts in careers and fortunes notwithstanding, these families were now able to retain many of their privileges over generations. A significant example of this tendency was the history of the Köprülüs, who in the latter part of the seventeenth century produced six grand viziers, all significant patrons of architecture.

In Istanbul the complexes of this dynasty of viziers were small when taken individually, but highly visible when viewed as a group. Mehmed Paşa, the first to become grand vizier, had adopted the little town of Köprü / Vezirköprü near Amasya as his home, and married the daughter of a local dignitary. A major fire that had destroyed many buildings on the capital's prestigious artery of Divanyolu permitted the grand vizier to establish a complex at Çemberlitaş in 1661, just before his death. Originally it included a public bath, a theological school with an attendant mosque (*medrese-mescid*), a fountain and a dispenser of drinking water, in addition to the founder's tomb; the complex was serviced

⁷⁷ Rifa'at Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany, 1991), p. 191; Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis, 1988), pp. 56–60.

by a number of shops. According to Mehmed Paşa's will his son Fâzıl Ahmed, grand vizier from 1661 to 1676, added on a khan and the Köprülü library, a novelty in Ottoman architecture because it was free-standing. Kara Mustafâ Paşa, a relative by marriage and grand vizier in 1676–83, commissioned a further complex on the Divanyolu (1690), completed only after his execution following the Vienna tragedy. Mehmed Paşa's second son, Fâzıl Mustafâ, grand vizier 1689–91, had completed the endowment of the Köprülü library in 1678, while Hüseyin Köprülü Paşa (1697–1702) built another complex close by, in the busy district of Saraçhanebaşı. Every one of these Köprülü complexes contained a theological school with attendant mosque, featuring an octagonal plan and a single dome. As to the porticoes that typically formed the entrances to the main buildings, they imparted a family resemblance to these different complexes.

When building in the provinces the Köprülüs did not necessarily adopt the imperial canon of their time, but felt free to mix and match: Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa's *medrese* at Vezirköprü, not part of a complex but rather a free-standing structure, was built according to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century models. Kara Mustafâ Paşa's *medrese* at İncesu (Kayseri) also deviated considerably from the plans then favoured at the centre. Furthermore, it was not covered in lead, as was typical of 'Ottoman' architectural style, but rather in masonry.⁷⁸ The same grand vizier's mosque at Merzifon (1667) and that which he commissioned in the village of his birth both have rectangular plans recalling fifteenth-century structures. In other instances the *medrese-mescid* scheme known from contemporary Istanbul recurred in the provincial complexes commissioned by members of the Köprülü family and also by lesser statesmen. Thus Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's mosque at Safranbolu (Kastamonu) and Kara Mustafâ Paşa's foundation at İncesu (Kayseri) had square ground plans with single cupolas, while tromps figured as transitional elements between walls and domes; in conformity with metropolitan usage, the main buildings were preceded by porticoes.⁷⁹

Provincial building projects also included covered markets, urban khans and caravanserais in the countryside.⁸⁰ Architectural patronage in the capital and in the provinces was often undertaken by the same people. Thus once again members of the Köprülü family financed major examples of commercial architecture. In addition to Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa's Vezir Hânı in Istanbul,

78 Aptullah Kuran, 'Orta Anadolu'da klasik Osmanlı çağının sonlarında yapılan iki külliye', *Vakıflar Dergisi* 9 (1979), 229–49.

79 Metin Sözen (ed.), *Türk mimarisinin gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 1975), p. 261.

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 271–9.

they commissioned the Köprülü Hân at Gümüşhacıköy (near Amasya), Kara Mustafâ Paşa's Taş Hân in Merzifon and the latter's caravanserais at İncesu and Vezirköprü; all these structures, while solidly built, were relatively modest and attuned to practical needs. Moreover, the Köprülü family also sponsored buildings in Crete, for whose conquest two of its members had been responsible: in Candia (Heraklion), the citadel, fountains, streets and squares were all given an Ottoman appearance due to the family's patronage.⁸¹

Ottomanisation: an ongoing practice

The Ottoman building programme in Crete was imposed on preceding Venetian structures: thus the former governor's palace in Candia became the seat of the grand vizier Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa while he resided in Crete, and the loggia, once a meeting place for the island's nobility, was turned into the office of the *defterdâr* Ahmed Paşa. Furthermore, the Franciscan monastery church in Candia and the San Marco Basilica in the Fortezza of Rethymnon, both occupying the most prominent locales in the two cities in question, were converted into royal mosques. Situated on the highest hilltops, their minarets were visible from a distance, impressing the Ottoman presence upon travellers arriving by land and by sea.⁸²

A variety of Ottoman dignitaries acted as sponsors to the new mosques; these included the mother of the sultan (*vâlide*), the conqueror of the city in question, as well as the commanders of the janissaries and other military corps. Yet the sultan was not represented as prominently as he would have been in conquered towns of the sixteenth century; thus the patronage of these new institutions indicated the shifts in power that had intervened within the Ottoman elite, with the members of vizier and pasha households gaining special prominence.⁸³ Despite major shifts in the power structure of both the capital and the provinces, accompanied by a considerable degree of infighting over the distribution of revenues, the Ottoman elite thus continued to appropriate its new conquests by architectural means. In addition, these socio-religious complexes served to acculturate a part of the local population and, in the long run, turn them into Ottomans.

