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Architecture for a New Age:
Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

A dissertation presented

by

Ünver Rüstem

to

The Department of History of Art and Architecture

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

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Dissertation Advisor: Gülru Necipoğlu Ünver Rüstem

Architecture for a New Age:

Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

Abstract

The eighteenth century saw the Ottoman capital Istanbul undergo some of its most significant physical changes. Restored as the seat of government in 1703 after the court had spent fifty years in Edirne, the city became the site of lavish architectural patronage intended to reinscribe the sultans' presence. This campaign culminated in the years 1740–1800 with two distinct but related developments: the revival of the imperial mosque as a building type, and the creation of a new architectural style—the so-called Ottoman Baroque—informed by Western models. Though these shifts have typically been viewed within a well-established decline paradigm branding the material decadent and derivative, this study demonstrates that the eighteenth-century mosques were powerful symbols of sultanic authority designed to reassert and redefine the empire's standing on a changing world stage.

The dissertation engages a range of unexplored primary sources, including Ottoman diaries and Western diplomatic reports, to reconsider the mosques as exemplary buildings by which to understand broader cultural and sociopolitical shifts. Reflecting the growing importance of sultanic visibility, the buildings evinced ever bolder devices for proclaiming their royal status. These innovations, which distinguished the mosques from Istanbul's existing architecture, won the admiration of the empire's inhabitants, for whom the structures were charged settings in which to view the sultans' ceremonial visits.

Moreover, the new style—with its conspicuous but creatively adapted Western references—also spoke to an international audience, impressing foreign travelers and diplomats who recognized its cross-cultural tenor. Challenging existing scholarly approaches that either condemn the architecture as imitative or vindicate it by underplaying its Western elements, I contend that the Ottoman court—utilizing the expertise of native non-Muslim artisans with networks in Europe—deliberately fashioned a globally legible style befitting an age of heightened East-West contact. The existence of comparable traditions like the Petrine Baroque in Russia provides a meaningful framework for this reinterpretation, as too does the Ottomans' own claim to an antique architectural heritage, expressed through the mosques' numerous Byzantine allusions. This remarkably cosmopolitan new style permanently transformed the Ottoman capital's fabric, establishing a model that would remain influential until the empire's end.

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NOTE TO THE READER

Well-established English forms of Ottoman and other Islamic terms are used whenever possible (thus “pasha” and “Koran” rather than *paşa* and “Qur’an”), and even lesser-known terms such as mihrab and dhimmi are written unitalicized and without diacritics if they appear in standard English dictionaries. Ottoman terms that are still used in today’s Turkish are fully transliterated on their first occurrence and written unitalicized in their modern forms thereafter (e.g., *ʿimāret*, later “imaret”). Terms that are more rarely encountered in modern Turkish (e.g., *ḳalfa*) are transliterated throughout.

The names of places and buildings are rendered in their anglicized or modern Turkish forms as appropriate, in some cases after the Ottoman transliteration has first been given. The names of Ottoman personages are written in their modern Turkish forms (e.g., “Abdülhamid” rather than “ʿAbdü’l-Ḥamīd”), except when they occur as authors cited in the footnotes and bibliography, where they are fully transliterated. I have, however, deviated from modern Turkish orthography by retaining medial *ʿayn*s and *hamza*s in all proper names (thus “Saʿdabad” rather than “Sa’dabad” or “Saadabad”).

In transliterating from Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian, I have followed the system used by the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, with the following adaptions for Ottoman: خ and غ are respectively rendered as *ḫ* and *ġ*, and certain orthographic conventions pertaining to native Turkish words are ignored in favor of spellings that better reflect the actual pronunciation of the time. The word ايتديروب, for example, is represented by *etdirüp*, striking a reasonable balance between the faithful but archaizing *itdirüb* and the modern *ettirip*. As is typical for the period, all of the eighteenth-century

Ottoman texts quoted in this dissertation are unpunctuated, and any punctuation that appears in the transliterations is my own.

When transcribing from Western languages, I have retained the characteristic and sometimes erratic spelling and punctuation of the original texts, adding clarifications in square brackets as necessary.

All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN CITING ARCHIVAL SOURCES

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BOA	Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)
CADN	Centre des Archives diplomatiques de Nantes
TNA	The National Archives (UK)
TSMA	Topkapı Palace Museum Archive (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi)

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INTRODUCTION

> *It is fair and accurate to say that this beautiful building and gladdening house of worship—all of solid marble and so charming—has no like or counterpart not only in the capital [Istanbul], but perhaps also in [all] the lands of Islam.*
> —Ahmed Efendi, building secretary of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque

> *The mosque that Sultan Mahamout had built is, without doubt, the most beautiful that one can see in the Empire, after one has seen St. Sophia.*
> —Jean-Claude Flachat, French merchant and resident of Istanbul[1]

Written of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1748–55) by authors contemporary with its construction, these statements may surprise the modern observer. So conditioned are we to locate the heyday of Ottoman architecture in the sixteenth century—and above all in the works of Sinan (d. 1588)—that it is difficult to credit that a later building could have excited such praise. If the first statement might be dismissed as mere hyperbole on the part of an Ottoman official involved in the mosque's construction, the second—written by a Frenchman with no connection to the project—cannot be so easily disregarded.

Indeed, the Nuruosmaniye marked a momentous shift in the history of Ottoman architecture, one that was acclaimed by Easterners and Westerners alike. Not only did the building reestablish the long-dormant tradition of the sultanic mosque complex, with other examples soon to come, but it was also the first truly monumental example of a brand-new architectural style heavily informed by European models: the so-called Turkish or Ottoman Baroque. Denigrated by later nineteenth- and twentieth-century commentators as decadent and foreign, this new style was in its own time a remarkable

[1] These quotations and their authors will be discussed in the course of this dissertation.

success, almost entirely displacing traditional idioms and dominating the architectural output of Istanbul between the 1740s and early 1800s.

It is with this twofold development—the revival of the sultanic mosque and the attendant rise of a novel architectural manner—that the present study is concerned. Though both phenomena have long been acknowledged, few scholars have considered them in relation to each other, and the more recent revisionist literature in particular has largely overlooked the mosques in its discussion of the period's architectural shifts. This neglect is curious given the Ottomans' own privileging of the sultanic mosque as the building type par excellence, and all the more so in light of the type's conspicuous resurgence during the eighteenth century.[2] The Nuruosmaniye was followed in swift succession by the Mosques of Ayazma (1757–60), Laleli (1760–64), Beylerbeyi (1777–78), and Selimiye (1801–5), not to mention reconstructed versions of the Mosques of Fatih (1767–71) and Eyüp Sultan (1798–1800). These monuments had a profound and transformative effect on the landscape of Istanbul, spreading the new style along the city's thoroughfares and waterways (fig. 1).

Besides its revitalized role in the eighteenth century, the sultanic mosque is arguably the most revealing kind of building available to those seeking to understand the period. To talk of a sultanic mosque really means to talk of a whole complex that includes such additional elements as a school, library, public kitchen, royal pavilion, tomb, and fountain. By bringing together these various kinds of buildings ranging from the utilitarian to the palatial, the imperial mosque complexes functioned as comprehensive

[2] For the significance (and significations) of the imperial mosques, see Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," 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 Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1991), 173–243.

microcosms of what was happening more generally in the architecture of the capital. They therefore provide us with some of the richest and fullest information available about the visual culture to which they belong.

In addition to their obvious value as case studies, the sultanic mosques also force us to reassess much of the prevailing wisdom on eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture. Interpretations of this material, including more recent revisionist ones, have tended to treat the Ottoman Baroque as a predominantly decorative style lacking the gravitas and hierarchical import of the earlier classical manner. But such a characterization is at odds with the style's prominent and indeed essential role in the imperial mosques, buildings that demand to be taken seriously as charged expressions of state ideology.

It is my belief that the Ottoman Baroque—far from being a lightweight ornamental mode born of cultural atrophy or artistic whim—was a sophisticated elite strategy designed to visually reinforce the Ottoman dynasty's predominance in an age when older aesthetic idioms had lost their relevance. Particularly important to understanding this development is the style's distinctly Westernizing appearance. If older scholarship has grossly exaggerated the Ottoman Baroque's relationship to European models, recent revisionist arguments have misleadingly underplayed it, ignoring what is plain to see with the eye. The style's patent adaptation of Western forms has become something of an elephant in the room, when it is in fact one of the clearest reasons for the Ottoman Baroque's resounding success. Such borrowings—always creatively recast—allowed the Ottomans to refashion their architecture in terms that would be cross-culturally legible, connoting their empire's standing on the world stage at a time of

heightened East-West interactions. This international perspective will be key to the argument that I shall here develop.

Historiographical Background

Until relatively recently, scholars and connoisseurs have not been too favorable in their view of eighteenth-century Ottoman art and architecture. The tone of the discourse was established as early as 1873 by the *Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿOs̱mānī* (Fundamentals of Ottoman Architecture) or *L'architecture ottomane*, an illustrated treatise with texts in Turkish, French, and German prepared by the Ottoman government for the Vienna World Exposition.[3] Both a history and defense of Ottoman architecture, the *Uṣūl* argues that the tradition reached its peak in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly under Sinan, whose manner was perpetuated, though not bettered, in the decades that followed his death. With the mid-seventeenth century came stagnation, and then, during the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), a short-lived artistic resurgence. Notwithstanding this positive start, the eighteenth century soon became an unhappy time for Ottoman architecture:

> However, engineers and hydraulic architects, having been called from France for various works, brought in their wake other artists, sculptors, painters, and decorators who soon altered the stylistic purity of Ottoman architecture to the

[3] Victor Marie de Launay et al., *L'architecture ottomane = Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿOs̱mānī* (Constantinople: Imprimerie et lithographie centrales, 1873). Reprinted (with modern Turkish and English translations by Robert Bragner) as Victor Marie de Launay et al., *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mimarisi* (Istanbul: Tarihi Araştırmalar ve Dokümantasyon Merkezleri Kurma ve Geliştirme Vakfı, 1998). For discussions of the *Uṣūl*, see Ahmet Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance': Architectural Revival and Its Discourse During the Abdülaziz Era (1861–76)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2000); and Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 117–39. For the Ottomans' participation at the 1873 Vienna World Exposition, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 63–67, 106–7.

> point of complete debasement, as we see most strikingly from the examples of the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli Mosques.[4]

This bastardized and foreign style, the text continues, was to last into the 1860s, when a revival of the "classical" manner began under Abdülaziz (r. 1861–76), the sultan during whose reign the *Uṣūl* was written. Ironically, the main author of the treatise, Victor Marie de Launay, was himself a French expatriate working for the Ottoman government, and the buildings he hails as examples of the incipient "renaissance" are eclectic works that have little to do with traditional models.[5]

Despite its contradictions, the *Uṣūl* proved highly influential among those who would found the field of Ottoman art history. The prolific Celâl Esad Arseven (d. 1972), son to a grand vizier and a politician in his own right, closely paraphrases the *Uṣūl*'s description of the eighteenth century in his first book, *Constantinople de Byzance à Stamboul*, published in 1909.[6] Another proponent of this view, and likewise a grand vizier's son and politician, was Halil Ethem Eldem (d. 1938), an important figure in early Turkish museums who wrote on various art-related topics. Eldem, whose father, İbrahim Edhem Pasha (d. 1893), had in fact supervised the preparation of the *Uṣūl*, parrots many of the treatise's characterizations in his 1932 book *Camilerimiz* (Our Mosques), where he

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[4] My translation is based on Launay's French, from which the Ottoman and German texts were derived: *Toutefois, des ingénieurs et architectes hydrauliciens ayant été alors appelés de France pour divers travaux, amenèrent à leur suite d'autres artistes, sculpteurs, peintres, décorateurs, qui bientôt altérèrent le pureté du goût de l'architecture ottomane jusqu'au point de la dénaturer complétement, ainsi que nous le voyons de la manière la plus frappante par l'exemple des mosquées Nour-i-Osmanié et Lalèli.* Launay, *L'architecture ottomane*, 6–7 (for the Ottoman translation, see Launay, *Uṣūl*, 12). For discussion of this section of the *Uṣūl*, see Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 260–65.

[5] See Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins," 117–39.

[6] See Celâl Esad Arseven, *Constantinople, de Byzance à Stamboul* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), 179–80, as cited and translated in Shirine Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 185.

writes, “our style of architecture took on a defective form and fell into the hands of foreigners.”[7]

Such a stance is representative of a broader, still popular narrative of Ottoman decline, which holds that the empire entered into a long and ultimately fatal degeneration after its sixteenth-century peak.[8] This well-worn account, widespread in both Western and Turkish historiography, needs little recapitulation, though it bears remembering that the eighteenth century, give or take a few decades, serves as the tale’s extended turning point.[9] After the failed second siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottomans suffered a series of military losses at the hands of a Habsburg-led coalition, eventually admitting defeat with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The century that followed was marked by a series of attempts at reviving the empire’s fortunes through European-inspired military reforms, but a combination of ineptitude, reactionary opposition, and Russian expansionism stopped these efforts from bearing fruit. In 1807, the progressive Selim III (r. 1798–1807,

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[7] *[U]sulü mimarîmiz sakim bir şekil almış ve yabancıların eline düşmüştür.* Halil Ethem Eldem, *Camilerimiz* (Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1932), 96.

[8] For examples of this narrative, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 2nd ed. (London, Oxford, and New York: Oxford and New York, 1968); Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976); and Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977). For a thought-provoking discussion of the decline paradigm, see Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline,” *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies Review* 4, nos. 1–2 (1997–98): 30–75.

[9] For such a characterization of the Ottoman eighteenth century, see H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1 of *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1950–57). For early alterative assessments, see Norman Itzkowitz, “Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities,” *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73–94; and Itzkowitz “Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire,” in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press; London and Amsterdam: Feffer & Simons, Inc., 1977), 15–26. For an important critique of the tendency to treat the eighteenth century as a turning point, see Edhem Eldem, “18. Yüzyıl ve Değişim,” *Cogito* 19 (Summer 1999): 189–99. For a concise survey of the historiography of the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, particularly with regard to the development of revisionist approaches, see Jane Hathaway, “Rewriting Eighteenth-Century Ottoman History,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004): 29–53.

d. 1808) was toppled, and though his successors would follow his reformist example, the Ottomans' fate was already sealed, and the Sick Man of Europe, as the empire came to be dubbed, died in 1923. The artistic dimension of this process was as pitiable as the rest: in their visual culture just as in their military and politics, the Ottomans succumbed to European hegemony and tried, with poor results, to ape the ways of the West.

Over the course of the twentieth century, several art-historical approaches arose to challenge this prevailing interpretation. The first of these was simply to treat the material as worthy of consideration to begin with. Arseven, who continued to publish until his death in 1972, came to look more sympathetically on the eighteenth century in his later writings.[10] Though he always considered the buildings of this period to be frivolous and ornamental when compared with classical Ottoman works, he stopped viewing them as poor copies of Western models and recognized their distinctively local quality, such that by the 1950s, he was arguing for their acceptance as part of "our national history of Turkish art."[11] This change in thinking came about against the volatile political backdrop of the young Turkish republic, whose explicitly Westernizing policies would have undermined the traditionalist basis of the criticisms previously leveled at eighteenth-century architecture.[12]

As early as 1928, when he published the first edition of his survey *Türk San'atı* (Turkish Art), Arseven laid down what was to become the standard art-historical

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[10] For an excellent analysis of Arseven's evolving and influential approach to the eighteenth century, see Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque."

[11] *[O]nun da sanat tarihimizde de bir yeri vardır*. Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk Sanatı Tarihi: Menşeinden Bugüne Kadar Mimarî, Heykel, Resim, Süsleme ve Tezyîni Sanatlar* (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, n.d. [1952]), 405. My translation is taken from Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 192–93, where this phase of Arseven's scholarship is discussed.

[12] See Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 189.

periodization of the eighteenth century.[13] He followed the *Uṣūl* in distinguishing the reign of Ahmed III from what came after it, though he was now able to give the period a name: the Tulip Era (*Lāle Devri*), a term whose significance will be discussed in the first chapter. This was a time when, according to Arseven, Ottoman architects rejuvenated their art by looking to Seljuk and Persian sources before finally turning to European models. Following the Tulip Era, and as a logical outgrowth of it, came the Turkish Baroque (*Türk Baroḳu*), which was to last until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which saw the proliferation of forms derived from Western Baroque models. As Arseven writes, "this Baroque did not exactly resemble its European counterpart. Turkish artists included details specific to a Turkish taste, and a Turkish Baroque took shape."[14]

Though foundational, Arseven's ideas on the so-called Turkish Baroque would not become better known until they were synthesized and given monographic treatment by the art historian Doğan Kuban, whose short 1954 book *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme* (A Study on Turkish Baroque Architecture) first popularized this subfield.[15] Kuban's book is essentially a survey of buildings produced in Istanbul

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[13] See Celâl Esad Arseven, *Türk San'atı* (Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1928), 169–71. Published on the cusp of the language reform, when Arseven identified himself as Celâl Esat, the book has a text written in Ottoman Turkish but a title page in the new Latin alphabet.

[14] *Faḳaṭ bu Baroḳ tamāmiyle Avrupa Rönesansınıñ Baroḳuna beñzemez. Türk ṣanʿatkārları oña Türk ẕevḳiniñ ḫuṣūṣiyetlerini ḳarışdıraraḳ bir Türk Baroḳu vücūde getirmişlerdir*. Ibid., 171. My translation is adapted from that given in Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 188–89, where there is further discussion of this period of Arseven's scholarship.

[15] Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1954). For a French recapitulation of this work, see Doğan Kuban, "Influence de l'art européen sur l'architecture ottomane au XVIIIème siècle," *Palladio* 5 (1955): 149–57. For discussion of Kuban's study and its importance to popularizing Arseven's ideas, see Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 193. Hamadeh is wrong in her assertion that "Kuban nowhere refers to the work of Arseven" (he mentions "Celâl Esat Bey" on pp. 23, 32, 35, and 136), and she somewhat mischaracterizes his view as being initially critical of the architecture, when it was in fact largely positive from the outset. She is correct, however, in noting that his later scholarship (including his French article of 1955) is more enthusiastic about the material.

between about 1725 and 1825, and its stated philosophy, developing Arseven's assertions, is that "most of [these works] must be given an honorable place in our art history."[16] For Kuban, the decline of the empire is an accepted fact, but while he sees the Turkish Baroque as part of a change in attitude that was forced on the Ottomans by their weakened position vis-à-vis Europe, he is largely positive in his judgment of the result:

> Despite the continuing decline of the empire's political and economic situation, and the lack of favorable conditions for the emergence of great artists, eighteenth-century Turkish artists were able to absorb outside influences and recast them in a completely original mold. They produced attractive works using the possibilities they were given, conforming to the spirit of the time.[17]

Kuban thus explains the Turkish Baroque as a tradition that was hampered by rather than symptomatic of the empire's deterioration, and he further vindicates it with reference to parallel phenomena in Europe:

> If eighteenth-century Turkish architecture did not bring about works to be compared to those of earlier periods, it is chiefly because of the country's situation politically, economically, and so forth. In the same way, it can be said of Europe that after the Renaissance, no works equal to those of the Renaissance were produced.[18]

Kuban's spirited, if somewhat apologetic, defense of the Ottoman Baroque marked an important shift in the scholarship, and despite its patriotic overtones, his study is among the first to emphasize the extensive role played by Greek and Armenian artists in this variety of "Turkish" architecture. While doing much to redeem the material,

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[16] *İçlerinden çoğuna sanat tarihimizde şerefli bir yer vermek lâzımdır*. Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 133.

[17] *İmparatorluğun siyasî, iktisadî durumunun gittikçe bozulmasına ve büyük sanatkâr yetişmesine imkân verecek refahın mevcut olmamasına rağmen, onsekizinci asır Türk sanatkârları hariçten gelen tesirleri hazmedip onları tamamen orijinal bir kalıba dökmesini bilmişlerdir. Kendilerine verilen imkânlar dahilinde ve asrın havasına uyarak sempatik eserler meydana getirmişlerdir.* Ibid., 23.

[18] *Onsekizinci asır Türk mimarisinde eğer daha evvelki devirlerle kıyas edilecek erserler meydana getirilmemişse, bunun sebebini daha ziyade memleketin siyasî, ekonomik vesair durumlarında aramalıdır. Yoksa Avrupada da yukardakine paralel bir görüşle, Rönesanstan sonra, Rönesans eserleri ayarında eser yapılmadığı söylenebilir.* Ibid., 133.

however, Kuban also solidified the notion—much perpetuated by later scholars—that the Turkish Baroque was really a Rococo style, involving surface decoration rather than any substantive architectonic innovations:

> [L]eaving aside the resemblance of motifs, this [Turkish Baroque] decoration differs from the [Western] Baroque in the weakness of its plasticity. In the Baroque, decorative motifs merge with the architecture to form a whole. But in our case, the decorative motifs, even at their most plastic, are additions to the architecture. . . . We do, on the other hand, possess the same kind of surface decoration that is essential to the Rococo.[19]

Elements of this characterization may well be true, but, as I shall later demonstrate, the tendency to view the Turkish Baroque as something that remained on the buildings' surface has led to an analogously superficial understanding of how the style, ornamental or not, might have been read by those who observed it.

Kuban's work established eighteenth-century architecture as a legitimate field of study and was soon followed by other works seeking to address the subject.[20] Ayda Arel's short but valuable 1975 book *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (The Process of Westernization in the Architecture of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul) combines Kuban's revisionist aims with a more historical approach.[21] She argues that architectural changes were broadly reflective of sociopolitical ones, reaching

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[19] *[M]otiflerin benzerlikleri bir tarafa, Barok'tan farkı plâstik tesirinin zayıflığıdır. Barokta dekoratif motifler mimariyle kaynaşıp bir bütün teşkil ederler. Bizde dekorasyon en çok plastik olduğu zaman bile dekoratif motifler mimariye ilâve edilmişlerdir. . . . Buna mukabil Rokoko'nun esasını teşkil eden satıh dekorasyonu karakteri bizde de vardır.* Ibid., 135–36.

[20] Besides those that I am about to discuss in the main text, these works include: Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Munich, Oldenbourg: 1983), 153–78; Ali Uzay Peker, "Western Influence on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul," *Eighteenth Century Life* 26, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 139–64; and Betül Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok: Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul'da Etkileri* (Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2003).

[21] Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975).

the conclusion that the eighteenth century was a transitional period that paved the way for true Westernization. Like Kuban, Arel regards the material as occupying a rightful place in the Ottoman canon, and rhetorically asks, "By what objective standards can we condemn a style that was esteemed and admired in its own age?"[22]

Arel's book was published at a time when eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture was making inroads also in the Anglophone scholarship. Godfrey Goodwin's (d. 2005) classic 1971 survey, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, has a whole chapter called "Baroque and After," in which he defends the Nurusomaniye as "a work of considerable interest . . . by an architect with inventive and assimilative powers."[23] Goodwin stops short, however, of really challenging the established art-historical schema, and he makes little attempt to hide his own preference for earlier monuments. Such is the case also with Aptullah Kuran (d. 2002), who in 1977 published an article entitled "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture."[24] Despite its subject matter, Kuran's article begins in a way that already signals where his personal tastes lie:

> Eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture clearly shows certain deviations from the Classical Period which began at the turn of the sixteenth century, reached its peak during the era of the architect Sinan and lasted for another hundred years after him.[25]

As with so many of the more traditional studies, Kuran betrays a certain ambivalence: on the one hand, he deems the material worthy of consideration, but on the other, he is unfavorable in his judgment of it. Even the more sympathetic treatments

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[22] *Kendi çağında tutulup beğenilen bir üslûbu, hangi nesnel ölçülerle vurup hor görebiliriz?* Ibid., 6.

[23] Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), 383.

[24] Aptullah Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, 303–27.

[25] Ibid., 303.

struggle to divorce the buildings from associations of decadence, and Turkish scholars in particular have grappled with the issue of Westernization as it may or may not pertain to the architecture. Typical of this discomfort is Mustafa Cezar's 1971 book *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (The Opening Up of Art to the West and Osman Hamdi), which, though recognizing and even celebrating the adoption of Western artistic modes during the eighteenth century, staunchly defends the preeminence of "Turkish" architects against their Greek and Armenian counterparts.[26]

Perhaps the only old-school scholar to have developed an entirely easy relationship with the material is Kuban, whose monumental 2010 monograph, *Ottoman Architecture* (published three years before in Turkish as *Osmanlı Mimarisi*), returns to some of the issues raised in his much earlier study.[27] The author's once qualified appreciation of eighteenth-century architecture has here turned into all-out praise for what he now deems a "great legacy."[28] According to Kuban, Ottoman buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are examples of an "imported, eclectic architecture" even as they are "in fact truly indigenous."[29] This dichotomous interpretation allows him to present the Ottoman material as both based in local practice and tied (if only as a follower) to the European tradition, and he points out that after the initial introduction of Baroque forms in the mid-eighteenth century, the Ottomans moved more or less

[26] See Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 1st ed. (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası A. Ş. Kültür Yayınları, 1971), 5–6. An expanded second edition of Cezar's book was published in 1995, repeating the same sentiments with regard to non-Muslim architects: see Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 1995), 2:18–19.

[27] See Doğan Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul, Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi, 2007), 505–6; and Doğan Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, trans. Adair Mill (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010), 505–6.

[28] Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 506.

[29] Ibid.

concurrently with the West in their adoption of the Neoclassical, Eclectic, and Art Nouveau styles. In Kuban's assessment, later Ottoman architecture thus becomes a thriving sign of (Westernizing) modernity, one that existed independently and, indeed, in spite of the decay of the empire itself:

> The collapse of Ottoman architecture was not occasioned by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the 17th century, the steadily worsening economic conditions based on classical formulae were accompanied by a limited, fairly unenterprising construction programme, while, in the 18th and 19th centuries, a new architecture and a new urban image arose in line with the desire for innovation manifested by the ruling classes. This clearly shows that the everyday, creative life of a society proceeds quite independently of the political background, even in the most difficult and unfavourable conditions.[30]

Already anticipated by his 1954 study, this stance sees the architecture emerge triumphant while leaving the broader decline paradigm firmly in place, and Kuban is forced to artificially sever the buildings from their political context in order to maintain his characterization. Moreover, the Turkish Baroque remains a largely superficial and self-referential entity, speaking of the resilience and vitality of artistic expression but having no real import beyond its aesthetic merit.

Only with the recent work of a newer generation of scholars has serious headway been made in advancing our understanding of later Ottoman art and architecture. Paralleling the endeavors of political and social historians,[31] art historians have eschewed

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[30] Ibid.

[31] For examples of this newer kind of scholarship, see Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline"; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2004); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman, eds., *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). In his introduction, Quataert (*Ottoman Empire*, 2) reminds us that "[u]ntil the 1878 Treaty of Berlin stripped away all but fragments of its Balkan holdings, the Ottoman Empire was a European power and was seen as such by its contemporaries, being deeply involved in

the old decline paradigm and reassessed the late Ottoman Empire as a still vital and adaptable entity, one whose visual culture, while different from its classical counterpart, was no less creative or significant. To be sure, earlier writers such as Kuban and Arel had already sought to improve the material's reputation, but they did so without developing a compelling conceptual framework to replace the prevailing assumptions of Ottoman decay and Westernization.

Of the new breed of scholars, Tülay Artan has played a pioneering role in shifting the terms of the debate, starting with her 1989 doctoral dissertation, "Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus." [32] Artan's writings are especially significant for demonstrating how the Ottoman court, following an extended absence in Edirne, was able after 1703 to reassert its presence in Istanbul by erecting a string of new palaces along the city's waterways. This endeavor, Artan asserts, turned the Bosphorus into a new ceremonial axis for the sultans and their circle to display themselves before the populace, who emulated the elite example by likewise building in and retreating to the shoreline suburbs. The growing participation of non-royals in the cultural and architectural life of the city only encouraged the sultans in their patronage, which aimed "to remind the people of the enduring nature and rich magnificence of the

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European military and political affairs." For developments in the historiography of the eighteenth century in particular, see n. 9 above.

[32] Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989. Also see Tülay Artan, "Sultanefendi Sarayları," *İstanbul* 1, no. 3 (October 1992): 109–18; Artan, "Arts and Architecture," in *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Metin Kunt (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006), 464–80; and Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century: Days of Reconciliation and Consolidation," in *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital*, exh. cat. (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 300–312.

Ottoman dynasty."[33] Artan thus explains the architectural shifts of the eighteenth century with reference mainly to the empire's internal dynamics, and she also widens the scope of inquiry to consider the role of non-elite Ottomans in this changed climate.

These same ideas have been taken up by perhaps the most influential proponent of the revisionist approach, Shirine Hamadeh, whose key work, published in 2008, is tellingly entitled *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*.[34] Hamadeh holds that the eighteenth century ushered in a new attitude of what she terms *décloisonnement*, "opening-up," in the architectural culture of the Ottoman capital. First, the concept describes an opening up of patronage, whereby the court's earlier predominance in this regard came under increasing challenge as a broader spectrum of society acquired the means to commission buildings and determine tastes. Second, *décloisonnement* denotes an opening up in the realm of style, with Ottoman architects and patrons becoming increasingly receptive to forms drawn from outside sources, including, but not limited to, the European Baroque. This openness to new motifs was due, Hamadeh argues, to a growing emphasis on artistic novelty and visual spectacle, which marked a shift away from the more sober and imperially led stylistic norms that had characterized earlier classical tastes. Bridging these two types of *décloisonnement* was a new aesthetic sensibility that came to redefine Istanbul, rendering the built environment

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[33] Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 467.

[34] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008). Based on her doctoral dissertation, Hamadeh's book incorporates revised versions of two separately published articles: Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123–48; and Hamadeh, "Expressions of Early Modernity in Ottoman Architecture and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1 (March 2004): 32–51. Also see Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque."

"a perpetual source of sensory pleasures."[35] Under these changed conditions, the city became a locus of exteriorized activity, with a proliferation of public spaces in which growing numbers of middle-class Ottomans could be seen out and about picnicking and promenading, all against the backdrop of this new and diversified architecture.

In short, Hamadeh's eighteenth-century Istanbul emerges as a vibrant and revitalized locale whose architecture, far from being in decline, bespeaks the continuing ability of the Ottoman Empire to redefine its visual culture on its own terms. One point she is particularly anxious to underscore is that the Ottomans were not beholden to European influence, and that the new kind of architecture was more eclectic than it was Westernizing. She points to the fact that while Ottoman commentaries, together with inscriptions on the buildings themselves, often make reference to the architecture's stylistic novelty, they do so without mentioning Western models. Moreover, the contemporary fashions in Europe for *chinoiserie* and *turquerie* show that the West was not immune from making its own cross-cultural borrowings.[36]

Hamadeh's seminal work has greatly advanced our understanding of later Ottoman visual culture, countering many long-held assumptions and offering rewarding alternative approaches. But even according to this new estimation, the architecture remains essentially a lightweight mode: pleasurable, non-hierarchical, and without the semiotic charge of earlier classical buildings. The criterion of Westernization, meanwhile, is questioned without being adequately explained, for the blanket use of eclecticism to discuss the whole of the period ignores the dramatic stylistic shifts of the 1740s and later.

[35] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 3.

[36] See esp. Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 194; and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 11.

A significant step in addressing some of these issues would be to consider the imperial mosques, the very buildings that have been least touched upon by revisionist efforts.

Themes and Approaches

While deeply indebted to recent scholarly developments, my own reconsideration of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture will argue for a new interpretative framework that problematizes certain revisionist trends. The admirable campaign to debunk old misconceptions has taken on a defensive and sometimes obscurantist cast, with "decline" becoming what Cemal Kafadar has dubbed "'the d-word,' shunned simply because it seems the incorrect thing to say rather than as a well thought-out critical perspective."[37] The same is true of the terms "Westernization" and "Europeanization," which are likewise bugbears inherited from earlier discourses. It is obvious enough that the decline paradigm is an untenable way of discussing an empire whose size and importance remained considerable into the twentieth century (figs. 2–3), and I have already indicated my intention to treat the mosques as the products of a still-vital culture. Nevertheless, we should not shy away from accepting that the period after the late seventeenth century witnessed various Ottoman attempts to rejuvenate the empire, and that many of these attempts were modeled on institutions and ideas originating in Western Europe.[38] The

[37] Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline," 32.

[38] Ottoman commentators had spoken of the empire's being in decline since as early as the last decades of the sixteenth century, but this anxiety, as discussed by Cemal Kafadar ("The Question of Ottoman Decline," 62–67), was to some extent a conventional discourse; that the Ottomans continued to seek ways to bolster the empire shows that they were far from truly believing that their days were numbered. For a

contemporaneous adoption of European artistic forms cannot be unrelated to this shift, notwithstanding scholarly unease with the notion.

How, then, might we address these issues without sidestepping them or returning to older perspectives? The first task is to disassociate Western-inspired borrowings from the baggage carried by the idea of "Westernization": that is, such borrowings need not have been—and indeed were not—motivated by a pursuit of Westernization per se. In the case of political and military reforms, the Ottomans looked to Europe with a pragmatic and resourceful eye, importing a range of ideas to suit their own distinctive needs.[39] The changes exhibited in the realm of Ottoman architecture, while facilitated by the same conditions of cross-cultural dialogue that made possible the reforms, had their own pace and purpose. In fact, European-derived forms were far more comprehensively adopted in the architectural sphere than in the political, proving that Westernization as an ideology was neither the intention nor the association of the buildings, which were readily accepted by their native observers.

Rather than view East and West as two separate entities—a model in which one half either influences or imitates the other—I shall argue that the architectural transformation of eighteenth-century Istanbul came about precisely because the Ottomans

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more traditional assessment of this topic, see Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," *Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1962): 71–87.

[39] Kafadar ("The Question of Ottoman Decline," 70) writes: "If a process of decline (in the limited sense explained above) did in fact begin around the end of the sixteenth century, its prolongation was primarily due to the fact that the Ottomans analyzed it, articulated a public discourse on it, and constantly applied themselves in developing policies of reform (innovative as well as traditional)." For the highly pragmatic and non-ideological nature of Ottoman borrowings from the West during the eighteenth century, see Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl," esp. 195–97.

saw themselves, and were in turn seen, as part of a broadly shared European landscape.[40] "Westernization" thus becomes a moot (or at least mitigated) criterion, and though I employ the terms "Westernizing" and "Europeanizing," I do so sparingly and in a strictly formal (as opposed to ideological) sense. I have similarly avoided using the words "hybridity" and "transculturation," which evoke postcolonial discourses that, while revisionist in intent, generally assume an unequal balance of power in which the weaker (non-Western) party finds ways to reassert itself against the stronger.[41] In the Islamic context, these concepts have become bound up with Edward Said's groundbreaking theory of Orientalism, which describes the discursive strategies used by the West to subjugate the Muslim East.[42] Whatever their more general merits, such theories are at odds with the material under consideration here, particularly when we remember that the Ottoman Empire was itself a colonizing power until its fall. Westerners may well have spoken in damning terms about the Ottomans, but so too did the Ottomans of them. Indeed, belief in the existence of an East and a West was shared by both sides, and the

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[40] This way of viewing the empire has gained increasing ground in recent scholarship: see, for example, Barkey, *Empire of Difference*; Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*; and Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*.

[41] For the theory of transculturation, a term coined in 1940 by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, see Diana Taylor, "Transculturating Transculturation," *Performing Arts Journal* 13, no. 2 (May 1991): 90–104; and Richard A. Rogers, "From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review and Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation," *Communication Theory* 16 (2006): 474–503. The most influential exponent of the concept of hybridity is Homi K. Bhabha: see his *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). For discussion of Bhabha's hybridity and its use in art history, see Benita Parry, "Signs of Our Times: Discussion of Homi Bhabha's The Location of Culture," *Third Text* 28–29 (Autumn–Winter 1994): 5–24; and James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim, eds., *Art and Globalization* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 51–62. While I myself have avoided the terms, they are carefully employed (and their merits and limitations discussed) by Finbarr Barry Flood in his book *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), esp. 1–14.

[42] For the most recent version of Said's thesis (whose first edition was published in 1978), see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, 25th anniversary ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 2003). For a considered critique of *Orientalism* and a useful overview of others' criticisms of the work, see Bart Moore-Gilbert, "Edward Said: *Orientalism* and Beyond," in *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), 34–73.

scholarship—my own included—has largely retained this distinction when discussing these regions. But when we scratch beneath the surface of the expected and often hackneyed condemnations, we find that the East-West border was fluid and permeable, allowing for a high degree of dialogue and mutual intelligibility. Such was particularly the case with the eighteenth century, a period that even Said recognizes as less prone to the kinds of prejudice and reductionism that he believes reached their peak in the nineteenth.[43]

This takes us from the limiting realm of colonial Orientalism to the far more fruitful framework of global modernity.[44] Quite when the so-called modern period began, and how it should be conceptualized and subdivided, remain matters of scholarly dispute. There is, however, broad agreement that the post-medieval world saw a notable increase in transregional contacts, whether mediated through trade, travel, or conflict. As the historian Sanjay Subrahmanyam argues, these contacts allowed different Asian and

[43] "Whereas Renaissance historians judged the Orient inflexibly as an enemy, those of the eighteenth century confronted the Orient's peculiarities with some detachment and with some attempt at dealing directly with Oriental source materials, perhaps because such a technique helped a European to know himself better. . . . [A]n eighteenth-century mind could breach the doctrinal walls erected between the West and Islam and see hidden elements of kinship between himself and the Orient. . . . Sensuality, promise, terror, sublimity, idyllic pleasure, intense energy: the Orient as a figure in the pre-Romantic, pretechnical Orientalist imagination of late-eighteenth century Europe was really a chameleonlike quality called (adjectivally) 'Oriental.' But this free-floating Orient would be severely curtained with the advent of [nineteenth-century] academic Orientalism." Said, *Orientalism*, 117–19. Said's characterization of the eighteenth century is the point of departure for Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood in their introduction to a special issue of *Ars Orientalis* devoted to the period: "Bracketed between the enduring hostilities of the Renaissance and the rigid academic taxonomies of the nineteenth century, the eighteenth century thus appears unique as a time of flexibility, mobility, and possibility as regards European relationships with and representations of the Orient." Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood, "Introduction. Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," in "Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," eds. Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 7.

[44] For a good general introduction to this approach, see Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Scholars of Ottoman history have in recent years made a concerted effort to demonstrate the empire's place in the (early) modern world: see, for example, Aksan and Goffman, *The Early Modern Ottomans*; Barkey, *Empire of Difference*; Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*; Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*; and Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004). For similar developments in art history, see n. 47 below.

European societies to develop shared cultural forms that, while locally suited, were meaningful across regions.[45] This notion of what Subrahmanyam calls "connected histories" explores the mechanisms that made such "unifying features" possible, and does so without falling into the trap of suggesting a vague zeitgeist.[46] Though Subrahmanyam's interest lies mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his approach is no less pertinent to the eighteenth, a period in which existing global ties were consolidated by emergent cultures of consumerism and diplomacy. Attending to these connected histories results in a very different picture of eighteenth-century modernity from that traditionally defined in terms of Eurocentric Enlightenment. It is through this new lens that my dissertation will treat the Ottoman Empire as an integral player, rather than a passive bystander, in the changed and changing world of the eighteenth century.[47]

One of the most characteristic features of this global modernity was a pronounced concern for self-display, itself related to and spurred by greater social mobility.[48] The Ottoman dimension of this trend has been commendably analyzed by scholars like Artan

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[45] See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia Modern Asian Studies," in "The Eurasian Context of the Early Modern History of Mainland South East Asia, 1400–1800," special issue, *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (July 1997): 735–62; and Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. 1–33. Subrahmanyam has also applied his approach to art history: see Subrahmanyam, "A Roomful of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550–1770," in Avcıoğlu and Flood, "Globalizing Cultures," 39–83.

[46] See Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories."

[47] Shirine Hamadeh (*The City's Pleasures*, esp. 3–8) has done much to demonstrate the ways in which the concept of eighteenth-century modernity should be extended to include the Ottoman Empire. Such is the case also with Maurice Cerasi, who considers Ottoman urbanism in this period to be comparable to that of other European cultures: see Maurice Cerasi, *La città del Levante: civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII–XIX* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1988), available in Turkish as *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi*, trans. Aslı Ataöv (Istanbul: YKY, 1999); and Cerasi, "Town and Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," in "Istanbul, Constantinople, Byzantium," special issue, *Rassegna* 72 (1997): 36–51, esp. 37. A similar approach, applied to the wider Islamic world, underlies a recent special issue of *Ars Orientalis*: see Avcıoğlu and Flood, "Globalizing Cultures." See also nn. 43 and 44 above.

[48] This will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

and Hamadeh, but insufficient attention has been paid to the importance of the imperial mosques in this regard. The recent tendency to focus on smaller-scale and secular structures such as fountains and pavilions has created a misleadingly democratized impression of eighteenth-century Ottoman patronage.[49] Even if they faced greater competition from lesser patrons—and perhaps in part because they did—the sultans assiduously defended their position as the empire's chief builders and arbiters of taste. The revival of the imperial mosques is very much proof of this, compelling us to consider how these buildings secured their patrons' place in the increasingly open field of architectural activity. This in turn means approaching the period's new style as a purposeful and carefully crafted idiom whose audiences—foreign as well as local—understood it in rather more serious terms than the scholarship has considered.

By focusing here on the mosques, I realize that I am to some extent perpetuating the long-standing bias in the study of Ottoman art towards imperially sponsored works located in the capital. My chief justification for doing so is that the alternative lines of inquiry can only make sense once the more obvious material has been sufficiently dealt with. This is all the more so given that the refashioning of Istanbul as a modern imperial city was one of the most eagerly and comprehensively pursued endeavors of the eighteenth-century Ottoman state, even against the backdrop of war. Indeed, the sultans themselves were deeply invested in this project, encouraged by their princely education to take an active interest in the arts. Writing in the reign of Selim III , the famous Ottoman-

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[49] The idea that the eighteenth-century Ottoman court lost its preeminence in the sponsorship of art already existed before the revisionist scholarship. In an article published in 1977, John Carswell states: "Fundamentally, there was no longer the massive and direct patronage of the arts as a natural corollary of court life. Instead, emphasis shifted to a more personal appreciation of the decorative arts among the professional and merchant classes. Taste itself changed from the all-permeating style emanating fron [sic] a central body of court designers to a broader appreciations of other artistic concepts; this change was the result of closer contact through trade with Europe and the Far East." John Carswell, "From the Tulip to the Rose," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, 328–55.

Armenian author and diplomat Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (d. 1851) noted that each of the eighteenth-century sultans excelled at a particular art, from calligraphy and goldsmithery to carpentry and muslin-painting.[50] There is, then, good reason to attribute a significant role to the sultans in determining architectural changes. At the same time, it must be noted that by referring to any particular sultan, I am referring also to those members of his circle—his mother, consorts, courtiers, and ministers—who with him formed the sultanate as an institution. The tendency of the sources to describe what must have been collectively shaped projects as the personal achievements of the sultans has forced me to retain this shorthand in my own discussion of the monuments.

This brings me to the question of the available sources. One of the reasons that the study of Istanbul's eighteenth-century architecture has become such a hermeneutic free-for-all is that the Ottomans themselves have left us with no clear account of how and why they came to adopt a new style of building. This lack of written explanation is consistent with a more general scarcity in the Ottoman tradition of aesthetic and architectural texts, quite in contrast to the abundance of European treatises of this kind. Nonetheless, there is no shortage of relevant Ottomans documents about the mosques, touching on everything from technical matters of their construction to the ceremonies by which they were inaugurated. These sources—which include foundation deeds (*waqfiyya*s), payrolls, official and unofficial chronicles, and protocol registers—in many cases discuss and vaunt the mosques' architectural qualities, as too do inscriptions on the monuments

[50] See Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman*, 7 vols. (Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1788–1824), vol. 4, part 1, 229–30. Mouradgea tells us that Ahmed III excelled at calligraphy; that Mahmud I made toothpicks of ebony and ivory as well as superb works of jewelry and goldsmithery; that Osman III was a talented carpenter specializing in small desks; that Mustafa III had an atelier for striking coins; that Abdülhamid I had a passion for making bows and arrows; and that Selim III took pleasure in the feminine art of painting muslin.

themselves. Though such descriptions and references are often couched in highly conventional terms, a close and comparative reading of them can bring out the more specific aesthetic commentaries they offer, providing us with at least a sense of how the buildings and their novel style were received and discussed.

Alongside these sources, which have long been integrated into the scholarship, I shall also make use of *rūznāme*s, journals kept at both the courtly and non-courtly levels that document notable occurrences in the day-to-day life of Istanbul, particularly the sultans' movements through the city.[51] The importance of these journals to the study of architecture has yet to be fully recognized, even though they contain invaluable information regarding the various events—ground-breaking ceremonies, sultanic visits, inaugurations—that surrounded the buildings.[52] As I shall demonstrate, such events should be considered on a par with the architecture itself in any discussion of the monuments, especially given the increasing emphasis in this period on sultanic visibility and spectacle. That the *rūznāme* as a category was born in the eighteenth century is proof enough of the augmented significance of the sultans' public appearances.

In addition to the Ottoman documents, I shall make unapologetic use of contemporaneous Western sources, despite the recent trend to disparage such material as unreliable and prejudiced in its discussion of the empire.[53] European authors were no less

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[51] For the *rūznāme* as a category, see Süleyman Göksu, ed., *Müellifi Mechûl bir Rûznâme: Osmanlı-Rus Harbi Esnâsında bir Şahidin Kaleminden İstanbul (1769–1774)* (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2007), xi–xv.

[52] One of the few art historians to make use of *rūznāme*s—and with very successful results—is Hans Theunissen: see, for example, his "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: *Hünkâr Sofası* and *Hünkâr Hamamı*," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 18, no. 2 (October 2009): 71–135.

[53] For an argument against this trend and the kind of "paleographic fetishism" that unquestioningly privileges Ottoman sources, see Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1999), 6–8.

obliged than their Ottoman counterparts to conform to certain literary norms, often parroting well-worn criticisms of the "Turks" and their culture, but these same sources also offer a good deal of information and insight, much of it complemented by the Ottoman documents. They show, moreover, that foreign observers were interested in and impressed by the city's physical transformation during the eighteenth century, with the mosques receiving much attention in their accounts. Particularly useful is the more direct way in which these authors address the issue of architectural style, perhaps echoing the Ottomans' own unwritten discourses. While travelogues constitute the bulk of the relevant European sources, my dissertation also utilizes diplomatic records such as journals and ambassadorial dispatches, which art historians have largely neglected. Written by well-informed outsiders, these documents greatly enrich our understanding of how Istanbul's large foreign community was implicated in the Ottoman court's culture of display, including with regard to the mosques.

Bridging the Eastern and Western sources are the works of European-educated Ottoman Armenians, who offer the fascinating perspective of cultural insiders usually writing for a foreign readership. Their topographical and societal descriptions of eighteenth-century Istanbul occupy a prominent place in this dissertation. Another kind of document with strong cross-cultural resonances are the numerous European architectural books, manuals, and prints that were collected by the Ottoman court in the eighteenth century and are still to be found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.[54] These works, many of which bear Ottoman annotations, are among the most significant sources we have pertaining to the architectural climate of eighteenth-century Istanbul, but the

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[54] See see Gül İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazinesi Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynakar Üzerine Düşünceler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* 1 (1986): 56–72; and Feryal İrez, "Topkapı Sarayı Harem Bölümü'ndeki Rokoko Süsleminin Batılı Kaynakları," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* 4 (1990): 21–54.

Topkapı Library's long-term closure has severely limited my access to them. It remains for a future project to explore this material properly.

My key document has been the architecture itself, and my approach throughout this dissertation is to treat the buildings as works with their own logic and legibility. This close "reading" of the monuments has convinced me that the appropriate framework for discussing them remains the Baroque, though qualified as Ottoman rather than Turkish. While I am not the only scholar who continues to see utility in the concept of the "Ottoman Baroque,"[55] it must be admitted that I am going somewhat against the revisionist grain by employing the term, which has been criticized for being Eurocentric and unrelated to Ottoman discourses.[56] Even earlier scholars who used the term willingly did so in an almost tongue-in-cheek fashion to describe a style that they believed had merely the veneer of being Baroque. Echoing Arseven and Kuban,[57] Kuran thus asserts that

> eighteenth century Ottoman architecture is basically a continuation of the well-established sixteenth-century classical architecture with overtones of mannerism on the one hand and Europe-inspired features on the other. The baroque in Europe emerged as a result of scientific discoveries. That it took root especially in the Catholic [*sic*] shows a relationship with the Counter Reformation. . . . Not being a part of these developments, the Ottoman world simply borrowed the forms of the baroque or the rococo without appreciating the philosophy behind those forms.[58]

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[55] Theunissen, who prefers to use the variant term "Ottoman baroque-rococo" has produced some of the most perceptive scholarship on the stylistic developments of eighteenth-century architecture in Istanbul. Through close formal analysis and a detailed reading of the relevant sources, he has developed a convincing chronology for the Ottoman Baroque, correcting some earlier misattributions. See Theunissen, "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: *Hünkâr Sofası* and *Hünkâr Hamamı*," esp. 131–33. Dr. Theunissen has been kind enough to share his thoughts with me in person, and I have benefited a great deal from his advice.

[56] See Hamadeh, "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 194.

[57] See Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 7–9.

[58] Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," 327. Kuran's words reflect a more general belief that the Ottomans were unable to grasp the philosophies and concepts that characterized Western civilization. For a recent work by one of the most influential proponents of this viewpoint, see Bernard

Taking a similar stance, Goodwin writes that “the uncompromisingly anti-baroque square form of the mosque which was dictated by the ordinances of religion could never be resolved.”[59]

Quite apart from its problematization in the Ottoman context, the term “Baroque” has come under attack also in its original home of Western art history.[60] Helen Hills, in her introduction to a recent volume of essays interrogating this very issue, characterizes the Baroque as “the grit in the oyster of art history,” castigated in recent years “because it had no contemporary usage in the period to which it was subsequently applied.”[61] And yet in the absence of any better alternative, art historians—Hills among them—continue to employ the Baroque as a helpful, if imperfect, way of addressing a series of connected visual traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[62] This more recent use of the term not only rejects the negative connotations of decadence and bizarreness that it once

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Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), republished a year later with the more sensationalist title *What Went Wrong? The Clash between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East* (New York: Perennial, 2003).

[59] Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 379.

[60] For traditional treatments of the term and of the art categorized under it, see Germain Bazin, *The Baroque: Principles, Styles, Modes, Themes*, trans. Pat Wardroper (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Late Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, English trans. (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1974); Victor Lucien Tapié, *The Age of Grandeur: Baroque and Classicism in Europe*, trans. A. Ross Williamson (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960); and Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathrin Simon (London: Collins, 1964). The literature wavers between treating the Rococo as a subset of the Baroque (as in Bazin’s book) or as a pendant to it (as in Norberg-Schulz’s). Since the two styles coexisted in the eighteenth century and are often found combined in one and the same building, my policy in this dissertation is to treat “Baroque” as an umbrella term encompassing the Rococo as well.

[61] Helen Hills, “Introduction: Rethinking the Baroque,” in *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 3. Also see Helen Hills, “The Baroque: The Grit in the Oyster of Art History,” in Hills, *Rethinking the Baroque*, 11–36. The same volume contains an essay that I initially believed would be of great relevance to me: Howard Caygill, “The Ottoman Baroque: The Limits of Style,” in Hills, *Rethinking the Baroque*, 65–79. However, this paper is largely devoted to a gross misreading of Goodwin, who, we are told, saw the Ottoman Baroque as having its roots in the architecture of Sinan. Caygill proceeds to castigate a viewpoint that Goodwin never even subscribed to, and thus wastes a valuable opportunity to discuss the Ottoman Baroque as Goodwin and other scholars actually present it.

[62] See Stephan Hoppe, *Was ist Barock? Architektur und Städtebau Europas 1580–1770* (Darmstadt: Verlag, 2003), esp. 9–21.

carried, but also moves beyond limiting criteria that define the Baroque in relation to any specific philosophy (the Counter-Reformation) or geometrical precept (elongated forms over regular ones). After all, where would such a definition leave a monument like St. Paul's Cathedral (1675–1720) in London, an Anglican church whose main dome and subsidiary vaults are circles inscribed in squares? A more convincing and demonstrable commonality between the architectural products of the Baroque is their lively use of related repertoires of forms adapted from the *all'antica* vocabulary of the Renaissance. These repertoires might encompass anything from stately classicizing colonnades to busy rococo interiors; what they have in common is a tendency towards a bolder, more dramatic, and less canonical stylistic approach than we find in the more strictly codified Neoclassicism of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[63]

Such an understanding of the Baroque also takes into account one of its most characteristic features, and that is its unprecedented worldwide extent.[64] From Latin America to East Asia, the Baroque found favor in multiple regions that each gave the style their own interpretation. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, who has done much to draw attention to these non-Western Baroques, sees this global perspective as a way of redeeming a term that he admits makes him uncomfortable:

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[63] To be sure, the scholarship does not follow a neat trajectory in its definition of the Baroque. Writing in the mid-twentieth century, Germain Bazin had already moved away from the idea of the Baroque as a Counter-Reformation style, whereas Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, in their introduction to a 2010 reader, write that "[t]he Baroque flourished in seventeenth-century Europe as a Catholic response of the Protestant insurgency. . . . In Protestant Europe, Baroque opulence, with its elaborate ecclesiastical and celestial hierarchies, was objectionable to Reformation sensibilities." See Bazin, *The Baroque*, 17–19, 40–52; and Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, "Baroque, New World Baroque, Neobaroque: Categories and Concepts," in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), 3.

[64] I shall discuss this aspect of the Baroque in more detail in Chapter 3. The global spread of the Baroque is something noted also in the older literature, though it is only in more recent years that the study of these international Baroque traditions has emerged as a field in its own right. Zamora and Kaup's Baroque reader, cited in the preceding note, is very much reflective of this shift, despite the traditional way in which the editors frame the volume.

> While in some sense the use of the term "baroque" in such cases may seem anachronistic, even ahistorical, its application may nevertheless still have merit, because it helps us to treat the monuments in which such forms appear not as derivative or provincial works, but as a parallel, comparable phenomena [*sic*] to other works so designated in Europe.[65]

It is along similar lines that I should like to reclaim the notion of an Ottoman Baroque. If the Baroque still has validity as a term for the multiple and far-flung traditions that currently fall under its purview, I believe it is apt also for the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul, a city physically and culturally part of the European continent. One of the reasons the Baroque is such a useful concept is precisely its troubled history. Even in its "pure" Western form, the style was until quite recently regarded as a degenerate offshoot of the Renaissance that withered in the face of Neoclassicism. The Rococo in particular has been dismissed as the apotheosis of Baroque decadence, ornamental and meaningless.[66] The very different evaluation that is now generally made of the European material is instructive for how the Ottoman case too might be rehabilitated. But bringing the Ottoman buildings under this broad categorization is not simply a matter of terminological or methodological convenience; as I shall discuss later, it is also an important acknowledgment of what the Ottomans themselves were aiming for with their new style of architecture, especially as showcased by the imperial mosques.