Likewise, in the newly conquered city of Kam'janec/Kamaniçe in Podolia (1672), immediately after Mehmed IV's victorious entry to celebrate Friday

81 Silahdar, *Silahdar tarihi*, vol. I, pp. 530–51.

82 Irene Bierman, 'The Ottomanization of Crete', in *The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, ed. Irene A. Bierman, Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj and Donald Preziosi (New York, 1991), pp. 53–75, at pp. 58–9.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

prayers in the former Catholic cathedral, seven more churches were converted into mosques.⁸⁴ They were dedicated to the sultan, the latter's mother, the grand vizier Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa, the second vizier and royal son-in-law Musahib Mustafâ, the third vizier Kara Mustafâ and the sultan's favourite preacher, Vâni Mehmed Efendi. All holy images and bells were removed, the corpses of the Christians buried in the churchyards were carried out, minarets were added and all the grandees were asked to create their pious foundations. In the following years two new mosques were also built. Religious establishments and public and private *vakıfs* played an important role in the – albeit temporary – Ottomanisation of the city; this topic still awaits further exploration.

In the seventeenth century a new kind of patronage emerged that made its first appearance in the provinces. In Aleppo the Khân al-Wazîr, built between 1678 and 1682, exemplified local building traditions and tastes. But it was the residential architecture of the rich that most visibly displayed the new aesthetics. In the Christian suburb of Aleppo known as Jadaydah some of Aleppo's finest seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses flourished due to the patronage of a rising bourgeoisie. A magnificent example was the house of İsa b. Butrus, a broker. Built and decorated in 1600–3 according to a scheme in which the colour red predominated, its main room included inscriptions with texts from the Psalms and painted scenes from the Old and New Testaments, in addition to remarkable mythical creatures such as dragons, phoenix and qilin.⁸⁵ The artist Halab Shah b. İsa immortalised his name on the cornice. He was familiar with the late sixteenth-century *sâz* style, which he adapted with consummate skill and refinement, and he was also conversant with the iconography of Ottoman and Safavid court miniature.

Ahmed III and reinscription of the court in Istanbul

On ascending the throne in 1703, Ahmed III had been obliged to return to Istanbul along with his court, and was keen to add a room to the Topkapı Palace that would bear his name. Built in 1705, the walls of the new privy chamber in which the sultan may have taken his meals were decorated with lacquered wooden panels of flower vases and fruit bowls. The veneered woodwork, known as Edirnekârî, seems to have originated during the long sojourn of Mehmed IV in Edirne, and was from there brought to the capital. It diverges

84 Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681): Defter-i mufassal-ı eyalet-i Kamaniçe* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), vol. I, pp. 51–7.

85 Julia Gonnella, *Ein christlich-orientalisches Wohnhaus aus dem 17. Jh. aus Aleppo (Syrien): Das 'Aleppo Zimmer' im Museum für Islamische Kunst* (Mainz, 1996).

from the earlier Syrian wall panelling both in its pallid hues and in artistic style. Naturalism was apparent in the depiction of fruits and flowers, a feature which has sometimes been interpreted as an incipient Westernisation. But it makes more sense to remember that the court painters of Ahmed III had previously worked in the Balkan metropolis of Edirne. The lacquer technique developed in the latter part of the seventeenth century was transferred from the decoration of buildings to bookbinding and related crafts, where a strikingly new colour scheme was best represented in the works of 'Alî Üsküdarî. Similar decorations were copied in the mansions of the great, such as the waterfront palace of the last Köprülü grand vizier Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa and the mansion of Tâhir Paşa at Mudanya.⁸⁶

At about the same time, the sultan built himself a summer palace on the waterfront of the Topkapı Palace and ordered the restoration of the kiosk adjoining his Tulip Garden, known as the Sofa Kiosk. Ephemeral architecture that had flourished in Edirne during the last quarter of the seventeenth century may have inspired the lightness of this structure, a striking novelty in Ottoman palace architecture. It was obviously intended only for use in fine weather, as the sultan and his entourage were protected from the elements merely by curtains hanging from the eaves. According to the contemporary chronicler Râşid the ruler when putting up these new structures was inspired by Istanbul town houses.⁸⁷ Ahmed III quite visibly preferred residential to religious architecture and light wooden constructions to stone and lead (Fig. 19.12).

Waterfront palaces: an answer to a new crisis in legitimisation

A preference for light ephemeral buildings was adopted by members of the sultan's family and high officials as well and, as a result, the early eighteenth century was the golden age of the waterfront palace. Most famous were those located at Kâğıthâne, close to the western tip of the Golden Horn. The reconstruction of Sa'dabâd Palace in 1723 has been interpreted as a conscious effort to imitate European architecture. It is usually assumed that the project was initiated after the return from Versailles in 1721 of the ambassador Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, who presumably brought with him architectural drawings or books on French gardens and palaces. However, the project at Kağıthâne predates Mehmed Çelebi's visit to Paris, and whatever the interest aroused by French gardens and pavilions, any novel features inspired by their example were probably included only as an afterthought.

⁸⁶ Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Türk evi 3* (Istanbul, 1987), p. 42.

⁸⁷ Mehmed Râşid, *Tarih-i Râşid*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, 1282/1865), vol. III, p. 307.

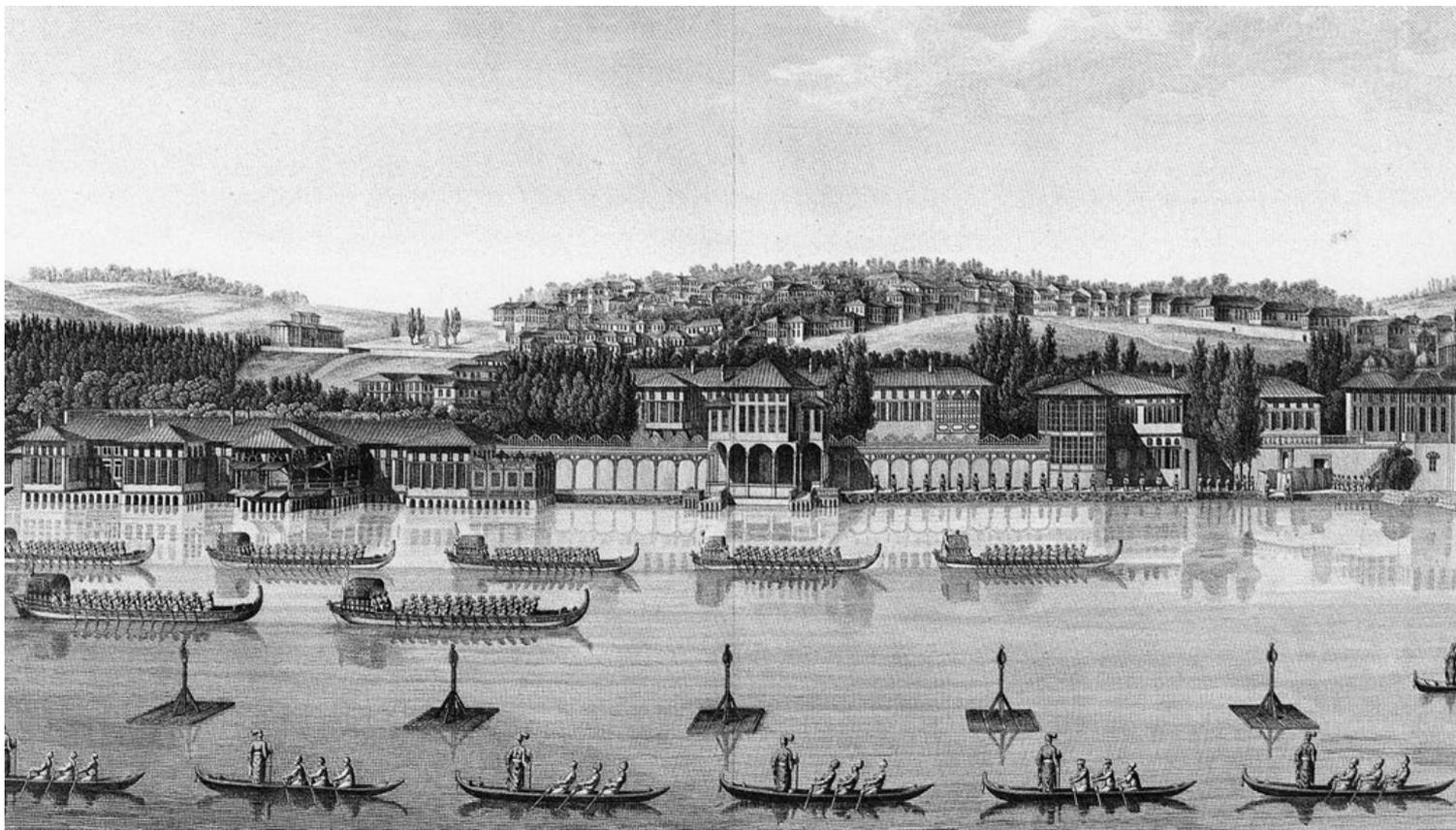


Figure 19.12 Beşiktaş Palace by Espinasse, in Muradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1824.

Sa'dabâd's principal novelty lay in the fact that the ruler's palace was surrounded by some 200 private kiosks belonging to high dignitaries and placed on the hillocks overlooking the Kağthâne stream. Landholdings on the latter's banks stretching from Sultâniye to Karaağaç were distributed to dignitaries as freehold property on the condition that they erect buildings in due taste and grandeur. Changes in the Ottoman elite's attitude towards nature were noteworthy in this context as well: for the sultan and his entourage accepted that man could and should modify nature, rather than adjusting to it; in due course even simple habits such as strolling were to change as a result.⁸⁸

In form and function, waterfront palaces epitomised the transformation of the political values of the ruling dynasty whose members had hitherto been hidden in their inaccessible, mysterious palaces. In place of power, piety and charity we now encounter values such as uncontested succession by the dynasty's oldest male, power-sharing, and legitimacy. Certainly the Ottoman state was undergoing a crisis of confidence in the face of serious defeats, while at the same time there emerged a new class of high officials whose members could vie with the royal family in the display of wealth. Therefore it became necessary continually to remind the people of the enduring nature and rich magnificence of the Ottoman dynasty. As the Bosphorus replaced the urban street of Divanyolu as the ceremonial axis, the sultans' outings on the water became favoured occasions for pomp and display.⁸⁹ As for the women of the ruling family, they too were assigned a significant role. After their marriages to high-ranking dignitaries, the daughters, sisters and nieces of the sultans took up residence in waterfront palaces on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, thus ensuring that even though they themselves remained invisible, their presence would constantly make itself felt (Fig. 19.13).⁹⁰

Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa as a patron

In 1719 an earthquake, followed by a devastating fire, marked a turning-point in Istanbul's history. Reconstruction coincided with the prolonged tenure of Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa as grand vizier, and targeted practical needs as well as the reinscription of court society in the social and physical space of the capital.

88 Sedat Hakki Eldem, *Sa'dabad* (Istanbul, 1977).

89 Tülay Artan, 'Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus', Ph.D. thesis, MIT (1989).

90 Tülay Artan, 'Noble Women who Changed the Face of the Bosphorus and the Palaces of the Sultanas', *Biannual Istanbul*, '92 Selections (1992), 87–97.