In developing my argument, I have taken an approach that is at once chronological and thematic, dividing my five chapters according to the sultans' reigns and using each period

[65] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Discomfited by the Baroque: A Personal Journey," in Hills, *Rethinking the Baroque*, 94.

[66] For a thorough debunking of this view of the Rococo, see Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

to address a different aspect of the overall topic. I am fortunate in that the material itself readily suggested this method of organization, sparing me the task of devising an arbitrary framework. Chapter 1, which focuses on the reign of Ahmed III, takes as its starting point the return of the court to Istanbul in 1703 after a fifty-year absence in Edirne. The nearly three decades during which Ahmed ruled initiated a concerted campaign to remodel the city, entailing new artistic trends and significant changes in the architectural profession. These developments coincided with, and were inflected by, intensified diplomatic and commercial activity with Europe. Although this period—traditionally discussed under the rubric "Tulip Era"—predates the phenomena that are my main topic, it nevertheless introduced many of the concerns and conditions that would shape the rest of the eighteenth century.

It was under Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), whose reign is addressed in the second chapter, that the city's architectural transformation was set on a more novel and enduring course. In the wake of important military victories that ushered in an unprecedented period of peace on the empire's Western front, Mahmud and his elite oversaw the formation of a triumphal new Baroque style during the 1740s. Crucial to this process were the increasingly preeminent communities of Ottoman Greek and Armenian architects, who used their European—and in particular Italian—connections to create an altogether original mode of Ottoman architecture.

The earliest products of this new style were generally of smaller scale or limited application, but the innovative repertoire they established was soon channeled into what was to be the Ottoman Baroque's monumental public debut: the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, the subject of Chapter 3. Begun by Mahmud I and completed by his brother and

successor, Osman III (r. 1754–57), the Nuruosmaniye achieved a remarkable balance between reviving and revolutionizing the imperial mosque as a building type. The result spoke simultaneously to native and outside audiences, concretizing the sultan's ceremonial dominance over Istanbul and tying the Ottomans' visual culture to the globally prestigious Baroque mode.

Covering the reign of Mustafa III (r. 1757–74), Chapter 4 reconsiders the three major mosques that he erected or reconstructed—the Ayazma, Laleli, and Fatih—as buildings that show a sophisticated awareness of the modes, functions, and historical context of the new style. An especially notable feature of Mustafa's mosques is their deliberate allusions to Istanbul's Byzantine architectural legacy, by which the Ottomans could stake their own claim to the same antique heritage on which the European Baroque was founded. Such demonstrations of stylistic consciousness provide telling evidence of the Ottomans' largely unwritten architectural theories and discourses.

My fifth and final chapter focuses on the Beylerbeyi and Selimiye Mosques, built respectively by Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) and Selim III. These buildings together established a new paradigm for the sultanic mosque that combined earlier innovations with an original kind of palatial facade. Alongside the sultans' efforts to extend their patronage to Istanbul's shoreline suburbs, these newly incorporated palatial references underscored the role of the mosques in monumentalizing the ruler's presence and spreading his image—by now fully recognizable in the Baroque style—throughout the city. As I discuss in my conclusion, this new model was to hold sway well into the nineteenth century, setting the tone for the Ottoman capital's continued refashioning.

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE SCENE: THE RETURN TO ISTANBUL

The reemergence of the imperial mosque, and the concomitant rise of a new architectural style, are developments intimately tied to Istanbul, and as such to the court's definitive return to that city in 1703. Declared the Ottoman Empire's third and final capital after its conquest by Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) in 1453, Istanbul had witnessed an unprecedented boom in building activity during the century and a half that followed, with no fewer than five grand sultan's mosques established in this period.[1] The last of these was the Sultanahmet Mosque (1609–16), after which, as I shall discuss later, came a long hiatus in the construction of such monuments.[2] This interruption coincided with a more general lull in the imperial life of Istanbul. For much of the seventeenth century—and particularly its second half, when a string of grand viziers from the Köprülü family held sway—the sultans preferred to reside in the former capital of Edirne, which effectively became the empire's seat of government in these years. Many in Istanbul were disturbed by what they perceived as the neglect of their city, and the situation grew worse when Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703)—humiliated by the 1699 Treaty of Karlowitz—retired to

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[1] For the vigorous architectural activity of this period, see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); and Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011). By sultan's mosques, I specifically mean those named after the sultans who founded them (or in whose honor they were founded): the Fatih Mosque, built by Mehmed the Conqueror; the Bayezid Mosque, built by Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512); the Yavuz Selim Mosque, built by Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) in commemoration of his father, Selim I (r. 1512–20); the Süleymaniye Mosque, built by Süleyman the Magnificent; and the Sultanahmet Mosque, built by Ahmed I (r. 1603–17). Two of the sultans of this period—Selim II (r. 1566–74) and Murad III (r. 1574–95)—constructed their mosques outside Istanbul, in Edirne and Manisa respectively. As I shall discuss in subsequent chapters, the category of "imperial mosque" also included mosques built by or in honor of princes, princesses, and queen mothers.

[2] For Ottoman architecture in the seventeenth century, see Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası (1609–1690)* (Istanbul: İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975).

Edirne and gave increasing power to his tutor and grand mufti, the unpopular and nepotistic Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1703). Tensions finally came to a head in 1703 with the so-called Edirne Incident, a rebellion led by Istanbul's janissaries that saw Mustafa dethroned in favor of his brother Ahmed III. One of the demands of the mutiny was that the new sultan move the court back to Istanbul, which he indeed did, though not without punishing the very rebels who had enabled his ascent to the throne in the first place.[3]

The Edirne Incident provides a conveniently neat starting point for the history of the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century, a period that, as noted in the introduction, already has more than its fair share of fortuitous date markers. One result of this seemingly logical periodization, at least as far as art history is concerned, has been an unfortunate tendency to consider the century as a cohesive whole, with insufficient differentiation of the various developments—cultural as well as political—that occurred over the course of the 1700s. In particular, the Ottoman Baroque has often been treated as a mere continuation of a shift first encountered in the reign of Ahmed III, rather than recognized as a distinct moment in its own right.[4]

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[3] For the events of this period, see Meḥmed Rāşid Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, 6 vols. (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿĀmire, 1286 [1865]), vols. 1–2; Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, Grossentheils aus bisher unbenützten Handschriften und Archiven*, 10 vols. (Pest: C. A. Hartleben, 1827–35), vol. 6 and vol. 7, 1–100; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 207–29; and Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (London: John Murray, 2005), 253–333.

[4] See, for example, Michael Levey, *The World of Ottoman Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 112–27; Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1986), 29; Barbara Brend, *Islamic Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 180; Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 230; and John Freely, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Southampton: WIT, 2010), 355. Çelik typifies this widespread view with her statement that "the architectural language [the palaces of Ahmed III's reign] introduced to Istanbul survived and developed into the 'Ottoman Baroque,' characterized by curving façades, large curved eaves, and an elaborate curvilinear surface decoration." Even those scholars like Arseven and Kuban who, as discussed in the introduction, draw a clearer distinction between the pre- and post-1740 material usually treat the later Baroque style as a natural fulfillment of the earlier phase. In its avoidance of such teleological schema, the revisionist scholarship has tended towards the other extreme, paying insufficient attention to the demonstrable stylistic developments of these years.

Though one of my aims is to foster just such a recognition, it is nonetheless impossible to understand the Ottoman Baroque without first giving some attention to what came immediately before it. This is not because the one was an inevitable outgrowth of the other, but because both emerged in a broadly shared cultural and political context, with many of the conditions that made possible the Ottoman Baroque already existing in the decades that preceded it. Above all, the return to Istanbul in 1703 had brought with it a new and far-reaching concern for reasserting Ottoman imperial identity, and it is this same concern that underlies and therefore links the buildings of the earlier part of the century and those of the subsequent Baroque. We are dealing, in other words, with two aesthetically distinct but functionally related kinds of architecture, the second of which can be comprehended only in light of the first.

The Tulip Era?

Few periods in Ottoman history have been as tidily packaged by traditional scholarship as the reign of Ahmed III.[5] Following his rise to power and crackdown on the rebels who had put him there, the sultan became embroiled in war when Charles XII of Sweden (r. 1697–1718) fled to the Ottoman Empire in 1709 after his defeat at the hands of Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725). The ensuing conflict with Russia led to some unexpected though modest victories for the Ottomans, who went on also to retake the Morea from Venice in 1715. These successes, which undid some of the Ottoman losses of the 1698

[5] For the events of Ahmed's reign, see Rāşid, *Tārīḫ*, vols. 3–6 (of which vol. 6 = Küçük Çelebi-zāde İsmaʿīl ʿĀṣım Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i İsmaʿīl ʿĀṣım*); Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 7:100–390; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 229–40; and Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 333–55.

Treaty of Karlowitz, prompted the Habsburgs to declare war on the empire in 1716, leading to fresh defeats for the Ottomans. The war was concluded in 1718 with the Treaty of Passarowitz, by which Belgrade was lost to Austria.[6]

Thus humbled by another unfavorable treaty, the story continues, Ahmed changed tack, and, under the guidance of a new grand vizier, his son-in-law Nevşehirli İbrahim Pasha (d. 1730), the sultan set the empire on a more moderate and enlightened course that would last until the end of his reign. War was replaced by a culture of peace and pleasure, the arts once again flourished, public and courtly festivities abounded, and relations with Europe grew warmer, as exemplified by the sending in 1720 of the Porte's first ambassador to Paris, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi (d. 1731) (fig. 4).[7] In consequence of the embassy, European models were taken up in architecture, and the first Ottoman printing press was established in 1727 by the Hungarian convert İbrahim Müteferrika (d. 1745) under the auspices of Mehmed Efendi's son, Mehmed Saʿid Pasha

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[6] For Ottoman warfare during this period, see Virginia H. Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700–1870: An Empire Besieged* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2007), 18–102.

[7] For a monographic discussion of the embassy, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). For criticism of Göçek's Eurocentric assessment of the embassy and its consequences, see Berrak Burçak, "The Institution of the Ottoman Embassy and Eighteenth Century Ottoman History: An Alternative View to Göçek," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 13, nos. 1–2 (2007): 147–52. Mehmed Efendi wrote a well-known account of his journey, of which thirteen manuscript copies survive, and whose Ottoman text was published several times during the nineteenth century, including in France. For two editions, see Meḥmed Efendi (Yirmisekiz Çelebi), *Relation de l'ambassade de Mohammed Effendi: Texte turk* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1841); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Biñ yüz otuz iki tārīḫinde Devlet-i ʿAliyye-i ʿOs̱māniyye ṭarafından elçilik ile Fransa'ya ʿazīmet etmiş olan Meḥmed Efendi'niñ sefāretnāmesidir* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿİlmiyye-i ʿOs̱maniyye, 1283 [1866]) (reprinted on pp. 73–155 of the modern Turkish rendering by Akyavaş, for which see the following sentence). The work has yet to be fully transliterated, but there are several modern Turkish paraphrases of it, the most useful being Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi*, trans. Beynun Akyavaş (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1993). Reflecting the widespread interest attracted by the embassy, the account was soon translated into French by Julien-Claude Galland, whose rendering has more recently been republished in a critical edition: see Meḥmed Efendi, *Relation de l'ambassade de Mehemet-Effendi à la cour de France en M. DCC. XXI.*, trans. Julien-Claude Galland (Istanbul and Paris: Ganeau, 1757); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, trans. Julien-Claude Galland and ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: François Maspero, 1981). There is also an Arabic translation preserved in an undated manuscript at Harvard University's Houghton Library (Arab SM191).

(d. 1761).[8] These reformist tendencies, together with the court's perceived extravagance, angered the empire's more conservative elements, and in 1730, an Albanian janissary called Patrona Halil (d. 1730) led a rebellion to dethrone Ahmed, who thus fell as he had risen.

The final twelve years of this compelling narrative, between Passarowitz and Patrona Halil, have earned the epithet of "Tulip Era" (*Lāle Devri*), a reference to the Ottomans' fondness—shared by their Western neighbors—for cultivating and displaying tulips during this time. Coined in the early twentieth century and popularized by the historian Ahmet Refik (d. 1937) in his 1912 book on the period, this evocative term was part of a late Ottoman effort to rehabilitate İbrahim Pasha's vizierate, which had previously been condemned as a time of morally bankrupt excess damaging to the empire.[9] Refik—himself a proponent of Westernizing reform—did much to recast İbrahim Pasha's tenure as an admirable if short-lived attempt at modernizing the Ottoman Empire in response to European models, an endeavor that affected everything from the military to the arts. What brought this noble project to its premature end was the willful

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[8] For Müteferrika and his printing press, see Yasemin Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition: Ten Centuries of Book Arts in Indiana University Collections*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 155–94; and Orlin Sabev, "The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure?," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyles in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 63–89.

[9] For a transliterated edition of Refik's work, see Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Lâle Devri (1718–1730)*, ed. Yücel Demirel and Ziver Öktem (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010). The term "Tulip Era" is sometimes applied to the whole of Ahmed's reign, though Refik restricted his definition to İbrahim's vizierate. The negative characterization of this period that Refik was trying to debunk has its origins in the later eighteenth century, as will be discussed below in the main text. Closer to İbrahim Pasha's own time, retrospective opinion of him seems to have been more favorable. John Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich, who visited the Ottoman Empire not long after Ahmed's fall, lauds İbrahim Pasha for his generous repairs to the city and calls him "a man of a public spirit more worthy of an ancient Roman than a Mahometan": see John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, *A Voyage Performed by the Late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the Years 1738 and 1739* (London, T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1799), 126.

ignorance of the empire's retrograde factions, who could not tolerate the enlightened thinking of the vizier and his royal patron.

Refik's conceptualization of the Tulip Era gained much currency in the twentieth century and remains popular today, though it has to some extent been merged with the interpretation it sought to replace. While positively viewed for its reformism, İbrahim Pasha's vizierate never quite lost the stigma of being deemed a time of courtly profligacy, and it is this somewhat moderated version of Refik's narrative that has provided the most enduring characterization of the period.[10]

Recent scholarship, however, has rightly challenged much of this received wisdom.[11] In a creative reuse of the established nomenclature, Ariel Salzmann paints a very different picture of what she calls the "age of tulips," one in which the Ottomans were equal sharers in an international early-modern culture of consumerism and display, aptly symbolized by the globally prized flower.[12] Salzmann describes the courtly spectacles so characteristic of this period as "a type of consumer jousting . . . which established the standards of shared material civilization,"[13] thus explaining the Ottoman

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[10] For a comprehensive study of the historiography of the Tulip Era, see Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008).

[11] See Dana Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents, and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyles in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 1–40.

[12] See Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550–1730)," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 83–106. Also see Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, 75–121.

[13] Ibid., 93. For Ottoman trade with the West during this period, see Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul*; Edhem Eldem, "Capitulations and Western Trade," in Faroqhi, *The Later Ottoman Empire*, 283–335; Mathieu Grenet, "A Business *alla Turca*? Levant Trade and the Representation of Ottoman Merchants in Eighteenth-Century European Commercial Literature," in *Global Economies, Cultural Currencies of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Michael Rotenberg-Schwartz, with Tara Czechowski (Brooklyn: AMS Press,

court's lavish festivities as a serious enterprise fully in keeping with international practice.

Such an interpretation is in stark contrast to the traditional view that ascribes both the timing and the nature of the Ottoman "Tulip Era" to the empire's growing weakness vis-à-vis the West. Indeed, Salzmann's corrective is an important reminder that the Ottomans were still prominent players on the world stage in the early eighteenth century, with little need for external cues by which to define themselves. Europeans who observed the empire at the time were duly impressed with what they saw, and had little trouble either recognizing or acknowledging Ottoman displays of cultural prowess. Among the most sympathetic and enthusiastic of these foreign observers was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (d. 1762), who famously wrote a series of letters recording her time in the empire between 1716 and 1718 as the wife of the British ambassador to the Porte (fig. 5).[14] Recounting the sultan's ceremonial visit to an unspecified mosque, for example, she notes that the variously dressed participants of the event "were all extremely rich and gay to the number of some thousands, that perhaps there cannot be seen a more beautifull Procession."[15]

2012), 37–52; and Robert Mantran, "Transformations du commerce dans l'Empire ottoman au dix-huitième siècle (with précis in English)," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, 217–35.

[14] See Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), vol. 1; and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. Teresa Heffernan and Daniel O'Quinn (Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2013). There are several editions of Lady Mary's correspondence, including ones dedicated to the so-called Turkish Embassy Letters. Of these, the edition by Heffernan and O'Quinn has excellent notes and useful appendices, though it unfortunately uses modernized spellings and punctuation. For this reason, all my quotations of Lady Mary are based on Halsband's edition, which retains the letters' original orthography.

[15] Montague, *Complete Letters*, 1:323 (to Lady Bristol, April 1, 1717).

It is significant that Lady Mary watched the procession together with the wife of the French ambassador, the Marquis de Bonnac (d. 1738).[16] Such shows of splendor were clearly intended to speak at the highest diplomatic levels, and indeed, Western political commentaries of the time give little impression that the Ottomans were considered a spent force. Bonnac himself, in a report of his embassy written for King Louis XV (r. 1715–74), describes one of the key aims of his mission as being to ensure French interests in relation to the "movement or inaction of a power as considerable as that of the Turks."[17] France's rapturous reception of Bonnac's counterpart, Mehmed Çelebi Efendi, further underscores the regard in which the Ottomans continued to be held by their Western neighbors.[18] Even the Treaty of Passarowitz, though certainly unfavorable to the Ottomans, was not without some gains for the empire, most notably the Morea. The increase in courtly festivities that followed Passarowitz need not, then, be attributed to some post-defeat mood of escapism, but to the simple fact that such activities—which in any case were not rare before 1718—became easier to stage in peacetime.[19]

This latter point is important for reminding us of the domestic perspective when considering Ahmed's reign. As much as the Ottomans were part of a commercially and diplomatically linked global network, concerns within the empire itself were just as

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[16] For Bonnac and his mission, see Jean Louis d'Usson, marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade de France á Constantinople*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894).

[17] *[L]e mouvement ou l'inaction d'une puissance aussi considérable que celle des Turcs.* Ibid., *Mémoire*, 134.

[18] For Mehmed Efendi's reception in France, see Göçek, *East Encounters West*, passim; and the supplementary texts in Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 181–236.

[19] In the same vein, an anonymous French commentator on the Palace of Saʿdabad, which I shall discuss presently in the main text, attributes part of the reason that the palace was constructed when it was in 1722 to "la tranquillité que la paix de Passarowitz avoitétabli [*sic*] dans cet Empire." See Monsieur de V—, "Description de Sadi Abath, Maison de plaisance du Grand Seigneur," *Mercure de France*, June 1724, 2:1251.

significant to the developments of this period. The court's enthusiastic sponsorship of festivals and architectural projects should be seen as part of a larger effort to engage the public's attention after the return of the court to Istanbul.[20] As noted in the introduction, the city's waterways were transformed into ceremonial avenues lined with a series of elite palaces and pavilions that afforded the populace unprecedented visual access to those who governed over them (figs. 6–7).[21] The intramural city too underwent significant restoration, such that Maurice Cerasi has characterized the eighteenth century as the time in which "Istanbul took on its architectural and urban substrata, the backbone and the lustre than would give it a recognisable and unique appearance for two hundred years."[22] This bold campaign was already well underway before 1718, and the upturn in building activity that followed need not be explained with reference to a new post-Passarowitz attitude, but rather, as Artan suggests, as an effort to repair the damage done to the city by a devastating earthquake in May 1719.[23] Whether through a changed urban landscape or lavish festivities, such attempts to reinscribe the court's presence in Istanbul were clearly effective. The two-week circumcision celebrations held in 1720 for Ahmed's sons, for example, excited considerable public interest and involvement, as famously recorded in the versified *Sūrnāme* (Festival Book) of Vehbi (d. 1736), with its vivid illustrations by

[20] See Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century"; and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 17–46.

[21] See Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life"; Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 305–8; and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 48–75.

[22] Cerasi, "Town and Architecture," 37. Goodwin (*Ottoman Architecture*, 371) writes of the renovations carried out under Ahmed, "it is probable that the city never looked so spick and span again until after 1960 and the vast programme of restoration of recent years."

[23] See Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 306.

Levni (d. 1732) (figs. 7–8).[24] The new palace complexes built near the Golden Horn, meanwhile, became hubs around which social gatherings such as picnics and promenades flourished.[25] All this brings into doubt the long-held view that ordinary Ottomans resented the court's sumptuous displays in this period; on the contrary, this culture of showy opulence seems to have grown precisely because it was so successful in impressing and even implicating the public. Although the toppling of Ahmed's regime in 1730 is often deemed a conservative response to courtly profligacy on the one hand and premature Westernization on the other, it was much likelier sparked by the outbreak of an unpopular new war on the Iranian frontier and the attendant rise in taxes.[26]

Are we, then, to reject altogether the notion of a Tulip Era as traditionally defined by the scholarship? Can Erimtan, who has written extensively on the topic, views the periodization in its entirety as a late Ottoman and early republican "literary creation that does not necessarily mirror the historical reality of 1718–30."[27] He vigorously challenges the most tenacious characterizations of Ahmed's reign, particularly as regards the supposed move towards Westernization, which he argues was the wishful invention of

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[24] For the celebrations and Vehbi and Levni's recording of them, see Esin Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 181–200; and Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul, 1999). Lavish circumcision festivals were nothing new; the most famous precedent—also recorded in an illustrated manuscript—is probably the 52-day festival held for the circumcision of Murad III's sons in 1582. As Babak Rahimi has demonstrated, however, the 1720 festival placed a new emphasis on "street-level carnivalesque processions" that involved a greater share of the city and its population: see Babak Rahimi, "*Nahils*, Circumcision Rituals and the Theatre State," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyles in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 90–116. Such festivals were also significant diplomatically, with foreign notables being obliged to attend and give presents: see Bonnac, *Mémoire*, 141–42.

[25] See Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 110–38; and Shirine Hamadeh, "Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century," in Aksan and Goffman, *The Early Modern Ottomans*, 277–312.

[26] See Salzmann, "Age of Tulips," 94–97.

[27] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 175.

reformist early-twentieth-century intellectuals. But such revisionism fails to explain the phenomena that fed older interpretations in the first place. Even if the idea of a self-contained twelve-year Tulip Era is ripe for debunking, Ahmed's reign did see certain developments that suggest a different sort of relationship with the West, and these need to be acknowledged and addressed. It can hardly be coincidental that the first open admission by the Ottomans of the need to reform their military apparatus in line with their "Frankish" enemies was a document—recording a real or imagined dialogue between a Muslim and Christian officer—written immediately after the Treaty of Passarowitz, apparently for presentation to the sultan.[28] And nor can it be merely fortuitous that the years that followed were marked by heightened contacts with Europe, whether through closer diplomatic ties or the introduction of such Western technologies as the printing press.[29] This is not to perpetuate the old view of a humbled Ottoman Empire submitting to Western superiority, but rather to recognize that changing realities did indeed lead to new approaches in Ottoman dealings with Europe, a shift that was entirely consistent with a more general intensification during the eighteenth century of cross-cultural interaction and curiosity. Much of the debate surrounding these issues has, interestingly enough, been concerned with a single architectural enterprise of which no

[28] For a transliteration of the document and a short introduction to it, see Faik Reşit Unat, ed., "Ahmed III. Devrine ait bir Islahat Takriri: Muhayyel bir Mülâkatın Zabıtları," *Tarih Vesikaları* 2, no. 1 (August 1941): 107–21.

[29] For the eighteenth-century growth in diplomatic ties between the Ottoman Empire and its Western neighbors, see Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1783* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1995), esp. 42–46; G. R. Berridge, "Diplomatic Integration with Europe before Selim III," in *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 114–30; Thomas Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, 88–107; and Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire*, 40–41.

trace survives today, but which epitomizes the very problem of the Tulip Age: the Palace of Saʿdabad.

The Palace of Saʿdabad

In the summer of 1722, a new palace—*Saʿdābād*, the Abode of Felicity—was built under the direction of İbrahim Pasha for Ahmed III in the valley of the Kağıthane River, a tributary of the Golden Horn north of the city walls (figs. 9–11). As part of the project, a stretch of the river measuring 1,100 meters was regularized into a tree-lined canal, the *Cedvel-i Sīm* (Silver Canal), and the palace was also provided with a large reflective pool. But the scheme went much further than a new royal residence: in a departure from established practice, the sultan encouraged his courtiers to build their own pavilions in the vicinity of his, and the surrounding landscape became a popular suburban recreational ground for the city's inhabitants, who could stroll and picnic around the new palace and its satellites.[30] This novel arrangement, which brought the ruling class and the ruled together in unprecedented proximity, was celebrated in both art and literature. A well-known depiction of the site from a copy of the *Zenānnāme* (Book of Women) by the poet Fazıl Enderuni (d. 1810) depicts a lively day out by the canal, with women—most of

[30] For the Palace of Saʿdabad and the wider scheme associated with it, see Rāşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, 5:443–49; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 7:280–81; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Saʿdabad* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1977); and Eva-Marlene Schäferes, "Saʻdâbâd: The Social Production of an Eighteenth Century Palace and Its Surroundings" (master's thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University, 2009).

them unveiled—freely intermingling with male musicians (fig. 11).[31] Though the image dates from later in the eighteenth century and almost certainly exaggerates the freedom that women would have been permitted during their excursions, it is nevertheless suggestive of the sorts of activities that would have taken place at Saʿdabad. Closer to the date of construction, the poet Nedim (d. 1730) wrote several poems in praise of the palace and the culture of enjoyment that grew up around it. One composition, addressed to the poet's beloved, even records the transportation provisions that linked the site to the city proper:

> Let us give a little comfort to this heart that's wearied so
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go!
> Look, there is a swift caique all ready at the pier below,
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go![32]

The building of Saʿdabad followed on the heels of the above-mentioned embassy of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi to Paris, which took place between 1720 and 1721, and it has been commonplace to attribute the novel aspects of the new palace to French influences brought back by the ambassador, who wrote a widely circulated report of his journey.[33] The basic configuration of Saʿdabad could, after all, be compared to that of the earlier and much larger Versailles, a suburban palace complex where the kings resided with their courtiers next to a series of publicly accessible gardens arranged around a

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[31] There is a related image in a manuscript dated 1776–77 that is today in the British Library (Or. 7094, fol. 7a): see Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum* (London: British Library, 1981), 39.

[32] The translation is taken from Nermin Menemencioğlu and Fahir İz, eds., *The Penguin Book of Turkish Verse* (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin, 1978), 113, with "Saʿdabad" substituted for "Sadabad." The original Ottoman reads: *Bir ṣafāʾ baḫş edelim gel şu dil-i nāşāde / Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Saʿdābād'e / İşte üç çifte ḳayıḳ iskelede āmāde / Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Saʿdābād'e*. This is the first of five stanzas that make up the poem; the two following stanzas will be quoted below in the main text.

[33] See n. 7 above.

cruciform canal (figs. 12–13).[34] Ahmed Refik in particular popularized the notion that Saʿdabad was an imitation of Versailles commissioned by the reformist İbrahim Pasha,[35] a position influentially elaborated by Fatma Müge Göçek, who, in her 1987 book on Mehmed Efendi's embassy, claims that "[t]he whole construction [of Saʿdabad] tried to imitate Versailles and Fontainebleau, which Mehmed Efendi had visited. Mehmed Efendi brought back plans of these palaces to apply them in Constantinople."[36]

Revisionist scholarship has tended to dismiss such opinions as unattested inventions rooted in nineteenth-century Orientalism. Building on Shirine Hamedeh's work, Can Erimtan has been especially vocal in opposing the idea of a mini-Versailles in Istanbul.[37] He notes that the architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem had already in 1977 shown that the architecture of the palace complex was entirely consistent with Ottoman tradition.[38] Since the palace itself was destroyed in the nineteenth century, Eldem relied in his analysis on written accounts and artistic depictions of the edifice, which was indeed designed in a manner that was rather traditional for waterside pavilions, being an irregular complex of hipped-roofed halls and apartments with projecting upper stories borne on columns and corbels. Accompanying the palace

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[34] For the arrangement at Versailles, see Chandra Mukerji, *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 198–247. For the resemblances between the gardens of Saʿdabad and those of Versailles, see B. Deniz Çalış, "Gardens and the Quest for Visibility in the Tulip Era (1718–1730)," in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Destiny*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007), 251–55.

[35] Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 29–30. For rehearsals of Refik's argument, see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 373; and Freely, *Ottoman Architecture*, 355.

[36] Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 75.

[37] See Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 226–35; and Can Erimtan, "The Perception of Saadabad: The 'Tulip Age' and Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyles in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 41–62.

[38] See Erimtan, "The Perception of Saadabad," 42; and Eldem, *Saʿdabad*.

proper—located right by the pool in the garden and commanding views of the Cedvel-i Sim—was the *Ḳaṣr-ı Cinān* (Pavilion of Paradise), a richly decorated cruciform kiosk supported by thirty columns and marked in its center by a fountain; this too represented a traditional Islamic palatial type.[39] As for the more original features of the scheme, both Hamadeh and Erimtan have argued that an Eastern source is far likelier than a Western one, pointing out the similarities between Saʿdabad and the Chahar Bagh Avenue of Safavid Isfahan (fig. 14).[40] Developed in the early seventeenth century after Isfahan was made the new capital, the avenue was a wide promenade lined with trees and flanked by enclosed gardens and elite mansions. At its center was a canal, and at its northeastern end was a palace complex that included the Chihil Sutun (Forty Columns), a pavilion built by Shah Abbas II (r. 1642–66) in 1647 with a multi-pillared portico set behind a reflective pool (fig. 15).[41]

The resemblances between this Safavid scheme and the later Saʿdabad are obvious enough and present a compelling alternative to the prevalent theory of French inspiration. Even Refik, paraphrasing the French historian Albert Vandal, himself noted

[39] A highly evocative eighteenth-century description of the Kasr-ı Cinan is provided by the English traveler and physician Charles Perry, who calls the structure itself "*Sadabat*" and does not mention any other parts of the palace. Though misleading, Perry's synecdochical treatment of the kiosk indicates the status it enjoyed as the heart of the complex: "This Kiosk is embellished in a very splendid elegant manner; its Roof is covered all over with Lead, resting upon little Arches, which are sustained by 30 small Pillars: The Intercolumniations are filled with Sheets of green Canvas, which, when stretched out, may serve as Umbrella's. The Entrance is through Pair of Brass Folding-doors, which are fixed in a Case of white Marble; between the Pillars in each Space rises a Balustrade about Two Feet from the Ground, upon which was a Sofa of very rich Brocade." Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and Greece* (London: T. Woodward and C. Davis, and J. Shuckburgh, 1743), 24–25.

[40] See Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 229–35; and Erimtan, "The Perception of Saadabad," 52–60.

[41] See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 306–12; Stephen P. Blake, *Half the World: The Social Architecture of Safavid Isfahan, 1590–1722* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1999), 29–84; and Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces: Statecraft, Shiʿism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 65–83.

the overlap with Isfahan in the same breath as he argued for a European origin for the palace.[42] More pertinently, Nedim, in another song praising Saʿdabad, declares that "[i]t left Isfahan's Chaharbagh with scars of envy and admiration,"[43] thus confirming the relevance of the comparison in Ottoman eyes. It would be premature, however, to dismiss the idea of a connection also between Saʿdabad and its French counterparts. Far from being an Orientalist conceit of the nineteenth century, the view that the building somehow referred to French models is as old as the construction itself, and, though not found in any contemporary Ottoman source, is recorded by European ambassadors who had first-hand knowledge of the palace. The earliest comment to this effect occurs in a dispatch sent by the Venetian *bailo* Giovanni Emo in the autumn of 1722, very soon after the completion of Saʿdabad. Emo writes that a design of Fontainebleau brought back by Mehmed Efendi moved İbrahim Pasha to erect a similar palace "equal to the Sultan's dignity."[44] In his *Mémoire* of 1724, the French ambassador Bonnac refers in more general terms to how İbrahim Pasha "tried to imitate that which had been reported to him of the magnificence of our gardens and of our buildings."[45] Later in the century, Giambattista

[42] See Albert Vandal, *Une ambassade française en Orient sous Louis XV* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, etc., 1887), 85; and Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 30.

[43] *Çārbāġ-ı İsfahān'ı eylemişdir ṭāġ ṭāġ*. The translation is taken from Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 229.

[44] The translation is taken from Mary Lucille Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as Revealed in Despatches of the Veneitan* Baili (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), 20, which does not include the original Italian. As Schäferes ("Sa'dâbâd," 65n165) points out, Erimtan ("The Perception of Saadabad," 46–47) seems unaware of this or other important early references to Saʿdabad's claimed French models. The only such reference he mentions is that which is supposed to have been made by Villeneuve, for which see the following note.

[45] *Enfin, depuis le retour de Méhémet Effendi de son ambassade auprès de Votre Majesté, il a essayé d'imiter ce qu'on lui a rapporté de la magnificence de nos jardins et de nos bâtiments.* Bonnac, *Mémoire*, 155. Another French ambassador who is often cited in discussions of Saʿdabad is the Marquis de Villeneuve, who held the post between 1728 and 1741. In his monograph on the ambassador, Albert Vandal (*Une ambassade française*, 90) paraphrases and partially quotes a letter dated December 26, 1728, that Villeneuve sent to Germain Louis Chauvelin after his first meeting with İbrahim Pasha. According to Vandal, the letter relates that İbrahim Pasha asked Villeneuve about the gardens of Versailles, and

Toderini (d. 1799), a Jesuit abbot and Orientalist scholar who was part of the Venetian *bailo*'s retinue in Istanbul between 1781 and 1786, would write that Saʿdabad was based on plans of Versailles.[46]

The earliness and persistence of these claims should caution us against rejecting outright their significance. Even if the available evidence shows that the architecture of Saʿdabad had little that was Western about it, and though the lack of agreement in the European sources as to its supposed French prototype hardly inspires confidence in their reliability, certain aspects of Ahmed's new palace do suggest a relationship, at least conceptually, to French models. That Mehmed Efendi brought back considerable information about the palaces of France is a known fact: his report on his embassy is replete—perhaps even inordinately so—with glowing descriptions of the various princely residences he visited, with particular attention given to their gardens. And after his return to Istanbul, he wrote a letter to the Maréchal de Villeroi requesting palace and garden designs that had apparently been promised to him.[47] Many such designs, mostly in the form of plans and engravings in printed books on architecture, survive today in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (figs. 12, 18), and though it is not known precisely

specifically if they were always beautiful and well maintained, after which he spoke at length about his own imitation (meaning Saʿdabad) along the Sweet Waters of Europe. I located a copy of the letter (BnF, fr. 7178, fols. 4b–13b; this is the same register that Vandal cites) in order to read Villeneuve's account in full, but though the other details mentioned by Vandal are there, I found no reference at all to Saʿdabad or the gardens of Versailles. I also checked the preceding and following letters, as well as letters in other registers of Villeneuve's correspondence, again to no avail. Vandal's description of the grand vizier's remarks is so precise that it cannot be based on a simple misreading; he has either transposed the information from another letter that I did not find, or (as seems likelier given that the rest of the document is accurately paraphrased) he has invented it altogether.

[46] Giambattista Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, 3 vols. (Venice: Presso Giacomo Storti, 1787), 3:206.

[47] "It is hoped that you will send the printed images of palaces and gardens that you promised" (*vaʿd eylediğiñiz sarāylar ve bāğçeleriñ başma resimlerini irsāl etmeñiz meʾmūldür*). See BnF, NAF 8972, fol. 204b, where there is a transcription of the Ottoman text (the original letter seems not to have survived) together with a French translation by J.-B de Fiennes, interpreter to the king. The translation, dated July 11, 1722, is published in Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 173.

when they entered the sultan's collection, some of them may well have come back with Mehmed Efendi himself, as asserted by the *bailo* Emo.[48] It would be unwise to suggest that Saʿdabad was actually modeled on such designs—for one thing, the letter to Villeroi seems not have been received until after construction had begun—but it is highly probable that Mehmed Efendi's enthusiastic observations on French palaces excited the interest of the sultan and his court. Tülay Artan has argued that the unprecedented scheme constituted by Saʿdabad and its ancillary structures probably reflected something of the "relation between the king and the aristocracy that Versailles dictated."[49] The novel inclusion at the site of a canal—a feature previously unknown in Ottoman architecture but found in various French palatial gardens—further suggests a conscious engagement with French ideas.[50] While Isfahan too provides plausible sources for some of Saʿdabad's programmatic innovations, the argument that an Iranian inspiration is any likelier or more appropriate than a French one only perpetuates the notion that adaptive responses to Western models necessarily entailed an admission of weakness. Why should the Ottomans have been any less affected by what they knew of the palaces of France—an age-old ally—than what they did of those of Iran, a polity with which they were continually at war? The absence of any mention of a link to France in the Ottoman

[48] For the Topkapı Palace Museum Library's collection of Western architectural books and prints, see İrepoğlu, "Batılı Kaynakar"; and İrez, "Topkapı Sarayı Harem Bölümü'ndeki Rokoko."

[49] Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 306. Similarly, Necipoğlu ("Framing the Gaze," 306–8) argues that the later history of Ottoman ceremonial was "marked by the construction of display-oriented monumental palaces inspired by French models." She also notes that the French culture of royal visibility was earlier shared by the Safavid court at Isfahan, where there was an "emphasis on the accessible image of the ruler who readily appeared in public on every possible occasion."

[50] While she does not specifically mention French models, Necipoğlu notes the novelty of Saʿdabad's landscape design in relation to earlier Ottoman gardens: see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1997), 45–56.

sources is not especially revealing given that such references would have been all but barred by Ottoman literary conventions, which favored more traditional Islamicate *topoi* such as Nedim's comparison with Isfahan.

Whether intended or not, Saʿdabad's recollection of French models was, as we have seen, strongly felt by Western observers, and this in itself is significant. The new palace was indisputably designed to be somehow "modern" in relation to existing Ottoman architecture, and this novelty was—not surprisingly—understood by European commentators in the terms that made most sense to them. Even if the Ottoman patrons and designers of the complex had never meant for it to be viewed in this way, they must have been aware of the emergent discourse, and they cannot have objected to it. The parallels drawn with French examples were, after all, invariably positive, even if the compliment was rather backhanded in nature, as when Bonnac writes that

> even though this copy [Saʿdabad] was less than mediocre and its situation not as good [as in French examples], he [İbrahim Pasha] thereby gave the people a sight that was all the more agreeable since it was not usual there, and that perhaps contributed in no small measure to curbing the tendency they had had for some time towards murmuring and revolt.[51]

Bonnac's words again stress the important role that courtly display had in winning rather than alienating Ottoman public opinion,[52] but they also remind us of the wider audience to which the sultan and his vizier were playing. Despite his lukewarm appraisal of Saʿdabad, Bonnac was among a larger group of foreign ambassadors and visitors—Eastern and Western—who were routinely entertained at the new palace, as recorded in

[51] *[E]t quoique cet échantillon soit même au-dessous du médiocre et que la situation n'en soit pas belle, il a donné par là, au peuple, un spectacle d'autant plus agréable qu'il n'y étoit pas accoutumé et qui n'a, peut-être, pas peu contribué à le contenir dans les dispositions où il a été pendant quelque temps au murmure et à la révolte*. Bonnac, *Mémoire*, 155.

[52] The role of Saʿdabad in engaging the Ottoman public is discussed also in Çalış, "Gardens and the Quest for Visibility," 254–55.

Ottoman chronicles as well as in reports and letters written by the foreigners themselves. That the Ottomans cared what outsiders thought of their architecture is clear from a somewhat earlier project, described by the court historian Raşid (d. 1735), to repair and furnish the mansion of the Austrian ambassador in time for his visit to Istanbul in 1718.[53] In the case of Saʿdabad, the attempt to impress was largely successful, notwithstanding Bonnac's criticisms. A certain Monsieur de V—, for example, wrote a glowing account of the palace in a letter after visiting it in 1724 as part of Bonnac's retinue.[54] Discussing the harem, he states that, "although quite small, it conveys the magnificence of the Prince through all the comforts that come together there,"[55] and he goes on to describe at length the Kasr-ı Cinan, with its fine marble cladding and rich carpets.[56] Particularly noteworthy about this anonymous report is the degree of interest and access it evinces on the part of European visitors to the complex: the author writes that he joined Bonnac and his wife

> when they went to promenade there accompanied by the majority of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen who compose the body of the [French] Nation at Constantinople. Nothing was hidden from them or their suite, and what is more, the Bostangy-Bachi [*bostancı başı*, the chief of the palace gardener-guards]

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[53] Rāṣid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāshid*, 5:167–69, esp. 169. My attention was drawn to this reference by Shirine Hamedeh (*The City's Pleasures*, 35), though she is incorrect in asserting that "Raşid explained that the hurried restoration of a group of suburban palaces and of the Venetian and Austrian embassies was undertaken in 1718 in order to conceal the state of building disrepair around the capital from the Austrian ambassador, due in Istanbul for another round of peace negotiations." In fact, Raşid simply lists the lavish sums spent by the Ottoman court in preparation for the Habsburg ambassador's visit, including to renovate the mansion where he would stay and to rent a group of twenty-two houses in Galata for his retinue.

[54] See Monsieur de V—, "Description de Sadi Abath," 1251–64 (full citation in n. 19 above). The description—subtitled "Lettre écrite de Constantinople, par M. de. V. à M. de la R. le 20. Janvier 1724"—is discussed and summarized in Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 77–79.

[55] *Au bout de cette gallerie sont les appartemens du Grand Seigneur qui communiquent dans celui des Sultannes, lequel, quoiqu'assez petit, se ressent de la magnificence du Prince par toutes les commoditez qui s'y rencontrent.* Monsieur de V—, "Description de Sadi Abath," 1253.

[56] Ibid., 1254–56. The *ḳaṣr* is termed a "Kiosk . . . pour le Grand Seigneur" by the author.

> treated Their Excellencies to coffee and sherbet in the apartment of the Grand Seigneur himself. They as well as all their suite were served by Bostangis.[57]

Such was the ease with which the French visitors were able to look around the palace that the writer of our letter was even able to note down some of its inscriptions, which he translated into Latin for his correspondent.[58]

Like other Europeans, our author saw in Saʿdabad something to which he could relate: he too begins his account by rehearsing the story of the palace's origins in plans brought back from France by Mehmed Efendi.[59] But more than the architecture, it was the new culture of leisure staged at the site that struck him as familiar:

> It seems that the Turks have changed in temperament and spirit with this place of pleasure. You know, Monsieur, that they have never been promenading people, [but] they have become so; there are days when this place is as frequented as the Cour-le-Reine and the Champs Elisées [*sic*]. Locals and foreigners of all ages and both sexes go there in complete safety, and the ministers of foreign princes have the ease and convenience of finding there from time to time the Grand Vizier and the other ministers of the Porte always in good spirits and disposed to please them.[60]

It is important to note that although our author draws parallels between the emergent Ottoman fashion for promenading and French examples of the custom, he does not

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[57] *Je pourrois en faire une Description plus exacte, ayant eu l'honneur de me trouver à la suite de M. l'Ambassadeur & de Mad^e l'Ambassadrice lorsqu'ils allarerent s'y promener, accompagnez de la plûpart des François & des Françoises qui composent le Corps de la Nation à Constantinople. Il n'y eut rien de cache pour eux & pour leur suite, & de plus le Bostangy-Bachi regala leurs Excellences de Caffé & de Sorbec dans l'appartement même du Grand Seigneur. Ils furent servis ainsi que toute leur suite par des Bostangis.* Ibid., 1253–54. The *bostancı*s—literally "gardeners"—were a corps of imperial guards charged with patrolling the grounds of the sultan's palaces, their head being the *bostancı başı*, or "chief gardener."

[58] These translations appear abridged as an appendix to the printed version of the letter: ibid., 1261–64.

[59] Ibid., 1251.

[60] *Il semble que les Turcs ayent changé d'humeur & de genie, à l'occasion de ce lieu de plaisance. Vous sçavez, Monsieur, qu'ils n'ont jamais été gens de promenade, ils le font devenus; il y a des jours, où ce lieu est aussi frequenté que le Cour-la-Reine, & les Champs Elisées. Les gens du pays & les Etrangers de tout âge & de tout sexe y vont en toute seureté, & les Ministres des Princes Etrangers ont la facilité & l'agrément d'y trouver de temps en temps le Grand Visir , & les autres Ministres de la Porte toûjours de belle belle humeur, & en disposition de leur faire plaisir.* Ibid., 1260–61. This extract is also partially translated into English, with errors, in Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 79.

attribute the new trend to outside influences. Indeed, the rise of leisure was a global phenomenon of the eighteenth century, tied to an increase in commercialism and consumerism that allowed an expanding portion of society in much of the world to partake in activities of recreation.[61] Nevertheless, the particular site in which the Ottoman iteration of this worldwide development was encouraged to flourish—the grounds of a palatial complex—seems to reflect something more than just a chance resemblance to French analogues. The gardens of Versailles resembled those of Saʿdabad not only in being publicly accessible, but also in being used for the reception and entertainment of foreign notables.[62] A growing acquaintance with such practices—themselves quite recently established—seems to have fed into the Ottomans' own highly developed conception of royal visibility, which was, as we have seen, already undergoing important changes of its own during this period. In other words, whatever may have been drawn from French models merely helped to shape an existing shift during Ahmed's reign towards new and enhanced ways of visualizing the sultan's authority. The end result was far from imitative, and even European sources that stress the French inspiration for Saʿdabad never fail to note—for better or worse—the differences that still preserved the palace's Ottoman character. The Ottomans, for their part, would surely have been pleased to know that foreign diplomats and visitors were speaking of the new complex in the same breath as the famed palaces of one of Europe's most eminent polities.

[61] See Salzmann, "Age of Tulips," 83–106.

[62] For the accessibility of the gardens of Versailles and their use for diplomatic purposes, see Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 167; and Robert W. Berger and Thomas F. Hedin, *Diplomatic Tours in the Gardens of Versailles under Louis XIV* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

There is, then, much to support a general conceptual link between Saʿdabad and its French counterparts, resulting as much from an *ex post facto* discourse as from any intention on the part of the palace's designers and patrons. But I should like to go further and argue for the existence of more concrete correspondences which found expression in limited though significant ways at the complex, and which I believe prove that its cross-cultural qualities had been planned and embraced from the start. To begin with an example described in the anonymous letter, our author, while telling his correspondent of the fruit trees planted either side of the Kasr-ı Cinan, writes that "Monsieur the Ambassador of France has greatly contributed to the embellishment of this place by the present he made to the Grand Seigneur of forty fine orange trees, all carrying fruit; they are placed in their boxes at the edge of the canal to the two sides of the Kiosk."[63] Gardens planted with fruit trees were traditional enough in the Ottoman context, but the presence of potted orange trees along a body of water would have introduced a distinctly French note to Saʿdabad's scheme, recalling, for example, the famous Versailles Orangery, and the once equally splendid orangery at Chantilly (fig. 16).[64] The latter had made an especially good impression on Mehmed Efendi during his embassy, with his report stating that "the placement and arrangement of the lemon and orange trees were so pleasing and charming a delight that the eyes of those who looked at it could never be

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[63] *M. l'Ambassadeur de France a fort contribué à l'embellissement de ce lieu par le present qu'il a fait au Grand Seigneur de quarante beaux Orangers, tous portent fruits; ils ont été placez dans leurs caisses, au bord du canal, des deux côtez du Kisok*. Monsieur de V—, "Description de Sadi Abath," 1258 (mispaginated 1158).

[64] Unlike that at Versailles, the Chantilly orangery has not survived, but historical depictions of it—such as Jacques Rigaud's engraving *Vue du château de Chantilly, prise du parterre de l'orangerie en 1739*—show a fine arrangement of boxed trees arranged around the château's ponds.

satiated."[65] That Saʿdabad's orangery came about as a gift from the French ambassador further underscores the importance of the new palace to both fostering and visualizing the practice of diplomatic exchange.

Turning to the actual workmanship of the palace, one of the most prominent features of the scheme, and very likely a response to Western models, was a columnar bronze jet rising out of the pool in front of the Kasr-ı Cinan and formed of four spiraled serpents whose heads issued water (fig. 11). The obvious formal prototype for this feature—as noted in the palace's own time—was the ancient Serpent Column in Istanbul's Hippodrome (fig. 17),[66] but the idea of having such a jet in the first place was almost certainly taken from Western sources. While spouting fountains could already be found in the Ottoman context, they were generally incorporated into basins within the

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[65] *Limon ve turunc aġacları mevżūʿ u ṭarḥı dilnişīn ü maṭbūʿ bir ḥālet-fezā idi-ki temāşāsından dīde-i naẓẓāregān sīr olmaz idi*. See Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi* , 52, 143–44 (which reprint pp. 71–72 of the 1866 Ottoman edition); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 155.

[66] The fountain's resemblance to the Serpent Column is observed in the travelogue of the French Calvinist writer Pierre-Lambert de Saumery (*Memoires et avantures secretes et curieuses d'un voyage du Levant*, 4 vols. [Liège: Everard Kints, 1732], 1:137), who saw Saʿdabad in 1722, and in an annotated plan of the palace drawn by the German draftsman Philipp Franz Gudenus, a member of the 1740 Habsburg embassy (reprinted in Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 30–31). I learned of these sources from Schäferes ("Sa'dâbâd, 47–48n107), though she herself is curiously hesitant to accept the fountain's relationship to the column, perhaps because there is no mention of it in the Ottoman sources; other scholars have been equally reticent in this regard. In a fitting coincidence, there is evidence that the column was converted into a fountain during the Byzantine period, a function that seems to have stopped by the fourteenth century, and of which the Ottoman planners of Saʿdabad can have had no knowledge. The column itself dates from the fifth century BC and originally stood in Delphi, from where it was brought to Constantinople by Constantine the Great in 324. Though today lacking its three heads, we know from historical descriptions and images that it remained more or less intact for much of the Ottoman period. Western and Turkish sources alike record that the heads were lost in 1700, but the column appears to have been temporarily restored during Ahmed's reign, since Lady Mary Wortly Montagu (*Complete Letters*, 1:400) observed the snakes with their mouths open in 1718 (also see pp. 284–87 of this dissertation). The upper part of one of the heads was discovered in the nineteenth century and is today on display in the Istanbul archaeological museums. For the column and its history, see T. Cato Worsfold, "The Serpent Column of the Delphic Oracle," *The Archaeological Journal* 61 (2nd ser., vol. 11) (1904): 326–39; Jonathan Bardill, "The Monuments and Decoration of the Hippodrome in Constantinople," in *Hippodrom / Atmeydanı: İstanbul'un Tarih Sahnesti = Hippodrom / Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, ed. Brigitte Pitarakis, exh. cat., 2 vols. (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2010), 2:64–67; and V. L. Ménage, "The Serpent Column in Ottoman Sources," *Anatolian Studies* 14 (1964): 169–73.

setting of a room or pavilion, as at the Kasr-ı Cinan itself;[67] the concept of a freestanding jet—one of figural design to boot—in the middle of an open body of water was far less traditional.[68] In the West, by contrast, such fountains abounded, and it is surely significant that Mehmed Efendi repeatedly praised the examples he saw during his embassy to France. Speaking again of Chantilly, he notes that its grounds had so many fountains that "from whatever part of the palace one looked at the garden, one could see the jets spraying water to the height of two or three men";[69] and in his description of the Grand Cascade at the Palace of Saint-Cloud, he states—somewhat tautologically—that "they have placed [there] jets one after the other, rendering them as dragons' mouths; it all flowed so delightfully that viewing it was necessarily delightful."[70] A good number of

[67] The point is underscored by the French traveler Aubry de La Mottraye, who was in Istanbul intermittently between 1699 and 1714: "These Artificial Fountains are at least as common in the *Turkish* Apartments, as the Cascades in our Gardens." See Aubry de La Mottraye, *A. de La Motraye's Travels through Europe, Asia, and into Parts of Africa*. . . . 2 vols. (London: Printed for the author, 1723), 1:172. For one of the few open-air examples—a fountain located in front of a belvedere in the sixteenth-century Karabali Garden in Kabataş—see Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 32–33. As for the Kasr-ı Cinan, Charles Perry (*A View of the Levant*, 25) writes that its "lovely Fountain . . . plays its Water through a Cluster of little gilded Pipes, starting out of a Marble Cistern, against a large gilt Wall hung with Tassels: From thence the Water is reflected upon a noble Tivan, or Ceiling, of gilded Fret-work, which beats it down again in little sprinkling Showers." It is difficult to reconstruct the exact appearance of what Perry is describing, and the "gilt Wall" is especially puzzling given the fountain's position in the center of the kiosk.

[68] I know of only one pre-eighteenth-century example, and that is in the outer terrace of the Privy Chamber complex at the Topkapı Palace: see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 141–43, 155–58. Overlooking the palace gardens, the terrace consists of a double-colonnaded portico bordering a fishpool that has a marble fountain in its center; this fountain is in the form of a square basin with jets along its edges and a smaller basin—again with spouts—rising out of its center. Such a fountain is known to have existed since Mehmed II established the palace, but the one we now see may be a later incarnation. Although it is in the middle of an open pool of water, the fountain is of a type usually reserved for interiors, being low with small jets, and the rather intimate and enclosed nature of the adjacent portico further evokes the feel of a kiosk. The effect is very different from that which would have been produced by the far more audacious and public serpentine jet at Saʿdabad.

[69] *Sarāyıñ her ṭarafından baḳıldıḳda bāġçeye nāẓır olup fevvārelerden ikişer üçer adam boyu ṣularıñ feverānı seyr olunur*. See Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi* , 51–52, 143 (which reprints p. 71 of the 1866 Ottoman edition); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 155.