Figure 19.13 Hadice Sultân's Defterdarburnu Palace by Antoine-Ignace Melling, in *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819.

In 1722–4 the city walls were repaired.⁹¹ Five aqueducts were added to the Kırkçeşme waters, and this permitted the construction of numerous urban fountains. In 1719–20 Leander's Tower, at this time a major symbol of the city, was rebuilt. In the historic peninsula, Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa built commercial structures such as the Çuhacı Hân. Among public buildings, the cannon foundry (Tophâne-i 'Âmire, 1719), the armoury (Silâhâne-i 'Âmire, 1726–7) and the mint (Darphâne-i 'Âmire, 1726–7) all received new accommodations. Dignitaries were encouraged to participate in the restoration of public edifices, and in 1720 they also featured in a major festivity meant to serve as a theatre of collective rule – since Ahmed III had moved from Edirne to Istanbul, a new social contract between the sultan and the elite was evidently being negotiated.

However, both financial limitations and the decline of certain crucial industries made it difficult to pursue extensive construction programmes. Marble was brought in from the Marmara Island, but as the number of workers in the capital did not suffice, stone-cutters and carpenters needed to be called in from elsewhere. At times building materials from older constructions were reused, thus stone and lead for the library of Ahmed III were taken from the kiosk that once had stood in its place, and sixteenth-century tiles were also recycled. A scarcity of materials must have also led to some changes in building traditions. Plasterwork and painted decorations replaced tile revetments as the Iznik workshops had stopped production, and the commands of Ahmed III were powerless to resuscitate them. Some tiles were secured from Kütahya, whose potteries in 1718–19 produced one of their most important commissions, the tiles for the Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem.⁹² A fritware workshop was established in Istanbul under the aegis of Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa, but this revival had limited appeal to patrons, and the enterprise did not survive the grand vizier's death in 1730.

Eighteenth-century viziers sponsored the construction of small complexes of religious and charitable structures, of the kind that first appeared in the seventeenth century. Kaptan İbrâhîm Paşa built such a complex in Istanbul-Beyazîd (1708). Çorlulu 'Alî Paşa's ensemble in the immediate vicinity was also established in 1708, and in the very same year another mosque commissioned by Çorlulu was completed on the waterfront, in the proximity of the Arsenal. The irregularity of the sites then available led to asymmetrical layouts which became a characteristic feature of eighteenth-century complexes. In

⁹¹ Râşid, *Tarih-i Râşid*, vol. V, p. 160.

⁹² Julian Raby, '1600 – The Beginning of the End', in *Iznik*, ed. Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby (London, 1989), pp. 273–85, at p. 288.

1720 Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa established a pious foundation in the busy district of Şehzâdebaşı, including a *medrese*, small mosque, library and fountain. A row of shops was added to the complex in 1728–9; these were separated from the street by two rows of porticoes that survived until the nineteenth century, when the area functioned as a fashionable entertainment district. At this time the household of the grand vizier had finally separated from that of the sultan, a development which had begun in the late sixteenth century. To document this new-found independence Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa undertook the construction of a new palace that in the following decades grew into the Sublime Porte.

Like a number of his recent predecessors, Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa possessed revenue sources in Izmir. The viziers' patronage of commercial and industrial architecture in this busy port city seems to have motivated the local gentry and notables to emulate them. Innovative decorative motifs were soon to embellish mosques, fountains and gravestones.⁹³ Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa also undertook a really grand project when he transformed his village of origin into a town, now called Nevşehir.⁹⁴ With ordered streets and a long piazza between the market and the mosque this is a rare example of Ottoman town planning. Here too there was no trace of any European impact; rather, the grand vizier seems to have expressed his near-royal ambition to impose his own order upon space. Set on the slope of the citadel hill, the mosque complex contains a school of law cum theology and a library, all of excellent workmanship. The mosque does not at all resemble other provincial mosques of the classical type, but in view of its originality it is also doubtful whether we should call its style 'Anatolian baroque'.⁹⁵ Damâd İbrâhîm's great wealth and long tenure of office enabled him to engage in this remarkable feat of architectural patronage.

In certain provinces, particularly eighteenth-century Syria and Egypt, there was considerable building activity as well, particularly in the domestic sector. A great number of impressive private houses were put up, preferably on the shores of lakes, rivers or streams, as in the Cairo suburb of Azbakiyya; however, local building types were relatively unaffected by the changing Ottoman taste.⁹⁶ In Aleppo numerous richly decorated houses reflected the continuing

93 Ayda Arel, 'Image architecturale et image urbaine dans une série de bas-reliefs de la région égéenne', *Turcica* 18 (1986), 83–101, figs. 1–24.

94 Kemal Anadol, *Nevşehir'de Damat İbrahim Paşa külliyesi* (Istanbul, 1970); İlknur Altuğ, *Nevşehir Damat İbrahim Paşa külliyesi* (Ankara, 1992).

95 Rüçhan Arık, *Batılılaşma dönemi Türk mimarisi örneklerinden Anadolu'da üç ahşap cami* (Ankara, 1973).

96 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and its Environs: From Azbak to Isma'il, 1476–1879* (Cairo, 1985).

importance of the city's major trades.⁹⁷ Domestic architecture also flourished in other provincial towns such as Hama, Tripoli, Jerusalem and Damascus, and many fine houses still survive in the coastal towns of Syria and Palestine as well as in the mountains of Lebanon. As to their counterparts in Anatolia and the Balkans (Rumeli), that were put up by local notables and the newly rising bourgeoisie, these structures were built out of perishable timber and the surviving examples mostly date from the very end of the eighteenth century.

The 'Age of Elegance': historicism vs. hedonism

In 1719 the library of Ahmed III (Enderun Kütüphanesi) was constructed within just six months. This type of building was without precedent inside the palace precinct, and its very presence indicated that Ahmed III was able to go against courtly tradition by highlighting his personal love for books. Grand Vizier Şehîd 'Alî Paşa built another library in the centre of the old city, and the sultan himself commissioned a third, integrated into the complex of his grandmother Turhan Vâlide Sultân at Eminönü. Freestanding libraries in the city had been popular ever since the mid-seventeenth century and continued to be so to the end of our period; as examples we might mention the libraries of Mahmûd I (1756) in Fatih, of Defterdâr 'Atîf Efendi (1741) in the vicinity of the Süleymaniye, of Grand Vizier Râğîb Paşa (1762) in Beyazîd and of Kadîasker Murâd Mollâ (1775) in Çarşamba. Libraries flourished also in the provinces, from Vidin to Midilli, Rhodes, Tire, Akhisar, Kayseri, Sivas, or Antalya. Both at the centre and in the provinces, the small-scale, often autonomous library buildings were easily recognisable by their compact square or rectangular plans, their domes or vaults and their alternating stone-and-brick masonry linked to medieval building traditions. Put together, these features characterised these small or medium-sized structures as rather distinguished edifices with a particular symbolic function; utility was important, but it certainly was not the whole story.

Fountains and chambers from which passers-by were offered a drink of water (*sebil*) were also favoured by eighteenth-century patrons. The monumental fountain of Sultan Ahmed III (1728), located in close proximity to the Topkapı Palace, was the first of its kind and once again reflected the personal preferences of this ruler: his long poem in honour of water was set in the frieze among foliate and floral designs in low relief, with lavish use of paint and gilding (Fig. 19.14). Eighteenth-century fountains and *sebils* in Istanbul often replaced

⁹⁷ Heghnar Z. Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden, 2004).



Figure 19.14 Fountain of Sultan Ahmed III and Square of St Sophia by William H. Bartlett, in *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* by Miss [Julia] Pardoe, London, 1838, pp. 62–3.

earlier structures of the same kind, but others were newly built in response to the rising water demand and in connection with recently built waterworks, the latter including aqueducts as well as water towers. Three royal fountains, namely Sâliha Sultân's at Azapkapı, Hekîmoğlu Alî Paşa's at Kabataş, and Mahmûd I's at Tophane, were built in a single year (1732–3). They all displayed a rich and cheerful floral decoration, recalling lacquer-work of the period. However, this water architecture had few parallels in the provinces. Only in late eighteenth-century Cairo were *sebîls*, typically located on the ground floors of primary schools, given remarkable architectural prominence through the patronage of a successful commander by the name of 'Abd al-Rahmân Kathudâ.⁹⁸

It has too often been assumed that artistic change in the Ottoman realm derived from external causes – in other words, historians have seen this phenomenon purely as a form of 'Westernisation'. Supposedly motifs from French and Italian art were taken up to form what has been called 'Ottoman baroque', meaning a mixture of Ottoman and European elements. Doğan Kuban, who has coined this particular term, has concerned himself with certain formal borrowings observed already in the so-called 'Tulip Age', the period between 1718 and 1730.⁹⁹ Yet this view of things is debatable, as changes in other artistic traditions, such as painting, music or literature, were often analogous to those taking place in architecture. Yet in these latter fields, there were as yet few traces of Westernisation.¹⁰⁰

Ayda Arel, by contrast, has argued that European influence, introduced by way of the minor arts, was in the eighteenth century apparent mainly in the realm of architectural decoration; moreover, art forms adapted from baroque and rococo made their first appearances by mid-century and thus were not due to the patronage of Ahmed III and his grand vizier Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa.¹⁰¹ Somewhat later 'classical' *muqarnas* were turned into volutes and the decorative shapes known as *rûmîs* mutated into arabesques. The patrons' interest in the adoption of Western forms has generally been overestimated by art historians: the new tendencies were not so much an imitation of European features as an attempt to enrich Ottoman architecture's overused norms and forms by exploring new possibilities; for around 1700, there seems to have

98 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, 'The Abd al-Rahmân Katkhudâ Style in 18th Century Cairo', *Annales Islamologiques* 26 (1992), 117–126.

99 Doğan Kuban, *Türk barok mimarisi hakkında bir deneme* (Istanbul, 1954).

100 Rhoads Murphey, 'Westernization in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire: How Far, How Fast?', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23 (1999), 116–39.

101 Ayda Arel, *18. yüzyıl İstanbul mimarisinde batılılaşma süreci* (Istanbul, 1975), p. 10.

been a feeling among patrons and artists that the established art forms had exhausted themselves.

Developments leading to the emergence of the so-called Ottoman baroque included the adoption of decorative motifs stressing the third dimension, while earlier forms of decoration had definitely been two-dimensional. In architecture properly speaking, advances towards a novel aesthetic were more restrained but not totally absent; thus in the prominent complex of Hekîmoğlu 'Alî Paşa in Istanbul (1735), buildings were arranged asymmetrically, and perspective was used to provide surprising vistas. By mid-century the grand complex of the Nuruosmaniye was the first mosque-centred socio-religious complex to show new planning features (1755). Later on, such elements were added to the Topkapı Palace as well. Even so, Arel found it difficult to accept the idea of a conscious stylistic change. Lesser foreign artists and freelance Armenian and Greek architects at work in the Ottoman capital may have been responsible for quite a few decorative details of Western origin; these men were perhaps using motifs from albums of drawings and engravings.