[70] *Ceste ceste fevvāreler ḳomuşlar ve ejder aġızları yapmışlar; bir ḥālet-fezā ile cereyān ederdi-ki bi'ż-żarūre rüʾyeti ḥālet-fezā idi.* See Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa*

the European prints acquired by the Ottoman court in the eighteenth century are devoted to such waterworks (fig. 18). The novel effect that an animal-spouted fountain of this kind would have created at Saʿdabad can be felt in the poem by Nedim whose opening stanza I quoted earlier, and which continues:

> There to taste the joys of living, as we laugh and play about,
> From the new-built fountain drink a draught such as *Tasnīm* [a spring in Paradise] pours out,
> There to watch enchanted waters flowing from the dragon spout,
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go!
>
> For a while we'll stroll beside the pool, and then another while
> Off we'll go to view the kiosk, moved to marvel by its style;
> Now we'll sing a ballad, now with dainty verse the hours beguile.
> Let us visit Saʿdabad, my swaying Cypress, let us go![71]

Important to note here is the accessibility of the palace: like the French visitors discussed above, locals such as Nedim were clearly able to view the complex at surprisingly close range, and they too recognized the originality of what they were seeing. As we might expect, the poet makes special mention of the Kasr-ı Cinan, the centerpiece of the whole scheme, but equally significant is his singling out of the "dragon" fountain, which recalls Mehmed Efendi's description of the "dragons' mouths" at Saint-Cloud. What would have made this feature even more striking to viewers like Nedim is that its novelty was expressed in curiously recognizable terms: fashioned after a famous monument located in the very heart of the city, the serpentine jet would have seemed

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Sefâretnâmesi , 35, 121 (which reprints p. 49 of the 1866 Ottoman edition); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 121.

[71] The translation is taken from Menemencioğlu and İz, *The Penguin Book of Turkish Verse*, 113, though with a few alterations. As well as substituting "Saʿdabad" for "Sadabad" and "Tasnīm" for "Tesnim," I have used "dragon spout" in place of the translator's more poetic but less exact "gargoyle spout," and I have used "kiosk" in place of "palace" as a more appropriate rendering of Kasr-ı Cinan. The original Ottoman reads: *Gülelim, oynayalım, kām alalım dünyādan, / Māʾ-i Tesnīm içelim çeşme-i nev-peydādan, / Görelim āb-ı ḥayāt aḳtığın ejderhādan, / Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Saʿdābād'e. // Geh varup ḥavż kenārında ḫirāmān olalım, / Geh gelüp Ḳaṣr-ı Cinān seyrine ḥayrān olalım, / Gāh şarḳı oḳuyup gāh ġazel-ḫᵛan olalım, / Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Saʿdābād'e.*

strangely familiar to Ottomans even as it surprised them by the unusual spectacle it produced. This combination of the new and the traditional, the local and the international, seems to have been among the defining qualities of Saʿdabad, and one of the reasons the palace was able to impress and engage the diverse audiences that it did.

The Tangible "Tulip Era"

As important as Saʿdabad is for understanding the visual culture of Ahmed III's reign, the inevitable limitations of discussing a lost monument require us to turn to examples of what actually survives of the period. Doing so in fact confirms the impression given by Saʿdabad of a new, cosmopolitan reworking of an essentially traditional aesthetic repertoire.

Some of the most significant examples of this material can be found in another palatial setting, the Topkapı, which remained the sultan's main residence despite the proliferation of other palaces at this time. Ahmed was evidently anxious to stamp the venerable palace—established in the 1460s by Mehmed the Conqueror—with his own mark: in 1705, soon after the court's return to Istanbul, a new privy chamber was built for him in the harem. Used by the sultan for dining and today known as the Fruit Room, the chamber is characterized by its busy and colorfully painted scheme showing bowls laden with fruit and pots full of flowers (figs. 19–20).[72] The room is small, and there is nothing intrinsically precious about its workmanship, which consists mainly of painted wooden

[72] For the chamber, see Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 464–65; and Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 302.

paneling, but the end result is somehow far more impressive than the sum of its parts. While floral and vegetal imagery was well established in the Ottoman artistic canon, the kind painted in Ahmed's chamber is distinguished by its lively naturalism, which seems to reflect an acquaintance with—not to say the influence of—European modes of depiction. The sense of exuberant novelty imparted by this paintwork transforms the room into something fully capable of holding its own against the larger and more expensively decorated spaces of the harem.

It is notable that the Fruit Room exhibits all the hallmarks of the style associated with the "Tulip Era" but was installed over a decade before its supposed starting point. This alone reveals the problematic nature of the periodization, which somewhat arbitrarily tries to delimit a set of developments that in fact cut across Ahmed's reign, and even beyond it. The paintwork used in the room belongs to a technique called *Edirnekārī*, which, as its names suggests, originated in Edirne during the second half of the seventeenth century.[73] In other words, the naturalistic mode exhibited by the room's scheme may already have been developing even before the court's return to Istanbul, perhaps paralleling the analogous creation of a naturalistic floral style—again responding to European examples—in seventeenth-century Mughal India (fig. 21).[74] It was not, however, until Ahmed's reign that these experiments were marshaled in the establishment of a revived imperial aesthetic for the empire's capital.

Part of what made this new manner so successful was the ease with which it could be realized. The Fruit Room exemplifies the sort of cost-effective and rapidly executed

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[73] See Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 464–65; and Artan, "Istanbul in the 18th Century," 302.

[74] For this Ottoman-Mughal parallel, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 199–200, 236.

project favored by the architectural patronage of the period.[75] Saʿdabad, for example, was built largely of wood and, together with its grounds and ancillaries, completed in less than three months, much to the astonishment of the anonymous French correspondent whose letter was discussed above.[76] Though this approach to building resulted in many ephemeral structures that are no longer extant, it was in its own time essential to facilitating the extensive architectural campaign that began Istanbul's eighteenth-century transformation.

Not all the works of Ahmed's reign, however, were of such light construction. Also as part of the sultan's renovation of the Topkapı Palace, a new marble-clad library was erected in 1719 in the Third Court, right behind the imperial Audience Hall (figs. 22–23).[77] With its arcaded portico, domed central hall, and sofa-lined *eyvān*s (vaulted spaces opening onto the central hall), the library very much perpetuates established architectural forms, an impression strengthened by the inclusion of such features as *muqarnas* (stalactite) column capitals, shutters inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and reused seventeenth-century tilework. This traditionalism, which harks back to a style of architecture established in the sixteenth century, is representative of what has been characterized as a kind of Ottoman "neoclassicism" during Ahmed's reign,[78] an approach that ran alongside the fresher manner typified by the Fruit Room. Indeed, the library itself testifies to these

[75] For the ephemeral nature of many of the buildings erected in this period, see Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life."

[76] *Croiriez-vous bien, Monsieur, que tout ce que je viens de vous marquer, a été executéé en moins de trois mois, et dans l'arriere saison.* Monsieur de V—, "Description de Sadi Abath," 1260.

[77] For the library, see Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Feridun Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma* (Istanbul, 1981), 25; Ahmet Ertuğ, ed., *Topkapı: The Palace of Felicity* (Istanbul: Ertuğ & Kölük, 1989), 51–52; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 371–72; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 559–60.

[78] As discussed in the introduction, the 1873 *Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿO̱s̱mānī* presents Ahmed's reign as short-lived revival, if not a swansong, of the traditional arts: see *L'architecture ottomane*, 6, 57–67 = Launay, *Uṣūl*, 11–12, 41–45; and Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 260–65.

two complementary aesthetic strands: not only is the building rather new as a type—Ottoman libraries did not exist as independent structures before the late seventeenth century[79]—but it also incorporates several novel features that soon differentiate it from older architecture. The door into the building, for instance, is boldly crowned by a sort of carved and slightly concave semicircular sunburst (fig. 23), a motif that had its origins in earlier Ottoman art but did not come into real prominence until the early eighteenth century. The sudden proliferation of this half-sunburst—very different from the more usual pointed arch and *muqarnas* conch—may well have had something to do with the passing resemblance it bore to the shell niche so popular in European architecture. As with the serpent jet at Saʿdabad, the Ottomans were, it seems, taking a long-standing local form and putting it to a new use with distinctly cosmopolitan overtones. In the case of Ahmed's library, the effect is one that at once confirms and enlivens the otherwise largely traditional conception of the building.

A far more audacious combination of old and new can be seen in another project relating to Ahmed's remodeling of Topkapı, this time completed in 1728 just outside the Imperial Gate (*Bāb-ı Hümāyūn*), the main entrance into the palace (figs. 24–25). Here, in the middle of the large *meydān* (public square) marking the juncture between the palace and the Aysofya Mosque, Ahmed built a monumental fountain for the distribution of water, fashioned as a large marble-clad rectangular block with a wide-eaved roof topped by five small cupolas.[80] In the center of each side of the block is an arched recess

[79] For the history of Ottoman libraries and their architecture, see İsmail E. Erunsal, "The Development of Ottoman Libraries from the Conquest of Istanbul (1453) to the Emergence of the Independent Library," *Türk Tatih Kurumu Belleten* 60, no. 227 (1996): 93–125; and Kuban, Ottoman Architecture, 558–62.

[80] For the fountain, see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 374; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 510–11; and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 89–99.

containing a spigot and basin, while at each of its corners is a curved *sebīl* (a kiosk for the serving of water) with grilled windows. Such meydan fountains (usually without sebils) were already in existence by the seventeenth century, but Ahmed's version was of unprecedented size and magnificence.[81] Every part of the building is profusely decorated with an assortment of motifs drawn from the full range of the Ottoman artistic repertoire. Flanking the arched basins on the block's smaller sides, for example, are niches with triangular *muqarnas*-decorated hoods, and running above the grilled sebil windows are friezes of *rūmī* arabesques and geometric interlace. The effect is almost one of conscious historicism, and indeed, decorating the top of the whole structure, just below the roofline, is a band of polychrome *çintamani* (wave-and-spot) tiles recalling classical Iznik ware, produced by the factory that had been established at Tekfur Sarayı in 1719 specifically for the purpose of making such revivalist ceramics.[82]

Countering this sense of traditionalism, however, is the overwhelmingly original way in which these forms have been utilized: they are brought together with a luxuriance—even elaborateness—that is very different from the more restrained aesthetic of the classical period, on a kind of building that did not exist before the seventeenth century. Even such seemingly revivalist elements as the tilework frieze turn out to be

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[81] For the meydan fountain as a category, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 76–109 (a revision of her earlier article "Splash and Spectacle").

[82] For the Tekfur Sarayı kilns, see Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik* (London: Alexandria Press in association with Thames and Hudson, 1989), 287–88; and Zeki Sönmez, "Tekfur Saray Ware Tiles," in *The Story of Ottoman Tiles and Ceramics*, ed. Ara Altun (Istanbul: Creative Yayıncılık ve Tanıtım Ltd., 1997), 215–35. To the authors of the *Uṣūl-i Miʿmārī-i ʿOs̱mānī*, Ahmed's fountain was proof that traditional Ottoman art was still alive in the capital in the early eighteenth century. Indeed, a full-scale replica of the structure was erected at the Vienna World Exposition, the occasion for which the *Uṣūl* was published. See Launay, *L'architecture ottomane*, 59 = Launay, *Uṣūl*, 42; Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" 258; and Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 106–7.

more than they seem, for actual sixteenth-century Iznik tiles seldom showcase *çintamani* to the extent that we see in the output of Tekfur Sarayı.[83]

Moreover, this innovatively combined panoply of established forms is interspersed with a variety of newer motifs that underscore the fountain's untraditional character. In addition to relief depictions of floral bouquets reminiscent of those painted in the Fruit Room, the scheme includes vegetal scrollwork that unmistakably exhibits knowledge of Western models. The panels beneath the corner window grilles, for example, are carved with leafy scrolls that, while compositionally related to the traditional *rūmī*s elsewhere on the fountain, are distinguished by their naturalism and plasticity (figs. 26–27). As before, the result is simultaneously familiar and strange—the Ottoman arabesque has been reconfigured in response to rather than abandoned in favor of the foreign model, so that the end result, for all its cosmopolitanism, still sits comfortably in its local context.

Indeed, few of those who saw the fountain in its own time could have been aware of its diverse sources of inspiration, though many would certainly have recognized its originality. Like Saʿdabad before it, the fountain quickly became a significant new social hub, combining a valuable public service with an impressive decorative program that must have been a talking point among the building's users.[84] This communal function would have been fully intended by those responsible for the fountain, whose scheme includes highly legible poetic inscriptions that praise the sultan for revitalizing the square in which the monument stands:

[83] Hans Theunissen, "Ottoman Tile Culture in the 18th Century: The Dutch Connection" (paper presented at the Netherlands Institute in Turkey, Istanbul, April 1, 2010).

[84] For the role of such fountains as social hubs, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 101–9.

He made this place flourish, establishing a new scheme,
He gladdened Husayn's soul, and bestowed freely the water of delight[85]

While the number of people able to read these inscriptions would have been limited, all would have been struck by the social and visual difference that the fountain made. What is remarkable about this transformative project—as with so much of the architecture of Ahmed's reign—is its relative economy of means. Though smaller than many classical monuments, the building more than compensates with its dense and splendid ornamentation, which produces a princely jewel-like effect. The merits of this approach—quicker and cheaper to implement—can be gauged by comparing the fountain with the much larger fifteenth-century Imperial Gate facing it (fig. 25).[86] Despite the sheer size and dignified sobriety of the gate, which would have been still more massive with its original upper story, it is the fountain that steals the show with its lively and diversified program. That the later structure so knowingly refers back to past Ottoman tradition only emphasizes this contrast: by creatively revitalizing an old stock of motifs and combining them with a whole new set, the fountain was able to take its place among the city's existing fabric while proclaiming itself the product of a changed and changing context.

[85] *Bu mevḳiʿi ābād edüp bir ṭarḥ-ı nev-īcād edüp / Rūḥ-ı Hüseyn'i şād edüp edti sebīl āb-ı ṣafā*. The reference to the Prophet's grandson Husayn relates to the latter's martyrdom at Karbala, before which he and his family were denied water by their enemies. For a full transliteration of the fountain's inscriptions, see Affan Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri (Resimleri ve Kitabeleri ile 1165 Çeşme ve Sebil)* (Istanbul: Artıtan Yayınevi, 1993), 80–85.

[86] For the gate, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 32–40.

The "Tulip Era" in Cross-Cultural Dialogue

As we have seen, an important part of what made such works as Ahmed's fountain pertinent to their time is their responsiveness to foreign models, and it is worth expanding a little on this point. Earlier Ottoman buildings too had exhibited a conscious familiarity with other traditions, Eastern as well as Western,[87] but the eighteenth century witnessed an undeniable intensification of cross-cultural—and especially European—citations. These Westernizing elements were less a symbol of growing interaction with Europe than they were an unsurprising result of it. In the increasingly porous and traversable world of the early eighteenth century, such amplified cross-cultural references were all but inevitable, and they went beyond the realm of architecture. A similar development can be seen in contemporary Ottoman painting, especially the works of the court painter Levni, whose illustrations of Vehbi's *Sūrnāme* have already been mentioned (figs. 7–8). With their stacked arrangement of figures, crisp delineation of forms, and bright colors and patterns, Levni's pictures have much in common with earlier Ottoman painting, and even the very fact of the *Sūrnāme* can be considered a conscious nod to the past, for the production of such profusely illustrated royal manuscripts had sharply declined in the seventeenth century. Yet Levni's art was no mere throwback. Like the period's architecture, it fruitfully absorbed ideas of Western derivation—among them modeling and atmospheric perspective—to create an updated mode of Ottoman painting that was

[87] I shall expand on this point in Chapter 4.

still recognizably canonical.[88] Levni would not have had to look far for suitable models: besides having access to Western prints being circulated in the empire, he might also have seen the works of the prolific Flemish-French painter Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, who had been working in Istanbul since 1699 under the patronage of numerous European residents and visitors (fig. 5).[89] The boom in trade, travel, and diplomacy that marked this period would have made it almost impossible for such contacts and borrowings not to take place.

And neither was this a one-way process. Engravings after Vanmour's paintings of Ottoman figures proved to be extremely popular and influential in Europe (fig. 28),[90] where artistic traditions were being similarly enlivened and redefined by the inclusion of elements adapted from foreign sources. Eastern textiles and ceramics were particularly inspirational in this regard, with Western responses ranging from blatantly imitative wares to more creative adaptations in painting and room decoration (figs. 29–30). Under such labels as *turquerie* and *chinoiserie*, this pre-colonial kind of Orientalism was an

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[88] For the combination of revivalist and innovative elements in Levni's output, see Serpil Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, trans. Melis H. Şeyhun (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2006), 266–72.

[89] For Vanmour's art, see Eveline Sint Nicolaas et al., *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003); Seth Gopin and Eveline Sint Nicolaas, *Jean Baptiste Vanmour: Peintre de la Sublime Porte, 1671–1737*, exh. cat. (Valenciennes: Musée des beaux-arts, 2009); and Olga Nefedova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671–1737)* (Milan: Skira 2009). Vanmour was one of numerous Western painters who traveled to and worked in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century: see Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1911).

[90] These engravings were first published in Paris in 1714–15 as the *Recueil de cent estampes reprisentant diffirentes nations du Levant*. The collection is also known as the *Recueil Ferriol* after the Marquis de Ferriol, a former French ambassador to Istanbul who commissioned the work. See Kristel Smentek, "Looking East: Jean-Étienne Liotard, the Turkish Painter," *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 93. Smentek's article concerns the Genevan painter Jean-Étienne Liotard, who lived and worked in the Ottoman Empire between 1738 and 1743, and who Smentek believes looked to the works of Ottoman painters such as Levni in developing his own distinctive style, characterized by its bright colors and planar spatial constructions.

enduring fashion throughout the century,[91] and though—as I shall discuss in subsequent chapters—the equation becomes less tenable in later years, Ottoman visual culture during Ahmed's reign can very aptly be compared to its no less cosmopolitan European counterparts.[92]

This cross-cultural dialogue resulted in a heightened degree of mutual intelligibility when Easterners and Westerners saw each other's art. In her description of the palace of the late grand vizier Damad Ali Pasha, which had recently been built near Üsküdar, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had no trouble evoking the edifice in terms that would make sense to her Italian correspondent, despite her initial claim to the contrary:

> I have a great mind to describe it to you, but I check that Inclination, knowing very well that I cannot give you, with my best description, such an Idea of it as I ought. It is situated on one of the most delightful parts of the Canal [i.e., the Bosphorus], with a fine wood on the side of a Hill behind it. The extent of it is prodigious; . . . and the whole adorn'd with a profusion of marble, gilding, and the most exquisite painting of fruit and flowers. The Windows are all sash'd with the finest cristaline Glass brought from England, and all the expensive Magnificence that you can suppose in a Palace founded by a vain young Luxurious Man with the wealth of a vast Empire at his Command. But no part of it pleas'd me better than the Apartments destin'd for the Bagnios. There are 2 exactly built in the same Manner, answering to Another; the Baths, fountains and pavements all of white marble, the roofes gilt, and the walls cover'd with Japan china; but adjoyning to them 2 Rooms, the upper part of which is divided into a sofa; in the 4 corners falls of water from the very Roofe, from shell to shell of white marble, to the lower end of the room, where it falls into a large Basin surrounded with pipes that throw up the water as high as the room.[93]

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[91] For European *turquerie*, see Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); and Perrin Stein, "Exoticism as Metaphor: *Turquerie* in Eighteenth-Century French Art" (PhD diss., New York University, 1997).

[92] This viewpoint is very eloquently outlined by Michael Levey (*World of Ottoman Art*, 112–20), who, though a non-specialist writing in a decidedly traditional vein, draws a perceptive comparison between Western *turquerie* and the art of Ahmed's reign.

[93] Montague, *Complete Letters*, 1:413–14 (to the Abbé Conti, May 19, 1718).

From the floral paintwork and English glass to the (supposedly) Far Eastern tiles and marble fountains, almost all of the elements recounted by Lady Mary would have struck a chord with European audiences, familiar with such features from their own palaces.[94] Certain parts of the Ottoman building were, to be sure, unusual by Western standards, as revealed by Lady Mary's fascination for the rooms preceding the baths, but the description overall is remarkable for what it tells us of shared transregional fashions in this period. It is significant that Lady Mary's visit to the palace took place in 1718, several years before Saʿdabad was built, and yet we already see a fully developed Ottoman taste for waterside residences ornamented with lively fountains, in this case of the interior variety. Damad Ali Pasha's palace, which has not survived, was only one instance of this taste (figs. 31–32). The innovations that would soon after follow at Saʿdabad were thus very much grounded in existing local practices, even if the specific forms they took were not, and this would explain why features like the canal and dragon-spouted water jet were so comfortably incorporated into their Ottoman setting. Indeed, to Lady Mary and other European observers, the Bosphorus and Golden Horn already constituted pavilion-lined canals, so that Saʿdabad, for all its novelty, can hardly have come as a very great surprise.

From the Ottoman perspective, too, European artistic traditions could seem strangely recognizable. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi Efendi may have wondered at many things he saw in France, but there was much that also struck him as familiar. Writing of the sixteenth-century Château of Chambord, he compares the overall form of the

[94] It is clear from her other letters that Lady Mary uses the term "Japan china" of all polychrome ceramics, regardless of their origin. The tiles she saw at Damad Ali Pasha's palace were most probably of Ottoman manufacture, though it is nonetheless significant that she felt able to "translate" them into terms that made sense to her and her readers.

prominently towered palace to a six-domed incense burner, and likens its carvings to the decorations of a table clock (figs. 33–35).[95] Most table clocks in the Ottoman Empire were brought from Europe, and even locally made pieces were based on these imported examples, which, together with other luxury goods, would have contributed in no small measure to exposing elite Ottomans to Western artistic forms.[96] Mehmed Efendi's recollection of these clocks only confirms the extent to which such items had already introduced him to the kinds of motifs he would later see in France. One should not, however, overlook the equally telling reference to an incense burner, a quintessentially Ottoman category of object. Though the resemblance between the palace's silhouette and a burner can only have been coincidental, it is significant that Mehmed Efendi displays the same facility as Lady Mary in portraying foreign works to his own audience, notwithstanding his analogous insistence on the indescribability of the things he sees. To return to his account of Chantilly, for instance, he is particularly struck by the palace's situation in the middle of a lake, observing that "looking out from the windows of the lower story evokes the air of a *yalı*,"[97] a kind of waterside mansion familiar from Istanbul (fig. 31). Once again, we see the ease with which an early-eighteenth-century traveler might apprehend and indeed translate the visual traditions of others. It is against the background of this robust dialogue that we must understand the cross-cultural transfers and reformulations that inform so much of the period's artistic production.

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[95] *Ṭarḥ-ı ḫ^{v}oş-nümāsı şeş ḳubbe buḫūrdāna müşābih ḫurdekārlıḳda pīştaḫta saʿātine beñzer.* See Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi* , 16, 96 (which reprints p. 24 of the 1866 Ottoman edition); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 88.

[96] For the Ottoman court's collection of European clocks, see Fanny Davis, "The Clocks and Watches of the Topkapı Palace Museum," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984): 41–54.

[97] *Taḥtānī ṭabaḳasında pençereden baḳıldıḳda bir yalı ġınāsını verir.* See Meḥmed Efendi, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi* , 51, 143 (which reprints p. 71 of the 1866 Ottoman edition); and Meḥmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidels*, 155.

The Changing Field of Architectural Practice

As well as being a time of notable stylistic developments, Ahmed's reign also saw significant changes in the field of architectural practice itself, at least with regard to projects of elite patronage in Istanbul. Whether these changes resulted from the contemporary shifts in taste or gave rise to them is difficult to determine, and it is safer and probably more accurate to imagine the two processes as being intertwined and mutually reinforcing. In any event, the changed professional landscape that emerged in the early 1700s was to obtain for the rest of the century, and would play an increasingly important role in facilitating the more radical architectural innovations of the years following Ahmed's reign.

The shifts in question began with the loosening of the traditional institutional framework of the *miʿmārān-ı ḫāṣṣa*, the corps of imperial architects.[98] Originating in post-conquest Istanbul, the corps was expanded and formalized during the mid-sixteenth century by Sinan, who was its chief architect, or *miʿmār aġa*, from 1539 until his death in 1588.[99] It was during this almost fifty-year tenure that Sinan transformed the corps into a well-organized and highly efficient state office, with his own role being somewhere between that of a creative director and minister of public works. While the corps had comprised seven or eight members just before Sinan's appointment, it rose to become an

[98] For the corps of imperial architects and the changes it underwent during its history, see Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı Teşkilâtında Hassa Mimarları," *Tarih Arastırmalan Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (1964): 157–202.

[99] For the corps of imperial architects during the sixteenth century, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 153–86 and Appendix 4 (563–65).

organization of some forty individuals by the seventeenth century.[100] Registers of the corps from both before and after this increase call its members by a number of professional designations besides that of architect proper (*miʿmār*), including carpenter (*neccār*), marble-worker (*mermerī*), and decorator (*naḳḳāş*). Though these terms indicate the range of specializations encompassed by the corps, they should not always be taken at face value, since they sometimes record an individual's training rather than his current status: the chief architect Mehmed Agha, for example, continued to be known as *sedefkār* (worker of mother-of-pearl) even while he was designing and overseeing the construction of the Sultanahmet Mosque.[101] Another consistent feature of the surviving records is the prominent number of non-Muslims, usually Ottoman Greeks and Armenians, who constituted about a third of the corps' membership for much of the seventeenth century.[102] This Christian contingent reflected—and in fact underrepresented—the important role played by non-Muslims more generally in Istanbul's construction industry, where Greeks and Armenians usually accounted for more than half the workforce.[103]

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[100] For the corps of imperial architects during the seventeenth century, see Fatma Afyoncu, *XVII. Yüzyılda Hassa Mimarları Ocağı* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001).

[101] For a contemporary biography of Mehmed Agha, including general details of early-seventeenth-century architectural practice, see Caʿfer Efendi, *Risāle-i miʿmāriyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, trans. and ed. Howard Crane (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1987).

[102] See Afyoncu, *XVII. Yüzyılda Hassa Mimarları*, 28–29 and Table 2 (37–39).

[103] Such was the case in the mid-sixteenth century during the construction of the Süleymaniye Mosque and in the mid-eighteenth during the construction of the Laleli Mosque (to be discussed in Chapter 4): see Ömer Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. (Ankara: [Türk Tarih Kurumu], 1972–79), 1:143–47; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 185; Stefanos Yerasimos, *Süleymaniye*, trans. Alp Tümertekin (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 71–79; and Zeynep Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi İnşaatının Arşiv Kaynakları (1173–1178/1760–1764)," (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1999), 75–109.

Little seems to have changed in the corps' post-classical organization and makeup until the last years of the seventeenth century.[104] Having remained basically consistent up to this point, the number of members listed in the yearly wage registers suddenly dropped in 1691 from thirty-four to eleven, after an investigation by the chief architect found the corps to be overstaffed.[105] Moreover, the group's religious composition underwent a dramatic shift with the cut, with only one Christian remaining. Even before this slash in membership, the non-Muslim element had fallen from nine out of thirty-four men in 1685–85 to two out of thirty-four in 1688–89. The corps remained in this much-reduced state until 1696–97, when it was joined by two additional Muslims.[106] It was also at this time that its members ceased receiving their salaries from the *küçük rūznāmçe* office, which remunerated state employees on a monthly basis, and instead began to be paid out of the *ḫarc-ı ḫāṣṣa*, the privy purse of the imperial household.[107] This switch was made in 1679 at the request of the chief architect, who perhaps felt the inner treasury was a surer source of income than the state.[108] After this date, the corps no longer appears in the annual *küçük rūznāmçe* registers, and nor can its members be found listed in the far less systematic records of the *ḫarc-ı ḫāṣṣa*. Tracing the group's history from this point onwards is thus extremely difficult.[109]

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[104] For post-classical developments in the architectural profession, see and Maurice Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman Architects and Master Builders," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 87–102.

[105] See Afyoncu, *XVII. Yüzyılda Hassa Mimarları*, 28 and Table 2 (37–39).

[106] Ibid., 29 and Table 2 (37–39).

[107] Ibid., 23, 32.

[108] This was suggested to me by Gülru Necipoğlu, and it ties in which some of the observations I shall make in the following paragraph of the main text.

[109] What little information we have (most of it pertaining to the periods bracketing the eighteenth century) is summarized in Cerasi, "Town and Architecture," 49–51; and Sinan Güler, "Onsekizinci Yüzyılda Hassa

The reasons for these drastic institutional changes remain obscure. One factor may have been the Austro-Ottoman war of 1683–97, which took a large toll on the empire and led to the signing of the unfavorable Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The activities of the architects' corps may well have declined against this background of conflict. Another possible factor was the court's long absence from Istanbul, where the corps continued to be based. Though the chief architect was in overall charge of building activities throughout the empire, often sending out his staff to oversee provincial projects, the reduction of patronage within Istanbul itself may have led—at least in part—to the cuts of 1691. But this cannot have been the whole story. A peculiar detail of the late-seventeenth-century wage registers is the sudden drop in the number of non-Muslim members even before the corps was more generally slashed. Given that Christian architects were, as we shall soon see, actually growing in prominence at this time, their rapid departure from the imperial corps suggests that we are dealing less with a significant decrease in architectural activity than with a transformation of the building profession itself. The imperial corps appears to have lost its preeminence as teams of builders outside the official institutional framework came to the fore in the years around 1700. Alongside this shift, the chief architect's creative input began to dwindle, and the post became increasingly nominal and bureaucratic.

These changes are vividly recorded in the Latin history of the Ottoman Empire written by Dimitrie Cantemir (r. 1693, 1710–11; d. 1723), the erudite Moldavian noble who was twice appointed Prince of Moldavia by the Ottomans before rebelling against

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Mimarlar Teşkilatı," in *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı* (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 145–50. The situation is very different for the court artisans (*ehl-i ḥiref*), whose members—the vast majority of them Muslim—are recorded in their own wage registers for the whole of the eighteenth century: see Bahattin Yaman, *Osmanlı Saray Sanatkârları: 18. Yüzyılda Ehl-i Hıref* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2008).

them and fleeing to Russia. From 1687 to 1710, between his two short reigns, Cantemir was effectively exiled in Istanbul, making his description of the city's architects an important first-hand account.[110] He begins by relating the duties of the chief architect, the *miʿmār aġa*, who emerges as something between a department head and inspector:

> His principal business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inspection of all common builders, usually called *Calfa* [*ḳalfa*] or *Chalife* [*ḫalīfe*]; and can punish or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they should into the street, if they make an oblique angle, or build too slightly, even though the owner should not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not so much as what a cubit is, nor understands the least thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the best architect, but to him that is most in favour with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleases, unless he has first bribed the *Mimar aga* with presents.[111]

Particularly interesting here is the ambiguous relationship suggested between the chief architect and those whom Cantemir calls "common builders." Derived from the Arabic *khalīfa*, or lieutenant (whence also the English "caliph"), the terms *ḫalīfe* and *ḳalfa* were synonyms, the latter being more usually applied to non-Muslims.[112] The sense of "assistant architect" implied by the words' etymology is somewhat misleading: though many *ḫalīfe*s and *ḳalfa*s did indeed work under the chief architect within the imperial

[110] See Dimitrie Cantemir, *The History of the Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, trans. N. Tindal, 2 parts (London, J. J., and P. Knapton, 1734–35). For the value of Cantemir's history, see Johann Strauss, "The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography in the Eighteenth Century," in "The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century," ed. Kate Fleet, special issue, *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 18, no. 1 (1999): 220–23.

[111] Cantemir, *Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, part 2, 294n32. A similar characterization of the chief architect would be made at the end of the eighteenth century by Mouradgea d'Ohsson (*Tableau general*, vol. 4, part 1, 235–36), another individual of Ottoman background writing for a Western readership. Mouradgea describes the architect as an "officier" charged with determining and inspecting, among other things, the heights of buildings and the overhangs of eaves. He adds that the post was vey lucrative for whoever held it, partly because of the bribes he would receive from those hoping to bend the rules.

[112] Such orthographic distinctions extended to other professions too. Whereas the title of a Muslim teacher or elder would be written according to its original Persian form as *ḫᵛāce*, that of his Christian counterpart would be written instead as *ḫoca*, a corrupt form representing the colloquial pronunciation of the word. For other examples of Ottoman terminological and orthographic prejudice, see Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 12–13.

corps, others appear to have operated at least semi-independently and would best be described as master builders in their own right. Cantemir indicates as much by describing the sometimes fraught relationship between these builders and the chief architect, who can hardly have been in full control of them if he saw fit to penalize their infringements.

Among this emergent group of "common builders," the non-Muslim *ḳalfa*s were especially important. Having noted the restrictions placed on Christian houses and churches, together with the bribes by which they might be overcome,[113] Cantemir goes on with a hint of irony to tell us of the Ottomans' reliance on Christians for their own major projects:

> But when they have any considerable edifice to build, as a *Jami* or a palace, they make use of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For these last are excellent workmen; whereas the *Turks* can seldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural stupidity: for, by their skill in the Mathematicks and other sciences, they plainly show, that they are, if not superior, yet at least no way inferior in understanding, to other nations; but the reason is, because the more noble *Turks*, or such as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, . . . though they apply themselves to the Mathematicks, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.[114]

The rise of these Greek and Armenian architects was a striking development (fig. 28). To be sure, non-Muslim builders and craftsmen had always played a large role, but they had previously done so in the context of the imperial corps. Their emergence as an enterprising and semi-autonomous force—contracted by the chief architect but not necessarily part of the state apparatus—marked a new phase, and one that would permanently affect the course of Ottoman architectural practice.[115] A useful comparison

[113] Cantemir, *Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, part 2, 294–95n32.

[114] Ibid., part 2, 295n32.

[115] For the rise of independent teams of architects in the provinces, see Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman Architects," 88–89.

might be drawn with the field of Ottoman painting, which in the early seventeenth century had diversified to include a large number of non-courtly workshops that were sometimes called upon to participate in royal commissions.[116]

Convincing evidence of the shift indicated by Cantemir can be found in sources from later years. Though we lack annual registers of the corps of imperial architects after its move from the *küçük rūznāmçe*, there are two important lists identifying the group's members dating from 1761–62 and 1801. The first of these names some thirty-five individuals of whom only one—an Armenian *ḳalfa*—is non-Muslim.[117] The second list—written shortly after the architects' corps was absorbed into the Imperial School of Engineering (*Mühendisḫāne-i Berrī-i Hümāyūn*), which had been established in 1794—comprises fifty-two men of whom none is Christian, though mention is made of a deceased Greek *ḳalfa* named Yani whose wages was to be transferred to one of the listed individuals.[118] The near absence of Christians from these two documents is remarkable given that they were written at a time when Greek and Armenian architects were overwhelmingly predominant. As the lists indicate, the corps had more than managed to recover in number after the cutbacks of 1691, reflecting the boom in construction that

[116] See Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 238.

[117] BOA, EV.HMH.d., 5356, fols. 7a–7b. This list—headed *Cemāʿat-i miʿmārān-ı ḫāṣṣa* (Corps of imperial architects)—appears in a register recording the wages of various groups, including mosque staff and royal physicians. It is difficult to quantify the exact number of men named under the heading, since some of the entries are crossed out and overwritten. Also hard to make out is the name of the lone Christian individual, though he is clearly identified as *veled-i Oban, ẕimmī*, "son of Oban, dhimmi," Oban being an Armenian name. He is further designated as *ḳalfa-i miʿmār*, "master builder." The list that follows that of the architects (fols. 7b–8a) records the members and wages of the *neccārān-ı ḫāṣṣa*, "imperial carpenters." Here, we find twenty-seven individuals of whom at least seven are Christian. As I have already mentioned and shall discuss again in subsequent chapters, terms such as "carpenter" were not infrequently used of architects, reflecting their original training, and so it is possible that some of the Christian *ḳalfa*s listed as carpenters in the register were in fact working as builders.

[118] BOA, C.Mrf., 5497, transliterated in Selman Can, "Osmanlı Mimarlık Teşkilatının XIX. Yüzyıldaki Değişim Süreci ve Eserleri ile Mimar Seyyid Abdülhalim Efendi" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2001), 135–40.

took place during the eighteenth century, but it was no longer the same sort of organization. Its almost exclusively Muslim members were now working alongside teams of Christian *ḳalfa*s who had become the driving force behind civil architecture, with the *miʿmār aġa* playing an administrative role as the nominal head of operations. The high degree of independence enjoyed by the Christian masters is demonstrated by the case of the Greek *ḳalfa* Kozma, who, having distinguished himself as a stoneworker at the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, successfully appealed in 1762 for permission to open his own timber shop in Tophane.[119] As for the imperial corps, the transfer of its members to the School of Engineering, where they trained alongside sappers and bombardiers, is further evidence of their diminishing share in civil construction projects.[120] These far-reaching changes were somewhat belied by the persistence of official discriminatory measures that insisted on a Muslim chief architect and denied the Christian builders the title of *miʿmār* proper.[121]

[119] BOA, C.EV., 194/9670.

[120] In 1831, the corps of imperial architects was abolished altogether and replaced by the Directorate of Imperial Buildings (*Ebniye-i Ḫāṣṣa Müdürlüğü*). For these institutional shifts, see Selman Can, *Bilinmeyen Aktörleri ve Olayları ile Son Dönem Osmanlı Mimarlığı* (Istanbul: Erzurum İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, 2010) (though the work has a decidedly nationalistic tone, underplaying the role of non-Muslim builders); Oya Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm* (Istanbul, Doğu Kitabevi, 2011); and Alyson Wharton, "The Identity of the Ottoman Architect in the Era of 'Westernization,'" in *Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Ermeni Mimarları = Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the Era of Westernization*, ed., Hasan Kuruyazıcı, exh. cat. (Istanbul: International Hrant Dink Foundation Publications, 2010), 19–33.

[121] This terminological prejudice did not seem to apply to the naval architects, who had their own hierarchy, for a sultanic decree dated 1728 refers to "Dimitri, the chief architect of my imperial navy" (*donanma-yı hümāyūnumda miʿmār başı olan Dimitri)*: see Ahmet Refik [Altınay], ed., *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100–1200)* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1930), 101–2, no. 131 (and n. 29 of the following chapter of this dissertation). The document orders that Dimitri—evidently a Greek—be excused from the tax normally levied on non-Muslim Ottomans. The open acknowledgment of a Greek chief naval architect suggests that Christians were overwhelmingly predominant in the field of Ottoman shipbuilding by this time. In civil architecture, however, non-Muslims continued to be denied the title of *miʿmār* until 1878, when Sarkis Balian—a member of the Ottoman-Armenian Balian family, discussed in the conclusion—was given the rank of chief state architect (*ser-miʿmār-i devlet*): see Wharton, "Identity of the Ottoman

To return to the early eighteenth century, it is difficult to determine the precise reasons for the *ḳalfa*s' swift ascendency at this time. Cantemir's explanation—that the mathematically-minded Muslims turned their nose up at manual arts—is certainly problematic and reductive, but it may reflect a distinctive prestige that the architectural profession had acquired among the Greek and Armenian communities, whose ability to participate in other spheres of Ottoman cultural life was limited. As well as benefitting from the rare opportunities the building trade offered them for professional advancement, non-Muslims were also able to distinguish themselves in ways that made a virtue of their dhimmi (non-Muslim subject) status. In particular, they benefitted from the unparalleled access they had to Europe through their communities' long-standing mercantile networks, using their knowledge of international trends to answer and even fuel the increasingly cosmopolitan tastes of the period, a point I shall expand upon in the next chapter. It was, in short, their entrepreneurial willingness to respond to the changing times with their own characteristic means that allowed non-Muslim architects to flourish as they did in the eighteenth century.[122]

A fascinating though neglected record of this new professional landscape is the report written in 1722 by the French royal architect Pierre Vigné de Vigny (d. 1772), who had been sent to Istanbul from Paris to draw up plans for the renovation of the Palais de

Architect," 23. Interestingly, usage in the sixteenth century appears to have been more relaxed, as a decree dated 1544 mentions a certain *Miʿmār Yani*: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 156.

[122] This entrepreneurial attitude is evident also in the fact that non-Muslim craftsmen often flourished in specializations where Muslims did not, and vice versa. For example, all of the carpenters documented as working on the Laleli Mosque were Christian, while all the blacksmiths were Muslim: see Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi," 98–100, 102. Such specialization was also the case during the sixteenth century: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 185.

France, the French embassy in Pera.[123] Originally erected in about 1600, the Palais had already been twice rebuilt, most recently in the 1670s after a devastating fire. Nevertheless, it had fallen into disrepair by 1721, when the ambassador Bonnac initiated plans to reconstruct it as an edifice that would, to quote Vigny, "befit the grandeur of our nation, which is the most highly regarded in this country."[124] The timing of such a project—more or less coincident with Saʿdabad—is in itself significant, further demonstrating the competitive and showy spirit that fueled architectural patronage in this period. Written in Istanbul nearly six months after his arrival there, Vigny's report is rich in information on the city's building trade, for despite the project's nationalistic aims, the architect realized he would have to utilize predominantly Ottoman workmanship. And because it concerns a project that was not sponsored by the state or a member of the court, Vigny's report is especially important for what it tells us of Ottoman architects and craftsmen working outside the official institutional framework, even if the construction would ultimately require the approval of the *miʿmār aġa*.

Vigny begins his report with a description of the Palais' existing state, supplementing his account with various views and diagrams of the complex (figs. 36–37). These images show that the grounds of the embassy were laid out in the formal French manner, with parterres and a jetted pool. The Palais itself, however, is both described and

[123] Vigny's report (CADN, 166PO/A/252) is entitled *Mémoire du Palais de France situé a Péra les Constantinople par le S[r]. Vigny architecte et dessinateur ordinaire des bâtiments du Roy a la fin de l'année 1722*. For secondary literature on Vigny's project, see Michel Gallet, "L'architect Pierre de Vigny, 1690–1772: ses constructions, son esthétique," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 82, no. 1258 (1973), 264–67; and Pierre Pinon, "Résidences de France dans l'Empire ottoman: notes sur l'architecture domestiques," in *Les Villes dans l'Empire ottoman : activités et sociétes*, ed. Daniel Panzac, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991–94), 2:63–70. For the Palais and its history, see Tuna Köprülü, *İstanbul'daki Yabancı Saraylar = Foreign Palaces of Istanbul*, trans. Betsy Göksel (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür A.Ş. Yayınları, 2007), 110–31; and Pinon, "Résidences de France," 60–76.

[124] *[A]yant bien consideré ces raisons et l'estat pitoyable en general du palais j['']ay pensé qu'il estoit necessaire de la rebatir entierement a neuf j['']ay tasché de luy donner un air qui reponde a la grandeur de nostre nation qui est la plus considerée en ce pays.* Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 8a.

depicted as an entirely Ottoman affair, an irregular wooden construction with hipped roofs, inset wooden domes, and projecting outdoor galleries. This indicates that Western models in landscaping and waterworks had already made their way to Istanbul by this period, even as building techniques remained local in nature. The designers of Saʿdabad need not, then, have looked far for such models when creating the palace's garden. As for the Palais de France, Vigny is highly critical of its Ottoman mode of timber construction, which he notes was used equally for "the houses of the Turks and Christians as well as the ambassadors' palaces,"[125] and whose results he likens to "the wooden cabins our peasants make in France."[126] He blames this "disorder" on "the extreme ignorance of the workers and the poor choice of materials,"[127] and he rejects the explanation that wooden buildings better withstand earthquakes, pointing out that Istanbul possessed numerous stone mansions, mosques, and minarets that had survived such tremors.[128]

Despite his damning assessment of the embassy as it stood, Vigny was a pragmatist, and he saw that to rebuild it without reference to its Ottoman context would have been impracticable:

> I planned to build the palace entirely of stone and [do] the rest according to the method of Paris, but the immense cost this would have entailed made me change my mind, besides which it would have required such a number of French workers that the difficulty and expense would have been alarming. The decorations will therefore be in the Turkish style, which is not so ridiculous as one might imagine

[125] *[V]oila comme touttes les maisons des turcs et des chretiens et les palais des ambassadeurs sont batis celuy cy est tout a fait conforme a cette description.* Ibid., fol. 6b.

[126] *[A]lors cela fait ressembler les maisons aux Cabanes que nos paysans font en france.* Ibid., fol. 5b. Western visitors to Istanbul often noted what they saw as the squalid nature of the city's wooden houses, contrasting them with the well-built stone public building: see, for example, Aaron Hill, *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in All Its Branches. . . .* (London: John Mayo, 1709), 130, 133, 136–37.

[127] *[C]e qui est cause de ce desordre est l'ignorance extreme des ouvriers et le choix de mauvais materiaux.* Vigny, *Mémoire*, 5a.

[128] Ibid., fol. 6a.

> in France. Their manner includes certain expeditious elements that are so beautiful and novel that our French people would not be disgusted by them, though they are few.[129]

As these latter sentences show, Vigny somewhat contradicts his earlier harshness by conceding the merits of certain local practices, and he is especially approving of Ottoman paneled ceilings, which he says "are infinitely more beautiful than those of France and produce an admirable effect."[130] Such features would be incorporated by Vigny into a sort of Franco-Turkish *mélange*, the effect of which might be gauged from his plans for the embassy's main space:

> It is on the *piano nobile* that these beautiful Turkish ceilings will be built, especially in the audience hall. The latter will be illuminated and situated in the Turkish manner, which prefers to have windows on all sides in order to give free passage to the air in times of heat. It will [also] be possible to place portraits there of all the kings of France, from Francis I on.[131]

Some of the techniques and motifs that Vigny planned to use capitalized on the cross-cultural legibility of artistic forms that we saw reflected earlier in Lady Mary's writings. He likens the Ottoman tilework intended for some of the embassy's walls to the faience cladding of the carp pool at Marly, adding that such decoration "produces a rather

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[129] *J[']avois en dessein de batir le palais en pierre entierement et le restant a la methode de Paris mais le prix immense qu'il en auroit cousté m[']a fait changer de sentiment outre qu'il auroit fallu avoir un nombre d[']ouvriers français dont l'embaras joint a la depense auroit efrayé les decorations seront donc a la turque qui ne sont pas si ridicules qu'on pourroit s[']imaginer en France ils ont dans leurs manieres de certaines parties expeditives si belles et si nouvelles que nos François ne s[']en degouteroient pas mais il y en a peu*. Ibid., fols. 8a–8b.

[130] *[T]ous les plafonds de turquie sont infiniment plus beaux qu'en France et font des effets admirables.* Ibid., fol. 8b. Indeed, Vigny's attitude towards Ottoman architecture grew increasingly warm over the years. In a piece he published in 1752, he criticizes those among his countrymen who considered their architecture superior to others', and he speaks very favorably of the Ottomans' building techniques, praising not only their ceilings, but also their kiosks and baths. See Pierre Vigné de Vigny, "Dissertation sur l'architecture," *Journal œconomique* (March 1752): 68–107, esp. 79, 99–101; and Smentek, "Looking East," 104.

[131] *[C]'est au bel estage que l'on fera ces beaux plafonds à la turque sur tout en la salle d'audience (10b-11a) elle sera eclairée et située a la maniere turque qui veulent avoir des croisées de touts costez afin de donner une issüe libre a l'air en temps chaud on y pourra metre les portraits de tous les roys de France a commencer depuis François premier*. Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 11a.

beautiful effect."[132] And after suggesting that fleurs-de-lis be placed "in as many places as possible," he notes that these flowers "already pass for ornaments even among the Turks; I have seen them on several of their vessels."[133]

Accompanying these verbal descriptions are plans, elevations, and cross-sections of the building envisaged by Vigny (figs. 38–39). Sure enough, these drawings essentially show a wooden Ottoman mansion with a few Europeanizing elements, notably a more regular floor plan and window arrangement, a main entrance set within a pedimented semi-vault, and fleurs-de-lis finials on the roofs. So "Turkish" was the overall result that Vigny was in fact compelled to revise his designs after returning to Paris and consulting the *Premier Architecte du Roi*, Robert de Cotte (d. 1735), who had dispatched him in the first place. The modified scheme retained the overall form of the original but now incorporated French-inspired stone-clad facades complete with rustication and sculpted pediments (fig. 40). In the event, and probably because of the enormous expense entailed by this new design, the project was never realized, and the Palais de France would remain in its seventeenth-century state until the 1770s.[134]

But to return to Vigny's scheme as it was originally conceived, his decision to build in a local manner was based largely on his dependence on a native workforce, about which he was as ambivalent as he was the Ottoman style itself:

> The architects of France may cry out against the arrangement and some of what I have explained, especially regarding the use of wood. It is certain that what I am putting forward here is based on my own experience. It was necessary for me to undertake a new apprenticeship. I consulted not only my own eyes but also certain

[132] *[J']ay veu en quelques serails les murs des quelques chambers ornes ainsy de carreaux de fayence comme le basin des carpes a Marly cela fait un assez bel effet.* Ibid.

[133] *[O]n songera a metre des fleurs de lis en le plus d[']endroits que l'on pourra ils ont deja passé pour ornements chez les turcs meme j'en ay veu sur plusieurs de leurs vaisseaux.* Ibid, fol. 14a.

[134] See Pinon, "Résidences de France," 69–73.

> architects of my acquaintance who, despite their ignorance in many matters, still possessed as much knowledge in some others, from which I profited. This was not without trouble: the difficulty of their language, which was more unknown to me than their manner of building (for they have a jargon in their art just as we do in ours), was a great obstacle.[135]

While acknowledging the lessons he had learned from his Ottoman counterparts, Vigny believed that they too stood to be educated, and to this end, he planned to nominate eight French craftsmen to join them. He describes the intended outcome of this collaboration thus:

> [The Ottoman craftsmen] seemed to me a little docile, and several of them demonstrated to me that they would not be afraid to work in the French manner if they had someone guiding them; and I am certain that interspersing some French techniques among their works will not produce a bad effect. It is true that it will not have the same perfection as our town mansions do in France, but it will also cost much less, and it will be something more perfect than one [currently] sees in Constantinople.[136]

While Vigny's attitude here is indisputably patronizing, it is significant that he saw such a collaboration as viable at all, and the information contained in his account all in all conveys the lively nature of the Ottoman architectural profession. He acknowledges the existence of accomplished and informed architects as well as of capable and willing craftsmen, even if he considers them to be in the minority;[137] and he makes clear that

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[135] *[L]es architectes de France pourront se recrier contre la disposition et quelque chose que j[']explique sur tout dans le detail des bois il est certain que ce que j[']avance icy est fondé sur ma propre experience il a fallu que j'ay fait un apprentissage nouveau je n'ay non seulement consulté mes yeux mais encor quelques architectes que je cognois qui malgré leurs ignorances ne laissent pas d'avoir de certaines cognoissances aussy seures dont j[']ay fait mon profit ce n[']a pas esté sans peine la difficulté de leurs langages qui m'estois plus incognu que leurs manière de bastir (car ils ont un jargon dans leur art comme nous en avons dans le nostre) a esté un grand obstacle.* Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 11b.

[136] *[C]es gens la m[']ont paru un peu dociles et plusieurs m'ont tesmoigné qu[']ils ne seroient pas fasché de travailler a la françoise pourveu qu'ils eussent quelqu'un qui les guidast et je suit certain qu'en entremeslant quelques façons francoises parmy leurs ouvrages cela ne fera pas un mauvais effect il est vray que cela n'aura pas la meme perfection que nos hôtels ont en France mais cela coutera aussy beaucoup moins et ce sera quelques chose de plus parfait que l'on ne voit a Constople.* Ibid., fol. 8b.

[137] The English writer Aaron Hill (*Full and Just Account*, 89), who was in Istanbul between 1700 and 1702, is similarly ambivalent in his assessment of Ottoman craftsmanship: "*Carpenters*, *Joyners*, *Masons*, *Smiths*,

these individuals were working in a well-defined industry that had its own professional jargon and that flourished outside the state system.

The Ottoman builders with whom Vigny dealt included Muslims as well as Christians, as he indicates when explaining why he would need French carpenters skilled in the use of cost-cutting machinery: “The Armenians and Turks do everything with elbow grease and scaffolding; they are entirely ignorant of machines.”[138] This reference to Turks and Armenians mirrors Cantemir’s mention of (Muslim) *ḫalīfe*s and (Christian) *ḳalfa*s, with “Armenian” here being a shorthand for a group that also included a large number of Greeks. Vigny uses the same designations in what is perhaps the most important of all the passages in his report, which follows his initial criticism of Turkish timber construction:

> I forgive the Turks for building in a manner so light that they cannot even be sure of transmitting their houses to their heirs, for it is an almost unpardonable crime to appear rich. But unfortunately, all the foreigners and Christians inhabiting that country [also] conform to this manner, and it has become customary; and I believe that they will never change given their natural indolence, which robs them of an inclination for the arts; and if not for the Armenians who are many in number, and if not for the presence of some renegades from Europe, I believe that it would be even worse.[139]

and other *Artisans* of *Turkey*, tho’ they are extreamly skill’d in their respective Trades, *according to the Customs of the Nations they inhabit*, cannot boast that *admirable Genius* which at present shines in the conspicuous Improvements of our *Europeans Arts*, but labour hardly under the oppressive weights of Ignorance and Tyranny.”

[138] *[L]es armeniens et turcs font tout a force de bras et d[’]echafauds ils ignorant entierement la mechanique.* Vigny, *Mémoire*, fol. 12a.

[139] *Je pardonne aux turcs de batir d’une maniere si legère d[’]autant qu’ils ne sont pas seurs de transmetre a leurs heritiers leurs maisons estant un crime presque impardonable de passer pour riche mais malheureusement tous les estrangers et les chretiens habitans dans ce pays-la se conforment a cette maniere et cela a passé en usage et je croy qu’ils ne changeront jamais veu leur mollesse naturelle qui leurs oste l’inclination pour les arts et si ce n’estoit les armeniens qui sont en grand nombre et si ce n[’]estoit qu’il y a quelques renegats d’Europe je croy que ce seroit encore pis.* Ibid., fol. 6a.