A wealth of socio-religious complexes, or else a decline?

Like his father, Ahmed III founded his one and only socio-religious complex of imperial proportions in the name of his mother, Gülnüş Emetullâh. The Yeni Vâlide complex in Üsküdar (1708–10) resembled earlier structures in that it contained, apart from a mosque, numerous appurtenances including a fountain, *sebîl*, elementary school and soup kitchen as well as a royal lodge. The composition of the façade which highlighted the *sebîl*, fountain and mausoleum was novel. However, even this majestic project could not escape the shortcomings of the age: an attempt was made to include revetments of tiles, but the quality was extremely poor.¹⁰² Perhaps these tiles were the first products of the workshops that had recently been established in the capital, near the land walls at Tekfur Sarayı.

No other eighteenth-century commissions by grand viziers, including those of Damâd İbrâhîm Paşa, can compete in grandeur with the Hekîmoğlu complex. Built in 1735, it is prominently situated on the historic peninsula's seventh hilltop at Kocamustafapaşa, comprising a mosque, a tomb, a library, a *sebîl* and a fountain for ablutions (*şâdirvân*), in addition to several other fountains.¹⁰³ Even the most powerful grand viziers of the sixteenth century had not been

¹⁰² Raby, '1600', p. 284.

¹⁰³ Baha Tanman, *Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa camii'ne ilişkin bazı gözlemler, Aslanapa armağanı* (Istanbul, 1996), pp. 253–80.

allowed to dominate the skyline of the imperial city, the hilltops being reserved for the displays of the sultans. The mosque is impressive by itself and is considered to be a fine, final monument of the old order.¹⁰⁴ It has a classical plan with 'baroque' and 'rococo' decoration. Its tiles, featuring what were at the time considered modern motifs, such as large roses and tulips, came from the Istanbul workshops, a privilege that the sultan shared only with Hekîmoğlu. Moreover, the complex included a royal loggia and an entrance ramp, both of which were distinctly dynastic prerogatives and did not normally occur in mosques founded by viziers. In addition, Hekîmoğlu sponsored other pious foundations in the capital, and, last but not least, there was his mausoleum.

In 1748–55 Mahmûd I and his successor 'Osmân III patronised the Nuruosmaniye mosque. By this time the Ottoman court had come to appreciate ornate and flamboyant forms. While most of the work had been completed before 'Osmân III acceded to the throne in 1754 the latter rather blatantly named the building after himself, under the pretext that the name could be interpreted as 'Light of the Ottomans'. In the crowded hub of the city, adjacent to one of the entrances of the covered bazaar, monumentality was achieved by raising the mosque and its inner courtyard on a base, to be reached by irregularly placed curved staircases.

It is the inner courtyard, daringly shaped like a horseshoe, the only one of its kind, that deserves special attention. Clearly reminiscent of Western architectural vocabulary, the rounded galleries seem to undulate around the central open space. The mosque itself is crowned by a large dome standing out among the many cupolas of the nearby bazaar and khans. Architectural elements are not disguised behind decorative details, and this by itself is indicative of a novel repertoire.¹⁰⁵

In the second part of the eighteenth century, during the reign of Mustafâ III, three major projects were completed: the Ayazma complex at Üsküdar (1757–60), a second one known as Laleli and located in Beyazîd (1759–63), and finally the rebuilding of the mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror along with its dependencies. The newly completed Laleli mosque also took a battering in the earthquake of 22 May 1766, but the worst damage was at the Conqueror's mosque, of which only the courtyard and the north door survived.

Built on the Üsküdar hills, the Ayazma mosque is modelled on the Nuruosmaniye, but with a reduced scale and a simpler decorative programme. Though

104 Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1981 [1971]), p. 376.

105 Ali Öngül, 'Tarih-i Cami-i Nuruosmani', *Vakıflar Dergisi* 24 (1994), 127–46; Pia Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nuruosmaniye in Istanbul* (Berlin, 1986).

repeatedly noted for its 'Ottoman baroque' details, the crowded interior lacks decorative shells and foliation, otherwise characteristic of this period. A royal loggia shows that this is the foundation of a sultan. A separate timekeeper's room, a primary school and a public bath are included in the complex dedicated to the memories of the sultan's mother, Mihrişâh Emîne Sultân, and his brother Süleymân. Goodwin has rightly noted that the most interesting development at the Ayazma mosque is the very high gallery for latecomers (*son cemaat yeri*), approached by a circular grand stair.¹⁰⁶

Even before the architect of the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli mosques had been identified as Simeon (Komyanos/Kommenos) Kalfa, the similarities between the two complexes were noted, particularly with respect to the monumental staircases leading up to the mosques.¹⁰⁷ The plan of the Laleli mosque, on the other hand, is similar to that of its counterpart in Üsküdar. While smaller than the Nuruosmaniye, the materials used and the quality of the interior are richer. Once again the royal lodge, the timekeeper's room, the courtyard and especially the monumental main entrance are the most remarkable elements.

Work on the Conqueror's mosque began in 1767. It was rebuilt on the old foundations, but the plan of the nearby Şehzâde mosque was once again adopted as the model. Nevertheless, rounded windows, debased Ionic column capitals and the royal loggia, approached by a typical eighteenth-century imperial ramp, are all characteristic of the period. Like its contemporary the Zeyneb Sultân mosque (1769), the Fatih foundation in its new guise does not bear any specific European characteristics, but rather exhibits variations on earlier Ottoman themes.¹⁰⁸ When all three imperial projects were under way, Mehmed Tâhir Ağa was the chief architect.¹⁰⁹ We know very little about his origins and personal history.