The distinction that Vigny here draws between Muslim incompetence and (relative) Christian skill was a hackneyed assertion among Europeans, echoing the sentiments of Cantemir, but his reference to renegades is new and noteworthy. Given that he does not mention these individuals again, it would be tempting to dismiss the significance of Vigny's remark if not for the existence of an unpublished document I found in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul. This document—a petition to the sultan dated 1710—was evidently written by an Ottoman scribe on behalf of the unnamed individual it concerns; its content is extraordinary enough to warrant being quoted in full:

> My Emperor!
>
> May God, Exalted and Almighty, render immaculate the imperial being of His Most Excellent and Noble Majesty my Sovereign, Amen.
>
> The petition of his slave is this: That this slave of his is of the people of the land of France, and being that I have perfect proficiency in the art of architecture [*ṣanʿat-ı miʿmārīde kemāl-i mahāretim olup*], I have the ability to build such great buildings as fortresses, great mosques, and great bridges, as well as the proficiency to create and produce such Western arts [*ṣanāyiʿ-i ġarbiyye*] as that of skillfully bringing my Noble Sovereign's galleons ashore and lowering them back into the water when necessary—arts that would, with the help of God Almighty, keep each of our Noble Emperor's galleons from rotting for a hundred years; because of which I have come before the Imperial Stirrup with the desire to be taken into its service, and to be honored before it with the honor of Islam, under the guidance of my countryman and his [the sultan's] slave, the doctor Mehmed. So that, after [my conversion to] Islam, I might be taken into my Noble Sovereign's exalted service and not be in need of anyone [else], and so that this slave of his, following his being honored with Islam, might join the ranks of the slaves of the Imperial Stirrup and be spared hardship, I have presented my petition to his Imperial Stirrup.
>
> The decision is my Gracious Sovereign's to make.[140]

[140] *Pādişāhım! Ḥaḳḳ sübḥānehü ve teʿālā şevketlü ve ʿaẓametlü Pādişāhım Ḥażretleriniñ vücūd-i hümāyūnların ḫaṭāsız eyleye, āmīn. ʿArżuḥāl-i ḳulları budur ki bu ḳulları Fransa memleketi ahālīsinden olup ve ṣanʿat-ı miʿmārīde kemāl-i mahāretim olup ḳalʿe yapmaḳ gibi ʿaẓīm cāmiʿler yapmaḳ gibi ʿaẓīm köprüler yapmaḳ gibi ebniye-i ʿaẓīme bināsında ḳudretim olup ve şevletlü pādişāhımıñ ḳalyonlarını ṣanʿat ile ḳuruya alup vaḳt-i ḥācetde tekrār ṣuya endirmek gibi ki bi-ʿavni'llāhi teʿālā şevketlü ḫünkārımızıñ ḳalyonları yüzer seneye dek çürümekden emīn olmaḳ üzere ṣanāyiʿ-i ġarbiyye īcād u taṣnīfinde mahāretim olmaġla rikāb-ı hümāyūnlarında istiḫdām olunmaḳ ārzūsuyla ve hemşehrimiz Ḥakīm Meḥemmed ḳullarınıñ delāletiyle rikāb-ı hümāyūnda şeref-i İslām ile müşerref olmaḳ içün rikāb-ı hümāyuna geldim. Ancaḳ baʿde'l-İslām bu ḳulların şevketlü Pādişāhımıñ ḫidemāt-ı ʿaliyyelerinde istiḫdām olunup kimseye muḥtāc*

This was not the first time a Western artist hoped to build for an Ottoman sultan—witness, for example, Leonardo da Vinci's (d. 1519) famous and unfulfilled project to construct a bridge over the Golden Horn for Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512).[141] Nor would it have been unprecedented for a European architect to be accepted into the Ottoman state's service, as demonstrated by the case of the Portuguese captain Francesco, who was active during the 1530s as a naval architect in the imperial corps.[142] Indeed, the later eighteenth century would see a large number of Europeans—in particular Britons, Frenchmen, and Swedes—serve as ship-builders, which is interesting in light of the emphasis placed by our petitioner on his skills in naval engineering.[143] There is, however, little evidence for the involvement of Western architects in the creation of mosques and palaces until the very end of the eighteenth century, even after which it would remain unusual. And there is still less documentation of European converts in this role, though converts from among the empire's own Christian communities—most obviously Sinan—are, of course, another matter. In short, our petitioner represents an unusual phenomenon by the standards of his time, and one that may help contextualize some of the novel cross-cultural elements that were appearing in Ottoman architecture in this very period. Whether or not he was accepted into imperial service is unknown—for one thing, his adoption of a Muslim name would have made him all but untraceable as a Frenchman in subsequent records. Based

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olmayup İslām ile müşerref oldukdan soñra żarūret çekmemek içün bu ḳulların rikāb-ı hümāyūnları ḳulları zümresinden olmaḳ içün rikāb-ı hümāyūnlarına ʿarzuḥāl eylemişimdir. Bāḳī fermān ʿadāletlü Pādişāhımıñdır. BOA, AE.SAMD.III, 99/9751.

[141] See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 88.

[142] Ibid., 155.

[143] The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul has scores of documents relating to these foreign shipbuilders, particularly from the latter part of the eighteenth century. Describing the construction of Ottoman galleys earlier in the century, La Mottraye (*Travels*, 1:168) states, "they are pretty well finish'd, being the Workmanship of some *Renegadoes*, who are better Carvers and Builders of Vessels than the Native *Turks*." Also see n. 121 above.

on Vigny's largely reliable if prejudicial account, however, it seems safe to say that such renegade architects could be found working at least outside the institutional framework of the imperial corps.

Nevertheless—and in the absence of further evidence—the idea of European involvement in the Ottoman architectural profession during the eighteenth century should not be exaggerated. The converts exemplified by our petitioner and mentioned by Vigny can never have been a significant group, for they are not referred to in other Ottoman or European sources, which, as I shall discuss, rather confirm the predominance of the non-Muslim Ottoman *ḳalfa*s. Even Vigny says nothing to suggest that these renegade architects could be found in any sizeable number—if they could, he would presumably have suggested recruiting them instead of the Ottoman workers he so condescendingly criticizes.

But if the petition has little overall impact on how we reconstruct the professional landscape of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, it is far more significant for what it implies of a new cross-cultural awareness. The reference it makes to "Western arts" (*ṣanāyiʿ-i ġarbiyye*)—the word "art" here being used in its older technical sense—is a striking departure from such traditional Ottoman designations as "Frankish" (*Frengī*) and "Nazarene" (*Naṣrānī*, i.e., Christian) for anything European. To be sure, the locution very probably reflects the original words of the French architect, but the document as a whole is couched in a language typical of Ottoman petitions, and its scribe could just as well have used more conventional terminology to express the same idea. What this suggests is that the Ottomans' increasing knowledge of European art forms brought with it a certain consciousness of how these art forms were viewed in their own context. The man who

translated the French architect's words clearly believed that a phrase like "Western arts"—a Western name for a Western thing—would be fully acceptable and comprehensible as a Turkish calque, even when addressing the sultan himself. As we shall see, later Ottoman architectural practice would only confirm the ready intelligibility of these "Western arts" to Ottoman artists and their patrons.

The End of an Era? The Legacy of Ahmed I's Reign

It has been frequently written that Ahmed III's fall in 1730 was marked by the wholesale destruction of Saʿdabad, the frenzied act of a population seething at the excesses of the court. In fact, it was the 120 or so elite residences located near the palace that were razed, following a decree by Ahmed's nephew and successor Mahmud I; Saʿdabad itself was left undamaged, and would remain standing until 1809.[144] Depictions of the palace and its grounds from the second half of the eighteenth century show what continued to be a flourishing site of leisure against the backdrop of a royal complex, complete with its famed serpent jet (fig. 11). Indeed, far from being an object of popular condemnation, Saʿdabad was, as I have discussed, an important and successful part of the sultan's image-making apparatus, even if the empire's worsening financial circumstances did lead

[144] A new palace was erected on the site at this date. See Schäferes, "Sa'dâbâd," 164–68. A contemporary witness to the 1730 rebellion and its effects on Saʿdabad was the official court chronicler Mustafa Sami Efendi, whose history was published in 1768 together with that of his two successors under the title *Tārīḫ-i Sāmī ve Şākir ve Ṣubḥī*, available in a transliterated critical edition as Muṣṭafā Sāmī Efendi, Ḥüseyin Şākir Efendi, and Ṣubḥī Meḥmed Efendi, *Vakʿanüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi Subhî Tarihi, Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte (İnceleme ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin)*, ed. Mesut Aydıner (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007). The work, which covers the reign of Mahmud I up to 1744, is principally associated with Subhi Mehmed Efendi, who, as well as writing the greater part of it, edited and introduced his two predecessors' contributions. For Sami's account of the partial destruction of Saʿdabad, see Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 38–39.

to widespread frustration with İbrahim Pasha's regime. That the rebels of the Patrona Halil Revolt focused their anger on Saʿdabad's satellites rather than the palace proper shows that it was against administrative mismanagement that they were reacting, not imperial spectacle per se.

However, the association of Ahmed's reign with moral decrepitude did not take long to emerge, and with it came a certain conflation of the period's architectural patronage and its perceived extravagances. Writing in the late eighteenth century on the construction of Saʿdabad, the unofficial—and mostly uncomplimentary—historian Şemʿdanizade Süleyman Efendi (d. 1779) accuses İbrahim Pasha of having "permitted the spread of vice and debauchery in the pavilions that were being built," and as an example, he describes the vizier's repeated banter with convict laborers working at the site about their flirtations with Jewish women there.[145] Such viewpoints clearly reflect the biases of a later commentator more than they do the realities of the time in question, but it is nonetheless significant that the material legacy of Ahmed's reign offered little that might counteract this impression of frivolity. The lavish patronage of what came to be known as the Tulip Era centered on pavilions and festivities, and though these were serious and effective endeavors in their own day, it is perhaps not surprising that they would later be appropriated into a narrative that represented the period as indecorous.

Notable in this regard is the fact that Ahmed's sultanate failed to endow the reinvested capital with a new mosque erected in his name. To be sure, the comprehensive building campaign that accompanied his rule certainly included mosques and other religious foundations, but none of these was a mosque complex pertaining to the sultan

[145] *Saʿdābād'ı ābādān etmekle bināʾ olunan köşklerde olan iʿlān-ı fisḳ u fücūra ruḫṣat verdi.* See Şemʿdānī-zāde Süleymān Efendi, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi: Mür'i't-Tevârih*, ed. M. Münir Aktepe, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası, 1976–80), 1:4.

himself.[146] Perhaps it is partly for this reason that the architectural idiom developed under Ahmed would not long outlast him before being replaced by an altogether newer approach—one that revived the sultanic mosque as a type while embracing even more radically the potential of stylistic change. The reappearance of the imperial mosque in this fresh form would prove a far more enduring statement of Istanbul's roused imperial status than the architecture of the so-called Tulip Era.

[146] The religious foundations built under (though not by) Ahmed include the small but exquisite madrasa complex of the grand vizier Çorlulu Ali Pasha, located on the Divanyolu and completed in 1708–09, and the Yeni Valide Mosque at Üsküdar, constructed between 1708 and 1710 by Ahmed's mother, Emetullah Rabiʿa Gülnuş Sultan. For these buildings, see Ayvansarāyī Ḥüseyin Efendi (enlarged by ʿAlī Ṣāṭı), *The Garden of the Mosques: Hafiz Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî's Guide to the Muslim Monuments of Ottoman Istanbul*, trans. and ed. Howard Crane (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000), 86–87, 493–94; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 365–66; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 384–86, 389; and Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2001), 1:379–91. Most of the literature—including Ayvansarayi's compendium, which was written between 1768 and 1781 before being expanded in the nineteenth century—describes the Yeni Valide Mosque as having been built by Ahmed in his mother's name. The chronicler Raşid, however, states that the mosque was founded by the queen mother herself, and the building's own inscriptions likewise single her out as the patroness: see Rāşid, *Tārīḫ*, 3:252–53; and Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:380–82, 387–88. The misattribution to Ahmed seems to have developed in the light of later eighteenth-century mosques that were indeed built by the sultans for their mothers (as I shall discuss in the chapters to follow).

CHAPTER 2

PLEASING TIMES AND THEIR "PLEASING NEW STYLE": THE ADVENT OF THE OTTOMAN BAROQUE

Mahmud I cut an unlikely figure as sultan when he ascended the throne on September 20, 1730 (fig. 41). A hunchback in his thirties, he owed his unexpected rise to the violent revolt that had brought down his uncle, Ahmed III. The mutineers intended to make a puppet of the new sultan, and their leader, Patrona Halil, even rode beside him as he went to Eyüp to be girded as ruler. But Mahmud would soon emerge a far more capable leader than anticipated.[1] Backed by his government and by a population weary of the rebels' unruly behavior, the sultan ordered the execution of Halil and his men before suppressing an ensuing janissary rebellion in 1731. Istanbul's merchants and craftsmen, many of them Christians and Jews, were particularly supportive of Mahmud, anxious as they were for a more stable trading climate, and encouraged also by the sultan's promise to rescind the taxes introduced in the previous reign. Lord Kinnoull (d. 1758), the British ambassador to the Porte, remarks in a contemporary dispatch that the rebels "have made the Grand Signor stronger by showing the Janissaries that the merchants and tradesmen of the city will always be ready to join his favor unless he should make himself hated by some new

[1] For the events of this Mahmud's reign, see Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*; Süleymān ʿİzzī, *Tārīḫ-i ʿİzzī* (Istanbul: Dārü'ṭ-ṭıbāʿati'l-Maʿmūre, 1199 [1784–85]); Aḥmed Vāṣıf Efendi, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār ve ḥaḳaʾiḳü'l-aḫbār*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Darü'ṭ-ṭıbāʿati'l-ʿĀmire, 1219 [1804–05]), 1:1–42; Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:1–178; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 7:391–618 and 8:1–174; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 240–46; and Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 355–71.

impression."[2] As if to bear out Kinnoull's interpretation, a rebellion begun nine years later as a result of food shortages mobilized little popular support, and even the janissaries joined in swiftly crushing it.[3]

The success with which Mahmud established his authority in the capital was reflected also in his international dealings. War with Iran continued intermittently until 1746, and though the conflict had no clear victor, the Ottomans came out of it relatively well, holding on to the hotly contested city of Baghdad. The situation on the western front, meanwhile, was notably more favorable for the empire. A Russian attack on the Ottoman Black Sea port of Azov led to war breaking out in 1736, with the Habsburgs joining the fray a year later in support of their Russian allies. Despite facing the combined armies of two imperial foes, the Ottomans gained the upper hand. In September of 1739, the Habsburgs were forced to sign the Treaty of Belgrade, whereby the Ottomans recovered many of the territories they had lost with Passarowitz, including Serbia and its symbolically charged capital Belgrade. The Habsburg surrender compelled the Russians to sign their own treaty with the Ottomans at Niš a few months later, and though the agreement ceded Azov, it secured the Ottoman Empire against further Russian expansion. These treaties initiated a peace with Europe that would last until 1768, the longest in Ottoman history.[4]

Mahmud's achievements both at home and abroad have received surprisingly little recognition in the historiography, but were widely acknowledged in the sultan's own

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[2] Quoted in Robert W. Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20, no. 2 (May 1977): 192.

[3] See Olson, "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf."

[4] See Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 102–28; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 243–47.

time. The court chronicler Subhi (d. 1769) celebrated Mahmud's reign as nothing less than an Ottoman renaissance, writing in his introduction that the sultan's numerous conquests meant that

> the entire human race came to enjoy tranquility and security under his just and equitable protection, and all—high and low—went to sleep upon the bed of repose in his ample shadow of clemency and benevolence.[5]

Noting that even the less glorious reigns of Mahmud's predecessors had been amply documented, Subhi declares his intention to write a history akin to that of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), thus identifying Mahmud with his famed sixteenth-century ancestor.[6] Much of Subhi's adulation must, of course, be attributed to the official nature of his chronicle, but other writers under no obligation to flatter were likewise deeply impressed by Mahmud's rule. Sir James Porter (d. 1776), one of Kinnoull's successors as British ambassador, described the sultan as "so humane & good a prince that none but the headless wretched, unthinking crowd can wish him ill."[7] When, in 1752, the unpopular and powerful chief black eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha (not to be confused with his predecessor Hacı Beşir Agha) fell from power, Porter wrote admiringly of Mahmud's handling of the affair, the like of which had brought down earlier sultans:

> However, the whole was concluded in the beginning of August, with the greatest quiet, & Tranquility: The Grand Signior, having entertained, a numerous Populace

[5] *ʿĀmme-i enām kenef-i maʿdelet ü viḳāyetlerinde āsūde-nişīn-i emn ü rāḥat ve kāffe-i ḫavāṣṣ u ʿavām ẓıll-i vārif-i reʾfet ü ʿināyetlerinde ġunūde-i pister-i istirāḥat oldurar*. Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 7.

[6] Ibid., 12.

[7] Undated dispatch from the years 1749–50, TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 307a. Porter held the post of ambassador to the Porte between 1747 and 1762 and was generally sympathetic towards the Ottomans, an attitude for which he was criticized when he published a not unfavorable account of the empire's government and customs in 1768. In his introduction to the second edition, he defends his approach by stating that he "never asserted the Turkish government to be perfect, or totally exempt from despotism, but to be much more perfect and regular, as well as less despotic, than most writers have represented it: in a word, to be much superior with regard to the regularity of its form, and the justness of its administration, as well as much less despotic, than the government of some Christian states. Sir James Porter, *Observations on the Religion, Law, Government, and Manners of the Turks*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Nourse, 1771), xiv.

> with his usual Presence, Various Sports, & Magnificent Fireworks; Without any sign of disgust, or uneasiness on his, nor Rebellion on their side.
>
> This was enough, to convince the Publick, that there was no more, any Reason, to fear a Sudden Revolution in respect to the Grand Signior; Who since that Time, has appeared more Firm, and Secure on his Throne, than He ever was before; Governing alone; making the Porte, as formerly, the sole canal of his Power; and exerting Himself, with so much superiority and activity of Mind, as to shew himself a Prince of Resolution & Ability.[8]

It is interesting to note again the role of public spectacle in maintaining the sultan's legitimacy in the eyes of his subjects. So focused is the scholarship on the festivities of the preceding "Tulip Era" that we are apt to forget that Mahmud's reign, though lacking its own period label, was even more strongly characterized by a culture of peace and diplomacy. Having earned the title of ghazi with his martial victories, the sultan avoided any further conflict with the West, instead preferring to cultivate good relations even with his traditional enemies. Porter's predecessor, Sir Everard Fawkener (d. 1758), saw the development as welcome and unprecedented, remarking on the existence of "a greater connexion than ever between the Porte & the several Powers of Christendom,"[9] and Porter himself observed that "[t]here was never a time . . . in which the Grand Signior, was more firmly resolv'd to live in quiet, and friendship, with all his neighbours than the present."[10] The French—despite having mediated the two treaties of 1739—favored a more aggressive stance towards the Habsburgs and Russians and were

[8] Account abstracted from dispatches sent by Porter in 1752, TNA, SP 97/56, fols. 27b–28a.

[9] Report dated February 6, 1745/45, TNA, SP 97/56, Fol. 62a.

[10] Dispatch dated March 25, 1749, TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 20a.

thus less pleased with this new Ottoman pacifism, considering Mahmud too preoccupied with his taste for entertainment and luxury.[11]

Nevertheless, France remained the empire's chief ally, and exchanges between the two powers intensified in these years. In 1741, Mahmud sent Mehmed Saʿid Pasha to Paris as Ottoman ambassador, the same post that had been held by his father, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, some twenty years earlier.[12] French residents within the empire further strengthened Franco-Ottoman ties. The enterprising manufacturer and merchant Jean-Claude Flachat (d. 1775) lived in Istanbul between 1740 and 1755, gaining the confidence of several influential members of the court, particularly the eunuchs, and eventually being appointed *bezirgan başı*, or chief merchant to the sultan.[13] Another important Frenchman in Ottoman service was Claude Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval (d. 1747), an aristocratic French army officer who arrived in Istanbul in 1729, converted to Islam, and took the name Ahmed (fig. 42).[14] While retaining ties with France despite his renegade status, Bonneval was made a pasha and appointed to oversee reforms to the corps of bombardiers, a project that included the establishment of a military technical school (*hendesẖāne*) in Üsküdar in 1734. This, the first Ottoman reform to draw on

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[11] For example, see CADN, 166PO/A/19, pp. 176–82, 341–46; CADN, 166PO/A/28, pp. 65–67; and CADN, 166PO/A/42, p. 378. The last of these documents describes Mahmud's penchant for luxury as a departure from the mores of earlier sultans.

[12] For Mehmed Saʿid's embassy, see John Whitehead, "Royal Riches and Parisian Trinkets: The Embassy of Saïd Mehmet Pacha to France in 1741–42 and Its Exchange of Gifts," *The Court Historian* 14, no. 2 (December 2009): 161–75.

[13] For Flachat's own account of his time in the empire, see Jean-Claude Flachat, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales*, 2 vols. (Lyon: Chez Jacquenod pere & Rusand, 1766). There is very little secondary literature on Flachat; for a brief overview of his time in Istanbul, see Jane Hathaway, "Jean-Claude Flachat and the Chief Black Eunuch: Observations of a French Merchant at the Sultan's Court," in *Fantasy or Ethnography? Irony and Collusion in Subaltern Representation*, eds., Sabra J. Webber and Margaret R. Lynd, Papers in Comparative Studies 8 (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1996), 45–50.

[14] For Bonneval's life and career, see Albert Vandal, *Le pacha Bonneval* (Paris: Cercle Saint-Simon, 1885).

Western expertise, occurred against the backdrop of a treatise written and published in 1732 by İbrahim Müteferrika, who explores the reasons for the empire's recent military losses and suggests a course of action like that undertaken by Peter the Great of Russia.[15] Far from being indicative of interminable decline, the measures taken to improve the state of the Ottoman army show Mahmud's reign to have been a period of pragmatic and resourceful dialogue with the West. That the empire went on to do so well in the wars that followed is proof enough of the strategy's success.

Besides his accomplishments in the political sphere, Mahmud had a deep and sustained interest in the arts, particularly architecture. He enthusiastically continued the refurbishment of Istanbul begun by Ahmed III, and within a matter of years set the city on a new architectural course that sought to outshine anything his predecessor had achieved.

The Great Builder Emerges: The Establishment of Mahmud I's Architectural Patronage

Mahmud started his reign as he meant to go on, almost immediately putting his architectural stamp on Istanbul. His efforts began in 1731 with the sponsorship of a major project designed to provide Galata with much-needed clean water.[16] The sultan was

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[15] For a modern Turkish rendering of the treatise, see İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa, *Milletlerin Düzeninde İlmî Usüller (Usûl'ül - Hikem Fî Nizâm'il - Ümem)*, trans. Ömer Okutan (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990).

[16] See Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 166–69; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, 502–3; and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 77–78.

fortunate enough to inherit the project in its early stages from his predecessor, whose initiative he was able to build on and make his own.[17] At the heart of the enterprise was the construction of a major new hydraulic system—including the monumental Bahçeköy Aqueduct—to bring water from the Belgrade Forest, but for the urbanites benefitting from it, the scheme's most obvious architectural products were the various new fountains built throughout the district of Galata. Numbering over forty, these fountains were sponsored by all levels of the Ottoman elite, and ranged from fairly small wall installations to large-scale freestanding buildings. The three grandest examples were of the latter type, being the meydan fountains of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa at Kabataş, of the *vālide sulṭān* (queen mother) at Azapkapı, and of Mahmud himself at Tophane (figs. 43–47).[18]

It is important to note that although the sultan personally funded only one of the fountains, he was effectively able to claim overall responsibility for them all, for it was his project that had enabled—indeed demanded—the involvement of other patrons in the first place.[19] The point is made visually by the style of the works, all of which utilize a common stock of "Tulip Era" motifs, with Mahmud's own fountain—a massive square block entirely clad in carved marble and surmounted by a broad-eaved dome—far outshining the others in terms of its scale and magnificence (figs. 45–47); it is bigger and

[17] See Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6.

[18] For these fountains, see Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 93–109.

[19] This situation recalls what Mehmed II's Greek biographer, Kritovoulos, tells us of the sultan's orders to his grandees following his conquest of Constantinople: "Then he called together all the wealthy and most able persons into his presence, those who enjoyed great wealth and prosperity, and ordered them to build grand houses in the City, wherever each chose to build. He also commanded them to build baths and inns and markets, and very many and very beautiful workshops, to erect places of worship, and to adorn and embellish the City with many other such buildings, sparing no expense, as each man had the means and the ability." Kritovoulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Charles T. Riggs (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 140–41. See also Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 53–56.

arguably more ornate than even Ahmed III's better-known fountain outside the Topkapı Palace.[20] The fountains' versified inscriptions, too, almost invariably refer to the leading position of the sultan, hailing him as the bringer of water and the originator of the scheme. Most vocal of all in this respect is the high but easily read text that runs along the top of Mahmud's fountain:

> Not only Tophane but all four directions
> Have been quenched with pure waters of boundless benevolence;
> Each of the fountains flows with grace,
> Raining goodness to put out the fire of thirst;
> Foremost among them is this Chief Fountain,
> Its exalted imperial style being rich in ornament.[21]

Mahmud's role as patron-in-chief is further underscored by the official record of the project written by Mustafa Sami (d. 1734), who discusses all of the fountains—regardless of their individual sponsors—under the rubric "A description of the charitable works of the Emperor of Islam."[22] Sami also tells us that the project's completion was marked by a royal ceremony where robes of honor were distributed.[23]

This declaration of overall sultanic responsibility—whether verbalized in written accounts, enacted in public ceremonial, or visualized by the fountains themselves—is

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[20] In the text he wrote for Thomas Allom's well-known topographical work *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, the Irish clergyman Robert Walsh, who served as British chaplain in Istanbul in the1820s, calls these fountains the "two on which the Turks seem to have exerted all their skill in sculpture." He continues, "They are beautiful specimens of the Arabesque, and highly decorated. That at Tophana, represented in the illustration, is particularly so." See Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated. In a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom. With an historical account of Constantinople, and Descriptions of the Plates, by the Rev. Robert Walsh, LL.D*, 2 vols. (London and Paris: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1838), 1:7.

[21] *Yalıñız cānib-i Topḫāne değil çār cihet / Oldu sīrāb-ı zülāl-i kerem-i nā-maḫdūd / Her biri çeşmeleriñ oldu leṭāfetle revān / Reşḥa-ı luṭfu verip āteş-i atşāna ḫumūd / Cümleden oldu bu ser-çeşme maḳāmında bedīd / Ṭarz-ı vālā-yı mülūkānesi pīrāye-nümūd*. For the fountain's inscriptions, see Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, 498–502.

[22] *Maḳāle der vaṣf-ı ḫayrāt-ı Pādişāh-ı İslām*: see Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 166–69.

[23] Ibid., 169.

significant in light of recent scholarly claims that architectural patronage in eighteenth-century Istanbul was increasingly undermining the sultans' earlier predominance. The case of the Galata waterworks project makes it amply clear that the ability of a growing number of wealthy Ottomans to sponsor such works as fountains was in no way a challenge to royal supremacy. On the contrary, the sultan was able to use this development to his advantage by essentially delegating work for which he would still receive overall credit. Far from competing with his own grand fountain at Tophane, the examples built by Mahmud's subordinates were effectively satellites to it, disseminating the royal "Tulip Era" style throughout Galata and referring back through their inscriptions and ornament to the sultanic centerpiece of the project (fig. 48). The choice of district is worth emphasizing, for Galata—less developed than Istanbul proper and home to the city's European representatives—was a place where such a scheme could be of maximum visual impact.

With its imaginative, richly decorative, and somewhat cross-cultural recasting of traditional Ottoman motifs, the "Tulip Era" style that Mahmud had inherited was well suited to his first major architectural undertaking. It would not be long, however, before an altogether different aesthetic approach was sought, redefining the terms in which royal Ottoman architecture spoke to its audience.

A Bold Introduction: Ottoman Baroque Works of 1741–42

Carved in relief along the top of the Tophane Fountain's walls is a continuous arcade framing a series of potted fruit trees (fig. 49). While such motifs enjoyed general popularity during the "Tulip Era"—witness Ahmed III's famous Fruit Room at the Topkapı Palace (fig. 20)—the Tophane version is distinguished by two important details: its arches are round, and they spring from colonnettes with voluted foliate capitals. These features do little to affect the overall aesthetic of the fountain, the colonnette capitals being all but invisible from the ground, but they nevertheless hint at the far more overt changes that were about to occur in the architecture of Istanbul.

The outcome of these changes can be seen further down on the same monument, this time at eye level (fig. 50). At each of the four chamfered corners of the fountain is a shallow niche whose top is carved with the stylized sunburst motif so beloved of the preceding decades. Consistent as these niches are with the general scheme of the fountain, filling the lower half of each of them is a rather surprising and discordant feature: a rectangular panel carved with the depiction of a vase of flowers and crowned by a pediment consisting of a frond growing out of a series of C-scrolls. The flowers on these panels are an unremarkable design, neither clashing with nor really matching those that appear elsewhere on the fountain, but the leafy pediments above them instantly stand out for their distinctly Europeanizing makeup, which is far more obvious than in the case of the high arcade. Both their design and their curious placement within the fountain's corner niches show these panels to be later additions, installed—for reasons that are

unclear—to replace the spigots and basins that would originally have occupied these spaces;[24] they cannot date before the mid-eighteenth century.

The unexpected and novel manner in which these panels announce themselves on Mahmud's first major architectural commission is an apt symbol of the advent of the Ottoman Baroque more generally. It is an important yet neglected fact that the new style did not evolve gradually, but rather appeared suddenly in an already developed form and managed within a decade more or less to displace other architectural idioms, at least as far as Istanbul was concerned. This is not to say that the new style sprang out of nowhere: as we have just seen, intimations of it can be found to a limited extent in "Tulip Era" architecture. In such earlier examples, however, any Westernizing elements are subsumed within a predominantly traditional repertoire, and there is little in the overall scheme to suggest the comprehensive stylistic transformation that would soon occur. This transformation cannot be explained—in keeping with prevailing revisionist models—as the reflection of popular and spontaneous changes in taste; such a rapidly far-reaching shift can only have been the result of a deliberate, concerted effort orchestrated at the highest levels. This is all the more so given that the earliest buildings to exhibit Baroque motifs were of elite patronage.

The first dated works to be fully designed in the new manner are three examples of water architecture all inscribed 1154 (March 1741–March 1742). Two are sebil buildings, one near Dolmabahçe and the other next to the tomb of the thirteenth-century

[24] I am very grateful to my friend and colleague Zeynep Oğuz for helping me to identify these panels as later additions. The modification is noted also in Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, 495.

mystic and saint Karacaahmet (Karaca Ahmed) in Üsküdar (figs. 51–57);[25] they include in each case a projecting sebil with a domical vault and grilled windows, and a flanking wall fountain set within a niche. Both stand beside small graveyards fronted by arches, which were preexisting in the case of Karacaahmet and built together with the sebil in the case of Dolmabahçe. The founder of the Karacaahmet sebil—Saʿdeddin Efendi, son of the chief military judge (*każʿasker*) Feyzullah Efendi—lies in the adjacent graveyard, while that of the Dolmabahçe sebil—the cavalry captain (*sipāhī aġası*) Hacı Mehmed Emin Agha (d. 1743–44)—is buried somewhat unusually in the sebil itself. The third work, which was commissioned by the grand vizier Nişancı Ahmed Pasha (d. 1753), consists of two matching fountains built into the cemetery wall of the mosque complex of Mehmed the Conqueror, known today as the Fatih Mosque, one of the most important sites in the whole city. Each fountain stands by a gate at the opposite side of the cemetery from the other (figs. 58–60).[26]

All three of these works are entirely clad in carved marble and exhibit a common style rich with European Baroque elements, including curvilinear arches, C- and S-scrolls, naturalistic vegetal designs, and classicizing scallop shells. Most impressive of the three is the sebil of Mehmed Emin, distinguished in particular by the column capitals

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[25] For these works, see Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 51–52; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, 556–62, 715–16; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 379; and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 105–6. Mehmed Emin Agha's sebil was moved slightly back in 1959 in the course of a road-widening project, during which a primary school that once stood adjacent to the graveyard's other end was demolished. Much of the literature tells us that this school was built together with the sebil and graveyard, but it was in fact a later addition made by Mehmed Emin Agha's son: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 406.

[26] Only the southwest fountain survives intact; the northeast fountain is much damaged and has recently been restored in a crude and inaccurate manner. İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık's guide to the fountains of Istanbul, published in 1943, describes Ahmed Pasha's fountains as sharing the same design, but Kuban, without explaining why, differentiates the northeast one as being closer to subsequent examples. In all likelihood, the fountains in their original form probably matched without being identical to each other. See İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1943–45), 1:168; and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 106.

of its projection, which are beautifully carved in close imitation of a true Corinthian, and by the gray stone roundels with garland frames that flank the projection. Above these roundels, and appearing prominently elsewhere on the building, are traditionally calligraphed inscriptions, their presence casting into further relief the novelty of the rest of the scheme. The sebil at Karacaahmet has many of the same features, including a somewhat cruder imitation of Corinthian capitals, while Ahmed Pasha's paired fountains closely echo the single fountain that is part of Mehmed Emin's building. These commonalities suggest that the same, or at least related, designers and craftsmen were involved in all three projects: indeed, some of the overlaps between Ahmed Pasha and Mehmed Emin's works are so precise as to prove a shared authorship, and though Saʿdeddin Efendi's sebil is rather less finely carved, its makers too were using a comparable set of motifs. Something else the works have in common is a remarkably confident, even audacious, approach to the source material. The capitals of the Mehmed Emin sebil, for example, boldly elaborate the standard Corinthian model by adding bead molding to the underside of the corner volutes and replacing the central fleuron with a shell (a motif that appears also at Karacaahmet and Fatih). Such adjustment is very much in the spirit of the European—and especially Italian—Baroque, where playful enlivenment of the classical orders is not uncommon. On the other hand, the Ottoman examples also go far beyond what would be considered acceptable in the Western context. The Corinthian columns of the Mehmed Emin sebil support entablature-like blocks that are curiously carved to resemble blind arches, the foliate capitals of their diminutive colonnettes being almost Gothic in appearance. Also on the same building, as well as on Ahmed Pasha's fountains, is a sort of tall thin engaged column whose highly

stylized vegetal capital looks more like the Ancient Egyptian lotus type than anything else. What such details show is that the artists behind these works were as cognizant of European models as they were willing to adapt and even disregard them. And even when, as with Mehmed Emin's sebil, the Westernizing elements are at their most pronounced, they do not displace the traditional inscriptions, which remain as prominent as ever, and nor do they disguise the structures' basically conservative architecture. We are dealing, then, with a craftsmanship whose conspicuous originality is still governed by recognizably Ottoman principles. The identity of the artists responsible for these works is a topic to which I shall turn later.

Where did this conspicuously novel yet locally suited style spring from, and why did it emerge as it did? Even allowing for the loss of material, it is significant that the three works bear the same date and are among the most overtly Europeanizing of all Ottoman Baroque architecture. They do not, in other words, represent the outcome of a gradual artistic process that can be traced through earlier monuments, but rather constitute the bold and sudden appearance of a new style that must have been conceived behind the scenes, as it were. Moreover, there is no obvious reason in either the works' location or individual patronage to explain their novelty: they are spread across all three peninsulas of the city, and there is nothing known about their patrons to suggest that they had any special interest in fostering a new style, much less one with such obvious European elements. Indeed, the same Mehmed Emin who built the sebil at Dolmabahçe also sponsored a wall fountain at Fatih that too is dated 1741–42 but is entirely traditional in appearance, consisting of a four-centered pointed-arched niche with imbricated rosettes

in its spandrels (fig. 61).[27] Such coexistence of old and new can be found even within Mehmed Emin's sebil itself, for inside its projection and visible through the Baroque windows are a muqarnas-hooded mihrab and a tombstone ornamented with traditional rumi scrolls that marks the grave of the founder, who died in 1743–44 (fig. 55). It is also significant that the structures' lengthy inscriptions—the clearest verbalization of the aims of their founders—say nothing of stylistic choices, and instead praise the patrons in highly conventional terms for providing the public with water.[28]

As difficult as it is to account precisely for the sudden and simultaneous appearance of these first Baroque works, a telling link between them is the elite status of their founders. All three men belonged to the upper echelons of the Ottoman hierarchy, with the two highest ranking—Mehmed Emin Agha and the grand vizier Nişancı Ahmed Pasha—being responsible for the finest of the structures. Mehmed Emin Agha's sebil was close enough to imperial interests that a state decree was sent out regarding the procurement of marble for it.[29] The apparent lack of factors explaining the patrons' individual interest in the Baroque is, in a sense, irrelevant: what is significant is that the three men were in a position to sponsor an emergent style that must have been understood within their circle to be a new elite mode. Quite how this understanding came about is a question that I shall explore later, but the important point for now is that the early 1740s

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[27] For this fountain, see Arzu İyianlar, "Mehmed Emin Ağa Çeşmesi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 5:359.

[28] For these inscriptions, see Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, 103, 556–62, 715–16.

[29] The decree records that not all the marble necessary for the project could be obtained in Marmara, necessitating the sending of a Greek named Yorgi to purchase additional stone in Kapıdağ. This document appears in a *mühimme defteri*, a compilation of state decrees regarding important matters. Although there are lacunae, the *mühimme* registers survive in large numbers for the eighteenth century and are today kept in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive. Ahmet Refik published a good number of the more interesting register entries, including that regarding the sebil: see Refik [Altınay], *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 152, no. 181

saw the rapid rise of a new kind of architecture that had distinctly noble associations. Indeed, it was very soon to emerge as no less than the royal style par excellence.

The Ottoman Baroque as a Royal Mode

In the same year as the three works just discussed, Sultan Mahmud opened a large double bathhouse in Cağaloğlu (figs. 62–65).[30] This was the last monumental hammam to be built in Istanbul, and its importance is signaled by its princely interior, which includes Corinthianizing marble columns that support round arches, and elaborate washbasins carved with scrolls and fronds. The workmanship again suggests the same craftsmen as we encountered above, but here, the Baroque features are limited to the inside of the building, whose nondescript exterior gives no indication of what lies within. While stylistically less consistent than the contemporaneous sebils and fountains, the Cağaloğlu baths are important proof that the new manner was linked from the outset to royal patronage. The building would have been a busy site of public congregation, accommodating men and women of all ranks. Its unremarkable exterior would thus have mattered little to the impression it made on its users, who were surely struck by the novel scheme of its interior, the space in which they actually bathed. Though itself rather traditional in appearance, the entrance of the bathhouse is topped by an inscription that boasts of the building's qualities, declaring that "the emperor's architect was dumfounded

[30] For this bathhouse, see Semavi Eyice, "Cağaloğlu Hamamı," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 7:12–13; and Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 378. For decrees concerning the procurement of marble and water for the project, see Refik [Altınay], *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 142–45, 147–48, 150, 152, nos. 173–74, 176, 179–80.

by its exalted design," and that "the corps of painters lost their heads to its elegant decoration."[31] These lines are unusual for the emphasis with which they refer to the building's artistic attributes, implying a conscious recognition of the sort of impact that the new style was intended to have on those who saw it for the first time. Moreover, in stressing the royal nature of the scheme, the inscription bears out Mahmud's role as arbiter of taste, so that the sebils and fountains with which the bathhouse shares its date become, as it were, reflections of the sultanic model.

Mahmud built the Cağaloğlu Baths as a revenue-generating dependency of the nearby Hagia Sophia, which, under the name Ayasofya, served as the empire's principal mosque (figs. 66–67). It is often neglected that this monument—best known for its original sixth-century Byzantine structure and nineteenth-century Ottoman renovations—was extensively added to by Mahmud in what amounts to one of the most important building campaigns in the site's history.[32] One of the results of this campaign was to confirm the Ottoman Baroque as a sultanic concern.

Mahmud made three additions to the Ayasofya, the first of them a stately library built into the southern gallery of the mosque itself (figs. 68–70).[33] Dated 1152 (1739–1740), the library was officially opened by the sultan at the start of 1153, by which time some four thousand volumes had been transferred there. It consists of an irregular space fronted by grilled marble arcades that are fitted between the piers and columns of the

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[31] *Tarḥ-ı vālāsına miʿmār-ı ḫusrev dembeste / Naḳş-ı zībāsına ser-dāde gürūh-ı ressām.*

[32] For the changes and additions made to the Hagia Sophia by the Ottomans, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, eds. Robert Mark and Ahmet Çakmak (Cambridge University Press: London, 1992), 195–225.

[33] For this library, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 7; and Semavi Eyice, "Ayasofya Kütüphanesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 4:212–14.

mosque's western side. The arches of this facade are round, which is something of a departure from the usual pointed type, but the library's overall aesthetic is certainly traditional, for the column capitals are carved with *muqarnas*, while the interior space is clad with reused Iznik and Kütahya tiles. Also largely traditional is the second of Mahmud's Ayasofya projects, which involved the construction in 1153 (1740–41) of a primary school (*ṣıbyān mektebi*) and ablutions fountain in the southwest courtyard of the complex (figs. 71–73).[34] The school is an unremarkable domed building of long-established type. Though the fountain—a circular tank canopied by a domed and eaved octagonal arcade—is a rather more elegant marble structure, it too conforms to older models, with pointed arches and *muqarnas* capitals.[35] To be sure, the exterior of its tank is carved with a series of blind round arches lushly intertwined with foliate scrollwork whose individual elements are heavily indebted to Western sources, indeed presaging some of the artistry of the Baroque works of 1741–42 discussed above. Yet viewed as a whole, this design has little in the way of a Europeanizing quality, and seems rather a variant of the kind of lively naturalistic scrollwork characteristic of "Tulip Era" carving. The overall impression made by the fountain thus gives little hint of the stylistic watershed that was about to occur on the other side of the complex.

In January 1743, Sultan Mahmud opened the building that was the culmination of his Ayasofya campaign, an *ʿimāret* (public soup kitchen) located at the northeast of the

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[34] For these works, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 7–8; and Semavi Eyice, "Ayasofya Sıbyan Mektebi" and "Ayasoyfa Şadırvanı," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 4:216–17.

[35] John Hobhouse, Baron Broughton, who traveled in the Ottoman Empire between 1809 and 1810, writes that the fountain was "erected by a Persian architect, after the fashion of his own country": see John Cam Hobhouse, Baron Broughton, *A Journey through Albania, and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the Years 1809 and 1810*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: James Cawthorn, 1813), 2:959. I have not been able to determine the source of this curious assertion.

mosque's precinct (figs. 74–77, 80–81), diagonally across from the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace.[36] Although close in date to Mahmud's earlier works at the mosque, and linked to them by an inscription over one of its gates that mentions all three projects,[37] the imaret is in a strikingly different style, loudly exhibiting the new manner. The opening statement is made by the main gate into the imaret courtyard, a lofty entryway rising from the eastern corner of the Ayasofya's perimeter. Clad in carved marble and crowned by a broad-eaved vaulted roof, the gate is designed as a rich assortment of Baroque motifs framing a round-arched door. On its exterior face, the door is flanked by columns of green stone—two on each side—with Corinthian-like capitals, as well as by a pair of niches set with scallop shells and surmounted by voluted open pediments, above which are two mirrored tughras (sultanic monograms) in garland frames. The columns that immediately flank the door support an architrave that itself carries an inscription panel with a swan-neck pediment; growing out of the corners of this architrave are naturalistic foliate scrolls which terminate just above the pair of tughras. Entering this lavish gate, we find ourselves in a courtyard facing the imaret itself, a medium rectangular building of brick and stone with a vaulted roof and a colonnaded portico along its front. Unremarkable though this structure is—the basic form is little different from that of the school mentioned above—it is considerably enlivened by the Baroque touches in marble that ornament its facade. Corinthian-like columns analogous to those of the gateway are used for the imaret's portico, and they also recur as part of the elegant

[36] For the ʿimaret, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 8; and Semavi Eyice, "Ayasoyfa İmareti," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 4:212.

[37] Namely the gate piercing the wall that runs along today's Soğukçeşme Street.

pedimented frame around the building's door, whose mixtilinear-arched architrave is decorated with classicizing moldings and shells in its spandrels.

The range of motifs used for the imaret and the quality of their carving strongly recall the sebil of Mehmed Emin, the paired fountains of Ahmed Pasha, and the interior of the Cağaloğlu baths, all three of which projects were completed the previous year, and it is likely that we are dealing with the same team of artists. These craftsmen, who may also have been behind the carving of Mahmud's earlier ablutions fountain, were probably designing and working on the imaret even while they were involved in the other projects. As before, their work evinces a close acquaintance with Western architecture while showing no qualms about departing from it. Thus for all their classicizing naturalism, the vegetal scrolls that issue from the gate's architrave grow at massive scale into the surrounding irregular and unarticulated spaces of wall, an arrangement that defies European norms. Also notable in this regard are the gate's outermost columns, whose otherwise smooth shafts are curiously interrupted by a fluted baluster-like section close to their Corinthianizing capitals.

Although the imaret is clearly related to the slightly earlier non-royal works, its decorative scheme includes several distinguishing features which seem to bespeak its sultanic status. Unlike the more faithful Corinthian capitals seen before, for example, those of the imaret are a new variant—related to a type used also at the Cağaloğlu Baths—in which each of the capital's four faces has an oval medallion in its center rather than the usual acanthus fronds, and where the remaining corner fronds are merged with the volutes above them (figs. 64, 77). Versions of this adapted Corinthian were to reappear in other sultanic projects, suggesting that it was designed from the outset to

stand out from the commoner foliate variety. Also emerging as a royal marker at the imaret is the use of dentil molding, which runs prominently along the architraves and pediment of the gate. Although such dentils are ubiquitous in the European Baroque, their use is largely limited to imperial works in the Ottoman context, the imaret being the earliest instance of this.[38]

Emphasizing the imaret's royal standing are the beautiful versified inscriptions in *thulth* that feature prominently over its doorways, not to mention the mirrored tughras of the main gate. The text above the entrance into the imaret proper presents the building as filling an important gap in the complex's existing makeup, declaring that "Ayasofya has become truly flourishing with this imaret";[39] and the inscription over the main gate goes further still, singling Mahmud out as the greatest patron of charitable works since Mehmed the Conqueror, [40] the sultan who had converted the cathedral. This bold conceit, which recalls Subhi's literary efforts to pronounce his patron a new Süleyman, is given further expression by the placement of the imaret gate on the great square in front of Mehmed's Topkapı Palace, whose Imperial Gate bears an inscription proclaiming the

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[38] The dentil molding enjoyed favor mostly during the first few decades of the Ottoman Baroque, and I have found very few examples in non-sultanic contexts. One of these—the Mosque of Hacı Beşir Agha, to be discussed below—was built by the chief black eunuch almost as a tribute to his master, Mahmud I, as demonstrated by its inclusion of a royal prayer loge. Another—the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha, mentioned in Chapter 4—owes its dentils to a renovation by Osman III. In both these cases, then, the motif can be explained by a sultanic connection. As for a clearly non-sultanic use of the dentilation, the only instance I have encountered in Istanbul is the tomb-sebil of Mehmed Emin Agha, where the graveyard features a colonnade carrying an entablature decorated with the molding. The capitals of this colonnade—which are of the scroll type discussed in Chapter 3—show that it is of later construction than the original structure, probably dating from the 1750s. Outside Istanbul, dentil moldings can be seen at the Cihanoğlu Mosque in Aydın (mentioned in Chapter 4), though the standards of decorum that obtained at the capital would have mattered far less in the provinces. The fact that the dentil moldings of Istanbul are overwhelmingly to be found in sultanic contexts is surely indicative of the motif's usually princely status and connotations.

[39] *Ayaṣofya ābād oldu el-ḥaḳḳ bu ʿimāretle.*

[40] *Ḫuṣūṣā ʿahd-i Fātiḥ'den beri bu ḫayr-ı vālāya muvaffaḳ olmamış eslāfı şāhāndan biri*. See also n. 19 above.

Conqueror's beneficence. [41] The same square also hosts the monumental fountain of Ahmed III, so that Mahmud's Baroque portal is in a sort of visual confrontation with landmarks of earlier royal patronage and styles; despite its smaller scale, it manages to hold its own with surprising vigor (fig. 25, 78–79). This ability to impress reveals one of the fundamental strengths of the Ottoman Baroque: it is a style with the power to impart visual interest and magnificence even when applied to structures of unremarkable size or architecture. The characteristic decor of the "Tulip Era" had also aimed at this kind of ornamental richness, but what it lacked was the sheer originality of the Baroque, which introduced a whole new repertoire of motifs. The crowds that gathered in and passed through the square must surely have been struck by the distinctive look of Mahmud's addition, whose scheme would have stood in marked contrast to the far more sober fifteenth-century Imperial Gate, or to the fancy but largely traditional decoration of Ahmed's fountain.

Some sense of how a contemporary audience would have responded to this striking new manner is given by Subhi's record of the imaret's inauguration, which describes at length the capacity of the building to engage the attention of no less a viewer than the sultan himself:

> After sitting briefly, [Mahmud] moved with light and dignified gait to observe and enjoy the various subtle arts which, with utmost care and consideration, had been produced and brought about in the plan, form, and style of that graceful edifice by the artists of the workshop of architecture and the skilled masters of invention and construction; and having glanced admiringly at the benches and platforms which the aforementioned administrator of the foundation had decked with various candied fruits and sundry succulent fresh fruits, he looked attentively from top to bottom, scrutinizing one by one each of the exalted doors and walls and matchless vaults and arches present in its various part. And because the aforementioned building—as regards the piers and columns with which it had been made strong and sound—matched the designs of Bihzad in the elegance and gracefulness of its

[41] For the gate and its inscriptions, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 32–40.

> form and design, such that each of its artistically novel elements [*her fiḳra-ı bedīʿü'l-ās̱ārı*] was of such consummate beauty and splendor that it resembled a column in itself, the whole of it appeared most comely and pleasing in his well-informed eyes.[42]

It is easy at first to miss the significance of this passage, couched as it is in the hyperbolic language typical of official Ottoman chronicles. Nevertheless, there is much to note once we look past the usual rhetoric, and particularly revealing is the sense that Subhi gives of the imaret's density of visual interest, whereby each architectural element merits being examined as an artwork in its own right. These elements are described as novel, and although nothing is said about what makes them so, and no reference at all made to European models, the impact of the scheme's originality—its ability to arrest and keep the viewer's attention—is fully conveyed. Despite its seeming irrelevance, even the comparison to the Persian painter Bihzad—an unusual figure to invoke in the realm of architecture—captures something of the almost painterly surface richness that would have set the building apart.[43] The importance of this account becomes clearer still if we compare it with Subhi's slightly earlier record of the opening of the Ayasofya library, where the ceremony itself is described in considerable detail but nothing said about the

[42] *Celse-i ḫafīfeden ṣoñra ol buḳʿa-ı laṭīfeniñ ṭarḥ u ṭarz u üslūbünde ressāmān-ı kārgāh-ı ṣanʿat-ı binā ve çīre-destān-ı esātiẕe-i ibdāʿ u inşā nīrū-yı ihtimām-ı naẓar u ümenā ile iẓhār u icrā eyledükleri envāʿ-ı ṣanāyiʿ-i daḳīḳayı seyr ü temāşā içün bi'ẕ-ẕāt mihter-i nesīm-i ḥareket ü ḫirām ve muḳaddemā mütevellī-i vaḳf-ı mezbūr ṭarafından eṣnāf-ı şekerleme ve ezḫār-ı envāʿ-ı bākūre-i ābdār ile tezyīn olunan maṣṭaba ve ṣofalara nigāh-endāz-ı iʿtibār olaraḳ zīr ü bālā ve zevāyā-yı şettāsında vāḳiʿ der ü dīvār-ı muʿallā ve ṭāḳ u kemer-i bī-hemtāsından her birine yegān yegān diḳḳat ü imʿān buyurduḳlarında ebniye-i merḳūma metānet ü raṣānet erkān ve iʿmād ile ṭaʿn-endāz-ı binā-yı şeddād iken leṭāfet ü nezāket-i resm ü heyʾetde hem naḳş-ı ṣūret-i Behzād ve her fiḳra-ı bedīʿü'l-ās̱ārı kemāl-i ḥüsn ü nümāyişle gūyā bir ḳıṭʿa ʿimād olmaġla cümlesi cilve-nümā-yı naẓargāh-ı ibtihāc u istiḥsān-ı ṭabʿ-ı daḳīḳa-dānları olup* . . . Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 763.

[43] It is interesting to note that a "painterly" quality has also been attributed (in both criticism and praise) to works of European Baroque architecture: see Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, esp. 29–37; and Alina Payne, "On Sculptural Relief: *Malerisch*, the Autonomy of Artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies," in *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 39–64.

building.[44] This very different approach to documenting a comparable event is easily explained when we remember that Mahmud's library was an essentially traditional affair with little to distinguish it from existing works. By contrast, the almost ekphrastic treatment that Subhi gives the imaret is in itself a testament to that building's remarkably new style.

A particularly notable quality of the Ottoman Baroque as revealed by the examples discussed so far is the economy with which it could transform a building. None of the works described above exhibits anything in the way of real structural innovation: in each case, the architecture *as* architecture remains largely conservative, relying on traditional plans and configurations. Where the structures do differ is in the design of their individual forms—such as the substitution of round arches for pointed—and in their decorative vocabulary. It has often been noted that the Ottoman Baroque is an ornamental mode whose main effect is limited to the surface, but this should not be taken to mean—as it frequently is—that the style is superficial. From the perspective of the viewer, after all, the surfaces of a building have far more immediate visual impact than its structural makeup, and even a well-established architectural type can take on a highly original aspect when put in a new decorative skin. The main building of the imaret demonstrates this especially well, as it is nothing more than the Baroque flourishes on its facade that render this plain, box-like structure worthy of its royal status. As Subhi too appears to recognize, each element is imbued with such decorative richness and novelty as to be individually impressive, so that together, the parts of the scheme are able to turn a functional building into a sultanic monument. A similar structure in the classical style—a manner that was typically more restrained in its decoration—would be unlikely to make

[44] See Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 619–23.

such a lively impact. Ornament, then, transcends itself in the Ottoman Baroque to become a conspicuous and charged marker of elite patronage.

The semiotic potential of the new style must have been swiftly recognized, for following its use at the Ayasofya imaret, the Baroque became canonical in the sultanic architecture of Istanbul. Two more early examples are worth discussing, both of them involving the renovation of earlier sites. The first is the Tophane-i Amire (*Topḫāne-i ʿĀmire*), the Imperial Cannon Foundry near Galata, which was rebuilt in 1743 to replace an earlier structure that had fallen into disrepair (figs. 82–85).[45] Constructed in the sultan's name by the chief gunner, Mustafa Agha, the new Tophane stands as a large rectangular building of brick and stone that is covered by five domes and ten cavetto vaults resting on massive pointed arches. The architecture is simple and highly conventional, which is not surprising given the building's utilitarian nature, and it would be easy to mistake it at first for something at least a hundred years older. Functional as it was, however, the building was also imperial, occupying a site that had long been associated with Ottoman military strength; the means chosen to ennoble this otherwise basic structure was the new Baroque style. The domes are lit by tall arcaded lanterns that incorporate columns with rough but clearly Corinthianizing capitals, and the same column type can be seen within the building on the inner faces of the domes' arcaded drums. But the Tophane's most obvious Baroque feature is its beautiful main entrance, a white marble structure which stands out in the center of the brick-and-stone facade. The door itself is a round arch on colonnettes with a wave-scroll border along its intrados, and it is set within a larger frame formed of two columns supporting an inscribed and

[45] For the architectural history of the Tophane, see Şafak Tunç, *Tophâne-i Âmire ve Osmanlı Devletin Top Döküm Faaliyetleri* (Istanbul: Başak Yayınları, 2004), 20–27.

pedimented entablature. While the capitals of the colonnettes are of the Corinthian-like foliate variety already familiar from other examples, those of the columns are a faithful Composite, the only instance of this form that I have found in the Ottoman Baroque. Also new is the ornamentation of the pediment, whose face includes the depiction of a cornucopia among its low-relief foliate carvings, and whose scrolled border is marked by a simplified egg-and-dart molding. Prominently displayed at the center of this pediment is the sultan's tughra, and the royal nature of the structure is further emphasized by the dentil molding—a device earlier seen at the Ayasofya imaret—which runs along the top and bottom of the inscribed entablature.

The inscription itself also stresses Mahmud's patronage as well as his achievements more generally, and it is interesting to note that its opening couplet, which declares that the sultan's "majestic reputation strikes fear throughout Turan and Iran,"[46] implies a connection between the rebuilding of the Tophane and Mahmud's recent military victories against the Safavids. Two other individuals receive praise in the inscription: the grand vizier, who had been appointed to oversee the project, and Mustafa Agha, who one of the couplets says "perfected [the building's] plan and design in accordance with khedivial [i.e., grand-vizierial] command,"[47] and whose name even appears in a small cartouche alongside the tughra of the pediment. As we saw earlier with the Galata waterworks project, the sultan was effectively able to claim overall responsibility for a work he had largely delegated, an assertion supported in no small measure by the building's Baroque flourishes.

[46] *Himem-perdāz-ı erbāb-ı ġazā Sulṭān Maḥmūd'uñ / Mehābet ṣaldı ṣīt-i şevketi Tūrān u Īrān'e*. For the full inscription, see Tunç, *Tophâne-i Âmire*, 25–26.

[47] *Hemāndem ṭarḥ u resmin Muṣṭafā Aġa ser-topī / Mükemmel eyledi ber-mūceb-i emr-i ḫıdīvāne*.

Indeed, though limited in extent, the Tophane's Baroque elements are remarkably successful in distracting the viewer from the stark functionalism of the architecture. Significant in this regard is a depiction of the building done in 1778 by Kozmas Gomidas Kömürciyan (d. 1807)—an Italian-educated Ottoman-Armenian artist and interpreter better known as Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano—and later engraved for his book *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli*, published in Italy in 1794 (fig. 85).[48] The image shows the Tophane in terms that are at once abbreviated and informative, simplifying the building while reproducing all its characteristic features. We learn that the Baroque entrance was originally ascended by a high stair that no longer exists, but more interesting is how the entrance itself is depicted: it takes the form of a porch with a semidome roof whose finial reaches up all the way to the springing point of the building's massive arches. Though giving no indication of its rich decorative scheme, this portrayal turns the doorway into something that is both loftier and more plastic than the actual thing itself, which demonstrates the Baroque's power to evoke a grandeur that goes beyond its initially ornamental effect. Many besides Kömürciyan would have been similarly impressed by what they saw, and it should be remembered that the Tophane occupied a highly visible spot opposite both the sixteenth-century Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque—designed by Sinan—and Mahmud's monumental freestanding fountain of the previous decade. The clergyman Robert Walsh (d. 1852), who lived in Istanbul in the

[48] For a modern facsimile edition and Turkish translation, see Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano [Kozmas Gomidas Kömürciyan], *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Costantinopoli arricchita di figure*, introduced by Vincenzo Ruggieri (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1992); and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, trans. Edendiz Özbayoğlu (Istanbul: Eren, 1993). The engraving is pl. 20; Kömürciyan's accompanying text says nothing about the Tophane's architecture other than that the building has five domes and is sturdily made of stone: see Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 69; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 87. For Carbognano and his career, see the introductions of the two volumes just cited, and Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 37–38.

1820s, tells us that the area around the fountain hosted "the great market, the most busy and populous spot on the peninsula of Pera"[49] (fig. 46). As with the Ayasofya imaret, then, the Tophane's Baroque doorway stood in a bustling location facing elite works of earlier stylistic periods. The importance of this site is further suggested by Kömürciyan's image, which shows a sort of protruding loggia to the right of the doorway and of analogous form to it. Today, there is only a plain brick arch in this position, but we can surmise from the engraving that the arch was originally installed with a white marble balcony similar in style to the entrance. This balcony would have allowed the sultan and other elite personages to watch the parades and ceremonies that we know took place in the area, and it would, moreover, have been another reminder to the public of the building's high status, commemorating the sultan's presence even when he was not there.

The idea of royal visibility is important also to the last example to discuss, the İskele Mescidi at Rumelihisarı, now known as the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin (figs. 86–92).[50] Located on the shore of the Bosphorus, the mosque was built at an unknown date by a certain Hacı Kemaleddin before being damaged by fire, at which point Sultan Mahmud remodeled and enlarged it into a Friday mosque, adding a minaret and royal loge to the original scheme; his renovations are dated 1159 (1746).[51] The building has survived largely intact, and stands today as a rather sizeable three-story rectangular

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[49] Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 1:8.

[50] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 438–41, and also the Turkish edition for the inscriptions: Ayvansarāyī Ḥüseyin Efendi (enlarged by ʿAlī Ṣāṭıʿ Efendi and Süleymān Besīm Efendi), *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmiʿ: İstanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dînî-Sivil Miʿmârî Yapılar*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2001), 531–34.

[51] The sultan's first visit to the renovated mosque, on September 9, 1746, is noted in the journal (*rūznāme*) kept by his private secretary, Kadı Ömer Efendi, who tells us that rice was distributed to the poor to mark the occasion. An entry from six months earlier records that the sultan visited the site of a fire that broke out at a shop near the shore below the Rumelihisarı; this may be the same fire that necessitated the restoration of the mosque. See Ḳaḍı ʿÖmer Efendi, "Kadı Ömer Efendi: Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," ed. Özcan Özcan Oral (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1965), 84–85, 114.

edifice constructed mainly of alternating courses of brick and stone but also incorporating a wooden entrance block, the whole being covered by a tiled hipped roof. The ground floor is actually a vaulted basement designed and still used for commercial purposes, with the prayer hall occupying the upper two stories and being reached by a stair in the entrance block. For the most part, the mosque is a simple affair that follows a typical and somewhat workaday suburban model, and its largely traditional outlines and features—which include pointed-arched windows—probably reflect something of Hacı Kemaleddin's original structure. But protruding from the left-hand side of the facade and differentiating itself from the functional brick and stone around it is a Baroque marble loge formed of a fenestrated rectangular bay resting on three columns. The projecting bay corresponds in height to the first story of the prayer hall of which it is an extension, and it is generously lit by four rectangular windows with simple but elegantly molded frames. Above the windows run two dentil cornices, the upper one bordering the projection's flat roof. This sultanic dentil molding occurs also on the architrave of the columns below, which rise the height of the vaulted basement. The capitals of these three columns are among the stateliest of the whole Ottoman Baroque: they resemble the modified Corinthian earlier seen at the Ayasofya imaret, each of their faces having an oval medallion at its center, but they are distinguished by their dark green stone abacuses and by their volutes, whose bead-studded fronds turn in on themselves rather than in the usual outward direction. Comparable Corinthianizing capitals with reverse volutes occur also in Roman architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Ottoman examples are close enough to these that the similarity is unlikely to be accidental, as I shall discus below.

The appearance of so beautifully crafted a loge on what is otherwise a very ordinary suburban mosque initially comes as something of a surprise, but the feature makes far more sense when we consider what it allowed Mahmud to achieve. By the addition of this small but exquisite structure, the sultan was able to advertise his sponsorship in a way that necessitated minimal adaptation of the rather basic structure he had inherited. A domeless rectangular mosque is not a model commonly associated with sultanic patronage, and yet the presence of a single flourish in the inherently rich and showy Baroque style succeeds in elevating the entire building. Mahmud's waqf (endowment) ensured maximum visibility for his renovation, for it funded a large rowboat (*pazar ḳayığı*, "bazaar caique") designed to bring passengers and freight to the Rumelihisarı village,[52] whose pier—*iskele*—in fact gave its name to the mosque. Whether viewed from the water or from the shoreline road that still passes by its columns, the loge would have been highly noticeable for the contrast between it and the building from which it protrudes, its exquisite carved ornament proclaiming its elite status. As a space for royal prayer, moreover, the loge forever memorialized Mahmud's act of visiting the mosque, which was, as I shall discuss in the next chapter, the reason for his renovation to begin with.

Inside, the mosque's sultanic touches have fared less well, the original mihrab and minbar having been lost, and the paintwork gaudily redone in modern times. The extensive upper gallery, however, retains its Baroque columns, whose capitals include shells flanked by diagonal Ionic volutes; and the royal loge, which today serves as an imam's office, takes pride of place near the qibla wall on the left side of the prayer hall (figs. 89–92). In addition to its location, the loge's importance is indicated by its raised

[52] See Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 438.

floor level and by the versified inscription that runs just under its coving. To be sure, few would have been able to see or read this text if, as seems likely, the loge was screened off, but its content is nevertheless significant to understanding what such Baroque structures would have meant in their original context. Composed by the poet Niʿmetullah Efendi and written in *thulth*, the inscription begins by dubbing Mahmud "the Ornament of the Dais of the Caliphate" and "the Sultan of the World, the Shadow of the Lord of the Worlds [God]," and it goes on to describe the loge as "a lofty dais like the vault of the Fourth Heaven."[53] Just as the sultan's dominion is a microcosmic analogue of God's, so too is the loge modeled after a celestial prototype, and the use of the term *maḥfil*—here translated as "dais," but more prosaically meaning "gallery" or "loge"—to describe Mahmud's caliphate renders the actual *maḥfil* a symbol of this office. While such comparisons are on the one hand conventional hyperbole, they also reflect a real association that would have been made between a sultanic structure and the sultan himself. The loge's very royalness makes it a synecdoche of Mahmud's divinely sanctioned rule, and since it does not have scale on its side, the structure relies entirely on its rich decorative scheme to evoke the glory of its patron. As we have seen, the Ottoman Baroque is eminently suited to such a function, and indeed, the loge's inscription ends with a chronogram that notes the importance of stylistic novelty to the structure's visual impact:

Its design is pure and pleasing, and its scheme new in manner [*nevzemīn*],

[53] The entire inscription reads: *Maḫfil-ārā-yı ḫilāfet Ḫażret-i Maḥmūd Ḫān / Kim odur sulṭān-ı ʿālem ẓıll-i Rabbü'l-ʿālemīn / Ol şehiñ iḳbāliyle teşrīfine ṭarḥ etdiler / Böyle vālā maḥfil-i nīm-ṭāḳ-ı çarḫ-ı çārümīn/ Ḥabbaẕā nev maḥfil-i ṭāʿatgeh-i ḥālet-fezā / Kim derūn-ı enveri olmuş maṭāf-ı ḥūr-ı ʿayn / Kilk-i ḳudret ḥüsn-i vaṣf-ı ṭarḥını s̱ebt eylemiş/ Hāẕihi cennātu ʿadnin fe'dḫulūhā ḫālidīn / Bānī-i ḫayr ol şehinşāha Ḫüdā mesʿūd edüp / Eyleye ẕāt-ı hümāyūnun ḫaṭālardan emīn / Cevherīn iẓhār edüp Niʿmet-i duʿā-gū hemār / Yazdı iki mıṣraʿ-ı ber-ceste tārīḫ-i bihīn / Resmi pāk ü dilnişīn ve ṭarḥı daḫi nevzemīn / Maḥfil-i dilkeş-i binā-yı Ḫān Maḥūd-ı güzīn*.

The engaging loggia built by the exalted Mahmud Khan.[54]

Only a limited number of people would have had access to this verse, but its sentiments surely echo a more widely felt response at the time to the Ottoman Baroque's originality of design and power to impress.

The Originators of the Ottoman Baroque: Artists

If the appeal of the new style is clear enough, the identity of those responsible for its inception is far more difficult to determine. There are, in fact, two related but distinct questions here: who were the artists that actually designed and created the works, and who were the individuals with the means and desire to promote the new manner?

To begin with the first question, I have not succeeded in finding any information on the craftsmen responsible for these first Baroque works, the payrolls for which do not appear to have survived. It is true that sources name other relevant figures in relation to the projects: we have already encountered the chief gunner Mustafa Agha, to whom the design of the Tophane is explicitly attributed, and Subhi's history mentions the investment of the unnamed chief imperial architect with a robe of honor at the opening of the Ayasofya imaret.[55] Mustafa Agha, however, is most appropriately considered an engineer, and while he may have planned the Tophane as an architectural entity, he is unlikely to have had any role in its decorative elements. As for the chief architect, the practical importance of his office had, as already discussed, significantly diminished by

[54] See the preceding note.

[55] See Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 764.

this period, and his role in the imaret's creation need not have been anything more than nominal. Moreover, the examples considered in this chapter exhibit enough stylistic overlaps and continuities that we must seek a likelier common denominator than a civil engineer or a minister of public works. We seem to be dealing instead with a group of talented craftsmen—expert in stonecarving and well acquainted with Western models—whose hands are evident in a number of elite projects of the 1740s, and whose output was limited at this early stage to highly embellished smaller-scale structures and decorative additions to larger and plainer edifices. As far as I have found, nothing is documented about this group of craftsmen.

There is, however, a good amount of circumstantial evidence. In addition to our knowledge about the general changes that occurred in Ottoman architectural practice during the first half of the eighteenth century, discussed in the last chapter, we also have fairly detailed records of the architects and artisans who worked on later Baroque projects, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters. In light of this information, it is safe to assume that most of the artists currently in question were dhimmis, non-Muslim Ottomans, and more specifically Greeks and Armenians.[56] This is materially important for explaining the Westernizing elements of the new style, for these elements show such a thorough comprehension of their models that at least some of our craftsmen must have journeyed to Europe and observed them directly. Travel of this type would have been far easier for Greek and Armenian Ottomans, whose religion had long afforded them the means to establish mercantile communities and networks in the Christian West, an

[56] It is perhaps significant in this regard that the decree concerning Mehmed Emin Agha's sebil (see n. 29 above) specifies a Greek named Yorgi as the individual responsible for purchasing marble for the project. Since the document does not elaborate on Yorgi's status or term him a *ḳalfa*, it is impossible to say whether he had any role beyond the procurement of raw materials.

endeavor that was encouraged by all sides.[57] From the perspective of their European hosts, Christian Ottomans were culturally less remote and more readily assimilated than their Muslim counterparts, while still providing access to the vast trading networks of the East.[58] The Ottoman state, meanwhile, considered its Christian subjects valuable intermediaries whose creed better equipped them to deal with their Western coreligionists, and it was the same attitude that led after the mid-seventeenth century to a virtual Greek monopoly of the office of Porte dragoman. The Greeks in question were Phanariots, elite families who had acquired influence through their mercantile prowess and who lived in Istanbul's Fener district, where the Orthodox Patriarchate was (and remains) based.[59] From the 1710s onwards, members of this already powerful community were even appointed as vassal rulers of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Armenians too did well in matters of state administration during this period, with members of the high-ranking *amira* class emerging as the chief bankers to the

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[57] For an overview of Ottoman Christian communities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Bruce Masters, "Christians in a Changing World," in Faroqhi, *The Later Ottoman Empire*, 272–79.

[58] For the commercial activities of non-Muslim Ottomans (including Jews) in Europe, see Grenet, "Business *alla Turca*?," 47–50; and Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," in *Between East and West: The Balkan and Mediterranean Worlds*, 4 vols. (New Rochelle, NY: A. D. Caratzas, 1992–94), 2:1–77. The Armenian community of New Julfa in Isfahan had a similar role as intermediaries between Iran and the wider world: see Sebouh David Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: The Global Trade Networks of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). Although in much fewer numbers, Ottoman Muslims also worked as merchants in various Western cities, including Venice and Vienna: see Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 191–218; and Maximilian Hartmuth, "Ottoman Muslim Merchants in Eighteenth-Century Vienna: A Prosopographical Essay," paper presented at the Netherlands Institute in Turkey, Istanbul, May 8, 2012.

[59] For the Phanariots and their mercantile and administrative activities, see Christine Philliou, "Communities on the Verge: Unraveling the Phanariot Ascendancy in Ottoman Governance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 51, no. 1 (January 2009): 151–81; Philliou, "Phanariot Hanedans from the Ottoman Empire to the World around It (1669–1856)," in *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson, David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher, and Francesca Trivellato (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 177–199; and Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," 2:32–35.

Muslim aristocracy.[60] Ottoman Christians for their part welcomed the opportunity to flourish in the few spheres cut off from their Muslim counterparts, and by the eighteenth century, their presence in and contacts with Europe were such that a new Western-looking consciousness had developed among the empire's elite Greeks and Armenians. Encouraged in part by the ambitions of Western powers anxious to sponsor and gain influence over them, these communities sought to assert their place in the Ottoman realm with a new self-confidence, in some cases distinguishing themselves by adopting Western modes of education and lifestyle.[61] These borrowings were, it must be stressed, limited and selective, and Greeks and Armenians remained an integral part of Ottoman society, but it is nevertheless true that their interest in and access to Christian Europe became increasingly important to these communities' sense of identity in these years.

But how do artists fit into this story? While there is ample evidence from later years that Christian Ottoman architects and painters traveled to Europe as part of their training, sometimes under state sponsorship, the earliest known case is the aforementioned painter and diplomat Carbognano (Kömürciyan), who did not go to Italy

[60] See Hagop Barsoumian, "The Dual Role of the Armenian *Amira* Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750–1850)," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (New York and London, 1982), 1:171–84.

[61] The Catholic Church was very active during this period in its quest to convert Eastern Christians, winning over a good number of Armenians. Indeed, both of the Italian-educated Armenian authors quoted in this dissertation—Carbognano and Ghukas Inchichean (mentioned in subsequent chapters)—belonged to the Armenian Catholic community, some of whose members, including Inchichean, studied at the Mekhitarist Monastery of Venice. While Greeks were less receptive to the religious overtures of Western Christendom, the Phanariote elite eagerly took up European models in their cultural and intellectual pursuits. See Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), esp. 153–220; Masters, "Christians in a Changing World," 276–78, and L. S. Stavrianos, "The Influence of the West on the Balkans," in *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the Development of Balkan Life and Politics since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Charles and Barbara Jelavich (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Cambridge University Press: London, 1983), 184–226.

till the 1770s.[62] I have found no written record of such travel for the first half of the eighteenth century, and although it would be dangerous to assume an earlier origin for the practice merely for argument's sake, another kind of document strongly supports such a hypothesis: the architecture itself. It is tempting to explain the pronouncedly European motifs of the early Ottoman Baroque with reference to the availability of Western books and portable objects, which were, as we have seen, present in large numbers in the empire, especially after Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's Paris embassy (figs. 12, 18, 93). Even if non-Muslim artists were unlikely to have had access to the examples in the royal collection, they were probably able to consult other copies of European architectural manuals that could be found in Istanbul, or even acquire their own, and this could arguably account for the Westernizing elements in their work. For example, James Gibbs's (d. 1754) influential 1728 work *A Book of Architecture*, of which there is an annotated copy at the Topkapı Palace, contains numerous images that might be compared to some of the designs we encounter in the early Ottoman Baroque works, including C-scrolls, shells, wreaths, and fancy pediments (figs. 94–95).[63] But the use of such sources cannot alone explain the range and quality of the works themselves: the Corinthianizing capitals, dentil moldings, scallop shells, and vegetal scrolls are all rendered with a confidence that must derive in part from firsthand knowledge of real European models. This is especially evident in the motifs' plasticity and proportions, which evoke the character of their Western counterparts to a degree that would have been all but impossible on the basis of two-dimensional images alone. To be sure, the Ottoman

[62] See Shaw, *Ottoman Painting*, 37. For later documented cases of the Ottoman architects (chiefly Armenians) traveling West for training, see Wharton, "Identity of the Ottoman Architect," 27–31.

[63] James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728). The Topkapı Library copy is inventoried H. 2610: see İrepoğlu, "Batılı Kaynakar," 67 and fig. 17.

versions are seldom entirely faithful, and in many cases the motifs have been adapted or combined in ways alien to the Western tradition, but even this kind of creative reordering—too deliberate to be attributed to ignorance—is likelier to result from a thorough and intimate knowledge of the source material than from a distant, bookish one.

What I am arguing, then, is that non-Muslim Ottoman artists had already begun journeying to Western Europe by the first half of the eighteenth century in order to acquaint themselves with its visual traditions, their travels enabled and facilitated by the long-standing presence of Greek and Armenian communities throughout the region. The artists in question probably numbered a few entrepreneurial individuals, and since their ventures were neither state-sponsored nor part of the well-documented mercantile system, it is not surprising that they have gone unrecorded in the written sources. As I shall discuss, documents from a little later suggest that Greek architects fared especially well during the eighteenth century, and it is not unlikely that at least some of these individuals had ties to the elite Phanariot families who were, from the seventeenth century onwards, sending their sons to Europe, and especially Italy, for their education.[64] If these families included artists and architects, they too would have had the means and support to travel westwards as part of their training.[65] Significant in this regard is Cantemir's specific

[64] See Philliou, "Phanariot Hanedans," 180.

[65] I was excited in this regard to find a short article by Kevork Pamukciyan ostensibly demonstrating that Foti Kalfa, architect of the Üsküdar Selimiye Mosque (to be discussed in Chapter 5), belonged to the elite Phanariot Komnenos family, which claimed descent from the eponymous Byzantine dynasty. Pamukciyan bases his argument on a passage by Pars Tuğlacı referring to three *ḳalfa*s named Foti Komyanoz, Yorgi, and Todori in relation to a project of 1809. According to Pamukciyan, who consulted İstefan Papadopulos on the matter, "Komyanoz" should correctly be read "Komnenos." He goes further still and cites Papadopulos' assertion that Simeon Kalfa (the architect of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, to be discussed in the next chapter) was also a Komnenos, and thus perhaps Foti's father. However, I have found no evidence to back up any of these claims, which turn out to be pure speculation. Even the 1809 list of *ḳalfa*s' names—the original source of the supposed "Komnenos" connection—is misleading, for Tuğlacı's transliteration of the original document (BOA, H.H. 32068) identifies the individuals as "Foṭi ve Ḳomyanoz ve Ḳurdoğlu [not Yorgi] ve Ṭodori." Rather than being a misspelling of "Komnenos," then, "Komyanoz" was a given

mention of “noble *Turks*”—the well-educated rather than the high-born—as those who remained aloof of handicrafts;[66] we can suppose from this that it was an equivalent class of non-Muslims who took these activities up.

The connection to Italy in particular is important to stress, for many of the motifs used in the early Ottoman Baroque have their closest parallels in Roman architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[67] To take as an example the gateway of the Ayasofya imaret (figs. 76–77), both its overall composition and its individual elements can be fruitfully compared to those of the main facade of the Church of Santi Celso e Giuliano in Rome, rebuilt by the architect Carlo de Dominicis (d. 1758) between 1733 and 1735 (figs. 96–98).[68] Like the Ottoman gate, the lower story of the Roman facade is organized by columns into three zones, the central one containing a door surmounted by a broken pediment, and the two lateral ones, niches crowned by scrolled pediments and set with shells. Both works make prominent use of dentils, which run along their entablatures

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name in its own right, belonging to a separate person. Pamukciyan’s mistake, based on Tuğlacı’s own sloppy paraphrasing of the document, has unfortunately been perpetuated by later scholars. See Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, English trans. (Istanbul: Yeni Çığır Bookstore, 1990), 26, 670, no. 6; Kevork. Pamukciyan, “Foti Kalfa’ya Dair İki Kaynak Daha,” in *Zamanlar, Mekânlar, İnsanlar*, Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar 3 (Istanbul: Aras, 2003), 160–61; and Artan, “Arts and Architecture,” 476, 479.

[66] See Chapter 1, p. 76. Although himself of Moldovian ancestry, Cantemir spent his Istanbul exile in Fener, attending the Phanariot academy there. See Cantemir, *Growth and Decay of the Othman Empire*, part 1, 98–100n10; and Göçek, *East Encounters West*, 126.

[67] For surveys of Roman Baroque architecture, see Anthony Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome* (London and New York: Granada, 1982); Dorothy Metzger Habel, *“When All of Rome Was Under Construction”: The Building Process in Baroque Rome* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013); Paolo Portoghesi, *Roma Barocca: The History of an Architectonic Culture*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970); John Varriano, *Italian Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 3–182; and Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, 6th ed., revised by Joseph Connors and Jennifer Montagu, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), passim. For an important analysis of Rome’s changing urban landscape during the Baroque, see Joseph Connors, “Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism,” in *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 25 (1989): 207–95.

[68] For this church, see Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome*, 28–29.

as well as their curved broken pediments, and both include feathery but lush vegetal scrolls growing in high relief from their doorframes. This kind of exuberant, even busy, approach to ornament is highly characteristic of the Roman Baroque, particularly as it was developed by the prolific seventeenth-century architect Francesco Borromini (d. 1667), whose manner remained highly influential in and beyond Rome well into the eighteenth century.[69] It is to this livelier Baroque expression, rather than the more sedate mode favored in France, that the Ottoman version of the style comes closest.

The resemblance goes beyond that of general effect to include some very specific correspondences. A recurring feature of the Ottoman examples discussed above is their bold adaptation of the classical orders, and some of the resultant variants are very close indeed to their contemporary Roman counterparts. The bead molding that typically runs along the undersides of the Ottoman capitals' corner volutes, for instance, represents an unusual elaboration that is not commonly encountered in Europe other than in Rome, where such beading is a Borrominesque device that can be seen on the capitals of various monuments, including the above-discussed Santi Celso e Giuliano (fig. 98).[70] Another Ottoman trait with Roman parallels is the replacement of the conventional elements of the capital's main faces with alternative motifs. Thus the scallop shells that are often substituted for fleurons in the Ottoman works seem to reflect a rather common practice in the Roman Baroque, as at Domenico Gregorini's (d. 1777) Oratorio SS. Sarcramento

[69] For Borromini and his impact on other architects, see Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory: Style and Society* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980); Jake Morrissey, *The Genius in the Design: Bernini, Borromini, and the Rivalry that Transformed Rome* (New York: William Morrow, 2005); and Paolo Portoghesi, *The Rome of Borromini: Architecture as Language*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (New York: G. Braziller, 1968).

[70] For an example of Borromini's use of this beading, see Portoghesi, *Rome of Borromini*, fig. 67. Such capitals are also found in the Church of San Giuseppe in Milan, designed by Francesco Maria Ricchino and completed in 1630: see Varriano, *Italian Baroque*, 187–90 and fig. 111; and Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy*, 81–83.

(1727–30), where the Composite columns of the facade are likewise crowned by shells (fig. 99).[71] Three of the sultanic examples discussed above—the Cağaloğlu bathhouse, the Ayasofya imaret, and the prayer loge at the Hacı Kemalettin Mosque (figs. 64, 77, 88)—are further distinguished by the oval medallions that are displayed, apparently as royal devices, on the main faces of their capitals, and this treatment too has Roman equivalents. On the facade of Santi Celso e Giuliano, the Composite capitals are stripped of the acanthus leaves and fleurons that would usually occupy their four main sides, and instead we see pairs of intertwined palm leaves framing Chi-Rho symbols and bearing little crowns. This design—which both enlivens an ancient type and is iconographically appropriate to the church's martyred dedicatees—is based on a similar capital on the facade of Borromini's famous mid-seventeenth-century church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (figs. 98, 100).[72] It is in turn echoed by our sultanic versions, whose oval medallions resemble in shape the spaces described by the intertwining palms of the Roman example. The similarity is particularly striking in the case of the royal loge of Hacı Kemalettin, for the capitals here, as noted above, have volutes that turn in on themselves, a feature found at both Santi Celso e Giuliano and San Carlo (figs. 98, 100–101). Though encountered also in other parts of Europe, this kind of inverted volute is

[71] Indeed, the Roman examples sometimes go much further, replacing the fleuron with winged cherub's heads—as at Santa Prisca (façade renovated in 1600 by Carlo Lambardi), Santa Maria in Publicolis (1643, by Giovanni Antonio de Rossi), and San Francesco di Paola ai Monti (1645–1650, by Gioan Pietro Morandi)—or with personal devices, as at Santi Luca e Martina (1635–64, by Pietro da Cortona), where the Ionic capitals are topped by little bees, symbol of the building's patron, Cardinal Franceso Barberini. For these churches, see Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome*, 71–74, 109, 119–20, 139.

[72] For this church, see Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome*, 22–24; Leo Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane: A Study in Multiple Form and Architectural Symbolism* (New York: Garland Pub., 1977); and Varriano, *Italian Baroque*, 47–54.

particularly characteristic of the Roman Baroque, being a favorite motif of Borromini's that was used frequently by his followers.[73]

The resemblance of the Ottoman capitals to such Italian models is one not only of form, but also of intent. In both cases, the elaboration of the standard classical orders does more than add decorative richness; it also provides a layer of symbolic meaning to emphasize the nature of the associated building. While the symbolism of the Christian monuments may be more obvious, the Ottoman instances too use formal variations to strong semiotic effect, with the most elaborated capitals being reserved for works of sultanic patronage. Particularly important in this regard is the recurrent motif of the oval medallion, which, despite being left blank within, manages to evoke the impression of a princely jewel handsomely set into the bell of the capital.

These overlaps with the Roman tradition are numerous and specific enough that the Italian connection seems almost indisputable: at least some of the artists responsible for the Ottoman examples must have had direct exposure to models either in Rome itself, or in other Italian cities with buildings designed in the Roman manner. Ottoman Greek and Armenian communities were present in Italy both for trade and education, and though the most important cities in this regard were Venice and Padua, Christian Ottomans could also be found as merchants and students in Rome.[74] These expatriate communities could very well have provided dhimmi artists with the necessary networks and contacts to travel to the same regions. It should be noted that the works of Roman

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[73] The inverted volute had ancient origins and was first revived in the quattrocento before experiencing a decline during the High Renaissance. Its resurgence in the Roman Baroque did not begin with Borromini, though his architecture played a large part in popularizing the form. By the eighteenth century, examples could be found in England and Central Europe, though French architects avoided it. For discussion of the inverted volute and its history, see Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo*, 208–17.

[74] See Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 201–23; and Philliou, "Phanariot Hanedans," 180.

and other Italian architects could also be found much closer to home, so to speak, along the Dalmatian coast, an area long under Italian cultural sway, and particularly in the Republic of Ragusa, modern-day Dubrovnik.[75] Bolstered by the adjacent Ottoman Empire, to which it paid an annual tribute, the small republic successfully competed with its neighbor Venice to become a flourishing maritime state, and in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Italian architects were invited there to erect new Baroque buildings with which to advertise this prosperity. Italianate forms, including the inverted volute, had also made their way to parts of Central Europe, appearing, for example, in Buda.[76] Although our artists may well have gained exposure to Italian-inspired motifs in these more proximate settings, the specificity of some of the correspondences noted above still suggests a link with Rome itself. The Central European material is highly modified and has a very different feel from the Roman (or Ottoman) Baroque, while the Italianate architecture of the Dalmatian coast seems to lack such tellingly Roman flourishes as the beaded or inverted volute.[77] This latter point raises another objection to the idea that our artists could have worked solely from books, for architectural manuals seldom record the kinds of unorthodox, even anticlassical, elements that the Ottoman works seem to have adapted so enthusiastically from their Roman models.

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[75] For the Baroque architecture of the Dalmatian coast, see Anđela Horvat, Radmila Matejčić, and Kruno Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1982); Katarina Horvat-Levaj, *Barokne palače u Dubrovniku* (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti; Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2001); and Radoslav Tomić, *Barokni oltari i skulptura u Dalmaciji* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1995).

[76] Pilasters with inverted volutes and shell crowns can be found, for instance, in Buda's Church of St. Anne (1740–1805), to be discussed in the following chapter.

[77] Firsthand observation of the monuments is required to form a better judgment of their possible relationship to the Ottoman buildings. For the time being, I have had to rely on the illustrations given in the literature.

Nor is there any evidence of likely models within Istanbul itself. Given the considerable presence in Pera of Italo-Levantine and Western European communities, including high-ranking foreign ambassadors with their own palaces, it might be expected that Ottoman artists could find relevant sources of inspiration among these "Frankish" buildings. But though the ambassadorial palaces seem to have been well-stocked with Western furnishings and luxury good, their architecture, as we saw with the Palais de France (figs. 36–37), was of local design and workmanship, and it was not until the late eighteenth century that these residences began to be rebuilt in overtly Europeanizing fashions.[78] This is true also of Pera's Catholic churches, which too were constructed by

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[78] See Köprülü, *İstanbul'daki Yabancı Saraylar*. The French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Istanbul in 1701, writes that "The Palace of *France* is the most agreeable House in all *Constantinople* to Persons bred up in *Europe*," and though he refers to its containing "fine Apartments," his subsequent description concerns the palace's provisions rather than its architecture: "Gentlemen there meet with every thing that's fit for 'em. . . . The Ambassador's Table is as well supply'd as the best in *Paris*: instead of Copper-vessels tinn'd over, which even the Grand Signior uses in the Seraglio, you see nothing in his Excellency's House but Piles of silver Plates, and Buffets charg'd with Basons, Ewers, Salvers, Vases, and Goblets of the same Metal." As I discuss towards the end of the first chapter, the actual fabric of the palace was local in nature at the time that Tournefort was writing. Just over a century later, the French diplomat Antoine Juchereau de Saint-Denys saw Pera's ambassadorial palaces after most of them had been rebuilt. He describes the Venetian palace—built in a Palladian style between 1780 and 1781—as having "a very beautiful front," but he is not so complimentary of the others, opining that the "English, Russian, and Swedish palaces are not remarkable either for the regularity or elegance of their architecture." Though failing to impress Saint-Denys, the British palace was in fact close to new, and it was rather better received by Lord Broughton at the start of the nineteenth century. He calls the palace "a large stone building, very handsome in its external appearance" and tells us that it "was built lately, at the expense of the Sultan." Destroyed by fire in 1831, the palace was reconstructed in a neo-Renaissance style by the British architect W. J. Smith in the 1840s and '50s, and it is this version of the building that stands today. Given Broughton's positive assessment of it, the earlier nineteenth-century edifice was most likely also in a Europeanizing style, replacing what must have been a humbler building of Ottoman appearance. See Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *A Voyage into the Levant: Perform'd by Command of the Late French King*. . . . Trans. J. Ozell, 3 vols. (London: D. Midwinter et al., 1741), 2:158–59; Baron Antoine de Juchereau de Saint-Denys, "Account of Constantinople (Concluded)," *The London Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, &c.*, no. 249, October 27, 1821, 678–79 (trans. from *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808, précédées d'observations générales sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, 2 vols. [Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1819], 1:264); Jan Reychman, "Beyoğlundaki 'Venedik Sarayı'nın Mimarı Kimdir?," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* (1966–68): 15–23; Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:836–37; and Köprülü, *İstanbul'daki Yabancı Saraylar*, 14–31.

Ottoman architects using local forms and techniques.[79] Once again, then, it is difficult to see how our craftsmen could have gained the necessary information if not in Italy itself.

Another tempting but improbable explanation is that European architects may themselves have traveled to the Ottoman Empire to found the new style. The possibility of the involvement of such individuals cannot be entirely discounted. We saw earlier the case of the French renegade architect seeking employment from Ahmed III, and if his petition was successful, he would have been recorded like any other Muslim in the payrolls, and thus indistinguishable as a foreigner. Nevertheless, the contemporary European sources are quite vocal in identifying the leading Ottoman architects of the time as native Greeks and Armenians, and it is only towards the end of the eighteenth century that Western builders are known to have been active in Istanbul.[80] Vigny, whose plans for the Palais de France were discussed in the last chapter, would have been an early exception to this had his project come to fruition, yet even he admitted the need to work in local techniques. When another French architect, Julien-David Le Roy (d. 1803), visited Istanbul as part of his travels in 1754 and 1755, he did so only as an observer, noting with admiration the technique used by the Nuruosmaniye's Greek architects to construct its dome.[81]

[79] See Paolo Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality: On the Use and Meaning of Catholic Spaces in Late Ottoman Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 233–64; and Girardelli, "Between Rome and Istanbul: Architecture and Material Culture of a Franciscan Convent in the Ottoman Capital," *Mediterranean Studies* 19 (2010): 162–88. The earliest surviving case of overtly Westernizing ecclesiastical architecture in Istanbul is the interior of the Church of Santa Maria Draperis, whose altar and chancel were reconstructed after 1767 using imported marble worked by the Roman sculptor Lorenzo Cerotti. See also Chapter 3, n. 211.

[80] The first such architect was Antoine Ignace Melling, discussed in Chapter 5.

[81] Le Roy's visit to the Nuruosmaniye is mentioned in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 8:191nb, where a reference indicates the source of the information as one of the published letters of the French merchant and antiquarian Pierre Augustin Guys. Guys, who traveled to the Ottoman Empire in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, explains in the letter that Le Roy "could not help but

It is true that Western architects are here and there recorded as sending plans for Ottoman palaces. Flachat, who wrote an important account of his stay in Istanbul, attributes "the good taste [the Ottomans] have started to give their buildings" to Frankish influence, though he goes on to say that Mahmud's new palace at Beşiktaş—"the most beautiful kiosk of the Empire"—was "built on the basis of plans provided by Italians."[82] A similarly vague reference to this theme appeared in European newspaper reports of the large earthquake that struck Istanbul in 1755 and damaged parts of the Topkapı Palace; we are told that a certain Italian architect called Espinelluzzi—a name I have not seen anywhere else—prepared plans for the necessary repairs.[83] Such claims are curious given that it was precisely the plans of Ottoman buildings that remained least affected by the

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admire the simple and easy process by which the Greek architect, charged with constructing this edifice, elevated the great dome, which covered it entirely. A pole at the center of the scaffolding that filled the interior of the mosque, moving circularly in all directions, successively described all the different circles of the dome, pointing to the place of each brick involved in its construction. When, by this procedure, the pole rose little by little to become vertical, the dome was closed with a stone that was its key." (*[Il] ne put s'empêcher d'admirer le procédé simple & facile avec lequel l'Architecte Grec, chargé de la construction de cet édifice, élevoit la grande voûte, qui le couvroit entièrement. Une perche, placée au centre de l'échaffaudage qui remplissoit l'intérieur de la Mosquée, se mouvant circulairement en tout sens, décrivoit successivement tous les différents cercles de la voûte, & désignoit la place de chaque brique qui entroit dans fa construction. Lorsque par ce procédé la perche, en s'élevant peu-à-peu, étoit parvenue à la ligne perpendiculaire, on fermoit la voûte avec une pierre qui en faisoit la clef.*) Pierre-Augustin Guys, *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce; ou Lettres sur les Grecs, anciens et modernes, avec un parallèle de leurs mœurs*, 4 vols., (Paris, Veuve Duchesne, 1783), 2:2–3 (there is a near-contemporary English translation of the work, but it omits the paragraph on Le Roy). Le Roy did indeed travel to the Ottoman Empire and write on its Greek monuments (see Chapter 4, p. 300), and his trip included a three-month stay in Istanbul around December 1754 (Guys mistakenly dates the Nuruosmaniye visit to 1753, when Le Roy was in Rome, and when the dome cannot have been near completion). Le Roy's own writings include no reference to the Nuruosmaniye, or indeed any mosque other than the converted Ayasofya, and so it is difficult to corroborate Guys' account. Nevertheless, Le Roy had plenty of time for sightseeing during his stay, and he would surely have been curious as an architect to see the Nuruosmaniye while it was still being constructed.

[82] *Je dois cependant convenir que les Turcs ont reçu des Francs le bon goût qu'ils ont commencé à donner à leurs bâtiments. Il n'y a nulle comparaison entre les anciennes maisons impérialles & les novelles. Le plus beau kiosque de l'Empire est sans contredit Bechictache; on l'a construit sur les plans que les Italiens en ont donné.* Flachat, *Observations*, 2:232. I am very grateful to Christopher Drew Armstrong for discussing with me the likelihood of Le Roy's visiting the Nuruosmaniye.

[83] See "De Constantinople, le 3 Février," *Mercure de France*, May 1755, 185; "Aus der Türkey,"*Münchner-Zeitungen*, no. 46, March 21, 1755, 184 (where the name is more fully given as "Alexander Espinelluzi"); and N. Ambraseys and C. F. Finkel, *The Seismicity of Turkey and Adjacent Areas: A Historical Review, 1500–1800* (Istanbul: M. S. Eren, 1995), 130 (where the name is mistranscribed "Espinelluza").

shifts of the 1740s. If there is any truth to the reports, the plans in question were probably designs and models of the type that the Ottomans are already known to have been looking at. Neither Flachat nor the newspapers suggest that the Italian architects in question were actually present in Istanbul, which supports the view that they did no more than send designs that their Ottoman recipients might add to their existing collections of foreign materials. At the very least, these unsubstantiated references are important for stressing the Italianate character of the Ottoman Baroque as it first emerged, even if all the evidence indicates that native Ottoman architects carried out the work.

The clearest argument against direct European involvement in the Ottoman Baroque is provided by the buildings themselves, abounding as they do with idiosyncrasies that would have been unthinkable in the West. Our artists may have known their source material and drawn real inspiration from it, but they did not feel in any way bound by its prescriptions, of which even the spirited Roman Baroque had many. Indeed, though I am arguing that Christian Ottoman craftsmen traveled to Italy and saw for themselves its artistic traditions, it does not follow that they were in any sense trained during their visits: they need only have seen the Western forms in order to reinterpret them in accordance with their existing skills and precepts. It bears reiterating that the Ottoman works' Baroque character derives not from any great structural innovation, but from a new ornamental (not to say meaningless) idiom. The buildings themselves remain resolutely Ottoman in type, and even in cases like the sebil of Mehmed Emin, where virtually the whole structure is decorated in the new style, the ground-plan lacks the swelling lines that typify the Baroque in Rome and elsewhere in Europe.

Perhaps the clearest proof of the importance of native Christian artists to the formation of the Ottoman Baroque is to be found in works produced within these communities. Such works are difficult to come by, and many would have been lost with the extensive renovation of Istanbul's churches during the Tanzimat,[84] but some very revealing eighteenth-century tombstones survive in the Armenian cemetery at Balıklı (figs. 102–3). These take the form of large oblong slabs of carved marble that are inscribed in Armenian and dated accorded to the Armenian calendar. The earliest piece, dated 1186 (1738), is decorated with the depiction of a pedimented arch framing a vase of flowers. The motif resembles similar designs of the "Tulip Era," and indeed, the round profile of the arch and the Corinthianizing capitals of the colonnettes supporting it together recall the arcade that crowns the Tophane Fountain, completed six years earlier (fig. 49). The Armenian version, however, is far more naturalistic as regards its bouquet of flowers, and it is further distinguished by its pediment, whose round-arched top frames a composition of interlocking C-scrolls and acanthus fronds. In short, the whole design is much more Europeanizing than anything of Muslim Ottoman patronage that survives from the same date, and it is only in the 1740s that a comparable stylistic vocabulary appears in Islamic works. The remaining tombstones, while not quite as early, also show how comfortable Armenian craftsmen already were with European models.[85] One, dated

[84] Even a recent book ostensibly dedicated to Istanbul's pre-Tanzimat Greek churches consists almost entirely of buildings that were wholly reconstructed in the nineteenth century: see Zafer Karaca, *İstanbul'da Tanzimat Öncesi Rum Ortodoks Kiliseleri* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008). For one of the few surviving examples of eighteenth-century Greek church architecture, see Chapter 4, n. 80 of this dissertation.

[85] Likewise, the Armenian community in New Julfa decorated their churches with Europeanizing frescoes and objects imported from the West. Amy Landau has highlighted the case of a certain Astuacatur or Bogdan Saltanov, an artist who received training in Romanov Moscow while living there as a member of the Julfan mercantile community. See Armen Haghnazarian, "Julfa iv. Architecture and Painting," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982–), vol.

1195 (1747), is carved with an elaborate mixtilinear pediment whose center hosts an asymmetrical arrangement of scrolls, a clear citation of the Rococo (figs. 102, 104); and another, dated 1198 (1750), has a rich assortment of foliate scrolls surrounding its inscription, which is contained by a roundel (fig. 103). Like the earlier piece, both of these stones also depict arches that accommodate bouquets, a conservative motif that imparts something of a "Tulip Era" flavor, but the overall innovativeness of the tombs is plain to see, and striking for its contemporaneity with the earliest phase of the Ottoman Baroque.

What is particularly interesting is that these tombstones are generally of rather middling workmanship, which shows that even lesser craftsmen within the dhimmi communities were well-versed at this early date in the artistic fashions of the West, as too, presumably, were their Christian patrons. Tombstones made for Muslim Ottomans, by contrast, remained far more traditional during these years, and it was not until the third quarter of the eighteenth century that their designs really began to exhibit the new manner.[86] This is important for showing once again that the Ottoman Baroque—at least as far as Muslim audiences were concerned—did not emerge as a popular style, but appeared first in works sponsored by high-ranking patrons. Although this elite adoption of the Baroque fully capitalized on non-Muslim Ottomans' familiarity with Western motifs, it is unlikely to have been directly inspired by the dhimmi interest in the style, and its causes are to be sought elsewhere.

15, fasc. 3, 238–40; and Amy S. Landau, "From the Workshops of New Julfa to the Court of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich: An Initial Look at Armenian Networks and the Mobility of Visual Culture," in *Metalwork and Material Culture in the Islamic World: Art, Craft and Text. Essays Presented to James W. Allan*, eds. Venetia Porter and Mariam Rosser-Owen (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 413–26.

[86] For Ottoman Muslim tombstones, see Edhem Eldem, *Death in İstanbul: Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center, 2005).

The Originators of the Ottoman Baroque: Patrons

Who, then, were the high-ranking Muslim Ottomans who fostered the creation of the new manner, and what did they intend by doing so? The sources are somewhat more revealing in this regard, though once again, it is not possible to give a definitive answer based on what is currently known. It would, in any case, be unwise to seek too neat a solution, for not only do the available documents not allow it, but the phenomenon in question cannot simplistically be attributed to a single force. Such a profound aesthetic shift must have involved a whole class of individuals who were part of the same cultural milieu and who shared a common set of concerns, and it is the collective aspirations of this group that lie behind the rapid ascent of the new style. Nevertheless, certain key figures must have played a decisive role in the change, and it is important to consider, however hypothetically, their identities and contributions.

A few general observations about these figures are in order. They must have been leading and highly influential patrons of art and architecture, able to set new standards that others would wish to follow. They must themselves have been aesthetically sensible and astute, aware of recent developments in Ottoman design and cognizant of the implications of stylistic change. And they must have had substantial knowledge of contemporary Western trends, as well as contact—whether direct or mediated—with the dhimmi craftsmen who had already familiarized themselves with these fashions. Such individuals can only have belonged to the court, and indeed, a courtly origin for the Ottoman Baroque would help to provide a context for a style whose emergence seems otherwise rather abrupt. After all, a new taste for artistic innovation and an amplified

interest in Western modes had characterized the Ottoman court since the start of the eighteenth century. European books and objects freely circulated among the elite during the "Tulip Era" and informed the creative reconfiguring of luxury painting and architecture that occurred at that time. Though the resultant works were not nearly as untraditional as those that would appear in the 1740s, they nevertheless represented an attempt to recast the Ottoman court aesthetic for a new age. Sometimes, as we have seen with Saʿdabad, the rhetoric of novelty was as important as the thing itself. It is against the background of this existing courtly concern for artistic originality and cosmopolitanism that the advent of the Ottoman Baroque should be understood, even if there was no obvious transitional moment to the new style.

The phenomenon is in some ways comparable to a language reform. When such a reform was initiated following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, no one could have predicted the extent and speed of the changes that would be made to the language, and yet the process did not come out of nowhere: efforts to simplify written Turkish had been made since the end of the nineteenth century, and with some success. What the republican language reformers did was to take an existing development and systematize it into something far more deliberate and accelerated than might otherwise have taken place. The results were rapid, far-reaching, and largely efficacious, and part of the reason for this success is that the reform—however artificial in many of its aspects—was ultimately grounded in a shift that was in any case underway.[87] Likewise, the Ottoman Baroque can be understood as a move initiated by certain leading members of the court to intensify an effect that was already being experimented with in the realm of

[87] For the language reform and the changes that preceded it, see Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

elite architecture. The buildings of the "Tulip Era" had demonstrated the rich possibilities of a novel ornamental approach that adapted the traditional palette of Ottoman design and used it to render even smaller-scale structures impressive. How much more powerful a result could be achieved by employing a whole new set of motifs for the same purpose? It was the recognition of this potential that led to the introduction of the Ottoman Baroque, a style that magnified and made almost programmatic the developments of the immediately preceding years.

As for the individuals who were qualified, as it were, to enact such a reform, first to consider must be the sultan himself. Mahmud's role as patron went far beyond that of a mere sponsor, extending to a real and sustained interest in the arts, and especially building. Commentators from both East and West refer time and again to the sultan's affinity for art and architecture, and though the trope of the knowledgeable patron-ruler is a widespread one, in Mahmud's case the characterization appears well deserved. The fullest descriptions of his aesthetic proclivities concern his patronage of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which is the subject of the following chapter, but there are many other references covering his reign in general. We have already seen Subhi's account of the sultan's careful tour of his new imaret at Ayasofya, for example.

More revealing is the *rūznāme*, or journal, kept by the sultan's private secretary Kadı Ömer Efendi between 1740 and 1750.[88] Like other books of its kind, this journal

[88] The journal, kept at Istanbul's Millet Kütüphanesi (Ali Emiri, no. 423), was transcribed in the 1960 and '70s as three master's theses: Ḳaḍı ʿÖmer Efendi, "Kadı Ömer Efendi: Ruzname-i Sultan Mahmud Han (Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname)," ed. Yavuz Oral (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1966); ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme" (see n. 51 above); and ʿÖmer Efendi, "Kadı Ömer Efendi: Rûznâme-i Sultan Mahmud Han I (1160/1747–1163/1750)," ed. Kâmuran Bayrak (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1972). Hans Theunissen ("Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: *Hünkâr Sofası* and *Hünkâr Hamamı*) makes very fruitful use of this journal in his analysis of the Topkapı's Baroque additions, and I thank him for providing me with a copy of the thesis that transliterates its third part.

largely consists of short and formulaic entries recording the sultan's daily activities, and it was written both for purposes of courtly record-keeping and to provide source material for later chroniclers. Because of their extemporaneous and documentary format, and because they were not intended as public or literary works, such *rūznāme*s are in many ways more useful than the elaborated, panegyric chronicles composed after them. The journal kept by Ömer Efendi is replete with references to Mahmud's activities as a sponsor and consumer of the arts. He emerges in particular as a deeply invested patron of architecture, commissioning numerous additions to his palaces and repeatedly visiting the sites of the new structures as they were being built. We are told that during a visit in February 1741 to the now-lost shoreline Topkapı Pavilion, Mahmud "graced the site being newly built [there] with his presence, and after some descriptions and explanations in connection with the building, he returned."[89] Though vague as to who actually spoke these "descriptions and explanations," the entry makes clear that Mahmud's viewing of the site entailed an interested dialogue regarding the nature of what was being constructed. The sultan showed the same engagement the following month when he visited another shoreline residence under renovation, the Beşiktaş Palace, on whose site now stands the Dolmabahçe Palace (fig. 6). While viewing the areas being remodeled, Mahmud is recorded as having given "certain orders in accordance with his noble disposition,"[90] explicit proof of his personal involvement in the projects being carried out in his name. Perhaps the most remarkable example in the *rūznāme* of such involvement

[89] *Müceddeden binā olunan maḥalle sāye-endāz ve bināya müteʿalliḳ baʿżı taʿrīf ü beyāndan ṣoñra ricʿat buyurdular.* ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 29.

[90] *Sarāy-ı Beşikṭaş'a ṣuʿūd ve taʿmīre mübāşeret olunan maḥalleri müşāhede ve muḳṭażā-yı ṭabʿ-ı şerefleri [?] üzere baʿżı sipāriş buyurup* . . . ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 35.

concerns the Belgrade Fortress, which the Ottomans had recently won back from the Habsburgs. The fortress was badly damaged and in need of repair, and so in 1740, the grand vizier brought a three-dimensional model (*mücessem taṣvīr*) of it to the sultan, who listened as his minister "explained and described" (*beyān u taʿrīf eyledi*) the various parts of the edifice. The model itself was evidently of monumental proportions, for the *rūznāme* records that it was placed in "the large pool" (*derūn-ı ḥavż-ı kebīre*), into which the grand vizier also descended, while the sultan observed from a pavilion above.[91] This elaborate procedure—striking evidence of Mahmud's attentiveness to matters of architecture—tellingly anticipates the planning of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque later in the same decade.

Western sources, too, portray Mahmud as a passionate builder. Flachat, whose role as merchant to the court made him well-acquainted with the sultan's tastes, writes that "Mahamout had hardly finished one building when he went about starting another."[92] An equally telling, if somewhat oblique, reference to the sultan's penchant for architecture is made by James Porter, British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in a report he wrote in May 1755, five months into the reign of Mahmud's brother and successor Osman III. Likening the new sultan to his predecessor, Porter states that "we see as much mildness, and lenity to the full as in the late Reign, his taste will turn out probably to Building"[93]—the corollary being that Mahmud's tastes had run the same way.

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[91] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 21–22.

[92] *Mahamout avoit à peine fini un edifice, qu'il en faisoit recommencer un autre*. Flachat, *Observations*, 2:26.

[93] Dispatch dated May 2, 1755, TNA, SP 97/60, fol. 335a.