The legacy of Simeon Kalfa

At the end of the seventeenth century we observe a notable decrease in the number of non-Muslims among imperial architects; while earlier on 40–43 per cent had been Christians, this now dwindled to a mere 5 per cent. In

106 Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, p. 387.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 388.

108 Maurice Cerasi, 'The Problem Specificity and Subordination to External Influences in Late Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture in Four Istanbul Buildings in the Age of Hassa Mi'mar Mehmed Tahir', in *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht, 23–28 August 1999*, ed. Machiel Kiel, Nico Landman and Hans Theunissen, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 4 (2001), 1–23.

109 Muzaffer Erdoğan, 'Onsekizinci asır sonlarında bir Türk sanatkarı: hassa başmimarı Mehmed Tahir Ağa: hayatı ve mesleki faaliyetleri', *Tarih Dergisi* 7 (1954), 157–80, 8 (1955), 157–78, 9 (1958), 161–70, 10 (1960), 25–46.

the eighteenth century the number of non-Muslims once again increased.¹¹⁰ Thus it is not possible to ascribe the changes in architectural style only to the impact of non-Muslim architects or workmen. Furthermore, the latter down to the late 1700s were still Ottomanised in their habits, and their interest in and knowledge of European building traditions remained quite limited. Given the penury of sources, the late eighteenth-century interest of Ottoman mosque architects in decorative masonry and architectural detail reminiscent of Byzantine styles, as reflected in the Zeyneb Sultan (1769) and Şebsefa Kadın (1787) mosques, must remain something of an enigma.¹¹¹

The first prominent non-Muslim architect working on an imperial project in a position of responsibility was a Greek named Simeon Kalfa, who participated in the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli projects.¹¹² But there were others, even though our information on their activities is often unsatisfactory. One Greek Orthodox member of the official corps of architects has left a wood and papier-mâché model dated 1762, and intended for the Xeropotamou monastery on Mount Athos. It bears the name of the 'Architect Constantinos, architect of the Sultan's Court'; this personage may well have been involved in the design of the Laleli mosque as well.¹¹³

Certainly the use of architectural models by Ottoman builders is well known, even though only a few examples have survived. However, the catholicon of the Xeropotamou monastery presents a unique opportunity for comparing a model with an extant building. Constructed to scale and featuring gridlines, the model is made of wooden pieces covered with paper that can be easily removed to allow a view of the interior. The construction of the building itself (1762–4) was not supervised by Constantinos, but by a head mason called Chatziconstantis, and this can easily explain the differences between the model and the building as it stands. The church is of the cross-in-square type with side apses characteristic of Mount Athos. The decorations bear close resemblance to those found in mosques of this period, representing the style known as 'Ottoman baroque'. Both the architectural details and the building materials came from the capital as donations from wealthy Phanariotes.

110 Şerafettin Turan, 'Osmanlı teşkilatında hassa mimarları', *AÜ Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, 1 (1963), 157–202.

111 Cerasi, 'Problem Specificity', 6–7.

112 Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netâyicü'l-vukuat III–IV*, ed. Neşet Çağatay (Ankara, 1987), p. 147; Kevork Pamukçyan, 'Nuruosmaniye cami'inin mimarı Simeon Kalfa hakkında', 'Üsküdar'daki Selimiye cami'nin mimarı kimdir?', 'Foti Kalfa'ya dair iki kaynak daha', all in *Zamanlar, mekânlar*, ed. Osman Köker (Istanbul, 2003), pp. 152–4, 155–9 and 160–1, respectively.

113 Miltiades Polyviou, *To Katholiko tis Monis Xeropotamou. Skhediasmos kai kataskevi sti naodomia tou 18 ou aiona* (Athens, 1999).

Another architect who specialised in the (re)-construction of ecclesiastical buildings was Nicolaos Komnenos (1770–1821), who repaired the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem after it had been damaged in a major fire in 1808. Originally from Mytilene / Midilli, Nicolaos Komnenos had established himself in Istanbul, where he restored several churches before receiving the prestigious Jerusalem commission. Possibly the title *basilikos* that he bore in an inscription referred to his membership in the sultan's corps of architects; his work in Jerusalem demonstrated his familiarity with the decorative repertoire of 'Ottoman baroque'.¹¹⁴ Thus the churches built or rebuilt both in the capital and in the provinces during this period should be included within the corpus of structures displaying the stylistic innovations typical of late eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture.

Around 1800: the centre and the provinces

Because of financial difficulties in the reign of 'Abdülhâmid I (r. 1774–89), the ruling elite were encouraged to help in the construction and repair of fortresses and other public structures. This was something of a novelty, for down to the mid-eighteenth century military architecture such as fortresses or city walls had almost never been entrusted to individuals; the *vâlîde* Turhan Sultân who fortified the Dardanelles must count as the exception proving the rule.¹¹⁵ But in 1784 Grand Admiral Cezâyirli Hasan Paşa commissioned the new navy barracks (Kalyoncu Kışlası) in Kasımpaşa and paid for the construction out of his personal funds. At the same time, the sultan's entourage was considerably enlarged, and the delegation of architectural enterprise made an incorporation of new courtiers possible despite mounting military and political pressures. On the Anatolian shore, the Beylerbeyi mosque, with its courtyard situated on the waterfront and its veranda for latecomers a two-storey kiosk (1778), exemplified the new social atmosphere, in which the sultan was expected to meet a larger number of people.¹¹⁶

'Abdülhâmid I's reign was relatively poor in terms of architectural patronage, although he did build more than survives to the present day, and 'Ottoman baroque' really came into its own during this period. In the Topkapı Palace, the sultan ordered the construction of several chambers, whose decoration is

¹¹⁴ Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Phoenix, Mill, Thrupp and Stroud, 1999), p. 103.