It is interesting to note the association that Porter draws between calm governance and profuse building: the sultan's enormous architectural output must in some sense have been considered emblematic of his success at maintaining a secure and peaceful realm. This would help to explain the timing of the new style, whose appearance in the second decade of Mahmud's reign came on the heels of his victories against the Habsburgs—formalized in the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade—and his successful suppression of the revolt of April 1740. Indeed, one of the busiest periods of construction according to Kadı Ömer's *rūznāme* was the year 1153 (March 1740–March 1741), during which several of the sultan's palaces were being remodeled. Much of this work was completed in 1154 (1741–42)—the same year as the first dated examples of the Ottoman Baroque—and though no surviving examples of palatial architecture can definitively be associated with this campaign, the thoroughly Baroque renovations of the principal bath of the Topkapı Palace harem appear to date from 1744, while the equally novel fountain in the bath of the princes' schoolroom, also in the harem, was probably made earlier (figs. 105–6).[94] This would further indicate that the style was one that originated in a courtly setting before being carried by elite patronage into the urban fabric of the capital. Its development seems to have coincided with the consolidation of Mahmud's reign, and was perhaps driven by a desire to give novel visual expression to what many saw as a new age of Ottoman peace and prosperity. By the mid-1740s, the Baroque was well enough established in the courtly sphere for Kadı Ömer—whose terse diary entries are generally

[94] The harem bath was originally constructed in the late sixteenth century. Its Baroque renovations are usually associated with the patronage of Mahmud's successor, Osman III, whose name appears in an inscription in its corridor, but Theunissen—relying partly on stylistic analysis and partly on the writings of Kadı Ömer and Flachat—has convincingly demonstrated that they are earlier in date, probably completed in 1744. For these renovations and those of the princes' school, see Theunissen, "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: *Hünkâr Sofası* and *Hünkâr Hamamı*," 98–99, 108–28.

devoid of such observations—to start praising the structures being built at the time for their innovativeness, which he describes with terms like "the pleasing new style" (*nev-ṭarz-ı maṭbūʿ*).[95] Analogous expressions would, as we shall see, occur repeatedly in relation to eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, testifying to a real awareness of the buildings' originality.[96] The presence of such comments in a journal designed to record the sultan's daily actions shows the extent to which the new style—born in the palace at a time of revived sultanic authority—was read as a reflection of Mahmud himself.

Besides noting the sultan's zealous architectural patronage, the sources also confirm his interest in the arts and products of the West, further qualifying him as an active backer of the new style. On the first day of 1154 (April 11, 1741), Kadı Ömer reports, Mahmud visited the Baghdad Pavilion in order to hear "a marvelous instrument called by the name of 'organ' that had arrived from the Frankish infidels,"[97] and a few weeks later, he viewed "four new and marvelous carpets—two large, two small—arrived

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[95] He uses these terms in relation to a marble pool (*nev-ṭarz-ı maṭbūʿ ʿamel olunan ḥavż-ı mermerlikde temāşā*) and a pavilion in the garden of the eunuchs (*Aġa-bāġçesi'ne sāye-baḫş ve mücedded ibnā olunan nev-ṭarḥ ḳasr-ı maṭbūʿa revnaḳ-baḫş-ı iclā*). See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," 56, 58.

[96] While such terms were used of earlier architecture also, they grew increasingly common in the eighteenth century, not only in texts that mention the buildings, but also in inscriptions on the structures themselves. As Hamadeh argues, "[a]lthough these writings did not amount to the kind of philosophical debate that emerged in contemporary Europe, they constituted, in their own way, a distinctive form of discourse during a period when novelty and originality were invoked as measures of architectural appreciation." See Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 217–19. It should be noted, however, that these terms became to some extent conventional, sometimes used in relation to even the most pedestrian of works. This vocabulary of novelty may have drawn on a similar range of terms employed to describe the so-called "Indian style"(*sebk-i Hindī*) of Ottoman poetry, which developed in the seventeenth century under the inspiration of Persian-language Mughal literature. Characterized by its complex imagery and multiple meanings, this "Indian" mode was called by such names as *nev-ṭarz* (new style) in recognition of its inventiveness. See Walter Feldman, "Imitatio in Ottoman Poetry: Three Ghazals of the Mid-Seventeenth Century," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 21, no. 2 (Autumn 1997): 31–48.

[97] *Kefere-i Frenkden vürūd eden erġanūn ismi ile müsemmā bir sāz-ı ʿacībe irsāl edüp Şevketlü Efendimiz daḫi Oda-yı Baġdād'a teşrīf ve sāz-ı mezbūr ile faṣl olunup* . . . ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 36. This gift recalls the organ famously sent by Queen Elizabeth I to Murad III in 1599 and installed by Thomas Dallam, who wrote an account of his journey: see Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan* (London, Putnam, 1956).

from the French king as presents."[98] Interestingly, these are not the same organ and carpets that the better-known Western sources record as being sent by Louis XV the following year as part of a lavish array of gifts for the sultan and his court.[99] Entrusted to the Ottoman ambassador to France, Mehmed Saʿid Pasha (fig. 107), as he was preparing to return home, these later gifts also included a pair of monumental gilt mirrors that Flachat, who saw them in Istanbul, described as being finer than all others in the palace. The mirrors are now lost, but their appearance is known from textual descriptions and from a drawing by their designer, Louis XV's architect Ange-Jacques Gabriel (d. 1782), who devised two stately Baroque frames each crowned by a scroll-flanked cartouche containing a crescent moon (fig. 108). A sense of how splendid these mirrors must have been is provided by the only identifiable object to have survived from this set of gifts, one of a pair of Rococo braziers signed by the noted designer Jean-Claude Duplessis (d. 1774) (fig. 109). Though intended for Mehmed Saʿid himself, the braziers were apparently handed to the sultan after the ambassador's return to Istanbul; the surviving one was until recently kept in the Sofa Kiosk, a pavilion in the Fourth Court of the Topkapı Palace that was heavily remodeled by Mahmud in 1752 (figs. 110–11). Like the pieces that had been earlier acquired under Ahmed III, such objects would have played an important role in exposing the sultan and his circle to the contemporary fashions of France, reproducing in portable form—and in a manner more palpable than book illustrations—the kinds of motifs found in the latest French architecture.

[98] *Fransa ḳralı cānibinden berāy-ı hediyye vürūd eden dört ʿaded ikisi kebīr [?] ikisi ṣaġīr ḳālīçe-i nev-ẓuhūr u ʿacībe daḫi müşāhede olunup* . . . ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 40.

[99] For the embassy and the gifts it entailed, see Whitehead, "Royal Riches."

Mahmud's acquisition of Western goods was not limited to the passive acceptance of foreign rulers' gifts; the sultan himself played an enthusiastic role in collecting those European wares that interested him. In an entry from April 1743, Kadı Ömer tells us that Mahmud inspected an assortment of Western goods (*Frenk-kārī eşyā*) brought by ship and presented to him, buying only those objects that were to his liking (*pesendīde olanlar*).[100] A British report from after 1736, meanwhile, discusses the case of Antonio Laumaca, "a subject of the Sultan"—evidently of the Italian Levantine community—who had been sent to Paris to "buy certain things for the use of the Grand Signior," and who then found himself in Marseilles seeking British help in obtaining a passport back to the Ottoman Empire. The report specifies a total of fifteen "bales or Chests" of unspecified goods that Laumaca had obtained for the sultan.[101] Closer to home, Mahmud had his own Western merchant in the person of Flachat, who regularly stocked the palace with the kinds of luxury goods and mechanical novelties that were in demand there.

Though Flachat dealt mainly through the mediation of the eunuchs, he clearly believed his royal master to be a man of discerning and well-formed taste, with a good understanding of even the most characteristically Western of artistic products:

> Mahamout had . . . freed himself in several regards of popular prejudices. When I went about the seraglio of Bechictache, I was not so surprised to find in the communal areas admirable miniatures, beautiful porcelain magots, statues of singular finish, and pictures for which our connoisseurs would pay a great deal.[102]

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[100] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 175.

[101] Memorandum after 1736, TNA, SP 97/56, fols. 161a–62a. Interestingly, Laumaca was also seeking to transport goods of his own, presumably with a view to selling them: "thirty Bales of Cloth, one hundred Bales of course [*sic*] wrapping paper, & ten Chests of writing Paper."

[102] *Mahamout s'étoit . . . affranchi à plusieurs égards des préjugés populaires. Lorsque je parcourois le serrail de Bechictache, je fus moins surpris d'y trouver dans les lieux communs des mignatures admirables, de beaux magots de porcelaine, des statues d'un fini singulier, des tableaux que nos amateurs paieroient fort cher.* Flachat, *Observations*, 2:219.

Flachat noted a similar abundance of European wares in Mahmud's lost privy chamber in the harem of the Topkapı Palace, to which he was able to gain rare access in 1742:

> All [in the chamber] is of unparalleled magnificence. The window openings and ceilings are inlaid with flowered porcelain of remarkable finish. Foliage carved in gold covers the stucco which joins the slabs of porcelain. The walls are covered with tapestry of cloth of gold. The sofa is of a material just as rich. The mirrors, clocks, caskets, are all remarkable, and what is extraordinary is that nearly all the *chefs d'oeuvre* are the productions of foreign artists who have been employed to decorate this apartment [*Artistes étrangers qu'on a employés à décorer cet appartement*].[103]

Interesting to note are Flachat's closing words, which could at first be misconstrued as suggesting that the foreign artists in question were actually present and working at the palace. We know that this was not the case from the rest of the travel account, which makes clear that such Western goods were imported, but it is nevertheless significant that Flachat should describe these furnishings in terms that imply they were being purposefully commissioned rather than indiscriminately received or bought.[104] Such ordering of custom-made foreign goods was already taking place in the sixteenth century, when members of the Ottoman court commissioned mosques lamps, textiles, and lanterns from Venetian workshops, some of them designed according to drawings sent from

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[103] *Tout y est d'une magnificence sans égale. Les embrasures des fenêtres & les plafonds sont incrustés en porcelaine à fleurs d'un fini extraordinaire. Des feuillages en sculpture dorés couvrent le stuc qui unit les plaques de porcelaine. Les murs sont tapissés en drap d'or. Le sofa est d'une étoffe aussi riche. Les glaces, le pendule, les coffrets, tout est remarquable; & ce qu'il y a de singulier, ce sont presque par-tout des chefs-d'œuvres des Artistes étrangers qu'on a employés à décorer cet appartement*. Flachat, *Observations*, 2:198–99.

[104] Indeed, many of the eighteenth-century Western objects now in the Topkapı Palace Museum and other Turkish collections were self-evidently adapted for the Ottoman market. This is most obvious in the case of clocks, which were made with stylized Arabic numerals (true Arabic numerals rather than those conventionally termed thus). There are also numerous pieces of Meissen ware whose shapes and ornament were designed to appeal to Ottoman buyers: a good example is a coffee cup dated 1756–57 and inscribed in Arabic. See Davis, "Clocks and Watches"; and Tülay Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum," in "Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century," ed. Nebahat Avcıoğlu and Finbarr Barry Flood, special issue, *Ars Orientalis* 39 (2010): 113–47 (and fig. 3 for the coffee cup just mentioned). Also see n. 348 of the Appendix.

Istanbul.[105] This existing Ottoman interest in Western wares—whether customized or not—reached unprecedented levels in the eighteenth century.

To return to Flachat's Beşiktaş visit, an important detail of his account is that the sultan's European possessions were openly on display in the most public areas of the palace. This concern for showing off the new courtly taste extended also to the emergent style of architecture that was being built to house such furnishings. Kadı Ömer records that in April 1742, Mahmud gave the grand vizier permission to view the recently completed baths of the Topkapı Pavilion,[106] and that in February 1746, the sultan "graced the pavilion newly built in the Tulip Garden, and his slave the grand vizier also came and viewed [it]." The baths have not survived, while the pavilion that Kadı Ömer locates to the so-called Tulip Garden—the lower garden of Topkapı's Fourth Court—seems also to be lost. It is very likely, however, that both structures were in the burgeoning Baroque manner, and indeed, Kadı Ömer writes of the latter building that its "design and ornament, together with [its] newly appeared pool, are without equal, such that all who view it agree that it eclipses the other pavilions."[107]

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[105] See Rosa Barovier Mentasti and Stefano Carboni, "Enameled Glass between the Eastern Mediterranean and Venice," in *Venice and the Islamic World, 829–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni, exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 270; Ennio Concina, ed., *Venezia e Istanbul: Incontri, confronti e scambi*, exh. cat. (Udine: Forum, 2006), 148–49, cat. no. 70; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean 'Portable Archaeology': Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators," forthcoming (in a volume edited by Alina Payne); and Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 155, 169n49.

[106] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 101. The pavilion is not to be confused with the palace as a whole, which acquired its current name of Topkapı in the late nineteenth century, being known until then as the New Palace (*Yeñi Sarāy*).

[107] *Lālezārda cedīden ebnā olunan ḳasra şeref-baḫş ve ṣadr-ı ʿālī ḳulları daḫi temāşā… Fī nefsi'l-emr ḳasr-ı mezbūruñ ṭarḥ u nuḳūşu ve nev-ẓuhūr ḥavż ʿadīmü'l-mis̱l olup sāʾir ḳūsūru insā [?] eylediği müttefik-i ārā-yı müşāhidīndir.* ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," 84

Unsurprisingly, this culture of courtly display was not one-sided, and the individuals who made up Mahmud's circle were anxious to show the sultan their own understanding of the new elite aesthetic. Kadı Ömer's *rūznāme* records two visits by the sultan to the Sublime Porte in 1741 to view additions that had been made there by the grand vizier, whom Mahmud granted a robe of honor on both occasions.[108] Another high-ranking individual seeking to impress the sultan with his architectural patronage was the chief black eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha (d. 1752), who in late 1746 built a pavilion in the eunuchs' garden at the Topkapı Palace. As Kadı Ömer tells us, the sultan was entertained several times at the newly completed pavilion, with "its design and decoration exciting wonder in the beholder."[109]

This collaborative—one might even argue competitive—culture of display raises the question of who other than Mahmud may have been instrumental in bringing about the new aesthetic. Such seemingly obvious candidates as Mehmed Saʿid Pasha and the Comte de Bonneval prove to be red herrings: the former was in France during the very years that the style first came into prominence, and the latter had no documented role in Ottoman artistic patronage. A likelier player was the grand vizier, whose building activities have just been touched upon. It should be noted, however, that the post of grand vizier was frequently rotated in this period, so that Kadı Ömer's journal and other sources are referring to various individuals when they mention the title. To be sure, certain incumbents may well have been more directly involved in the period's architectural developments than others. Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (d. 1758), who served between 1732 and

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[108] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 27, 75–76.

[109] *Ve ḳasr-ı mezbūr vaḳiʿ-i teşrīfe şāyeste bir ḳasr-ı dil-ārā olup ṭarḥ u nuḳūşu ḥayret-efzā-yı müşāhedet olmuşdur.* ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," 124.

1735 and again between 1742 and 1743, not only sponsored one of the major fountains of the Galata waterworks project, but he also built his own mosque complex in Istanbul's Davutpaşa district (figs. 43, 112–13). This complex, completed in 1734–35, is centered on a sizeable domed mosque that is a late example of the traditional Ottoman model.[110] And as discussed above, the grand vizier Nişancı Hacı Ahmed Pasha, who held the post between 1740 and 1742, provided the Fatih Complex with a pair of Baroque wall fountains during his tenure (figs. 58–59). But it is perhaps safer to think of these various grand viziers in terms less of their individual influence than of their collective institutional impact. Indeed, Kadı Ömer several times indicates that a vizier's architectural contributions were not so much a choice as they were an expected duty. In 1744, for example, the grand vizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha (d. 1748) was charged by the sultan with furnishing a newly completed royal pavilion, and in the following year, he was "permitted" (*ruḫṣat-yāb*) to do the same at the Palace of Beşiktaş.[111] There is little to suggest in such cases that the grand vizier was doing much more than Mahmud's bidding, and it is relevant to recall here that Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha's fountain at Fındıklı was likewise subsumed under a sultanic project.

As for clearer evidence of the period's architectural movers, Flachat is more forthcoming in this regard than most:

> During the happy days of the reign of Mahamout (and they are those in which one saw the erection of very regular edifices belonging to the seraglio), Ali Effendi, superintendent of buildings in the capacity of chief architect, had a rich collection of plans and prints. He had the better treatises of architecture translated for

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[110] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 93–96; Walter B. Denny, "Revivalism in Turkish Art: The Hekimoğlu Pasha Mosque in Istanbul," in *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Tadeusz Majda (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990), 81–87; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 342–49; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 524–26.

[111] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," 21, 59.

> himself. He applied himself with ardor to the study of mathematics. He greatly enjoyed speaking on all parts of this science, in which he delighted to the last degree.[112]

Flachat is here muddling his details: there was no chief architect named Ali in this period, and the person in question is most probably Ali Agha, who served as building supervisor (*binā emīni*) of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and various other projects, including the Halkalı Aqueduct.[113] Regardless of who is meant, the passage is important in recording the extent to which certain elite Ottomans understood and appreciated Western architecture. Ali Agha was not himself a practitioner of art (and nor indeed were many of the actual chief architects of the period), but his job certainly required a familiarity with architectural practice,[114] and he was evidently among the individuals who promoted the conditions by which the new style might thrive. Given the availability and mobility of the kind of materials that Ali possessed, it is likely that other high-ranking Ottomans were similarly enthusiastic in their consumption of books and images of Western architecture. As we have seen, such works certainly featured prominently in the sultan's own library,

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[112] *Ali Effendi, Surintendant des bâtiments en qualité de premier Architecte , dans les beaux jours du regne de Mahamout, (& ce sont ceux où l'on a vu s'élever les édifices les plus réguliers du serrail) avoit un ample recueil de plans & d'estampes. Il s'étoit fait traduire les meilleurs traités d'Architecture. ll s'a pliquoit avec ardeur à l'étude des Mathématiques. Il se plaisoit beaucoup à disserter sur toutes les parties de cette science, qu'il goûtoit infiniment*. Flachat, *Observations*, 2:225. Citing this passage, Gülru Necipoğlu suggests that Sinan too may have had access to European architectural publications. She also notes that the imam and muezzin of Sinan's own masjid kept a collection of mathematical manuscripts, which again gives us some sense of the availability in the Ottoman world of manuals and treatises relevant to architectural practice. It was only in the eighteenth century, however, that European materials of this kind are known to have entered the empire in any large quantity. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 101–2, 149–50.

[113] Indeed, Flachat elsewhere calls the same individual "Ali Aga": see Flachat, *Observations*, 2:255. Ali Agha will be discussed further in the next chapter.

[114] Gülru Necipoğlu discusses a late-sixteenth-century case in which an architect sent from Istanbul to carry out work at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina wrote to the sultan asking for a new building supervisor. The existing incumbent, a retired finance minister also from the capital, was criticized by the architect for "not [being] informed about the laws of construction and of the masters." For this example and the knowledgeable role of sixteenth-century building supervisors more generally, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 124, 176–86.

and many of them contain translated captions and summaries, thus proving they were being actively looked at.[115]

Flachat mentions "Ali Effendi" again in relation to the Topkapı Pavilion, crediting him and the chief black eunuch with overseeing its construction.[116] The chief black eunuch is a recurrent character in Flachat's account, repeatedly hailed for his "good taste" (*bon goût*) and, together with the other eunuchs, portrayed as setting the artistic tone at the palace.[117] As with the vizier, the chief eunuch was in fact more than one individual, though in this case only two, both of them sharing the same name: Hacı Beşir Agha, who was appointed by Ahmed III in 1717 and survived his master's fall to continue in the post until his death in 1746 (fig. 8); and his successor Moralı Beşir Agha, whose thirst for power led to his execution in 1752.[118] Flachat indiscriminately refers to these individuals as if they were the same person, confusing things further by corrupting their names into "Agi Bectache."[119] Notwithstanding these muddled identifications, Flachat had good

[115] These will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

[116] See Flachat, *Observations*, 2:204.

[117] See, for example, Flachat, *Observations*, 2:206. For Flachat's relationship with the eunuchs, see Hathaway, "Jean-Claude Flachat."

[118] Born around the middle of the seventeenth century, Hacı Beşir entered the palace in 1705 as its treasurer. In 1713, he was exiled together with the chief black eunuch of the time, Süleyman Agha, first to Cyprus and then to Egypt. Such exile was routine for the black eunuchs, and seldom meant the end of their careers. Indeed, Beşir was then sent to the Hijaz and appointed the custodian of the Prophet's tomb in Medina, after which, in 1717, he was called back to Istanbul and made chief black eunuch, an office he held till his death. He was honored with a burial near the tomb of Ayyub al-Ansari, in the complex of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque (to be discussed in Chapter 5). Moralı Beşir entered the palace in 1724–25, becoming Mahmud I's gentleman-in-waiting (*muṣāḥib*) in 1730 and then, the following year, the palace treasurer. His rather swift downfall earned him the epithet of *maḳtūl*, "executed," though he remained noted even after his disgrace for his talents in calligraphy. For the biographies of the two Beşir Aghas, see Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha: Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005); and Abdülkadir Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Hacı" and "Beşir Ağa, Moralı," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 5:555 and 5:555–56.

[119] This curiously misapplied appellation, which vaguely resembles the full name of the first Beşir Agha, is evidently based on Hacı Bektaş, the famous thirteenth-century Khorasani Sufi who moved to Anatolia and

reason to present the two Beşirs as influential forces in Ottoman aesthetics. The chief black eunuch's dual function as overseer of the harem—including its refurbishment—and administrator of the Two Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina meant that he necessarily had to take an interest in matters of art and architecture. His traditional apprenticeship as palace treasurer—the post held by both Beşirs before they became chief eunuch—would have afforded him regular access to luxury objects, many of them imported. As Emine Fetvacı and others have shown, the eunuchs' significance as cultural patrons greatly increased from the late sixteenth century onwards;[120] by Mahmud's reign, it was fully expected that they would take a leading role in sponsoring artistic and architectural activity, often on the sultan's behalf. Hacı Beşir was a famed bibliophile and notable builder, while Moralı Beşir was a well-regarded artist in own right, having composed the calligraphies that decorate the Ayasofya imaret.[121]

founded an order there. Why Flachat uses it of two individuals he knew well is a mystery. Perhaps the mistake is a typographic one introduced when the book was being prepared for printing.

[120] It was with Mehmed Agha, chief black eunuch under Murad III (r. 1574–95), that the eunuchs' status escalated, and with it their role as supervisors and patrons of art and architecture. Besides establishing his own mosque complex, Mehmed Agha also oversaw architectural interventions in the harem and palace, and he was of considerable influence in the selection of Sinan's successor as chief architect, Davud. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 498–501. For the role of Mehmed Agha and his successors in the patronage of painting, see Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), esp. 149–88; and Zeren Tanındı, "Bibliophile Aghas (Eunuchs) at Topkapı Saray," *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 333–43. The eunuchs were also prominent architectural agents for the shahs of Safavid Iran: see Babaie, *Isfahan and Its Palaces*, 86–88, 207, 210.

[121] See Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Hacı"; and Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Moralı." Zeren Tanındı ("Bibliophile Aghas," 339–40) singles out Hacı Beşir as the most prolific collector of books among the chief black eunuchs. Moreover, she suggests that he played a role in inspiring Ahmed III and Mahmud I to establish their own libraries at the Topkapı Palace and the Aya Sofya respectively. The same Beşir also founded numerous institutions in Istanbul and the provinces, including his own mosque complex near the Sublime Porte (discussed presently in the main text), a hadith school and library in Eyüp, a masjid in the Topkapı Palace, a madrasa and library in Medina, and a *sabīl-kuttāb* (public fountain and primary school) in Cairo. The last of these works was built in 1718, not long after Beşir's stay in Cairo. His successor, Moralı Beşir, acted as the sultan's proxy in establishing another Cairene *sabīl-kuttāb*, this time together with a madrasa. Completed in 1750, this sizeable structure was the first pious foundation to be built in Cairo by an Ottoman sultan, and though it introduced certain features from the capital—notably a semicircular *sabīl* projection and Iznik and Tekfur Sarayı tiles—its architecture is basically local in style and workmanship. See Maḥmūd Ḥāmid Ḥusaynī, *Al-Asbila al-ʿUthmāniyya bi-madīnat al-Qāhira, 1517–1798 M.* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī,

The importance that Flachat ascribes to the two Beşir Aghas is substantiated by Kadı Ömer, whose journal contains various records of the eunuchs' architectural initiatives. In May 1744, Hacı Beşir reendowed and restored a neglected mosque in Kirişhane, rendering it fit for the sultan to pray in.[122] Following suit in 1747, Moralı Beşir twice installed new royal prayer loges into mosques that had previously lacked facilities for the sultan's visits; one of these, the Kalenderhane Mosque, was a monumental Byzantine church dating from about 1200.[123] The pattern to emerge is of projects instigated by the eunuchs themselves but undertaken in honor of the sultan, who would invariably lend his seal of approval by visiting the final result. Examples of this practice exist also outside the written page, for a good number of the works sponsored by the two chief eunuchs have survived. Most notable among them is the mosque complex that Hacı Beşir erected in Gülhane in 1744–45 (figs. 114–16).[124] Comprising a mosque, madrasa, library, sebil, and fountain, the complex is rather austere in overall appearance, though it incorporates some lively Baroque elements, one of the earliest major buildings in Istanbul to do so. Particularly notable are the carved marble columns of the sebil and prayer hall, and the extraordinary o*eil-de-boeuf* window that pierces the wall between the mosque and the adjacent library, a unique feature showcasing Beşir Agha's love of books. A prominent part of the scheme is a large raised gallery at the back of the relatively small

1988), 208–9, 232–47, and figs. 80, 115–28; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Complex of Sultan Mahmud I in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 195–219.

[122] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1153/1740–1157/1744 Arası Ruzname," 241.

[123] See ʿÖmer Efendi, "Rûznâme-i Sultan Mahmud Han I (1160/1747–1163/1750)," 20, 32. The Kalenderhane was converted by Mehmed the Conqueror before its thorough restoration by Moralı Beşir. Its royal loge no longer survives, but the marble inscription panel recording Beşir's renovation remains in the building's narthex (its text painted a lurid pink the last time I saw it). See Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 184–85; and Nejat Göyünç, "Kalenderhâne Câmii," *Tarih Dergisi* 34 (1983–84): 485–94.

[124] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 55–56; and Semavi Eyice, "Beşir Ağa Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 6:1–3.

prayer hall. This gallery—which communicates with a suite of rooms reached by a stairway whose entrance flanks the mosque's portico—was set up not for the mosque's founder, but for his patron, Sultan Mahmud, who Kadı Ömer tells us came to the mosque upon its completion.[125] As if to underscore the conceit of the complex's joint ownership, the sebil and fountain employ dentil moldings in their decoration, one of the very few cases I have found of a non-royal monument to include this motif.[126] The sultanic associations of the mosque only strengthens the impression that the chief black eunuch well understood the new style's nature and purpose.

If the case of the two Beşir Aghas confirms the chief black eunuch as a leading figure in Ottoman visual culture, it also reminds us of the more hidden forces that may have been at play in the artistic developments of the period. The eunuchs were vital, after all, in representing the interests of the women of the harem, who were among the most avid consumers of European luxury objects. The French traveler Aubry de La Mottraye (d. 1743), who was in Istanbul intermittently between 1699 and 1714, gained unusual access to the harem with a French clockmaker commissioned to repair some of the European timepieces kept there. His description of one of the rooms shows how fashionable Western goods had become among the women even by the start of the eighteenth century:[127]

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[125] ʿÖmer Efendi, "Mahmud I. Hakkında 1157/1744–1160/1747 Arası Ruznâme," 67. That the loge is a royal tribune is confirmed by Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 55.

[126] See n. 38 above.

[127] See Artan, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Princesses." To be sure, Ottomans sultanas had a long history of collecting foreign goods, Eastern as well as Western. Hürrem Sultan, wife to Süleyman the Magnificent, had velvets imported from Europe, while Mihrimah Sultan, Süleyman and Hürrem's daughter, had a prodigious appetite for luxury goods, buying everything that the markets of Istanbul had to offer. Letters sent in the late sixteenth century to and from Nurbanu Sultan and Safiye Sultan—consorts respectively of Selim II and Murad III—document a stream of Western luxury goods gifted to the two sultanas. Safiye

> In this Chamber was a very fine Pendulum to be mended, the Case of which was inlaid with Pieces of Mother of Pearl, Gold and Silver. It was upon a Massy Silver Table, after our Fashion, before a Looking Glass, the Frame of which was of Silver gilt, curiously work'd, and embellished with Foliages in Relievo.[128]

Besides strengthening the likelihood of a palatial origin for the Ottoman Baroque, such accounts hint at the role that elite Ottoman women may have had in promoting the new style of architecture. The sultanas had already established themselves as notable architectural patrons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their successors eagerly followed suit. As Artan has discussed, many of the shoreline palaces constructed during the eighteenth century were commissioned by the sultans' sisters and daughters, whose tastes would almost certainly have had a broader influence on the visual culture of the day.[129]

The probable though barely documented involvement of these women in setting artistic trends brings me back to my earlier point: in trying to identify those responsible for fostering the Ottoman Baroque, we are most likely dealing with a multiplicity of

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exchanged numerous letters and presents with Elizabeth I, whose gifts included a carriage and a bejeweled portrait of herself. Nurbanu, who may have been a Venetian noblewoman by birth, corresponded with the doge of Venice and acknowledged receipt of numerous presents from him, among them two dogs that she complained were overly large and hairy. What we see in the eighteenth century, then, is an intensification of existing tastes and practices in the Ottoman harem. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 270, 299; Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 226–28; Susan A. Skilliter, "Three Letters from the Ottoman 'Sultana' Ṣāfiye to Queen Elizabeth I," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries* (*Oriental Studies* 3), ed. S. M. Stern (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 119–57; and Skilliter, "The Letters of the Venetian 'Sultana' Nūr Bānū and Her Kira ro Venice," in *Studia Turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata*, ed. A. Gallona and U. Marazzi (Naples and Rome: Herder, 1982), 515–36.

[128] La Mottraye, *Travels*, 1:172.

[129] See Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," 135–39; and Artan, "Sultanefendi Sarayları." Perhaps the most influential sultana of the period was Selim III's sister Hadice Sultan, whom I shall discuss in Chapter 5. For the architectural patronage of elite Ottoman women before the eighteenth century, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 268–376; and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 58–70; and Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597-1665): Gender and Vision in Ottoman Architecture," in *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies*, ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 69–89.

voices reflective of a shared courtly discourse. At the same time, however, the swiftness with which the new style emerged suggests the guiding hand of at least one individual with the ability to bring about major artistic shifts. The most plausible agents seem to be Mahmud and the two Beşir Aghas.

To return to the question of the architects and craftsmen who actually practiced the new style, the long involvement of non-Muslim Ottomans in Istanbul's mercantile and building trades would have made their familiarity with European modes well known to the court. The eunuchs in particular dealt regularly with non-Muslims when purchasing Western goods, as Flachat repeatedly documents. At a certain point in the early 1740s, leading members of the court must have asked the Greek and Armenian artists already in their employ to bring their specialized skills to bear. Thus a style that Christian Ottomans had previously enjoyed among their own communities was suddenly transformed into an elite mode in the public arena. Although benefiting from this Christian expertise, Muslim patrons cannot have approached the new manner through the same lens. The early adoption of the Baroque by Greeks and Armenians was related, as I have argued, to a growing desire in these communities for independence, expressed in part through a new conceptual alignment with Western Christendom. Such ideological overtones would have been irrelevant and indeed unwelcome in the eyes of Muslim Ottomans, whose interest in European forms and ideas was motivated by very different factors. What these factors were becomes clearest in relation to the monument that was to put the Ottoman Baroque firmly on the map: the Mosque of Nurusosmaniye.

CHAPTER 3

A TRADITION REBORN:

THE NURUOSMANIYE MOSQUE AND ITS AUDIENCES

On Friday December 5, 1755, a new sultanic mosque was inaugurated with much pomp and circumstance in the heart of Istanbul (fig. 117). Ahmed Efendi, who had been the building secretary during the mosque's construction, wrote a detailed account of the ceremony, telling us that "His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor decided to come in magnificence and splendor from his exalted palace to visit [the mosque] in royal state with a kingly entourage, and [there] to perform the Friday prayer."[1] Another contemporary observer was Alexandre Deval (d. 1771), the French dragoman, whose diplomatic journal records that the sultan arrived at the mosque with an "extremely numerous and magnificent retinue," equaling the procession "that had accompanied him on the day of his coronation."[2]

Deval's entry on the event leaves only an ellipsis where he intends to give the mosque's name, indicating that one had yet to be announced by the day of the opening. It was, in fact, during the inauguration itself that the chosen name was revealed to be *Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī*, which has come down to us in its more popular variant form "Nuruosmaniye" (*Nūr-ı ʿOs̱māniyye*).[3] Unusual by the prosaic conventions of Ottoman mosque

[1] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī*, Istanbul University Library, T. 386, p. 47. For details of this manuscript, which will be discussed presently in the main text, see n. 21 below, and the introduction to the Appendix.

[2] Deval's account will be quoted fully in the main text below.

[3] Şemʿdani-zade (*Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6) writes that the sultan named the mosque before returning to the palace. Deval would not have seen this part of the ceremony, which took place within the mosque's precinct. The variant *Nūr-ı ʿOs̱māniyye* came into use soon after the mosque was

nomenclature, this rather poetic designation can be translated generally as "Light of the Ottomans" or more specifically as "Light of Osman,"[4] in reference to the sultan who inaugurated the monument, Osman III (fig. 118).

Osman had come to power upon the death of his older brother Mahmud I on December 13, 1754, barely a year before the mosque's opening, and more than six after its construction had begun in October 1748.[5] As this timeline indicates, the greater part of the project was already completed when Osman became sultan, and he was able to claim as his own a mosque that was really a monument to his brother: indeed, the *waqfiyya* gives no indication at all of Mahmud's patronage.[6] Şemʿdani-zade, in typically caustic fashion, notes that just as Mahmud had taken credit for Ahmed III's scheme to build the Bahçeköy Aqueduct, so "his own mosque was, in turn, snatched by his brother"—a sort of divine retribution.[7] It is perhaps because of the questionable circumstances surrounding his inheritance of the mosque that Osman gave it a suitably lyrical name that

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constructed, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents use both designations. Given that the Arabic word *nūr* is masculine, the feminization of its accompanying adjective from *ʿOs̱mānī* to *Os̱māniyye* was grammatically unsound. The shift probably came about under the influence of the popular (and again not always original or official) names of other sultanic mosques such as the Süleymaniye and Selimiye, which morphologically are feminine Arabic adjectives; indeed, the Nuruosmaniye was itself often referred to in the abbreviated form *Os̱māniyye*. The tendency to treat the names of sultanic mosques in this manner may stem from the names' being construed as compliments to the feminine noun *külliyye*, "complex": e.g., *Külliyye-i Süleymāniyye* (literally, "Süleymanic Complex"), *Külliyye-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱māniyye*.

[4] The literal translation, depending on the construed meaning, is "Ottoman light" or "Osmanian light." Writing in the early nineteenth century, Lord Broughton (*Journey through Albania*, 2:973–74) gives the definition as "the light of the Ottomans," which is what he must have been told by local informants. Most Ottoman mosques, including ones of royal status, are plainly named after their founder or location (e.g., Sultanahmet Camii, Süleymaniye Camii, Emirgan Camii), or by a simple attribute (e.g., Yeni Cami, "New Mosque"; Üç Şerefeli Cami, "Three-Galleried Mosque").

[5] For the events of Osman's reign, see Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:42–92; Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:178–82, 2A:1–12; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 8:175–97; and Kahraman Şakul, "Osman III," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. G Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 447.

[6] For a transliteration of the *waqfiyya*, See Ali Öngül, ed., *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi* (Manisa, 2003).

[7] *Cezā['-ı] ʿamel cinsinden olmaġla . . . kendi cāmiʿini daḫi ḳarındaşı aḫẕ eyledi.* Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6.

might be construed as celebrating the Ottoman dynasty as a whole. But despite this clever act of expropriation, the Nuruosmaniye should properly be regarded as the culmination of Mahmud's architectural patronage, and the first major public edifice to proclaim—fully and on a monumental scale—the bold new manner associated with his reign. Osman himself did not live long enough to distinguish his rule, dying in late 1757. The mosque he took over from his brother was to be his principal legacy also.

"A Most Glorious Pious Foundation": The Revival of the Sultanic Mosque

Crowning one of Istanbul's hills and located next to the Grand Bazaar, the Nuruosmaniye enjoys a prominent place in the fabric of the city (figs. 119–21).[8] The mosque proper is only the centerpiece of a much larger complex that also includes a madrasa, an imaret, a tomb, a library, a sebil, and several fountains (*çeşme*s) (figs. 122–31). Delimiting the complex is a roughly quadrangular precinct wall, the exterior of which is partly lined with shops whose revenues helped to fund the upkeep of the complex. The precinct is entered by two identical gates—one to the east and another to west—within easy reach of the nearby Divanyolu, the principal ceremonial thoroughfare of the Ottoman capital; flanking

[8] For the Nuruosmaniye Mosque and its complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 24–25; Recep Akakuş, *Tarihsel Kimliği Açısından Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi ve Kur'an-ı Kerim Öğretimi* (Istanbul: Nuruosmaniye Kültür ve Yardım Derneği, 2010); Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 59–62; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 382–87; Pia Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye in Istanbul: Beiträge zur Baugeschichte nach osmanischen Quellen* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1986); Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 526–36; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 27–29; Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," 309–15; Ali Uzay Peker, "Return of the Sultan: Nuruosmânîye Mosque and the Istanbul Bedestan," in Constructing Cultural Identity, Representing Social Power, ed. Cânâ Bilsel et al. (Pisa: Plus-Pisa University Press, 2010), 139–57; Fatma Selva Suman, "Questioning an 'Icon of Change': The Nuruosmaniye Complex and the Writing of Ottoman Architectural History" (master's thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007); and Suman, "Questioning an 'Icon of Change': The Nuruosmaniye Complex and the Writing of Ottoman Architectural History," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 28, no. 2 (2011–12): 145–66.

the exterior of the western gate is the sebil and a fountain. Within the precinct walls, the southeast corner is filled by the madrasa and imaret, which constitute a single rectangular building arranged around two small inner courtyards, while the northeast corner is occupied by the elliptical library, to whose south is the neighboring domed tomb. The identity of the tomb's originally intended inhabitant is unclear, though it came to house Osman's mother, Şehsuvar Sultan, who died in 1756 shortly after the Nuruosmaniye was opened. The mosque itself stands on a high basement in the northwest quadrant of the precinct, its main axis pointing southeast towards Mecca. It consists of a domed square prayer hall preceded on its northwest side by a semielliptical courtyard and adjoined at its eastern corner by an L-shaped imperial pavilion. Covering the prayer hall is a dome 25 meters in diameter—among the largest in Istanbul—borne by four enormous fenestrated arches. Two minarets rise from the building's sides.

Like the complex as a whole, the mosque is a tour de force of Ottoman Baroque design and decoration, as will be discussed later in this chapter. But just as important to the monument's impact in its own time would have been the very fact of its existence. Such an imperial mosque complex had not been seen since 1616, when Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) erected his eponymous foundation opposite the Ayasofya (figs. 132–33). This, the Sultanahmet Mosque, was the last and, with its unprecedented six minarets, arguably the most audacious of a series of sultanic mosques built following the conquest of Istanbul.[9] Ahmed's successors, however, did not follow suit, and the tradition of founding sultanic mosque complexes in the capital—as distinct from smaller local or provincial mosques—remained dormant until Mahmud revived it with the

[9] For the Sultanahmet Mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 21–22; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 342–49; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 361–65; Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası*, 48–77; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514–18.

Nuruosmaniye.[10] To be sure, Istanbul was endowed with two impressive new royal mosques in the intervening years, both called Yeni Valide Camii (New Valide Mosque) after the queen mothers who founded them. The earlier of these—today more usually known as Yeni Cami—was built in 1665 by Turhan Hadice (d. 1683) on the shore of Eminönü, one of the most prominent locations in the whole city (fig. 134);[11] and the later, which stands not far from the water in Üsküdar, was built between 1708 and 1710 by Emetullah Rabiʿa Gülnuş (d. 1715), mother of Ahmed III (fig. 135).[12] With their courtyards, paired minarets, and ancillary buildings, these large domed mosques are unmistakably imperial affairs, and would have ranked among what the Ottomans called *cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn*, sultanic mosques in the sense of having been founded by royal personages.[13] But they are not, strictly speaking, monuments to the sultans during whose reigns they were erected: they belong rather to their mothers, whose patronage of these two grand projects only underscores the lack of such activity on the part of the sultans themselves. And though Turhan's mosque—which actually completed a scheme initiated in 1597 by another valide sultan, Safiye (d. 1605)—was a conspicuous addition to the walled city, Gülnuş's foundation is located outside the city proper on the other side of the Bosphorus. Within Istanbul itself, the only major mosque constructed during the first half

[10] See Crane, "Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 187–89 (though he is wrong in attributing the Üsküdar Yeni Valide Mosque to Ahmed III); Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 518; and Peker, "Return of the Sultan," 141–43.

[11] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 22–24; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 339–40, 356–59; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 370–78; Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası*, 143–57; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 512; Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex at Eminönü"; and Thys-Şenocak, "The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü."

[12] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 493–94; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 365–66; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 384–86; and Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:379–91.

[13] For the imperial mosques as a category, see Crane, "Ottoman Sultan's Mosques."

of the eighteenth century was that of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha in Davutpaşa, a large and essentially traditional domed edifice completed in 1734–35.[14]

This lull in the construction of sultanic mosques is not altogether surprising. Tradition held that only a sultan who had succeeded in war and earned the title ghazi was eligible to found a great mosque complex in his own honor, a condition rarely met by the rulers of the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth centuries.[15] Indeed, Ahmed I, who won no wars, invited considerable controversy and even opposition when he went ahead regardless and built such a foundation, especially as it meant squandering the state treasury rather than paying with war booty as his predecessors had done.[16] The sultans who succeeded Ahmed were not so daring, and at best contented themselves with the reflected glory of their mothers' monuments, as with the two Yeni Valide Mosques. One might even argue that these sultanas' mosques offered the sultans under whom they were built a convenient way to get around the traditional restrictions, since the result in each case was still a new imperial foundation.[17]

Nothing, however, could substitute a mosque built on one's own behalf within the walled city, and it was Mahmud who first revived the practice. Unlike Ahmed I, Mahmud was on sure ground when he decided to build his mosque in late 1748, as explained in a

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[14] See Chapter 2, pp. 151–52.

[15] See Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks on the Preceding Memoirs," in *Memoirs of Baron de Tott. Containing the State of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea. . . .* By François, baron de Tott, English trans., 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1786), vol. 2, part 4, 194–95.

[16] See Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 451–52; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514–15.

[17] Indeed, these queen mothers' mosques are sometimes inaccurately attributed to their sons, as when Goodwin (*Ottoman Architecture*, 365–66) writes that the Üsküdar Yeni Valide Camii was "built by Ahmet III in honour of his mother" and "was to be [his] imperial mosque just as the Yeni Valide Cami at the Galata Bridge was Mehmet IV's." See also Chapter 1, n. 146 of this dissertation.

letter by the French consul and long-time resident of the Ottoman Empire Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (d. 1790):

> Sultan Mahmoud, who had legally acquired this right [to build a mosque], by gaining the battle of Grosca [Grocka], against the Germans, and taking Belgrade, never thought of building a Mosque at Scutari, but erected a very beautiful one within the capital.[18]

We have already seen how Mahmud's achievements as sultan were given architectural expression through a new stylistic idiom that burst onto the scene in the 1740s, immediately after his biggest victories. Among the most important of the works that Mahmud sponsored in these years were his contributions to the city's existing mosques, whether the imaret he added to the Ayasofya or the loge he erected at the renovated Hacı Kemalettin Mosque. Even these earlier religious undertakings were enough to set Mahmud apart from his predecessors and their inactivity in this regard: during Ahmed III's reign, for example, it had been the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha who sponsored and took credit for the restoration of Istanbul's mosques.[19] What better way, then, for Mahmud to round off his already impressive architectural program than by reintroducing the most important building type in the Ottoman canon? Not only can the Nuruosmaniye (in spite of its name) be considered the pièce de résistance of Mahmud's patronage, but it

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[18] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 195. Peyssonnel's letter ("to the Marquis de N.") appears as a rather lengthy appendix in the second edition of the memoirs of François de Tott, a French aristocrat of Hungarian origin who served as a military adviser to the Ottomans; it was also published separately as a short book (Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel, *Lettre de M. de Peyssonnel . . . Contenant quelques Observations relatives aux Mémoires qui ont paru sous le nom de M. le Baron de Tott* [Amsterdam, 1785]). The letter is a corrective commentary on the memoirs, with the well-informed Peyssonnel pointing out Tott's mistakes and inaccuracies. His remarks about Mahmud I's mosque are in response to "several errors" on the part of Tott, who writes that "[t]he Custom, constantly followed by the Turkish Emperors, of building a Mosque, and endowing it, has so multiplied these Temples that the situations in which they can be erected are become very scarce in Constantinople. Sultan Mahomet [*sic*: Mahmud is meant] had determined to build one at Scutari; he died, and it was finished by Sultan Osman." François, baron de Tott, *Memoirs of Baron de Tott. Containing the State of the Turkish Empire and the Crimea. . . .* English trans., 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1786), vol. 1, part 1, 150.

[19] Rasid (*Tārīḫ*, 5:160) gives responsibility to İbrahim Pasha for restoring the city's mosques.

might also be regarded as the consummation of a much longer campaign dating back to the court's return to Istanbul in 1703. Although certainly far-reaching and effective, the prodigious efforts to renovate the capital during Ahmed III's reign did not result in a new sultanic mosque in the walled city, and so necessarily fell short of the achievements of earlier centuries. When Mahmud addressed this shortcoming, he was in a sense capping off a process that had already begun under his predecessor: his mosque would be the definitive statement of Istanbul's return to glory, a monument to bear comparison with the great complexes of the past. That it is located in the city's commercial heart, in clear sight of thousands of traders and their customers, would only have added to its visual and ideological impact.[20]

Indicating the significance of this architectural move is the fact that the Nuruosmaniye inspired a highly unusual monograph tracing its creation, as quoted from above. Entitled *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī* (History of the Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye) and known from a single manuscript of fifty-five pages (fig. 136),[21] the

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[20] For the significance of the mosque's site, see Peker, "Return of the Sultan," 143–46.

[21] See n. 1 above. For an introduction to the work and a full transliteration and translation of it, see the Appendix to this dissertation. Although scholars have long been acquainted with the text, their knowledge of it seems to be based entirely on a print transcription published in 1919 as a supplement to the journal *Tārīḫ-i ʿOs̱mānī Encümeni Mecmūʿası*; all of the citations I have found to the work refer to this version rather than the more reliable manuscript copy, which I discovered independently at the Istanbul University Library. This print edition is reprinted, analyzed, and partially paraphrased into German in Pia Hocchut's study on the Nuruosmaniye, and it is also the subject of an important article by Doğan Kuban. It has been transliterated with many errors into the modern Turkish alphabet by Ali Öngül, whose reading, for all its mistakes, was the point of departure for my own appended transliteration. All subsequent citations of Ahmed Efendi's work will refer to the manuscript copy, whose pagination (together with that of the 1919 edition) is indicated in my Appendix. See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī*, supplement to *Tārīḫ-i ʿOs̱mānī Encümeni Mecmūʿası* (Istanbul: Hilāl Matbaʿası, 1335 (Rumi)/AH 1337 [1919]), reprinted on pp. 158–208 of the following book; Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*; Doğan Kuban, "Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî ve Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Osmanlı Yapı Tekniği Üzerine Gözlemler," in *Türk ve İslâm Sanatı üzerine Denemeler* (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 1982), 123–40, imperfectly translated into English as "Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century. The Building of the Mosque of Nuruosmaniye at Istanbul, According to 'Tarih-î Camii Şerif-î Nur-u Osmanî,'" in *I. Uluslararası Türk-İslâm Bilim ve Teknoloji Tarihi Kongresi, 14-18 Eylül 1981: Bildiriler = I. International Congress on the History of Turkish-Islamic Science and Technology, 14–18 September 1981: Proceedings*,

work was written between 1756 and 1757 by Ahmed Efendi, the man who had served as building secretary (*binā kātibi*) for the financial management of the mosque's construction. Ahmed Efendi's sustained and firsthand knowledge of the project is fully reflected in his booklet, which gives a detailed, if florid, account of the complex from its conception to its opening. Such a document is seldom to be encountered in the Ottoman context, where texts on architecture are frustratingly few and far between, and works devoted to particular buildings still rarer.[22] Examples of the latter category invariably concern great religious foundations, as with a much-copied anonymous late-fifteenth-century history of the Ayasofya,[23] and a mid-eighteenth-century treatise by Dayezade Mustafa on Edirne's Selimiye Mosque.[24] Both these works appeared long after the edifices to which they pertain, and I know of only one Ottoman text other than Ahmed Efendi's that was written to commemorate a newly constructed building: an anonymous

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5 vols. (Istanbul: İ.T.Ü. Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1981), 5:271–93; and Aḥmed Efendi, "Tarih-i Câmi-i Nuruosmânî," ed. Ali Öngül, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 24 (1994): 127–46.

[22] Most of the works in this category are architects' biographies, including the ghost-written autobiographies of Sinan, and Caʿfer Efendi's biography of Mehmed Agha. For examples and discussion of these texts, see (in addition to the examples cited in the following notes) Caʿfer Efendi, *Risāle*; Muṣṭafā Sāʿī Çelebi, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, trans. Howard Crane and Esra Akin, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006); Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 135–52; and Selen B. Morkoç, *A Study of Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: Text, Context and Hermeneutics* (Bethesda, Dublin, and Palo Alto: Academica Press, 2010).

[23] Entitled *Tārīḫ-i bināʾ-ı Aya Ṣofya*, the text was composed during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror on the basis of earlier Byzantine accounts: see Stefanos Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques: légendes d'empire* (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes; Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1990).

[24] Known as the *Selimiye Risalesi*, the work survives several manuscript copies, the oldest dated 1741 and kept at the Süleymaniye Library (Esad Efendi, no. 2283). For this work, including a full reproduction of the 1741 manuscript, see Morkoç, *Ottoman Narratives on Architecture*, 73–98, 275–303, and the illustrations between 178 and 179. Morkoç's book also has an appendix consisting of her translation of the treatise: Dāyezāde Muṣṭafā Efendi, "The Translation of the Selimiye Risālesi," trans. Selen B. Morkoç, in Morkoç, *Ottoman Narratives on Architecture*, 311–41. For a transliteration and modern Turkish rendering of the Ottoman text, see Dāyezāde Muṣṭafā Efendi, *Edirne Sultan Selim Camii Risalesi*, ed. Oral Onur (Istanbul: Kuşak Ofset, 2002); and Dāyezāde Muṣṭafā Efendi, "Selimiye Risâlesi," trans. Zeki Sönmez, in Zeki Sönmez, *Mimar Sinan ile ilgili Tarihi Yazmalar-Belgeler* (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1988), 101–22.

account of the dome-closing ceremony of the Sultanahmet Mosque.[25] Related to this document, though concerned with events beyond architecture, is the moralizing seventeenth-century chronicle of Kürd Hatib Mustafa, who celebrates Turhan Hadice's patronage of the Yeni Cami and describes the building's construction and opening.[26] The Nuruosmaniye *Tārīḫ*, which is longer than any of these precedents, thus belongs to a select group of texts that all deal with high-ranking religious monuments. To call this group a genre would be an exaggeration, for the works within it are too few and dissimilar, but Ahmed Efendi would nevertheless have been aware that he was writing a kind of text reserved for only the most prestigious of architectural projects. Although it is unknown whether he created the work independently or in fulfillment of a commission, he was surely responding to a more general excitement surrounding the new mosque.

Indeed, the Nuruosmaniye's status as an eagerly anticipated "event" is immediately apparent from Ahmed Efendi's account, which opens by describing how the mosque came to be built in the first place. There was, he tells us, an old masjid near the

[25] This work—a manuscript of forty-eight folios—seems to be unknown in the scholarship, and I discovered it quite by chance while looking through the electronic database of the Süleymaniye Library, where it appears with the modern title *Sultanahmed Camii Tarihi* (History of the Sultanahmet Mosque) and the classmark Fotokopi no. 294. As this classmark indicates, the Süleymaniye Library houses only a photocopy of the book, whose actual location, as recorded by an Arabic slip shown in the photocopy of the flyleaf, is the Iraqi Academy of Sciences. This slip again gives the modern title, this time in the Arabic/Ottoman script, suggesting that the flyleaf beneath it bears the same title written in late Ottoman times. The missing original title, if it existed at all, would have been a more flowery construction. There is no date or mark of ownership on the manuscript, at least as revealed by the Süleymaniye's photocopy of it. The Arabic slip, which may be obscuring relevant information on the flyleaf itself, gives the book's provenance as the National Center for the Preservation of Documents, part of the Ministry of Information in Baghdad. The text itself is written in a fine and large *naskh* that is vocalized throughout and framed by ruled and gilt borders, with illumination on the opening page. This rather fine format suggests that we are dealing with a presentation copy intended for someone with a close personal interest or involvement in the mosque. Comprising both verse and prose, the text's detailed description of the dome-closing ceremony ends on the forty-sixth folio; the two folios that follow are inscribed in a different hand with an unrelated parable (*rivāyet*) whose end is omitted by the photocopy. I have already transliterated the manuscript and plan to publish it with a full English translation.

[26] Entitled *Risāle-i Kürd Ḫaṭīb*, the chroncile survives as a single manuscript in the Topkapı Palace Library (E.H., 1400). I am grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu for bringing this work to my attention.

Grand Bazaar that had been founded by a certain Fatma Hatun and later fallen into disrepair. The people of the neighborhood petitioned Ahmed III to order the building's renovation, and though an investigation was carried out to calculate the necessary funds, nothing came of it. And so the people resubmitted their request to Mahmud I, who, upon being petitioned a fifth time, appointed Derviş Efendi (d. 1757)—secretary to the chief black eunuch (*Dārü's-saʿāde aġası kātibi*)—to oversee the matter. It was soon determined that the building's endowment had become unproductive, and so rather than merely restore the existing structure, the sultan decided to appropriate the waqf for himself and build a new mosque. Now serving as project superintendent (*nāẓır*), Derviş Efendi nominated as building supervisor (*binā emīni*) Ali Agha, who, as mentioned in the last chapter, had previously managed the construction of the Halkalı Aqueduct. Ali Agha in turn selected a certain dhimmi known as "Skillful Simeon" (*kār-āzmūde Simyon*) to be the master builder (*ḳalfa*), which is to say the mosque's architect.[27] As work got underway on digging the foundations, the sultan quickly realized that the mosque would have to outgrow the site of its forerunner if it was to realize its full potential:

> Since that land was a highly distinguished and esteemed area among the districts of Istanbul, as well as in the proximity of the craftsmen and artisans [of the Bazaar], it occurred to the exalted and benevolent imperial mind that [the site] would not accommodate the congregation of Muslims and assembly of worshippers during the five prayer times, nor perhaps at any time, and that it would [therefore] be well to construct a great place of worship in the manner of the sultanic mosques [*cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn mis̱illü*].[28]

Several points are worth noting here. The appointment of Derviş Efendi as superintendant again underscores the influence of the black eunuchs in such royal architectural projects, for though he was not himself a member of the group, his position

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[27] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 1–3.

[28] Ibid., 3.

as Moralı Beşir Agha's secretary—a fact stated several times by Ahmed Efendi—cannot have been unrelated either to his nomination or to the way he conducted his new duties.[29] Also significant is Ahmed Efendi's open acknowledgement of Simeon Kalfa—known from other sources to have been an Ottoman Greek—as the mosque's architect, a point to which I shall return later. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of this opening narrative is the role attributed to the sultan himself. If Ahmed Efendi is to be believed, the decision to build a new sultanic mosque came about almost accidentally after Mahmud's initial—and seemingly sluggish—agreement to restore Fatma Hatun's masjid. Nevertheless, the sultan ultimately acted where his predecessor had failed, fulfilling and indeed exceeding the earnest wishes of his subjects with the establishment of a new imperial mosque worthy of the capital's bustling market district. Given the very deliberate grandeur of what came to be built, it seems unlikely that the project's evolution was quite as serendipitous as Ahmed Efendi implies. Mahmud—already responsible for the renovation of several mosques—may well have been hoping to build a new mosque complex even before a suitable site had been found for it; the repeated pleas to restore Fatma Hatun's masjid would have provided him with an ideal pretext to take its land for his own monument.[30] Such a prime hilltop spot was hard to come by in a city as crowded as Istanbul, and this would have been as important a factor as any in the selection of the site. Despite Ahmed Efendi's claims, there can have been little actual need for such a large place of worship in an area already served by two old pasha's mosques, Atik Ali and Mahmud.

[29] Once the mosque was completed, the chief black eunuch, Ahmed Agha, was named the administrator (*mütevellī*) of the waqf, and Derviş Efendi his deputy: see Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 2–3, 19–20.

[30] In the sixteenth century also, many Friday mosques were built—or created out of masjids—in response to public petitions, a symptom of Istanbul's growing population: Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 57.

However it may have come about, the decision to expand the scope of the project entailed purchasing the properties surrounding the original site. Ahmed Efendi tells us that some of the owners were unwilling to sell until offered more money, a reluctance he rather unfairly attributes to avarice.[31] It is interesting to note that Sultan Ahmed I had faced similar opposition when trying to clear space for his own mosque nearly a century and a half earlier.[32] But Mahmud's project had a stronger claim to legitimacy, and as if to emphasize the point, Ahmed Efendi's account goes on to ascribe an almost mythic religious aura to the mosque's formation. When the sultan went one day to view the newly cleared building site,

> a blessed sage was standing at the corner of the street, and when our Majestic Lord came before him, [the sage] lifted his hand and, crying, prayed most movingly, "My Lord Emperor, may God Almighty render your royal being immaculate, and because you have brought your princely succor to bear on the noble mosque and thereby given all the people of the district—your poor slaves—joy and new life, may God Almighty likewise grant prosperity and life to the blessed heart of my Majestic Lord." . . . Since the humble prayer and supplication of the aforementioned sage had so completely moved His Majesty the Emperor, haven of piety, it was understood that what was to be built was a great mosque indeed, such as had in any case been from the start in [the sultan's] illuminated thoughts.[33]

Here, in this last sentence, is another indication that the idea of establishing a grand new mosque complex may not have come about so spontaneously after all, notwithstanding the rest of Ahmed Efendi's story. The notion that the project was a kind of holy endeavor is elaborated in relation to the properties razed to make way for it, further legitimizing Mahmud's appropriation of the site. Among the buildings cleared for the complex were a bachelors' inn and a slave-traders' khan that were, according to Ahmed Efendi, "day and

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[31] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 5–6.

[32] See Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 451–52; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 514–15.

[33] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 4.

night promoting the offence of prostitution." The destruction of these two buildings was "in itself an act of goodness perhaps as estimable as the setting up another great foundation," and so grateful were the local faithful, and so ardent their prayers of thanks, that "it is evident and manifest that the most noble angels are busy every moment noting down the plentiful remunerations due to His Worthy Majesty the Emperor in the register of his good deeds, in which is included so great a beneficence as a noble mosque."[34]

Mahmud himself is portrayed as being acutely aware of the importance of this beneficence. A year into the construction, Ahmed Efendi records, the sultan summoned Derviş Efendi and urged him to devote all his energies to the mosque, concluding his exhortation with the words: "For this matter cannot be compared to others; it is a duty to God, a most glorious pious foundation."[35] Even allowing for the exaggeration one would expect of such eulogistic writing, the degree of personal interest that Mahmud is described as showing in the mosque is notable, and entirely consistent with what we know of the sultan's existing enthusiasm for architecture. The pious terms in which this enthusiasm was now being couched can only have bolstered the project's reputation.

Ahmed Efendi's efforts to present the Nuruosmaniye as an almost inevitable fulfillment of divine providence very likely reflect a more widely held lore that had grown up around the building. This was another way in which the mosque could be related to the great complexes of the past, all of which came with their own mythic back stories and associations. Ahmed Efendi shows clear awareness of this tradition when he goes on to describe the acquisition of building materials for the mosque, in particular the red "sparrow's eye" (*serçe gözü*) marble columns of its courtyard:

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[34] Ibid., 24–25.

[35] Ibid., 9.

> Before the aforementioned mosque had yet come into being, it was wondered whence the marble columns for the porticos would be obtained, with all being immersed in a pool of ideas [on the matter], and the concern for how [the columns] would be procured and brought at the necessary time weighed most heavily on the minds of those appointed [to the project]. Indeed, according to what was written at the time of the late Mimar Sinan, that skillful master famed among mankind, much hardship and difficulty were endured in obtaining the marble columns for the building of the Mosque of Süleyman, and finally, with God's help, some were procured at and brought from Alexandria, in the well-protected [land of] Egypt, and each of the rest, from a [different] far-off land and place. As for these columns [of the Nuruosmaniye], they stood fully intact and abandoned at the wall of a ruined church in the town of Pergamon, and they were owned by no one.[36]

The parallel that Ahmed Efendi draws with the well-known accounts surrounding the construction of the mid-sixteenth century Süleymaniye Mosque (figs. 137–38), which themselves harked back to similar stories about the Ayasofya and the Temple of Solomon,[37] may at first seem strained given the rather less far-flung (and single) source of the Nuruosmaniye columns. As if to justify the comparison, however, he continues by devoting six pages to a description of the arduous task of bringing these columns to the capital, which involved difficulties at every step. First, new roads had to be built to transport the monoliths by wheeled sledge to the Aegean coast, where they were each loaded onto a caique. The lugging of the columns down these newly made roads alone took five and a half hours of labor on the part of "more than five or six hundred individuals," all of whom, Ahmed Efendi is keen to reassure us, were amply rewarded for their toil. Once seaborne, the columns traveled for four or five days before being unloaded by means of a specially adapted crane at the dock of the Topkapı Palace's Shore Kiosk (Yalı Köşkü). The sultan, who was present at this stage, was so pleased with the

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[36] Ibid., 14.

[37] For these accounts, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 99–106.

hard work he witnessed that he "dipped his nurturing hand into the royal pocket and granted from it abundant gifts to the dockyard captains." Finally, the columns were loaded onto special carts and taken—one a day—from the palace to the construction site.[38]

Such a strenuous undertaking succeeded only "with the gracious aid of God and under the lucky auspices of His Majesty the Emperor,"[39] a point essential to Ahmed Efendi's myth-making account. The propitious circumstances in which the mosque's materials were gathered and transported are again underscored by a rather amusing episode told later in relation to the shipping of marble from the Island of Marmara (ancient Proconnesus). Among those contracted for this task was an unscrupulous timber merchant who owned an old and damaged ship that he wished to replace. Believing he would receive compensation from the state if his vessel sank while transporting stone for the mosque, "he sent the aforementioned ship out, but though it had at all times and in every case [beforehand] made water [i.e., leaked], during this journey, by the Command of God Almighty, it made none and arrived safely. He later sent it to the Gulf of Izmit for his own business, but it sank before yet reaching Maltepe."[40] The timber merchant's plans thus divinely scuppered, Ahmed Efendi is proudly able to announce: "It is a thing to be wondered that in eight lunar years, not one of the vessels used in transporting the various [materials] required for the construction was lost or destroyed."[41]

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[38] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 14–20, esp. 17–18 for the quoted passages.

[39] Ibid., 17–18.

[40] Ibid., 36.

[41] Ibid., 35.

In aspects of its design, too, the Nuruosmaniye was consciously linked to its great forerunners. Ahmed Efendi records that the height chosen for the mosque's elevated basement was based on the measurements of the Sultanahmet,[42] while its dome was intended to hold its own against the city's grandest examples:

> And as the size of the dome was being here and there discussed, the conclusion reported by the men of science and learning was that of the largest domes to be found within the Abode of Prosperity [Istanbul], the foremost was that of the great Ayasofya, the second, that of the Süleymaniye Mosque, the third, that of [the Mosque of] the Conqueror, and the fourth, the dome of this Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye; and it is agreed that all other sultanic mosques are inferior to these.[43]

Significant here is the fact that the Nuruosmaniye's dome surpasses that of its most immediate predecessor, the Sultanahmet, and ranks instead alongside more venerable precedents emblematic of the empire's heyday. Nevertheless, what made the mosque compete artistically with the complexes of the past was not so much its commonalities with them as it was its own unmistakable novelty. No one who saw the Nuruosmaniye in its time could have failed to notice how different it looked from the mosques of the classical period. While obviously a conscious revival of a dormant practice, the Nuruosmaniye was also intended to make its own mark, departing from earlier models in various fundamental respects. Key among these was a new concern for hosting royal ceremonial.

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[42] Ibid., 13.

[43] Ibid.

Staging the Sultan's Presence: The Nuruosmaniye's Royal Pavilion

A good portion of Ahmed Efendi's text is devoted to the lavish inauguration of the Nuruosmaniye held on Friday, December 5, 1755, by which time the building had been inherited by Mahmud's brother and successor, Osman III. Like the mosque itself, this ceremony was very much intended to evoke the empire's former glory, having been carefully planned with reference to earlier protocol:

> The examples of past ceremonies were consulted to see how the emperors of old had, during their peaceful reigns, favored and bestowed robes of honor upon those appointed to their royal mosques and upon the servants of their foundations, and with this done, a summary of the proceedings [to be followed] was copied and presented to the gracious royal person.[44]

Its form thus decided upon, the ceremony began with a great cavalcade from the Topkapı Palace up the Divanyolu, Istanbul's main processional route since Byzantine times, when it had been known as the Mese. The addition of the Nuruosmaniye to the monuments lining this ancient and symbolically charged avenue already tied it to a rich ceremonial tradition: the mosque could immediately take its place—conceptually as well as in practice—alongside older complexes to which the sultans routinely paraded.[45] Establishing the new mosque's status within Istanbul's ceremonial roster, the inaugural procession involved a particularly magnificent assemblage of officials and guards who led the cavalcade before the sultan appeared as its climax:

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[44] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 46.

[45] For the Divanyolu and the processions that took place along it, see Maurice Cerasi, with Emiliano Bugatti and Sabrina D'Agostiono, *The Istanbul Divanyolu: A Case Study in Ottoman Urbanity and Architecture* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2004); Cerasi, "The Urban and Architectural Evolution of the Istanbul Divanyolu: Urban Aesthetics and Ideology in Ottoman Town Building," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 189–232; and Gülru Necipoğlu, "Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: The Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul," in *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique = İslâm Dünyasında Mezarlıklar ve Defin Gelenekleri*, ed. Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Aksel Tibet, 2 vols. (Ankara Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996), 1:23–36.

> In short, all of them were arranged as required by protocol to grace this splendid cavalcade, and from behind them came that auspicious Sovereign of the four quarters of the horizon and performer of pious deeds and good works, the gold-crowned Emperor and high-throned King of Kings, His Most Illustrious, Awesome, and Dignified Majesty Sultan Osman Khan, may God make perpetual his caliphate, state, and reign, and may He shower down His favor and benevolence upon the two worlds! And like an exalted sun of dignity and glory, and a risen sol of might and prosperity, His Majesty shone his benign rays upon all the faithful worshippers as he made his auspicious visit; and with an honorific salutation did he gratify not only the bands of Bektashis and armorers who lined the path with their hands fixed in salutation, but also—and especially—the noble sheikhs of the imperial mosques, who were waiting expectantly before an exterior mihrab in the precinct of the imperial mosque.[46]

Osman's arrival was followed by the inaugural prayer itself, after which the sultan, assisted by the grand vizier, bestowed robes of honor on the men of state and those involved in the mosque's construction.[47]

Ahmed Efendi was not alone in recording this spectacular opening. The event was deemed important enough to be written up in two unusually detailed reports for the court's protocol register, presumably so that it might set a new standard.[48] It is also described by the period's official chronicler, Ahmed Vasıf (d. 1806), as well as by the self-appointed historian Semʿdanizade, both of whom confirm the ceremony's grand scale.[49] In addition to these expected sources, the inauguration finds mentions in private journals, *rūznāme*s, which—though related in format to the official *rūznāme*s of the court—were kept as personal diaries by educated Ottomans outside the palace sphere. One such journal—attributed to a cleric by the name of Seyyid Hüsnü—notes that the

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[46] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 49.

[47] Ibid., 50–51.

[48] For this recently discovered document, which is housed at the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul (D.TŞF., 7/55) see Aras Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni" (with an English summary entitled "The Inauguration of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque"), *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 11 (2007): 1–28.

[49] See Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:71–72; and Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:5–6.

fountain and sebil of the complex began operating a day before the ceremony, and that a feast was held two weeks later at the imaret for the staff of the madrasa and of various nearby religious institutions.[50] Another journal, in this case kept by a young cleric of unknown name, records the inauguration alongside rather more personal details relating to the author's career and private life, including the pregnancy of his cat![51] While it is unclear whether these diarists actually witnessed the opening for themselves, such examples—written by non-courtly individuals for their own purposes—testify to the widespread interest that the new mosque had attracted, and they point, moreover, to the importance of ceremonial as a way of speaking about the monument. Neither diarist says anything with regard to the mosque's appearance, and indeed, the majority of eighteenth-century Ottoman references to the Nuruosmaniye relate not to its architecture, but to the ceremonies staged there. Besides the inauguration, the most frequently mentioned of these is the ceremony led by the grand vizier and grand mufti almost seven years earlier to mark the laying of the mosque's foundation, during which sheep were sacrificed and robes of honor bestowed.[52] It is worth recalling that the much earlier text celebrating the closing of the Sultanahmet's dome also centers on the ceremony marking the occasion rather than on the building itself.

This ceremonial approach to the Nuruosmaniye was not limited to Ottoman commentators. I have already referred to the journal entry on the mosque's opening by

[50] See Seyyid Hüsnü, *Rūznāme*, Istanbul Archaeological Museums Library, no. 397, fol. 6b.

[51] See Veysel Karasu, ed., "Ruznâme (1162–1169)" (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1979), 31. About his cat, our diarist writes, "The cat gave birth tonight. The total length of its pregnancy was sixty-five days" (*Bu gece kedi doġūrdu. Mecmūʿ-ı ḥamlinin müddeti altmış beş gün oldu*). Karasu, "Ruznâme," 17.

[52] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 6–7; ʿİzzī, *Tārīḫ*, fols. 189a–189b; Karasu, "Ruznâme," 1; and Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:145.

the French dragoman Alexandre Deval, whose eyewitness account is worth quoting in full:

> Friday, the fifth day [of December 1755]. The dedication was made of the mosque begun by Sultan Mahmud and finished by Sultan Osman. The Gr[and]. Seig[neu]r went there with the same procession that had accompanied him on the day of his coronation, and particularly [with] the Men of Law (ulema), this being one of the functions for which they were qualified. But although this procession was extremely numerous and magnificent, the Court was not in true festive mode, for the G[rand]. S[eigneur]. was not wearing his Cabanitza [*ḳapaniçe*, a kind of fur coat], and nor were his siliktar [*silāḥdār*, sword-bearer] and his rekiabdar [*rikābdār*, equerry] wearing their official vests, and no coins were thrown in the wake of His Majesty. The G.S. distributed several pelisses and samours of ermine and of gray squirrel. The mosque was named . . . [*sic*]
>
> In the parade [that followed], the [grand] mufti marched in a pair with the G[rand].V[izier]., the latter on the right wearing the ceremonial turban and pelisse of samour over white satin, and the mufti on the right wearing a pelisse of samour over white cloth.[53]

Notable here is Deval's keen eye for the forms and attributes of Ottoman ceremonial, which occupy far more of his attention than the mosque itself. Indeed, as surviving documents show, matters of ceremonial protocol were a major concern in the Ottomans' diplomacy with Western powers, particularly with regard to the reception of ambassadorial missions. Both sides shared what amounted to an obsession with the proper procedures to be followed during such events, frequently bickering over seemingly small points of dispute.[54] Ceremonial was, in other words, an important site of cross-cultural interaction and negotiation in the Ottoman Empire, with European observers being well-versed in the ritual language of the ceremonies they witnessed and frequently participated in. What made ceremonial such a strongly felt mutual concern was

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[53] CADN, 166PO/A/43, p. 53. I am extremely grateful to Edhem Eldem and Gülru Necipoğlu for helping me read Deval's scrawled hand.

[54] For Ottoman ceremonial in this period, including Westerners' attitude to it, see Hakan T. Karateke, ed., *An Ottoman Protocol Register* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society; Istanbul: The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007), esp. the editor's introduction (1–63).

its universally recognized potential for representing power. Several of the Ottoman sources that record the Nuruosmaniye's foundation-laying ceremony, for example, are keen to stress that it occurred a few hours after a newly built imperial galleon was launched.[55] Named *Nuṣret-nümā*, "Victory," the ship prefigured what the embryonic mosque would one day become—a symbol of Ottoman might—and it is surely no coincidence that the start of one construction was celebrated on the same day as the successful completion of the other. The relationship between the two projects did not escape Ottoman observers, who clearly understood the foundation-laying ceremony to be a statement of power no less significant than the launching of a new warship.

As important as ceremonial was, however, it did not exist separately from the spaces in which it was performed, and this is certainly true of the Nuruosmaniye. Commentators such as Deval and our two Ottoman diarists may say nothing about what the mosque looked like, but the building would still have played a key role in the ceremonies that took place around and within it. Several sources on the inauguration tell us that following the arrival of the imperial cavalcade, the sultan ascended to his so-called ablution room (*ābdest odası*) before moving to his private loge in the mosque to pray, after which he returned to the ablution room to invest his notables with robes of honor. He then watched from the windows of the room as his grand vizier descended and distributed robes to those of lesser rank in the mosque's precinct.[56] A key part of the event's proceedings, the "ablution room" in question is actually the sizeable L-shaped structure that adjoins the mosque at its eastern corner (fig. 153). It consists of a ramp

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[55] See ʿİzzī, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 189a; Karasu, "Ruznâme," 1; and Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:146.

[56] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 50–51; Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 4–6, 21–22; and Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:5–6.

forming one arm of the L and an elevated passage forming the other, with a vaulted room protruding at their juncture. In modern scholarly parlance, the structure belongs to a category of building termed the *hünkâr kasrı*, or sultan's pavilion, a name that better conveys its ceremonial importance.[57]

The sultan's pavilion was a relatively recent innovation in Ottoman architecture, having first appeared at the Sultanahmet Mosque (figs. 139–41).[58] Attached to the prayer hall's eastern corner, the pavilion is an L-shaped structure raised on a high basement and ascended by a ramp, part of which is outside. The arm of the L that adjoins the mosque has an open gallery along one of its sides and leads to the sultan's private loge, a raised gallery in the eastern corner of the prayer hall against the qibla wall; its basement is pierced by an archway. The other, free, arm comprises two successive rooms for the sultan's repose. Despite its not inconsiderable size, the pavilion is dwarfed by the adjacent mosque, such that most modern visitors are likely to miss it altogether, and it is further differentiated by its style and materials: while the mosque is domed, built of stone, and has a preponderance of pointed-arched windows, the pavilion has a hipped roof, incorporates alternating courses of brick, and has mainly rectangular windows. In fact, the pavilion, true to its name, conforms to the norms of palatial architecture (fig. 142), and has the appearance of a residential structure that is stuck onto the mosque almost as an afterthought. This is not the result of poor or confused planning, however: the pavilion is distinguished from the mosque in order not to compete with or detract

[57] For the sultan's pavilion as a building type, see Crane, "Ottoman Sultan's Mosques," 211–12; Aptullah Kuran, "The Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques," *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 281–301; and M. Baha Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 24:573–75.

[58] See Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," 281; Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası*, 78–79; and Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," 573. Also see n. 62 below.

from it. At the same time, this differentiation also allows the pavilion to declare its own significance by virtue of its palatial idiom, so that its subordination to the mosque works in both buildings' favor. And nor are we dealing with mere stylistic window dressing, for the pavilion did indeed function as a little palace to host the sultan before and after prayer. He would arrive with his retinue, ascend the ramp, and spend time in the structure's upper rooms, which were decorated in the manner of a palatial apartment, perhaps even holding small courtly audiences within them. When time came to pray, it was a simple matter of walking through the pavilion's open gallery directly into the adjacent prayer loge within the mosque proper (fig. 143).

Why did this feature, which has no precedent in any older Ottoman mosque, suddenly appear at the Sultanahmet? Earlier sultans had generally made do with the royal prayer loges fitted into the prayer halls themselves, entering them through unassuming private entrances.[59] The decision to adjoin a pavilion to this previously unmarked corner of the mosque was probably the result of an increasing emphasis beginning in the seventeenth century on sultanic ceremonial and visibility. Following a paradigm established by Mehmed the Conqueror, the sultans of earlier years had been largely removed and aloof, a style of rule designed to inspire awe in their subjects. Ahmed's reign, however, saw the rise of a less remote approach, with the sultan becoming ever more visible and present in the life of the capital.[60] The mosque he built was very much

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[59] See M. Baha Tanman M., "Hünkâr Mahfilleri," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı): 4:102–3. As Gürlu Necipoğlu (*Age of Sinan*, 254–55) notes, the royal loge of the Selimiye Mosque at Edirne (1568–74) communicates with a luxurious anteroom that "anticipates the tile-covered imperial pavilions that would be attached to the royal tribunes of the Sultan Ahmed and Yeni Valide mosques." In this case, however, the anteroom does not protrude as a separate structure and would thus not have been visible to the public.

[60] See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516–17. For the seclusion of earlier sultans, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 24–30.

part of this development. We know, for instance, that he made frequent appearances at the site of the complex during its construction, overseeing progress from a pavilion at which he occasionally spent the night, and which was presumably an earlier manifestation of the present structure. When an initial foundation-digging ceremony was held in 1609, he came down from the pavilion and personally dug the ground with a gold mattock. The lavish dome-closing ceremony, during which the sultan sat beneath a rich tent in the mosque's precinct, is another example of this phenomenon. And even before the mosque was completed, Ahmed instituted and presided over an elaborate annual service there to mark the reading of the *Mevlīd*, the Prophet's nativity poem, a tradition kept up by his successors (fig. 144).[61] The newly introduced pavilion can be considered an architectural expression of this shift towards royal ceremony and spectacle, providing the mosque with an imposing—not to say domineering—annex-cum-entry for the sultan's visits.[62]

This increase in display has been explained with reference to the weakened position of the empire, whereby the sultans—no longer able to rely on a reputation of unchallenged might—were forced to seek more overt means of impressing their subjects. That the sultan's pavilion would become a defining and increasingly prominent element of late Ottoman architecture has only fueled the view that the feature was a symptom of

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[61] See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 516.

[62] Lucienne Thys-Şenocak ("The Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü") argues that the first sultan's pavilion may have been conceived during the initial phase of the Yeni Cami's construction, thus predating the Sultanahmet. She questions the usual reason given for the building type's emergence—that there was a need to accommodate an augmented sultanic ceremonial—and suggests instead that the pavilion arose out of the tastes and concerns of the sultanas, who made frequent use of shoreline kiosks. While her observations may help to explain the uniquely large and palatial nature of the Yeni Cami pavilion, discussed below, I am not convinced that they elucidate the type's overall development, particularly as there is no evidence that the Sultanahmet pavilion was not the first.

decline (fig. 145). In an important article on the topic, Aptullah Kuran writes that the evolution of the sultan's pavilion seems

> to have been triggered by psychological factors. It emerged as a vehicle of pomp and circumstance and, not surprisingly, displayed an all too well-known social phenomenon: in the Ottoman imperial mosque, as so often elsewhere, ceremonial posturing grew in inverse proportion to the economic well-being of the State.[63]

But can we really apply such an interpretation to the early seventeenth century, long before anyone was thinking of the empire as the Sick Man of Europe?

Rather, it seems that the enhanced pomp of these years was a logical development of the Ottoman state's existing concern for public ceremonial. It was already a well-established practice for the sultans to go in procession to the capital's great mosque complexes to perform the Friday prayer.[64] Later known as the *selāmlıḳ*—roughly "ceremony of salutation"[65]—this regularly enacted cavalcade was a notable exception to the otherwise removed style of rule favored by the sultans of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Two particularly vivid descriptions of Süleyman the Magnificent's *selāmlıḳ* are given by Luigi Bassano, a Venetian from Zadar who had spent several years in Ottoman captivity, and André de Thevet (d. 1590), a French cosmographer who was in Istanbul as part of the French ambassador's retinue (fig. 146).[66] The march begins,

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[63] Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," 284.

[64] For the significance of these processions, see Crane, "Ottoman Sultan's Mosques,"206, 221–25.

[65] Though it did not become common before the nineteenth century, the term *selāmlıḳ* is used once by Ahmed Efendi (*Tārīḫ*, 48), the only eighteenth-century occurrence of it that I have encountered. For the *selāmlıḳ* and its development, see Mehmet İpşirli, "Osmanlılarda Cuma Selamlığı (Halk-Hükümdar Münâsebetleri Açısından Önemi)," in *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1991), 459–71. For the importance of the sultans' religiosity more generally in the eyes of the public, see Hakan T. Karateke, "Opium for the Subjects? Religiosity as a Legitimizing Factor the Ottoman Sultan," in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 111–29.

[66] For Bassano's account, see Luigi Bassano, *I costumi et i modi particolari de la vita de Turchi, descritti da M. Luigi Bassano da Zara* (Rome: Antonio Blando Asolano, 1545), fols. 12b–13b, reprinted in Luigi

Bassano tells us, with a number of mace-bearers (*çavuş*) who clear the way, after whom come "perhaps two thousand Janissaries on foot" and then "about the same number of Spahis (*sipāhī*s, cavalry) and Solacks (*ṣolaḳ*s, guardsmen) on horseback," all of them moving in silence except for "the sound of their feet and the trampling of the horses."[67] Thevet estimates the janissaries' number somewhat higher at seven thousand, but confirms that they "march in a wonderful silence."[68] Next come the state officers and notables, all of them richly dressed and riding on sumptuously caparisoned horses. Then follows the sultan himself, preceded by his pages and flanked by his grooms, with more mounted officers behind to complete the sequence. Summing up the procession, Thevet writes that the sultan "goes to the aforementioned mosque in such beautiful order and silence that, except for the sound of the horses' hooves, one would think there was not a soul in the streets, although an almost infinite multitude from diverse nations are

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Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi: Ristampa fotomeccanica dell'edizione originale (Roma, 1545) corredata da una introduzione*, ed. Franz Babinger (Munich: M. Hueber, 1963), 32–34. For partial translations of the account into English, see J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), 50–51; and Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire*, *1453–1924* (London: John Murray, 1995), 43. The first half of Mansel's translation, which has no accompanying citation, reproduces almost verbatim the rendering by Rogers and Ward (unless both are taken from a common, unacknowledged, source). As for the second half, I have not been able to determine whether it is Mansel's own continuation or whether it is taken from another source, again unnamed. Either way, this latter half is not always faithful in its translation of Bassano, being in parts more of a summarized paraphrase, and it also contains certain errors. The translations that I give here largely follow the existing English renderings, except that Mansel's version has been altered and corrected as necessary. I am extremely grateful to Andrew Halladay for reading Bassano's original Italian and helping me to revise the English translation. For an English rendering of Thevet's account, see Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex," 98, from which I have taken the translations quoted above.

[67] Bassano, *I costumi et i modi particolari de la vita de Turchi*, fol. 13a (reprinted in Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi*, 33); Rogers and Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, 50; and Mansel, *Constantinople*, 43.

[68] Quoted in Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex," 98.

watching him pass."[69] Bassano too stresses the ceremony's importance in the eyes of a public anxious to catch glimpse of their sovereign: having entered the mosque, the sultan

> goes to a place raised about five cubits, surrounded with blinds called jalousies for his especial use . . . Here he prays alone unless one of his sons be with him . . . The people accompany him into the body of the church, or into the corridors, but he never enters the temple without at least four thousand persons. . . . This he does every Friday for the satisfaction of his people or, as some say and as I believe, because it is his duty to do so. He remains in the temple for two hours and then returns, always by the way he came, ever looking at the populace with a benignant countenance and returning the salutation of everybody, whether Christian, Turk, or Jew, man or woman, moving his head a little, now to the right, now to the left, in sign of recognition of those who throng the way. . . . So any Friday may the Grand Turk be seen, in spite of the liars who say he never shows himself at all.[70]

Not only did these regular public appearances allow the populace visual access to their ruler, but they also, in theory at least, provided recourse to his justice, for we know from other sources that guardsmen would collect petitions from the crowds as the sultan passed by. In a sense, the *selāmlıḳ* brought the magnificence of the palace and the equity promised by the sultan's Divan (Imperial Council) out onto the streets.[71] So important and expected was the ceremony that Murad III (r. 1574–95), one of the few sultans not to routinely perform it, was severely criticized for his neglect.[72] By the time of Ahmed I's reign, the *selāmlıḳ* had been restored to its full splendor, such that the English poet George Sandys (d. 1644), who watched the procession after traveling to the East in 1610, was able to write that "there is not in the World to be seen a greater spectacle of humane

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Bassano, *I costumi et i modi particolari de la vita de Turchi*, fol. 13b (reprinted in Bassano, *Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi*, 34). The translation is based on that in Mansel, *Constantinople*, 43 (see n. 66 above).

[71] For the collection of petitions during the *selamlık* and the hearing of public appeals at the divan, see Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 31, 37–39.

[72] Ibid., 31.

glory, and if (so I may speak) of sublimated manhood.” Sandys gives a detailed description of the cavalcade, which culminated in the appearance of “the idolized *Sultan* gallantly mounted.” Like others before him, he is particularly struck by the silence of the spectators lining the route, “insomuch as had you but only ears, you might suppose (except when they salute him with a short and soft murmur) that men were then folded in sleep, and the World in midnight.”[73] The Sultanahmet Mosque had yet to be built when Sandys wrote his account, in which he states that the *selāmlıḳ*’s usual destination was the Ayasofya. Had he traveled to Istanbul the following decade, he might have seen the procession end instead at the Sultanahmet’s royal pavilion, one of whose main functions was to add visual impact to the sultan’s ceremonial visits. After all, what better way to enhance the *selāmlıḳ* than by providing it with such an architectural climax, especially one which—through its palatial references—gave solid shape to the idea of the ceremony as an interface between the public and courtly spheres? The pavilion was able, moreover, to lend the royal attendance of the mosque a permanency of expression that the transitory *selāmlıḳ* could not, implying the sultan’s presence even in his absence. Far from betraying any sort of insecurity, the introduction of the pavilion at the Sultanahmet Mosque thus emerges as a confident and successful elaboration of an existing ceremonial ritual.

Indeed, so fruitful was the experiment that it became a standard feature of subsequent imperial mosques. The Yeni Cami at Eminönü incorporates a much grander

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[73] George Sandys, *Sandys Travells, Containing an History of the Original and Present State of the Turkish Empire. . . .* 6th ed. (London: Rob. Clavel, Tho. Passinger, Will Cadman, Tho. Sawbridge, and Will Birch, 1670), 59.

pavilion, again in the shape of an L (figs. 147–50).[74] This time, the structure's long arm takes the form of a monumental ramp up which Turhan Hadice—who used the pavilion along with her son Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87, d. 1693)—is supposed to have been carried on a sedan chair. Though enclosed, the ramp is fenestrated all along its upper part, which would have allowed spectators to see something of the royal personages' ascent. The other arm—with its richly decorated rooms projecting on corbels—constitutes a veritable miniature palace attached to the prayer hall's corner, an archway running through its high basement. Despite its larger size compared to its ancestor at the Sultanahmet, the pavilion remains clearly distinguished from the adjacent mosque, once more resembling an adapted residential structure that has little stylistic overlap with the unmistakably dominant prayer hall.

It was not until the eighteenth century—and first at the Nuruosmaniye—that the sultan's pavilion became a fully integrated part of the overall scheme, and with it a more effective vehicle for sultanic pomp.[75] In absolute terms, the Nuruosmaniye's pavilion is smaller than that of the Yeni Cami, but it has grown in size relative to the neighboring prayer hall. Far more important than its grander scale, however, is its bolder compositional arrangement. At the Sultanahmet, the pavilion is easily overlooked and would only have come into real prominence when in use. The pavilion of the Yeni Cami is more conspicuous, but it still fades into the background when viewed alongside the mosque, and its most striking element—the ramp—is tucked away behind the building's

[74] For this pavilion, see İbrahim Ateş, *İstanbul Yeni Cami ve Hünkar Kasrı* (Istanbul: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1977?), 17–46; Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," 281–82; Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve Sonrası*, 157–59; Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," 573; Thys-Şenocak, "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü" (and n. 62 above); and Erdem Yücel, *Yeni Cami Hünkâr Kasrı* (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1972).

[75] For this pavilion, see Goodwin, Ottoman Architecture, 384; Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," 282; and Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," 574.

main shoreline facade. The Nuruosmaniye presents us with a very different configuration. Here, the mosque is placed towards the northeast corner of the precinct, so that its courtyard—ostensibly the principal point of entrance to the building—extends away from both of the complex's gates. Entering the precinct, we thus find ourselves in a sort of alternative courtyard looking at the prayer hall principally from the back. This open area is jointly demarcated by the mosque, the paired madrasa and imaret, and, not least of all, the L-shaped pavilion, which plays a key visual and functional role in the scheme.

The ramp that constitutes one of the pavilion's arms is contiguous with the eastern perimeter of the complex and entered by an imposing round-arched door clad in marble. Placed just to the left of the precinct's east gate, this door is in fact identical to it, and thus also the west gate (fig. 151–52). Such twinning of the public and royal entrances suggests both the proximity of the ruler to his subjects and his superiority to them, for the sultan's own portal is as grand as those intended for the entire congregation. The ramp itself is a generously sized passage with a long cavetto vault and a graduated arcade along its left (figs. 157–58), which is the side visible from within the precinct. Once the ramp has reached full height, it joins at an acute angle the L's second arm, a cavetto-vaulted gallery that is arcaded on both sides and elevated on three large and deep archways. This gallery runs towards the prayer hall on an axis level with the qibla wall until it reaches the building's eastern corner, where it meets and gives access to the royal prayer loge (figs. 153–54, 161–66).

Viewed from inside the open area that it helps to delimit, the pavilion has the appearance of a continuous monumental arcade that slopes up before turning the corner and extending to the mosque. Both arms of the structure—the ramp and the gallery—

share the same kind of round arches resting on elegant plain pilasters. These arched openings are today glazed and were probably always so, but they nonetheless render the structure an almost transparent passageway through which the sultan's movements would have been far more visible than in the case of earlier examples. Indeed, what is remarkable here is that the pavilion no longer really resembles one at all: its most palatial element—a stately chamber complete with a beautiful Baroque fireplace and domical vault—is located behind the corner of the L, where it projects into the smaller open area fronting the complex's library and tomb (fig. 155, 159–60). Even when the pavilion is viewed from this angle, it is the arcaded passageway that makes the dominant impression, and this is confirmed by the use of white marble for the arches and pilasters, which thus stand out against the rest of the otherwise limestone building (figs. 156).

The shedding of its previously residential aspect also means that the pavilion no longer presents such a stark contrast to the mosque. It is now built of the same materials as the prayer hall, and the moldings, windows, and arches of both buildings are aligned. To be sure, the pavilion lacks the more ornate decoration of the mosque, and it is far lower in height, but the overall effect is one of harmonious interplay between the two structures. Perhaps it is for this reason that the sources refer to the pavilion by names that underplay its autonomy and treat it almost as an extension of the mosque: in addition to the term "ablution room," documents such as the complex's *waqfiyya* call the pavilion a *maḥfil*, "tribune," the same word used of the prayer loge inside the mosque.[76] The result of this new relationship is that the mosque and pavilion work together to define a

[76] See Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 12. The term *maḥfil* is used also of other pavilions attached to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mosques. The larger (in absolute rather than relative terms) pavilion of the Yeni Cami, by contrast, is termed a *ḳaṣr* (pavilion) by a poem in its domed main room: see Thys-Şenocak, "Yeni Valide Mosque Complex of Eminönü," 84; and Yücel, *Yeni Cami Hünkâr Kasrı*, 17.

ceremonial stage-set at the rear of the mosque for the sultan's visits. Now an integral part of a larger architectural composition, the pavilion has achieved unprecedented prominence and cannot be edited out of view in the manner of earlier examples.

How well this arrangement worked can be gauged if we return to historical accounts of the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration. Ahmed Efendi tells us that in preparation for the ceremony, "the precinct (*ḥavlı*) of the noble mosque was cleaned and purified, and the gates were placed under watch and guard."[77] Notably, what he here calls the *ḥavlı* is not the mosque's actual courtyard (which, curiously, both he and the *waqfiyya* refer to as the *şādırvān*),[78] but the open area partly bounded by the pavilion. Other sources use the same terminology,[79] testifying to Simeon Kalfa's success in carving out an alternative courtyard in the space behind and around the prayer hall. When Osman entered this de facto courtyard on horseback through the west gate, he was greeted by his dignitaries, who had already dismounted, before crossing the space and alighting onto a horseblock near the east gate. Next, to quote Ahmed Efendi, the sultan "ascended with his imperial retinue to his ablution room," an ascent that the arcaded ramp must have made highly visible to the spectators gathered in the precinct below. He then "sat in exalted honor" and enjoyed "a period of rest and repose," presumably in the chamber at the corner of the

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[77] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 47.

[78] See Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 12. I have found no clear reason for this usage of *şādırvān*, a word that usually refers to an ablution fountain in the form of a water tank with taps at its sides. Such fountains are often found in the center of mosque courtyards, and so it might be argued that the term *şādırvān* has been applied synecdochically in the case of the Nuruosmaniye. This is strange, however, given that the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard in fact has no ablution fountain at is center!

[79] See Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 12.

L, and he afterwards held audience with Derviş Efendi and his sons before receiving the grand vizier and grand mufti.[80]

Upon the muezzins' call, the sultan rose to go into the mosque, the path to his prayer loge having been laid the night before with "costly cloths of gold-on-gold."[81] Osman's passage along the pavilion's elevated gallery would again have been very much on display to those watching from the precinct, and it is not unlikely that the arches along the gallery were hung with decorative swags to match the cloths that had been spread on the floor. This theatrical staging of the sultan's movements reached its dramatic climax with his entrance into the loge inside the mosque, as described by one of the official reports of the event:

> To let it be known that our Majestic Lord was come from his ablution room to grace the imperial loge, the wings of the [loge's] screen were opened, and our Majestic Lord condescended to acknowledge all his slaves, the ulema and officials who were waiting expectantly. With this, His Excellency the Grand Vizier prostrated himself to the ground, and the rest also bowed in salutation, after which the screen was closed and the prayer begun.[82]

The charged moment of reveal, during which the sultan was exhibited and adored almost as an idol, represented the fulfillment of the pavilion's promise of visibility.

Following the prayer, robes of honor were conferred on the high-ranking clerics gathered in the mosque, probably by the grand vizier or grand mufti.[83] The sultan then

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[80] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 50.

[81] Ibid., 47.

[82] *Şevketlü Efendimiz ḥażretleri ābdest odasından maḥfil-i hümāyūna teşrīf buyurduḳlarını işʿār içün ḳafesiñ ḳanadları açılup Şevketlü Efendimiz muntaẓır olan cümle ʿulemā vü ricāl ḳullarına iltifāt-i hümāyūn buyurduḳlarında Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ḥażretleri zemīnbūs edüp sāʾirleri daḫi ḳadd-ḫamīde-i selām [o]lduḳlarından ṣoñra ḳafes ḳapanup namāza mübāşeret olunur.* BOA, D.TŞF., 4/63. For a transliteration of the whole document, see Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 20–22.

[83] The sources do not state which individual invested the clerics, but it cannot have been the sultan, since we was contained in his loge.

returned to the pavilion and himself bestowed robes on his dignitaries, most likely in his private room, though possibly in the more spacious and transparent gallery. Afterwards, the grand vizier—wearing his new vestments—exited the pavilion and stood at the foot of the ramp next to the east portal, where he distributed robes to the lesser officials and to those who had served in the mosque's construction. The sultan by this point must have moved to the pavilion's gallery, for sources tell us that he watched what was taking place below him.[84] Ahmed Efendi is careful to state that the spot where the grand vizier stood was "fully visible to the imperial view from the ablution room upstairs";[85] the sultan would in turn have been visible as he watched. Once all the investitures had been completed, Ahmed Efendi continues, "His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor departed the ablution room in magnificence and splendor, and, together with the men of his imperial circle, turned his reins towards his exalted palace."[86]

These valuable step-by-step records of the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration make clear the extremely important role of the pavilion throughout the ceremony. From start to finish, the structure served alongside the mosque itself to provide the royal ceremonial with both a dramatic backdrop and a highly visible venue. To be sure, the ceremony's participants were so many in number that few, if any, members of the public can have been allowed into the mosque or its precinct to view the proceedings at close range. But the participants themselves included a considerable cross-section of Ottoman society, including, as we shall see, Christian craftsmen who had worked on the project. Moreover, the inauguration—which was, after all, a grand *selāmlıḳ*—would be reenacted multiple

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[84] See Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 6.

[85] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 48.

[86] Ibid., 51–52.

times on a smaller and more accessible scale during the sultan's subsequent Friday visits. This meant that ordinary worshippers too might witness the ritual theatrics that the pavilion so effectively accommodated. Even when not in use, the structure remained a bold reminder of the mosque's royal status, concretizing in monumental form the aura of otherwise transitory ceremonial events. Unlike earlier examples, this pavilion did not rely on the sultan's presence to make its own presence felt.

The increased visual and functional prominence achieved by the sultan's pavilion at the Nuruosmaniye was very much in keeping with more general trends of the period. We have already seen that the court's return to Istanbul in 1703 precipitated a notable increase in royal spectacle, involving lavish public festivals and conspicuous waterside palaces. In this new environment, the movements of the sultans became ever more overtly staged, a development that at once answered and fueled public interest. Events such as a sultan's excursion to the palace of his sister or his seasonal retreat—*göç* or *naḳl-i hümāyūn*—to one of his pavilions along the Bosphorus attracted enough attention that they are recorded not only in the official journals, but also in privately kept diaries.[87] Similarly well documented, if rather less glamorous in nature, are royal visits to the sites of large raging fires. This practice, which had its origins in the sixteenth century but did not become commonplace until the eighteenth, required the sultan to appear at a conflagration regardless of the hour and spur on the firemen's efforts from houses overlooking the flames, after which he would distribute gifts.[88]

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[87] See, for example, Karasu, "Ruznâme," 16, 18, 22.

[88] See Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:885–86, as well as the sources discussed in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. The earliest date I have found for a sultan's participating in firefighting efforts is 1515, when Selim I was reigning (see Cezar's chronological survey, cited below). However, it was more usual in this period for the grand vizier and other dignitaries to attend fires, and only later did it become common for the sultans to join them. A telling instance is reported by La Mottraye (*Travels*, 207), who in 1700 witnessed a

Such conflation of sultanic visibility and duty was, of course, already well-established with the *selāmlıḳ*, whose eighteenth-century form remained much the same as before (figs. 167–68). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, as discussed in Chapter 1, was deeply impressed by the Friday parade of Ahmed III, noting the sumptuous costumes of the thousands-strong retinue.[89] Later reports rehearse these well-worn characterizations. But though the *selāmlıḳ* itself changed little in the eighteenth century, there was a new concern in this period for extending its reach and impact. Mahmud in particular was acutely aware of the importance of enacting his piety with maximum conspicuousness, whether through the *selāmlıḳ* or other means. In a manner reminiscent of Ahmed I before him, he frequently visited the site of the future Nuruosmaniye during its construction, even purchasing a nearby house specifically for the purpose.[90] This house may have allowed the sultan to view the progress of his foundation, but it was also a visible sign to others of his intense interest in fulfilling his religious obligations. Before the Nuruosmaniye too, Mahmud had done much to put his piety on display. The numerous prayer loges that he and his chief black eunuchs installed in Istanbul's mosques provided both an augmented setting for and a permanent memorial of his *selāmlıḳ*s to those buildings. Advertising the sultan's presence with new vigor, these imperial galleries can be found not only in non-royal mosques such as Hacı Beşir Agha's, but also in smaller,

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large fire near the palace of the Dutch ambassador in Pera. Hearing of the fire, the sultan (then Mustafa III), grand vizier, and other dignitaries came to a nearby garden belonging to the Ragusan consul "to give the necessary Orders, according to Custom." When the morning prayer was called, the sultan and his retinue prayed "in a little *Kiosk*" in the garden, which the consul feared would be seized for a mosque to be built on it. We see from this example that the concern for sultanic visibility extended equally to areas populated by Christian foreigners, who were, indeed, quick to give their attention to the sultan's performance. For a chronological survey of the fires that struck Ottoman Istanbul, see Mustafa Cezar, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Yapılarında Tahribat Yapan Yangınlar ve Tabii Afetler," *Türk Sanat Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 1 (1963): 327–414.

[89] See Chapter 1, p. 39.

[90] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 23.

often suburban, examples like the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin in Rumeli Hisarı (figs. 87, 116). The latter building is an especially telling case, for the royal loge here—too large to be fitted within the low-ceilinged prayer hall—has been designed almost as an abbreviated sultan's pavilion, projecting over three columns on the outside of the mosque. The effect, as discussed in the previous chapter, is to stamp the otherwise indistinct structure with an imperial identity, but it is not merely the gallery's form and decoration that perform this function; it is also its explicit and enduring reference to the royal visits that caused it to be built in the first place.

Indeed, the proliferation of sultanic prayer loges under Mahmud was in large part the result of the growing spread of the *selāmlıḳ* itself. While the most attended mosques remained the great sultanic foundations of the walled city, and in particular the Ayasofya, more and more locations were being selected for occasional visits.[91] In some instances, as with the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin, the sultan may only have gone to the building once or twice in his reign, lending even more commemorative significance to the loges installed for his use. This drive to take the *selāmlıḳ* to as many places as possible seems to have been responding to a genuine public appetite for seeing the sultan in all parts of his capital. The official *rūznāme*s of the period assiduously record the destinations of each week's parade, and the same information is noted, albeit with less regularity, in private diaries also.[92] The English clergyman and antiquarian Richard Pococke (d. 1765), who was in Istanbul in 1740, writes that "there is a benefaction given to the mosque [the

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[91] This is evident from the various *rūznāme*s I have cited.

[92] See, for example, Hüsnü, *Rūznāme*, fols. 34a, 34b.

sultan] goes to, which I was informed, is five hundred dollars";[93] later sources tell us that the chosen mosque would not be revealed until the morning of the visit, which may well have been the case in the eighteenth century too.[94] All this adds to the impression of a well-orchestrated public-relations exercise capable of generating considerable expectation and excitement around the selected mosque.

These attempts at boosting the *selāmlıḳ*'s role in the life of the capital were so effective that the procession had now become a gauge of the sultan's very wellbeing. A dispatch written by the British ambassador Porter in about 1750 indicates the significance that Ottomans and foreigners alike attached to this regular royal appearance:

> The Grand Signior has been for sevl. days past indisposed his distemper was variously talk'd of, some sd. it was apoplectick, others a violent cold but most agree it was the effects of a fistula which he has been several years troubled with he has appeared on Friday last in Publick at the mosquee so that all surmises as to the dangerous state of his health have ceased.[95]

Conversely, any failure to carry out the procession was a cause for alarm. Sandys, writing after 1610, gives the frequency of the parade as "lightly every other Friday,"[96] but by the mid-eighteenth century, nothing less than a weekly performance would do. Mahmud became the victim of his own success at promoting this model when he was compelled to go to prayer during the grave illness that marked his last days.[97] The extraordinary

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[93] Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries*, 2 vols. (London: W. Bowyer, 1743–45), vol. 2, part 2, 128.

[94] See Godfrey Levinge, *The Traveller in the East; Being a Guide through Greece and the Levant, Syria and Palestine, Egypt and Nubia. . . .* (London, 1839), 300.

[95] TNA, SP 97/34, fol. 307a.

[96] Sandys, *Sandys Travells*, 59.

[97] As I write this (Sunday, December 23, 2012), I am struck by a modern parallel: the BBC news website today reports that the "Queen misses church service with a cold": http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20831527. The report itself is not alarmist and makes clear that the Queen is expected at church on

circumstances of his final *selāmlıḳ* made for a good story in contemporary Western newspapers:

> *Constantinople, Dec.* 15. The 29th of last month, being a day on which the Grand Signior usually goes on horseback to the Mosque, and his Highness not appearing, the people grew extremely tumultuous, and assembled in great numbers before the Seraglio to know the meaning of his absence. In order to appease them, he acquainted them that he was indisposed with a cold, but that in a short time his subjects should see him. His indisposition is attributed to the shock he received by the late melancholy earthquakes, and the fires which succeeded them, since which he has kept close in his apartment till the 13th intact, when the Janissaries, in a manner, forced him to appear in publick, in order to remove the general clamour. The Sultan went that day to the Mosque on horseback, but at his return to the Palace found himself much worse, and in a very short time after, he expired.[98]

Reporting the event from a closer vantage point, the British ambassador Porter paints a fuller—and rather grimmer—picture of the sultan's final seconds: "his death was occasion'd by a sudden fit of the asthma, under which he lay suffocated dismounting his horse, returning from the Mosche."[99]

It is a sad irony that Mahmud's last and fatal procession was not to his own mosque, which was still a year away from completion. Nevertheless, the Nuruosmaniye would be a testament to his enthusiastic and savvy attitude to self-display, with the complex's imposing royal pavilion providing the *selāmlıḳ* its most effective architectural culmination yet. Later mosques would, as I shall demonstrate, build on this example, and the continuing development of the sultan's pavilion must have helped the *selāmlıḳ* as a whole to retain and even intensify its impact. The public's investment in the ceremony

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Christmas day, but it is nevertheless notable that a monarch's inability to attend worship can still be considered newsworthy.

[98] "Foreign Affairs," *Read's Weekly Journal, or, British-Gazetteer* (London), January 25, 1755, issue 1077.

[99] First page of an unfoliated dispatch dated December 13, 1754, TNA, SP 97/38. The mosque in question was, fittingly enough, that founded by Mahmud's loyal and well-regarded chief black eunuch, Hacı Beşir Agha, who was by then himself deceased. According to the Ottoman sources, the sultan was about to fall from his horse upon his return to the palace, at which point he was held by his attendants. See Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:177, and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:41.

only grew with these elaborations. Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, James Dallaway (d. 1834)—another English cleric and traveler-antiquarian—tells us that "[t]he citizens of Constantinople are pleased with beholding the countenance of their sovereign, and since the reign of Morad IV. [r. 1623–40] have insisted on his going publicly every Friday, to some or other of the mosques."[100]

But it was not only their own subjects that the sultans were playing to. The sheer number of descriptions like Dallaway's bespeaks a strong and sustained interest on the part also of Westerners, and the Ottomans cannot have been unaware of this. Lady Mary, who viewed Ahmed's procession with the French ambassadress, reports with evident satisfaction that the sultan "happen'd to stop under the Window where we stood and (I suppose being told who we were) look'd upon us very attentively that we had full Leisure to consider him."[101] One of the reasons that European observers found that *selāmlıḳ* so appealing is that, for all its exotic splendor, it spoke to them in terms that were readily intelligible. When in 1758 the Frenchman Pierre-Jean Grosley (d. 1785) watched Clement XIII (d. 1769) during his *possesso*—the ceremonial passage of a newly crowned pope from St. Peter's to the Lateran—he was told by a Venetian who had recently seen Mustafa III's procession to the Ayasofya that, "setting aside the beards and turbans, it was exactly like the pope's" (fig. 169).[102] Though Grosley does not comment on the

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[100] Dallaway continues, "[The sultan] is always mounted on an Arab horse, and carries a small umbrella in his hand, the ribs of which are studded with diamonds, blazing in the sun. Sultan Mahmood had been long an invalid, and omitted this duty, when such discontents arose that he was forced to venture out, and died on his return under the second gate of the seraglio." James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad* (London: T. Cadell, junr. & W. Davies: 1797), 49.

[101] Montague, *Complete Letters*, 1:323–24 (To Lady Bristol, April 1, 1717).

[102] [Pierre Jean Grosley], *New Observations on Italy and Its Inhabitants*, trans. Thomas Nugent, 2 vols. (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1769): 2:119. Grosley's detailed description of the whole *possesso* (for

comparison, he and other Westerners must have marveled that the sultan's weekly attendance of prayer could match in splendor the pope's inaugural parade.

The Ottomans were not alone, however, in enjoying such regular pomp, and it should be noted that the period when the *selāmlıḳ* was becoming an imperative event was characterized by a more general surge of ceremonial display.[103] To take the well-known example of the French court at Versailles, the king's daily activities were turned into an increasingly public set of rituals by Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) and his successors. Actions as simple as rising from or retiring to bed—the king's *lever* and *coucher*—became elaborately staged affairs involving a surprisingly large viewership, something noted with interest by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi during his embassy to France.[104]

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which see pp. 117–19) does indeed bring to mind the *selāmlıḳ*, as when he states that the pope "is preceded and followed by above two thousand horsemen divided into squadrons, the variety of which makes a very entertaining show." For reasons that are not clear, Grosley's travelogue spuriously declares itself to be "written in French by two Swedish gentlemen." For the *possesso* and its urban staging, see Irene Fosi, "Court and City in the Ceremony of the *Possesso* in the Sixteenth Century," in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31–52; and David Mayernik, *Timeless Cities: An Architect's Reflections on Renaissance Italy* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 2003), 66–74. It is interesting to note that the Capitoline Hill, which was along the pope's processional route, had a ramped staircase built by Michelangelo, as kindly brought to my attention by Gail Geiger.