¹¹⁵ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, 'The Ottoman Fortresses of Seddülbahir and Kumkale', in *Aptullah Kuran için yazılar: Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, ed. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak and Günhan Danişman (Istanbul, 1999), pp. 311–23.

¹¹⁶ Kevork Pamukciyan, 'Hassa mimarı Edirneli Agop Kalfa', in *Zamanlar, mekânlar*, ed. Osman Köker (Istanbul, 2003), pp. 146–8.

unfortunately difficult to date. By contrast, his successor, Selîm III (r. 1789–1807), was much more ambitious. Apart from rebuilding the Eyüp mosque (1798–1800), the reforming sultan commissioned one of his own on the hills of Üsküdar, the Selimiye (1804), close to the enormous barracks which also bear his name. This mosque should be regarded as part of the new movement in Ottoman architecture that had begun with the Nuruosmaniye.¹¹⁷ A link to this latter building may also be due to family connections, for the architect, Foti Kalfa, was the son of Simeon Kalfa who had worked on the Nuruosmaniye; the two men claimed descent from the imperial Byzantine Komnenos dynasty, with what justification remains unclear.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Selîm and his sisters employed Antoine-Ignace Melling for a number of projects, including the manufacture of objets d'art and architectural enterprises. Apart from designing Hadîce's royal villa at Defterdarburnu, other palaces of the princesses were recorded by Melling in fine drawings. These included Beyhân's mansion at Akıntıburnu and Hibetullâh's at the far end of the Golden Horn. Melling also drew the sultan's Beşiktaş Palace, where he undertook rebuilding and renovations.¹¹⁹

*Late eighteenth-century residential architecture:
historicism in the provinces*

Certain provincial building projects shared features well-known from imperial architecture; however, since the magnates sponsoring them have left no written documentation, we continue to puzzle over the meanings that may have been attached to such parallelisms. Thus in Aydın the Cihânoğlu mosque (1756) is approached by a grand staircase which resembles that adorning the Ayazma mosque in Üsküdar, begun a year later. The Cihânoğlu mosque is set obliquely on an artificial platform raised above low arcades with pointed arches. The ablutions fountain forms a decagon decorated with ten panels. The interior of the mosque is rather overwhelmed by stucco decoration with vegetal motifs and arabesques.

Provincial styles of the late eighteenth century allowed for an interest in local forms that had often preceded the 'classical' architecture that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patrons had imposed. This predilection has been well

¹¹⁷ Arel, *Batılılaşma süreci*; Pamukciyan, 'Üsküdar'daki Selimiye camii'nin mimarı kimdir?.'

¹¹⁸ Pamukciyan, 'Foti Kalfa'ya dair iki kaynak daha'.

¹¹⁹ MM Treuttel and Würtz (eds.), *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore: d'après les dessins de M Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III, et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidge sa sœur* (Paris, 1819).

studied in the case of Egypt, but it existed elsewhere as well.¹²⁰ In Aydın this was a rather novel style marked with baroque and rococo embellishments of the so-called Italian school, but mixed with rather anachronistic Gothic forms, whose source remains completely unknown. Attributing this hybrid style to Greeks who had fled to western Anatolia before and after the Morean revolt of 1770, Arel has characterised this mixture as a ‘family style’ of the Cihânoğlu, whose mosques and mansions show remarkable similarities.¹²¹ The fortified estates or manors of eighteenth-century western Asia Minor seem to be linked to indigenous medieval walled-in residential complexes featuring ‘towers’, which in unsettled times may have functioned as keeps or donjons. Such mansions were apparently adopted by the Cihânoğulları to document their local roots, while reserving the more official canon for their mosques.¹²² By contrast the late eighteenth-century İshak Paşa Sarayı, on the Iranian border, harked back to medieval building traditions ingeniously combined with features derived from the Topkapı Palace.¹²³

In the Ottoman architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the survival of established conventions was thus accompanied by the development of new elements and combinations of motifs. It makes sense to highlight the creativity of late Ottoman builders and patrons, who invented or imported architectural features whenever they felt that the ‘classical tradition’ had exhausted itself. This richness and complexity is not well described by the conventional catchall categories of Westernisation and decline; instead, we need to examine written texts to track down the often elusive motivations of patrons and architects.

120 Cerasi, ‘Problem Specificity’.

121 Ayda Arel, ‘Aydın ve yöresinde bir âyân ailesi ve mimarlık: Cihanoğulları’, in *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e: problemler, araştırmalar, tartışmalar. I. uluslararası tarih kongresi 24–26 Mayıs 1993 (Ankara)* (Istanbul, 1998), p. 187.

122 Ayda Arel, ‘18. ve 19. yüzyıl Ege dünyasında ikonografik izlek ve kalıplar’, in *Sanat tarihinde ikonografik araştırmalar: Güner Inal’a armağan* (Ankara, 1993), pp. 21–9, figs. 1–9.

123 Mahmut Akok, ‘Ağrı-Doğubeyazıt’da İshak Paşa Sarayı rölöve ve mimarisi’, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 10, 2 (1961), 30–48; Y. Bingöl, *İshak Paşa Sarayı* (Istanbul, 1998).