[103] Discussing the long reign of Louis XV (r. 1715–74), Daniel Rabreau writes that "public festivities honouring the king were held with increasing frequency and unparalleled variety and magnificence between 1722 and 1770." Rabreau, "Statues of Louis XV: Illustrating the Monarch's Character in Public Squares Whilst Renewing Urban Art," in *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Chastel-Rousseau, (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 39.

[104] Sources describe crowds of courtiers outside the king's chamber waiting for entry to his *lever* each day. Those of highest rank would be let in first and allowed the privilege of dressing the king. See Ezechiel Spanheim, *Relation de le cour de France en 1690*, ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), 145–57 (translated in William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* [Boston and New York: Bedford/St.Martin's, 2000], 78–81); Jay M. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600–1789* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 129; Roland Racevskis, *Time and Ways of Knowing under Louis XIV: Molière, Sévigné, Lafayette* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 68–69; and David M. Gallo, "Royal Bodies, Royal Bedrooms: The Lever du Roy and Louis XIV's Versailles," *Cahiers du Dix-Septième: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 12, no. 1 (2008): 99–118. As befitted its ceremonial character, the *lever* was also a time when the king would receive ambassadors. The French custom was widely emulated in other European courts: see, for example, Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor: Ceremony, Social Life, and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–1800*, ed. Christian F. Otto and Mark Ashton (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993), 155–59.

Recalling the Ottoman *rūznāme*s, the king's daily attendance of his chapel—always by a publicly visible route—finds repeated mention in his courtiers' diaries (fig. 170).[105] Sundays in particular saw the palace opened up to almost anyone who cared to catch glimpse of their monarch, with flocks of people traveling from Paris to see him attend mass or, more curiously, eat his dinner in a practice known as the *grand couvert*.[106] Describing such a day in 1785, a visitor to the palace tells us that the chapel was packed with people who, ignoring the liturgy, were "busy looking at the king." Thereafter, "an incredible crowd" gathered to watch him dine, and "[t]he guard who was at the door sent lots of people away."[107]

Leaving aside the obvious differences in approach, the shared concern of the Ottoman and French monarchs for exhibiting themselves to the eager gaze of their

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[105] On certain feast days, including Easter, the king would go in procession to the parish church of Versailles. See Martha Mel Stumberg Edmunds, *Piety and Politics: Imaging Divine Kingship in Louis XIV's Chapel at Versailles* (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 2002), 57–61.

[106] For the practice of eating before a public audience, which was followed also by the Habsburgs in Vienna and by the Bavarian court, see Smith, *The Culture of Merit*, 129–30; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 172–78; and Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendor*, 163–64.

[107] Dena Goodman, "Introduction: Not Another Biography of Marie-Antoinette!," in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen*, ed. Dena Goodman (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 5. The visitor in question was Henry Paulin Panon Desbassayns, who had come to France from the Indian Ocean colony of the Île Bourbon (today's Réunion Island). Another interesting (and somewhat scathing) account of these practices of courtly exhibitionism is provided by the French writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier in his satirical *Tableau de Paris*, published in the 1780s: "The Parisian, on the day of Pentecost, hires a bark to Seves, and thence goes on foot to Versailles . . . . At noon, they crowd into the gallery to contemplate the King, who goes to mass, . . . then they say to one another, 'Hast thou seen the king?' 'Yes, he laughed.' 'True, he laughed; he appears happy. Goodness! he has cause for it.' Dr. Moore has justly observed, that during mass, whilst the host is elevated, all eyes are fixed on the king, and no knee is bent towards the altar. At the royal repast the Parisian remarks, that the king has eaten with a good appetite, that the queen only drank a glass of water: these are materials to furnish conversation for fifteen days to come . . . ." Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Paris Delineated, from the French of Mercier, Including a Description of the Principal Edifices and Curiosities of that Metropolis*, 2 vols. (London: C. Whittingham, 1802), 1:306 (for the original French, see *Tableau de Paris*, rev. ed., 12 vols. [Amsterdam, 1782–88]: 2:461–62). Foreigners were also among those who went to Versailles to view the royal family at prayer or eating: see, for example, [Stephen Weston], *Two Sketches of France, Belgium, and Spa, in Two Tours, during the Summers of 1771 and 1816* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817), 59–61, where the author—himself an Englishman—writes that he was among "a long cavalcade of strangers and natives" who had made the trip to "assist at the grand couvert."

subjects provides a useful context for understanding the international legibility and cachet of such ceremonies. And just as Versailles framed the French king's ritual movements in a manner that rendered them all the more imposing, so the ceremonial practices of the sultan were significantly enhanced by the venues that accommodated them. In this regard, the Nuruosmaniye's royal pavilion is a stage-set comparable in dramatic impact to such structures as the famous grand stairway—the so-called Ambassadors' Staircase—that provided ceremonial access to the king's apartment at Versailles (fig. 171).[108] These cross-cultural resemblances further refute the idea that the development of the sultan's pavilion in later Ottoman mosque architecture was a sort of escapist reaction to the empire's decline. Rather, we are dealing with a particular—and very successful—iteration of a wider trend towards ceremony and its associated spaces, a trend whose international scope was the result of increased contact and competition between the world's polities.[109] These same cross-cultural factors were very much at play in the architecture of the mosque itself.

[108] The king's ceremonial descent down these stairs to go hunting in the afternoon was eagerly anticipated and watched by his courtiers: see Racevskis, *Time and Ways of Knowing*, 69.

[109] The European aspect of this development is explored in Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau, ed., *Reading the Royal Monument in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011). Focusing on public statues, this volume explores the proliferation of royal monuments in eighteenth-century Europe (including Russia) as an elite response to growing social mobility. In her introduction to the book, Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau writes, "In the context of the Age of Enlightenment, at a time of intense debate throughout Europe about the duties and role of the government, royal monuments were meant to ensure the presence of the monarchs among their subjects and to subjugate them; that is to say, to control and at the same time to seduce them." Chastel-Rousseau, introduction to Chastel-Rousseau, *Reading the Royal Monument*, 2.

The Nuruosmaniye and Its "Graceful New Style"

As striking as the Nuruosmaniye's royal pavilion would have been, it was surely the adjacent mosque that most surprised observers of the time. Ahmed Efendi may strive in his account to associate the mosque with older sultanic complexes, but the actual building is quite unlike any of its forerunners. Istanbul's imperial mosques had traditionally distinguished themselves by their grand scale, multiple minarets, arcaded courtyards, and use of semidomes grouped around a large central dome. While the Nuruosmaniye satisfies all but the last of these criteria, its reliance on a single dome resting on four high and monumental arches—an arrangement visible from a considerable distance—immediately sets it apart. There were, to be sure, earlier sultanic mosques that eschewed the semidome. The Yavuz Selim Mosque—built in the 1520s by Süleyman the Magnificent in memory of his father, Selim I (r. 1512–20)—has a block-like prayer hall formed of four squat arches over which is a large single dome (fig. 172). And in Edirne, the Selimiye Mosque—designed by Sinan for Selim II (r. 1566–74) half a century later—is famously dominated by a single grand dome, albeit with semidomical squinches at its corners (fig. 173).[110] Neither of these buildings, however, much resembles the Nuruosmaniye, which is differentiated by the verticality and exterior prominence of its baldachin arches. Much closer to the later mosque, and indeed its likely model, is the Edirnekapı Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, a work of Sinan's that was completed in 1565

[110] For these mosques, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 17; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 184–87, 261–70; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 231–33, 295–312; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 238–56.

(figs. 174–75).[111] Here, as at the Nuruosmaniye, a single dome covering the majority of the building is raised high on a square baldachin whose four grand arches frame rows of windows. Though a royal foundation by virtue of its eponymous patroness, Süleyman the Magnificent's daughter (d. 1578), the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque was an unusual work without any immediate followers, and its location by the city walls meant that it was seldom visited by the sultans. The Nuruosmaniye thus bypassed more obvious models like the Sultanahmet and Süleymaniye and instead took up the otherwise uninfluential scheme of a relatively marginal sultana's mosque.[112] This unexpected choice of plan not only lends the Nuruosmaniye a freshness of appearance against the city's existing sultanic mosques (a point to which I shall return below), but it also allows the building to achieve its impact with remarkable economy. The dome—which, as Ahmed Efendi notes, ranks among the largest of the city—is showcased in such a way as to make a virtue of its singleness, and one scarcely notices that the resultant space is smaller in relation to older sultanic mosques.

A more dramatic departure from convention, though visible only as we near the mosque, is the courtyard that adjoins the prayer hall. Unlike all preceding examples, which are square or rectangular in plan, the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard is semielliptical,

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[111] For this mosque, Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 27; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 252–55; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 276; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 305–314. The Nuruosmaniye's debt to the Mihrimah is noted in Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," 311.

[112] Suggesting that the mosque held a particular appeal for eighteenth-century viewers is the description of it by Kömürciyan, whose inclusion of the building in his short and selective chapter on Istanbul's mosques is in itself significant: "The whole body of the edifice forms a beautiful square, most svelte and unusual. There are multiple rows of windows, and it has a dome of such size and structure that it appears magnificent even from afar." (*Tutto il corpo dell'edifizio forma un bellissimo quadrato assai svelto, e bizzarro. Sonovi più ordini di finestroni, ed ha una cupuloa di tal grandezza e struttura, che anche da lontano comparisce magnifica.*) See Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 41; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 62. The mosque is described in similar terms by Inchichean (*XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, 53). The qualities that these two writers admired in the building are the same that would win the Nuruosmaniye such praise, and they relate, as I shall discuss, to prevailing aesthetic standards and tastes of the time.

the domed bays of its round-arched portico fanning out to achieve the shape (figs. 184–85). The end result is radically different from anything that the mosque-goers of Istanbul would have been accustomed to, and one of the few examples in the Ottoman context of a Baroque whose effect is spatial rather than limited to the surface.

These innovations in the basic shape of the mosque find their match in the building's details and decoration. The Nuruosmaniye proudly displays the novel style inherited from the experimental works that preceded it, and the change of scale and medium is transformative. No longer limited to a gate, fountain, or bathhouse interior, the new manner is here, for the first time, expressed in truly monumental terms—the Ottoman Baroque writ large. Externally, the keynote is struck by the four baldachin arches, which, though themselves slightly pointed, are framed by segmental pediments with concave corners and deep molded cornices. These pediments recall the arched niche of a fountain in Maçka that Mahmud built in 1748, the outline of which in turn relates to such European models as a seventeenth-century altarpiece in the Mariahilf Church in Graz (figs. 177–79)[113] The use of this dynamic, plastic form over the Nuruosmaniye's arches creates a very different effect from that of the Mihrimah Sulan baldachin, with its planar surfaces and stepped pediments, and rather recalls the "facades" of contemporary English table-clocks, which were avidly collected by the Ottoman elite (fig. 35).[114] Under the arch on the qibla side is an apsidal projection containing the mihrab, and enlivening the building's flanks are galleries with mixtilinear arches that support shallow lateral

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[113] The resemblance between the niche of Mahmud's fountain and the frame of the altarpiece (made in 1611 by Pietro de Pomis) is pointed out by Turgut Saner in an important article on the use of European models in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture: see Turgut Saner, "Mimari Dönüştürmeler," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 9 (2005): 84.

[114] See Chapter 1, p. 70.

wings crowned by moldings similar to those of the baldachin above (figs. 176, 178). The copious fenestration consists almost entirely of round- and mixtilinear-arched windows with crisply molded frames.

The most striking exterior details, however, are in the architecture of the courtyard, whose three carved marble doorways are among the most elaborate examples of the entire Ottoman Baroque. Crowning the main portal into the courtyard is a round-arched tympanum with a fan-like design formed of pilasters, flutes, and reeds radiating from a lush rosette (fig. 182). The skeleton beneath is clearly the less ornate half-sunburst motif that enjoyed such favor earlier in the century (figs. 23, 50). Also representing an older form dressed in new clothing are the courtyard's two lateral doors, each of which replaces the muqarnas conch with an analogously shaped semivault whose corbelling consists of rows of acanthus friezes and moldings of European origin (figs. 181, 183). Despite the identifiable sources of its constituent parts, the resultant design is quite unexpected in its originality and impact, resembling neither anything local nor European. This mesmerizing concoction is repeated within the courtyard above the door into the prayer hall itself; signaling the superiority of this particular entrance, shells and scrolls have been added to the semivault's base to further embellish the scheme (fig. 186–88). Notwithstanding their originality, these doors all incorporate panels of Arabic calligraphy rendered in monumental *thulth* by Bursalı Ali Efendi, one of six calligraphers who worked on the complex.[115] The traditional appearance of these texts only highlights the novelty of the decoration around them. The panels on the doors' outer faces are inscribed with conventional Koranic passages promoting prayer and good works, while those on

[115] For the Nuruosmaniye's calligraphic program, see Aras Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi'nin Yazıları," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 1 (1996): 7–34; and Zübeyde Cihan Özsayıner, "Nuruosmaniye Camii'nin Hat Düzeni," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 115–26.

their inner faces together hail Osman III and give his patrilineage down to Osman I (fig. 189). This ancestral roll call is unusual; it underscores the Nuruosmaniye's status as a dynastic foundation—"Light of the Ottomans"—belonging to a long line of sultanic complexes, and it also, by necessity, omits any mention of the mosque's true originator, Mahmud I.

Although the two minarets that mark the juncture of the prayer hall and courtyard likewise seem quite different from what came before, their undulating stone caps are in fact the result of a repair carried out in 1890.[116] Historical depictions, including photographs, reveal that the original caps were of the established lead-tiled conical type, although possibly more elongated than was typical (figs. 119, 123, 213).

Entering the mosque, we encounter a space entirely clad in carved white marble up to the arches of the baldachin (figs. 190–93). This abundance of decorative stonework, to the exclusion of any tiles, already renders the hall distinctive in comparison to older mosque interiors. It also adds to the sense of brightness provided by the many windows, a quality the *waqfiyya* evokes when it calls the building "the noble light-filled mosque."[117] Paintwork would have covered the unclad surfaces, as it still does today, though what we now see are layers of mostly gaudy overpainting. Only the base of the dome—which has been repainted with an authentic Baroque design uncovered during the mosque's recent restoration—gives a sense of the original scheme.[118] The dome seems to encompass the

[116] For the historical renovations undergone by the Nuruosmaniye, see Fatih Köse, "Arşiv Belgelerine Göre Nuruosmaniye Camii İnşâsı-Tamirleri ve Onarımları," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 25–41 (esp. 34 for the minarets).

[117] *Cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i pür-nūr'da* . . . Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 18.

[118] A less fortunate result of the restoration are the expanses of fictive white marble that have been painted around the calligraphic roundels of the pendentives. This rather ugly marbling replaces densely painted nineteenth-century scrollwork that, although itself inauthentic, probably gave a better sense of the original

whole of the interior, an impression that prevails despite the apse in the middle of the qibla wall and the elevated galleries that run around the remaining three sides. These vaulted galleries are mostly carried on structures on the exterior of the baldachin (the lateral ones correspond to the projecting side wings noted above), so that the area directly beneath the dome is almost completely unencumbered. Toward the qibla wall, the lateral galleries widen somewhat to form box-like projections; that on the left—distinguished by its latticework screens—is the sultan's private loge, which, though still in its traditional position, is no longer a separate tribune interrupting the floor space (figs. 165–66, 193).

As on the outside of the building, the interior's stonework is showily novel, and particularly notable is the jutting entablature-like cornice that circumscribes the whole of the building at the springing point of the baldachin arches (fig. 195). Carved onto its wide concave surface is a busy but lucid *thulth* inscription comprising the Koran's Victory Sura, which talks of the Prophet Muhammad's role in guiding the righteous to their heavenly reward. This tour de force of an inscription is the first wraparound example in Ottoman art, and its traditionally composed text appears very untraditional indeed now that its medium is a sculptural Baroque frieze. Marking the upper and lower edges of the cornice, and thus providing a border to the inscription, are thousands of dentils, which occur also in a continuous molding immediately below the gallery story. The abundance in the mosque of this simple but painstaking motif would seem to confirm its royal associations in the Ottoman context. Lower on the walls, framed by decorative blind

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scheme. The same kind of nineteenth-century paintwork can still be seen in the apse, where it was allowed to stay by the restorers. For the Nuruosmaniye's recent restoration, see E. Füsun Alioğlu and Olcay Aydemir, "Nuruosmaniye Camii ve 2010–2012 Yılları Restorasyonu," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 77–90; Oğuz Ceylan, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Rölöve, Restitüsyon ve Restorasyon Projeleri," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 43–57; Sait Durak, "Restorasyon Sorunları Çerçevesinde Nuruosmaniye Camii," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 103–7 (esp. 107–7 for the restoration of the paintwork); and Ahmet Güleç, "Nuruosmaniye Camii'ne ait Malzemelerin Nitelik ve Problemlerinin Analizi," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 59–75.

arcades, are horizontal cartouches alternating with vertical ovals, the former containing the names of God, and the latter those of the Prophet (fig. 194). Serving as a sacred counterpoint to the list of royal names in the courtyard, these *thulth* panels are again the work of Bursalı Ali Efendi, who has inscribed his own signature in the cartouche to the right of the minbar.[119]

It is on this qibla-facing side of the prayer hall that the decorative scheme is at its most exuberant (figs. 196–200). The minbar and mihrab—while traditional in overall shape—are carved in a rich Baroque palette that incorporates flutes, scrolls, and acanthus leaves. In a manner resembling the exterior doors, the triangular semivault of the mihrab is built up of rows of eccentrically combined friezes, in this case including tiny Corinthian-like colonnettes that stand on a dentil molding supported by little foliate corbels. The apse containing the mihrab (the minbar is just outside it) has Osman's tughra at each of its sides, sultanic complements to the *Allāh* and *Muḥammad* that flank the mihrab. The stained-glass windows of the apse and its adjacent walls have mixtilinear-arched frames whose inner edges are studded with a kind of double dentil molding, its squares alternating in direction. Known as the Venetian dentil, this motif is actually of Byzantine origin, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Its use on the privileged qibla wall represents a formal and semiotic redoubling of the conventional dentil molding, which already features prominently in the mosque as an imperial marker.

From its broad lines to its smallest details, then, the Nurusosmaniye Mosque is an extraordinarily bold and original statement, even in the context of the architectural projects leading up to it. The same daring style obtains in the other parts of the complex, as we have already seen with the royal pavilion. Thus the library—a recent building type

[119] See Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi'nin Yazıları," 15.

not found in earlier sultanic mosque complexes[120]—recalls the courtyard in its use of an ovoid plan and curved arcades (figs. 128–29), again giving us one of the rare Ottoman cases of a Baroque spatial configuration.[121] The neighboring tomb, meanwhile, has a wraparound inscription frieze in the manner of the prayer hall (fig. 131). What is remarkable is that this overwhelming effect of novelty is tempered by an equally new stylistic maturity. Works of the earlier 1740s had included elements that referred very directly to their Western sources, but at the Nuruosmaniye, these borrowings have been more thoroughly localized. This is particularly apparent in the complex's column capitals, which no longer imitate the classical orders.[122] To be sure, foliate square or pilaster capitals of Corinthianizing design do occur on the courtyard doors and in parts of the prayer hall interior, but these are very much in the minority (fig. 194). Most of the capitals in the complex are flared vase-like blocks that are in some cases plain and in others fluted or reeded (figs. 126, 129, 164); those of the latter category represent a distinctive reformulation of the Western source material, where fluting and reeding usually belong to the surface of the column itself. While such fluted vase capitals also occur in works of the 1740s (fig. 391), certain parts of the Nuruosmaniye—especially the

[120] As far as I know, the first library to appear in a mosque complex is that over the precinct gate of the Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque, mentioned above in the main text.

[121] It is interesting to note that the carved marble jambs of the library's main door exhibit the only examples of pre-Baroque decoration to be found in the whole complex. The outer face of each jamb is incised with a relief of a bouquet of flowers growing out of a footed bowl, a design very much in keeping with "Tulip Era" fashions. Moreover, the side of each jamb features *muqarnas* corbelling at its top, just below the springing of the arch that crowns the door. These jambs are extremely curious in the overall context of the library, not to mention the complex; they may well be reused or left over from an earlier project, particularly as the voissoirs that rest on them awkwardly overhang the *muqarnas* corbelling. Indeed, Ahmed Efendi (*Tārīḫ*, 37) tells us that the stones acquired for the Nuruosmaniye include a number from "certain abandoned and incomplete buildings." For an illustration (without comment) of one of the soffits, see Suman, "Questioning an 'Icon of Change'" (2011–12), fig. 6.

[122] For the Nuruosmaniye's column capitals, see Semra Ögel, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi Dekorundaki Sütunlar," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 1 (1996): 35–71.

courtyard entrances—debut a fancier kind of capital that would go on to be one of the most characteristic features of the Ottoman Baroque. It consists of a vase-like body—either plain or decorated—with small but prominent volutes issuing from its corners (figs. 201–3). At the Nuruosmaniye, these corner scrolls are accompanied by less protuberant ornaments above the vase's main faces. Though clearly descended from the Corinthian, the design bespeaks a growing self-assuredness on the part of the Ottoman craftsmen who created it, being a distinctive and successful reinterpretation that established a new local norm. I shall henceforth refer to this type as the scroll capital.[123] It is interesting to note the unfinished examples of this capital over the red marble columns inside the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard: their curiously abstract appearance might be mistaken for a deliberate effect were it not the fact that one of them has been partially carved with the intended design (fig. 203). Why they were never fully executed is a mystery.[124]

The case of these incomplete capitals naturally raises the question of the men who were involved in designing and crafting the mosque. So clearly does the architecture of the Nuruosmaniye follow on from the first Baroque projects of the 1740s that there can be no doubt we are dealing with the same teams of artisans. Their decade or so of experience left them well equipped to tackle a monumental complex, and the end result is a fully developed, sophisticated adaptation of the experimental style of their earlier efforts. These men, whose careers up to this point are basically unrecorded, acquire clearer identities with the Nuruosmaniye, a project on which we have a good amount of

[123] Saner ("Mimari Dönüştürmeler," 82–84) suggests a different origin for this kind of capital: medieval column bases with scroll-like ornaments in their corners. There is certainly a formal resemblance between these bases and the Ottoman capitals, but one that is to my mind coincidental. I believe it much likelier that the Ottoman scroll capital developed as a kind of abstracted variant of the Corinthianizing designs used earlier in the 1740s.

[124] I have not found any reference to these capitals' being unfinished in the existing scholarship.

documentation.[125] We know, for example, that the architect was a non-Muslim *ḳalfa* whom Ahmed Efendi refers to as "Skillful Simeon" and describes as "one of the master carpenters with perfect proficiency in art."[126] His chief assistant, who probably oversaw the mosque's decorative stonework, was Kozma, *ḳalfa* over the stonemasons, of whom almost eighty percent were Christian.[127] The preeminent role of these two *ḳalfa*s in the mosque's creation is evident from the fact that they were given robes of honor by the grand vizier when the building was inaugurated, as mentioned by Ahmed Efendi and recorded in the official ceremonial registers.[128] The latter list the two men among the "Servants of the Imperial Mosque," a diverse group of 48 individuals ranging from the principal imam to the head of the sewer builders. At the end of this group, which is already the last in the ceremonial order, are fourteen non-Muslims, with Simeon and Kozma named first. Although the men are relegated to the end of the list because of their religion, the fact that they are included at all indicates the growing status of Christian Ottoman architects and craftsmen since the start of the eighteenth century.

Certain scholars, particularly Turkish ones, have argued that the real architect of the Nuruosmaniye was Mustafa Agha, the chief imperial architect of the time, but this is

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[125] For published examples of this documentation, see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*; and Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 168–69, 178–79, nos. 201, 217.

[126] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 3. I have not found any other contemporary Ottoman sources concerning Simeon's activities as an architect. The Ottoman Prime Ministry Archive in Istanbul does, to be sure, contain a document dated 1742 (C.EV., 518/26157) that refers to a certain Simon Kalfa who carried out an inspection of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, and this individual may be the same as our Simeon. However, the name Simon/Simeon was not an uncommon one among Ottoman non-Muslims, and other documented Sim(e)on Kalfas lived in the nineteenth century.

[127] For the religious breakdown of the Nuruosmaniye's stonemasons, see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 24.

[128] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 46; and Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 17.

nothing more than nationalistic wishful thinking.[129] The chief architect does indeed show up in documents concerning the mosque, though only under his title, which in fact refers to more than one individual, since Mustafa Agha was in the post only upon the mosque's completion; preceding him during most of the construction phase was Ahmed Agha. Ahmed Efendi mentions the chief architect's role in procuring land for the complex and his involvement in the committee that decided the height of the mosque's basement. His presence at the foundation-laying ceremony—where both he and Simeon Kalfa received robes of honor—is also noted, and the ceremonial registers show that he (or rather his successor) was among those invested during the mosque's inauguration.[130] In none of these instances does the anonymous chief architect appear in more than his ministerial capacity, and although he must have approved the complex's design, there is no indication that he played any creative role in shaping it. Simeon Kalfa, by contrast, is specifically referred to by Ahmed Efendi as the man whom Derviş Efendi, the project superintendent, appointed master builder (*ḳalfa*). Ahmed's description of Simeon as an expert carpenter also bears out his architectural credentials, since many Ottoman architects, including Sinan, had a background in carpentry.[131] It is true that Simeon is not called by the word *miʿmār*, or architect proper, but this was a matter of convention: the rules of Ottoman nomenclature did not yet allow a non-Muslim Ottoman to be referred to as more than *ḳalfa*.[132] This terminological obfuscation should not detract from the fact that Simeon is the first dhimmi whose authorship of a major architectural project is

[129] For a summary of the controversy, see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 16, 21–22. Hocchut is less convinced than I am of Simeon Kalfa's authorship of the Nuruomaniye.

[130] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 7; and Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 14.

[131] See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 131–32, 154.

[132] See Chapter 1, n. 121.

acknowledged in contemporary Ottoman sources. Nineteenth-century Ottoman writers are likewise frank in this regard, as when the historian Mustafa Nuri Pasha attributes the Nurusosmaniye to Simeon and states that all important commissions of this period were given to Greek and Armenian builders, notwithstanding the continuing existence of the corps of imperial architects.[133]

Non-Turkish Ottoman sources substantiate Simeon's role as architect and shed further light on his identity.[134] An Armenian letter written in 1759 by an Ottoman-Armenian priest concerns Simeon's house, a red waterside mansion in Kandilli. "This house," the priest tells us, "was erected by Red Simon Kalfa, the architect of the new mosque built by Sultan Mahmud; for Sultan Mahmud, and Sultan Osman after him, gave him this place as a reward for his architecture." But the next sultan, Mustafa III, was not so pleased when he spotted the house during an excursion and inquired about its owner. Objecting to Simeon's presence in an otherwise Muslim area, he forced the architect to leave the property and move to Ortaköy, where he lived in another red house. "Because of this," the priest continues, "Greeks who wanted to build new houses or repair their houses subsequently dropped their applications." The author does not specify Simeon's own ethnicity, but the logical inference from his concluding remarks is that the architect too was Greek.[135] Why he is so strongly identified with red is not so clear, though his

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[133] See Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netayic ül-Vukuat: Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi*, trans. and ed. Neşet Çağatay, 4 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1979–80), 4:147.

[134] In addition to the following citations, see Tsilenis Savvas, "Architectural Styles and Greek-Orthodox Architects in Constantinople," in *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Constantinople*, article published February 22, 2008, http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=11354.

[135] Written by the priest Hagop Chamchiyants and dated August 18, 1759, the letter is partially quoted in Turkish translation in Kevork Pamukciyan, "Nuruosmaniye Camii'nin Mimarı Simeon Kalfa Hakkında," in *Zamanlar, Mekânlar, İnsanlar*, Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar 3 (Istanbul: Aras, 2003), 153. Pamukciyan writes that he found the document in a volume of eighteenth-century letters sent by members

decision to paint both his homes in such a conspicuous color is surely a sign of the confidence he felt in his status, even after his eviction.[136] Both Simeon's standing and ethnicity are confirmed in an eighteenth-century Greek chronicle written by the Phanariot Athanasios Komninos Ypsilantis, an eminent Paduan-trained physician. According to Ypsilantis, Simeon was "a representative of the [Greek] people" who supported the controversial patriarch Cyril V.[137] The position that Simeon enjoyed within the Greek community is another clue to the well-to-do and educated circles in which non-Muslim Ottoman architects may have moved, as discussed in previous chapters.

Though Kozma Kalfa is not so well documented, his name shows that he too must have been Greek.[138] Others among the Christian craftsmen involved in the Nuruosmaniye have Armenian names, and indeed, I discovered in the Armenian cemetery at Bağlarbaşı two tombstones whose carved ornament is remarkably similar to that of the mosque (figs. 204–5). Both of these stones take the form of elaborately carved marble slabs with

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of the Armenian-Catholic Mechitarist order to their headquarters in Venice; the recipient in this case was Abbot Stepanos Melkonian, the leader of the order. I have not been able to find a full citation for the volume, which Pamukciyan says was published in 1930 by the Mechitarists' own press under the editorship of Ghevont Dayyan, with our letter appearing on p. 201. Pamukciyan does not reproduce the original text, and my English translation is based on his Turkish rendering. As Pamukciyan notes, the letter is one of several documents disproving the unsubstantiated view that Simeon Kalfa was Armenian, a view that he himself had earlier followed: see Kevork Pamukciyan, "Balyan Ailesi ve Menşei," in *Zamanlar, Mekânlar, İnsanlar*, Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar 3 (Istanbul: Aras, 2003), 124–25; and Pamukciyan, "Nuruosmaniye Camii'nin Mimarı Simeon Kalfa Hakkında," 152–54.

[136] Sumptuary laws generally did not permit Christians to have brightly colored houses: see Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 1:65–66. Mouradgea d'Ohsson (*Tableau general*, vol. 4, part 1, 234) states that this restriction applied also to Muslim subjects.

[137] Athanasios Kominos Ypsilantis, *Ta meta tin alōsin*, ed. G. Aphthonidou (Constantinople, 1870; repr. Athens, 1972), 751. My knowledge and English rendering of this source are based on the reference to it in Pamukciyan, "Nuruosmaniye Camii'nin Mimarı Simeon Kalfa Hakkında," 154, where there is a Turkish translation of the relevant passage. Ypsilantis was a learned man of considerable rank: in 1744, he entered the service of Mehmed Ragıb Pasha (d. 1763), who would later become grand vizier to Osman III and Mustafa III. For Ypsilantis' life and chronicle, see Strauss, "The Rise of Non-Muslim Historiography in the Eighteenth Century," 226–29. For a French source on Simeon's Greek ethnicity, see Chapter 2, n. 81.

[138] For sources on Kozma, see Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 46; and BOA, C.EV., 194/9670.

Armenian epitaphs whose biographical details suggest that the deceased were bankers.[139] Unusually, and signaling the elite status of the individuals they commemorate, the tombstones' epitaphs are each accompanied by a *hijri* death date, which is in both cases 1169 (1755–56)—the year of the Nuruosmaniye's completion. The decoration of the larger of the tombstones is particularly reminiscent of the mosque. Surrounding the oval-framed epitaph is a rich assortment of Ottoman Baroque motifs that all have analogues in the Nuruosmaniye. These include shells, leafy scrolls, beaded acanthus leaves, and chains formed of bell-like flowers. Especially telling are the tiny bowls of fruit—an updating of a "Tulip Era" motif—that are perched on the C-scrolls toward the bottom of the tomb; these appear also on the scrollwork pediments surmounting the inner faces of the Nurosmaniye's courtyard doors (figs. 206–7). So many and specific are these correspondences that the tombs must have been carved by men who belonged to the same milieu as the stoneworkers of the mosque. No Muslim tombstone of this date has anything approaching such a Baroque scheme.

While Greeks and Armenians evidently played a major role in building the Nuruosmaniye, Muslim artists and artisans were also instrumental to the project, as reflected by the list of those granted robes of honor at the inauguration. Apart from calligraphers, who were necessarily Muslim, the workforce included Muslims whose jobs either paralleled those of their Christian peers—Kozma's counterpart, for example, was

[139] I am grateful to Alyson Wharton and Krikor Moskofian for reading and interpreting these epitaphs for me. Both of the deceased had performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and both were natives of Akn/Eğin (modern-day Kemaliye) in Eastern Anatolia, from where many of Istanbul's Armenian bankers hailed. The elaborateness of the tombs and their inclusion of *hijri* dates suggest that the individuals worked for members of the Ottoman government.

the master stonemason Mehmed[140]—or reflected their own specialized training. Engineering tasks, such as the installation of the mosque's waterworks, seem to have been directed by Muslim experts, already anticipating the imperial architects' later transformation into an engineering corps.[141] How these Muslim and non-Muslim workers interacted and divided their overlapping responsibilities is difficult to reconstruct, though there is nothing to suggest any conflict.[142]

Given the straightforward way in which the Ottoman sources—both Turkish and non-Turkish—record the leading role of Simeon Kalfa, it is surprising how little they say on what would appear to be the most salient aspect of the Nuruosmaniye: its unrelentingly novel appearance. This is the true even of Ahmed Efendi's fifty-five-page monographic account. He does, to be sure, refer to the building as the "noble mosque of graceful new style [*cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz-ı laṭīf*],"[143] and he notes certain parts of the complex that he finds particularly original. Describing the prayer hall, for example, he draws attention to "the various newly appeared crystal pendant chandeliers brought from Vienna that were specially ordered a few years ago."[144] These chandeliers, which have long since disappeared, are mentioned also in the mosque's *waqfiyya*[145] and must have

[140] See Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 46; and Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 17, where he is referred to as *Ṭaşçıbaşı usta Meḥmed*.

[141] For the various groups of artisans and their leaders, see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 23–28; and Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 17.

[142] For the cooperation of workers from different religious and ethnic backgrounds in earlier projects, see Chapter 1, n. 103.

[143] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 13.

[144] Ibid., 42.

[145] They are referred to as *āvīze ṭoblar* ("round chandeliers"; cf. modern Turkish *top kandil*) in the part of the document stipulating the oil provisions for the complex's lighting. See Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 18.

complemented the architecture far better than the pseudo-traditional lanterns that today take their place. He also remarks on "an unparalleled fountain skillfully made in the new manner [*nev-vādī muṣannaʿ-kār ve nādīde bir çeşme-sār*], with four spouts at its lower part and a jet at its top."[146] Located before the madrasa and today blocked from view by a fence, this ornamental marble fountain consists of a square basin in whose center is a pier-like upright with a gadrooned finial—its main jet—and a bulbous pedestal hosting four additional spouts (figs. 208–9). The fountain, which no longer flows, is far from being the most impressive part of the complex, but outdoor jets of this type were still a novelty in the Ottoman context, as shown by Ahmed Efendi's singling out of the feature.

Even with these scattered references to certain innovative elements, however, Ahmed Efendi says nothing substantive about the Nuruosmaniye's "new style," let alone its European influences. Exemplifying this silence is his approach to the courtyard's unique semielliptical shape, which he mentions only once when giving the measurements of the mosque:

> This leaves the courtyard, which, with its porticoes and walls, is thirty-two and a half cubits and three fingers in length, and, again including the thickness of the walls at each side, forty-two cubits in width, which calculations yield an area of 1,370 square cubits and 6 square fingers; but because its corners are round, some of this area is lost.[147]

This infuriatingly unelaborated remark is as far as Ahmed Efendi goes in acknowledging the courtyard's unprecedented shape.[148]

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[146] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 26.

[147] Ibid., 14.

[148] Similarly, Şemʿdani-zade (*Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6) devotes the greater part of his description of the mosque to giving its measurements.

Other Ottoman sources of the eighteenth century are similarly unforthcoming on the matter. Although, as we shall see, they frequently praise the Nuruosmaniye for its novelty and magnificence, in some cases highlighting specific features, they never explicitly state what distinguishes the mosque from earlier buildings. Such is the case also with the first Ottoman Baroque works of the 1740s, but these have far less written about them to begin with, and the lack of discourse is harder to explain when the subject is a monumental new mosque complex. Even the Nuruosmaniye itself proves to be a disappointing document in this regard: its copious inscription program never once makes reference to the building's appearance.

In her analysis of the Ottoman commentaries on the Nuruosmaniye, Shirine Hamadeh argues that the lack of any mention of European models "casts doubt on the conspicuousness of Western stylistic references and their significance to the mosque's unmistakably new idiom."[149] While it is true, as I shall discuss, that the importance of the new style did not lie in any intended or perceived process of visual Westernization, Ottoman observers were surely more struck by the monument's innovations than their writings suggest. Many, if not most, of these innovations drew on Western models, a fact that cannot have escaped literate Ottomans with access to European prints and luxury goods. The absence of any written comment substantiating such an awareness does not mean, then, that the Nuruosmaniye's Western references went largely unnoticed. Rather, it shows that Ottomans were comfortable viewing the new style and did not regard it as alien, even if they recognized its borrowings. The quietness of the sources in this regard is also a consequence of Ottoman literary norms, which preferred conventional (though still significant) similes and general statements of acclamation to more specific formal or

[149] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 226.

stylistic observations. In the case of Ahmed Efendi's text, such aesthetic analysis is even less likely given that the author was writing as a clerk concerned with the practical realities of the project: small wonder that he spends far longer talking about the treatment and remuneration of the workforce than he does the mosque's architecture.

Off the written page, Ottoman discussion of the Nuruosmaniye's appearance must have been livelier and more openly perceptive. Şemʿdani-zade's entry on the mosque pithily evokes what texts like his own omit: "a village that can be seen requires no description; it is known by those who visit."[150] Perhaps echoing this unrecorded discourse are some of the contemporary European sources, which more fully address the issue of style. The most valuable of these sources is the letter written by the French diplomat Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel's in response to the memoirs of François de Tott (d. 1793), a French nobleman of Hungarian origin who was a military adviser to the Ottomans.[151] Published in 1785 as an appendix to the second edition of Tott's memoires, Peysonnel's commentary is the most detailed, not to say accurate, account we have of the Nuruosmaniye's artistic genesis:

> When [Sultan Mahmud] had resolved on raising this Edifice, he procured from Italy, France, and England, the most elegant designs and models to be found in Europe, proper for his undertaking. From these the Prince, who possessed great abilities and taste, formed, himself, the plans of his Mosque, which he shewed to the Ulemas. They, however, objected it more resembled a Christian Church than a Mosque, and advised their Master to give it a form more agreeable to the Mahometan taste, that it might not offend the common people. Sultan Mahmoud, obliged to give way to the insinuations of the heads of the Law, produced a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish Style, though still magnificent and elegant. He ornamented the Court of this Mosque with a superb Colonnade,

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[150] *Görünen köy taʿrīf istemez; züvvārıñ maʿlūmlarıdır.* Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6. Şemʿdani-zade is here using a variant of the still current Turkish proverb *Görünen köy kılavuz istemez* (A village that can be seen requires no guide).

[151] Tott and his activities in the Ottoman Empire will be discussed in Chapter 4.

> the idea of which was furnished by the Church of St. Peter at Rome, which he executed in miniature.[152]

Peyssonnel's curious narrative was quickly picked up by other Western writers and has been parroted in the literature ever since.[153] Though it has found its way also into the writings of Turkish art historians, the story is never mentioned in the Ottoman sources, and recent scholarship has largely dismissed it as apocryphal.[154] There is good reason to be skeptical, but should we be so quick to disregard the account altogether? Peyssonnel had an intimate knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, having served there as a member of the French mission for thirty-four years. He arrived in Istanbul from his native Marseilles in 1748 to join his father, Charles de Peyssonnel (d. 1757), who was himself secretary to the ambassador and later consul in Izmir.[155] With the elder Peyssonnel's support, Claude-Charles learned Turkish and swiftly rose in the diplomatic ranks, serving as consul in the Crimea before succeeding his father in Izmir. Because he was not posted outside Istanbul until 1753, Peyssonnel was present in the city during most of the Nuruosmaniye's construction; it is therefore not unlikely that he had some substantive firsthand knowledge of the project. Indeed, there is much in his account that is verifiable: after comparing the courtyard to the colonnades at St. Peter's (fig. 210), he notes that its

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[152] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 195–96.

[153] See, for example, Toderini, *Letteratura turchesca*, 19–21; Dallaway, *Constantinople*, 62 (where, however, the mosque's founding is misattributed to Mehmed IV); Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 2:12 (where the mosque's founding is again misattributed, this time to Mehmed III); Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 27; and Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 383. Modern scholars seem to be unaware that the chain of transmission began with Peyssonnel: Hamedeh ("Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque," 196n44), for instance, refers to Dallaway and Tott as the originators. The correct identification of the tale's source is more than a matter of scholarly accuracy: an author like Peyssonnel, who was highly knowledgeable of and sympathetic to the Ottoman Empire, is someone whose assertions hold a lot more weight than those of a casual traveler.

[154] Hamadeh (*The City's Pleasures*, 224–25) is particularly skeptical.

[155] For biographies of the two Peyssonnels, see M. Ch. Depincé, *Compte rendu des travaux du Congrès colonial de Marseille*, 4 vols. (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1907–08), 1:158–62.

columns were brought from Pergamon, something we know to be true from the Ottoman sources.[156] And in a later part of his letter, while refuting Tott's criticisms of Ottoman architecture,[157] he rightly identifies the mosque's architect as Simeon, though not without adding his own colorful opinions:

> Another Armenian, named Echek Simeon, who is, perhaps, still living, or has certainly not been long dead, without being able either to write or read, or even to draw, has, in our own time, executed, in a truly masterly manner, the magnificent Mosque of Sultan Mahmoud, of which I have already spoken, and which Sultan Osman caused to be finished, in order to give it his own name. The stupidity and ignorance of this Armenian in every thing but Architecture was so great, that it procured him the name of *Echek Simeon,* or Simeon the Ass.[158]

This passage is instructive for how we might gauge Peyssonnel's overall reliability. Although correct in his identification of Simeon Kalfa, he mistakenly describes him as Armenian, a common enough slip among Europeans speaking of non-Muslim Ottomans.[159] It is extremely unlikely, however, that he invented the architect's unfortunate nickname of *eşek* (jackass), which is an entirely idiomatic Turkish insult. Nor

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[156] He writes that the columns "had formed the Peristyle of the ancient Palace of the Kings of Pergamus": Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 196. For Ottoman sources on the columns' origins in Pergamon, see Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 14–19; and Refik [Altınay], *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 169n1.

[157] Tott's criticisms concern his efforts to establish a new armaments foundry in Istanbul, about which he writes that he "was continually obliged to join practice with Theory, and to be at once Architect, Mason, Stone-cutter, Forger, and Whitesmith." Like the equally critical Vigny before him, however, Tott goes on to undermine his own damning assessment: having spoken disparagingly of one Greek Ottoman "who pretended to be an Architect," he acknowledges the help he received from another "very expert in the Art of constructing Mills." Tott, *Memoires*, vol. 2, part 3, 117–18. Peyssonnel ("Strictures and Remarks," 258) points out the inconsistency of Tott's approach, noting that "the Author of the Memoirs himself, in his first Volume, has not denied [Ottoman buildings] some praise."

[158] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 258–59.

[159] Vigny too uses the term "Armenian" as a sort of shorthand when referring to non-Muslim Ottoman architects and craftsmen. Peyssonnel ("Strictures and Remarks," 258) also speaks of "an Armenian Architect" whom "Sultan Selim employed . . . in building his two superb Mosques, one of which is at Constantinople, and the other at Andrinople." The individual in question must be Sinan, and the second of the mosques the Selimiye, built for Selim II in Edirne. As for the mosque in Istanbul, Peyssonnel is presumably referring to the foundation of Selim I, which had long been misattributed to Sinan. He goes on to say that the sultan asked the architect which of the two mosques was more beautiful, to which the architect replied, "I have expended most money . . . in that of Andrinople, but most science in that of the Metropolis."

are Peyssonnel's accusations of ignorance and illiteracy to be attributed to Eurocentric prejudice: his description of Simeon Kalfa is part of a staunch defense of Ottoman architects, whose works he calls "the Admiration of foreign Connoisseurs."[160] It appears, then, that Peyssonnel is relating a no doubt questionable opinion that was current in at least some Ottoman circles where Skillful Simeon was regarded as Simple Simeon. Peyssonnel's writings are thus of considerable value for what they may convey, albeit secondhand, of the Ottomans' own discussions.

Indeed, if we return to Ahmed Efendi's *Tārīḫ*, its description of how the Nuruosmaniye was first designed is strangely reminiscent of Peyssonnel's account. The episode in question occurs after Sultan Mahmud's inspirational encounter with the sage, when he summons Derviş Efendi into his presence and orders him "to draw the mosque and bring [the plan] with all haste, whereat [Derviş Efendi] immediately that day had a drawing made of the [building's] four walls and brought it."[161] But Mahmud appears to have wanted something more impressive than this initial sketch, which did not reflect the grandeur of what he envisioned. Consequently,

> with the desire for splendor and the will to commence redoubled by royal urging, a three-dimensional design [*mücessem tersīm*] was immediately commissioned, and upon His Majesty's approval, a great design showing the mosque's entire form, outside and in, exactly as it is today—with its single dome devoid of the bulk of columns beneath, and with its [various] levels and galleries—took shape on a large panel and was submitted before the gracious royal presence; and when the design of the [building's] form and the explication thereof met with His Exalted Majesty's royal approval, it was decided to construct [the mosque] according to this design.[162]

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[160] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 258.

[161] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 4.

[162] Ibid.

To summarize this sequence of events, the initial drawing brought by Derviş Efendi failed to satisfy the sultan, who asked instead for a three-dimensional model of the kind we know from other Ottoman architectural projects (fig. 211).[163] Both the drawing and the model—neither of which survives—must have been made or least supervised by Simeon Kalfa, though Ahmed Efendi mentions no artists in this regard. Whether the three-dimensional model merely elaborated the earlier drawing or—as seems to be implied—considerably revised it is unclear, but either way, it is significant that the story involves a preliminary design that was in some way rejected. This particular overlap with Peyssonnel's version is striking, even if the other details do not match: there is no mention here of European plans or churches, and Mahmud is now himself the rejecter rather than the rejectee. As for Peyssonnel's claim that the sultan was involved in actually designing the mosque, at least one Ottoman source appears to be in agreement with him. The seldom complimentary Şemʿdani-zade writes of the Nuruosmaniye that "His Majesty the paradise-dwelling [Sultan] Mahmud Khan, having as he did a natural disposition for architecture, produced a pleasing design and a graceful plan."[164]

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[163] Such a model was made for the katholikon of the Xeropotamou Monastery on Mount Athos, where it survives to this day. Sent from Istanbul, the model is dated April 13, 1762, and signed by a certain Constantinos, who identifies himself as a royal architect (no doubt a *ḳalfa* in Ottoman parlance; see also Chapter 4, n. 49 below). The model is composed of wooden pieces that are covered in papier-mâché, with removable elements to reveal the interior, and it rests on a gridded wooden board that indicates its scale. The actual construction of the katholikon between 1762 and 1764 was overseen by a local builder, who departed somewhat from Constantinos's design. Another wooden model (*resm*) is recorded in an account book as having been made for the rebuilding of the Fatih Mosque after the earthquake of 1766; it cost the considerable sum of 7,021 aspers. See Miltiades Polyviou, "Schediasmos kai kataskenē stē naodomia tou 18ou aiōna: hē periptōsē tou katholikou tēs Monēs Xēropotamou" (summarized into English as "Design and Construction in 18 th-Cent. [*sic*] Building. The Case of the Monastery of Xeropotamous Katholikon"), *Mnēmeio & perivallon* 2 (1994): 83–90; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 175–76. Kuban ("Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî," 126; and "Notes on Building Technology," 274) believes the design to have been a perspective drawing rather than a model, though he admits he is of the minority opinion. For the use of preparatory drawings and models in late Ottoman architecture, see Cerasi "Late Ottoman Architects," 93–94.

[164] *Cennet-mekān Maḥmūd Ḫān ḥażretleriniñ ṭabʿ-ı miʿmārīsi olmaġla ḫᵛoş resm ve laṭīf ṭarḥ etmişdir*. Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6.

These correspondences show that Peyssonnel's account is at least partially rooted in Ottoman information and lore about the Nuruosmaniye. Even the far-fetched notion that the mosque was initially too church-like may reflect an otherwise unrecorded rumor that had grown out of more credible narratives like Ahmed Efendi's. And though there is nothing in the mosque's appearance to suggest as specific a source as St. Peter's, Peyssonnel is evidently correct in his assertion that the building takes inspiration from European models: the architecture alone proves it. Many of the Western architectural books in the Topkapı Library include views of curved colonnades, thus helping to account for the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard (fig. 210).[165] That Ottoman architects of the time made use of such sources has been demonstrated by Turgut Saner, who has drawn convincing parallels between the design of the Library of Atıf Efendi—built in 1741–42 as one of the first works in Istanbul with Baroque details—and the plans of European churches with radiating chapels (fig. 212).[166]

There is, moreover, a broader kind of agreement between Peyssonnel's words and those of Ahmed Efendi and Şemʿdani-zade. Reduced to their essentials, the accounts of all three men concur that Mahmud had close personal involvement in the project's early design stages. Not only does this bear out what we already know of the sultan's artistic proclivities, but it also underscores the role of the Nuruosmaniye's new style as an

[165] Besides the illustrated example, another book that contains views of curved colonnades and courtyards is Jean Marot's four-volume *L'architecture françoise*, published in Paris by Jean Mariette between 1727 and 1738. The Topkapı Palace Library has a copy of this book divided into two parts (H. 2607 and H. 2613), each containing two volumes: see İrepoğlu, "Batılı Kaynakar." 67, 68. For a modern facsimile of the work, which is now generally attributed to its publisher, see [Pierre] Jean Mariette, *L'architecture française*, 2 vols. (Paris and Bruxelles: G. Vanoest, 1927–29).

[166] See Saner, "Mimari Dönüştürmeler," 80–82. The library's reading room is surrounded at one end by a fan-like arrangement of small vaulted recesses. In plan, the scheme very much resembles the radiating chapels commonly found in European churches of the Gothic period and later (Saner is needlessly specific in suggesting the Cathedral of Pienza as the model). To be sure, the space inside the library does not feel at all church-like, but this only supports Taner's argument that the Ottoman architect was working from a two-dimensional plan.

official imperial idiom. Related to this latter point is something else the three authors agree on: the magnificence of the end result.

A Baroque of One's Own: Ottoman Architecture on the World Stage

A recurrent theme in eighteenth-century commentaries on the Nuruosmaniye is the eminent, even superior, status of the mosque in relation to the city's other monuments. Vasıf's account of the inauguration concludes:

> The aforesaid mosque is truly without peer or blemish, a bright and shining second Kaaba that is the envy of temples old and new; its design is heart-cheering and its construction orderly, and with its strength and solidity and well-arranged dependencies, it is—needless to say—a graceful temple and noble mosque indeed.[167]

Ahmed Efendi is similarly enthusiastic in his praise, stating that

> it is fair and accurate to say that this beautiful building and gladdening house of worship—all of solid marble and so charming—has no like or counterpart not only in the capital, but perhaps also in [all] the lands of Islam, as is not secret or unknown to men of science.[168]

Given that both authors were writing as state-appointed officials, their effusiveness is perhaps not surprising. The Nuruosmaniye's *waqfiyya* is likewise predictably eulogistic, calling the building "the new mosque without equal."[169] But writings outside the official sphere are scarcely less complimentary. Never one to mince

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[167] *Cāmiʿ-i mez̲kūr fi'l-ḥaḳīḳa bīmis̲l ü bīḳuṣūr ve s̲ānī beyt-i maʿmūr, münevver ü rūşen reşk-endāz-ı maʿābid-i nev ü kühen, ṭarḥı dilkeş ve bināsı ġayr-i müşevveş, metīn ü müstaḥkem mürteziḳası muntaẓam bir maʿbed-i laṭīf ve bir cāmiʿ-i şerīf olduğu vāreste-i ḳayd-ı taʿrīf ü tavsīfdir.* Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̲ār*, 1:72.

[168] Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 41–42.

[169] *Cāmiʿ-i cedīd-i bī-hemtādan . . .* Öngül, *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, 20.

his words, Şemʿdani-zade is unreservedly positive about the mosque, which he declares "a fitting pious foundation, skillfully made and elegant."[170] Also glowing in his assessment is Carbognano, the Ottoman-Armenian writer and artist whose Italian description of Istanbul was mentioned in the previous chapter. Carbognano, who would have known the Baroque manner well from his time in Rome, saves the Nuruosmaniye as a sort of grand finale to his discussion of the city's mosques:[171]

> That which, by the beauty and unusualness of its architecture, surpasses by far those that have already been described is the mosque they call *Osmanie* . . . The cornices, doors, and windows are the most beautiful ornaments of this mosque, and the galleries composed of marble that extend down its sides are of great magnificence, but what is most remarkable about it is its dome, being one of the most imposing in Constantinople.[172]

It is notable that Carbognano specifically refers to the Nuruosmaniye's moldings, which constitute one of the most characteristically Baroque features of the mosque. The building's otherness is apparent also from his accompanying illustrations, among which that of the Nuruosmaniye stands out for its curved lines and bold plastic forms (figs. 213–14). One senses in this image just how different the mosque must have looked in contemporary Ottoman eyes.

The distinctive beauty of the building is similarly hailed by Ghukas Inchichean

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[170] *Ḥaḳḳ budur ki yerinde bir ḫayrātdır ve muṣannaʿdır ve laṭīfdir*. Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:6.

[171] The order of Carbognano's chapter on the mosques is not chronological, and so the Nuruosmaniye's climactic placement after the later Laleli is significant. Only one building follows it, and that is the Mosque of Eyüp, which closes the chapter for no other reason than that it is outside Istanbul proper ("Delle Moschee principali di Constantinopoli, e del Borgo di Ejub").

[172] *Quella poi che per la bellezza e bizzarria dell' architettura sopravanza di gran lunga le già descritte, è la Moschea, che chiamasi* Osmanie . . . *I cornicioni, le porte, e le finestre fanno i più belli ornamenti di questa Moschea, e le Gallerie composte di marmi, che si estendono a' lati, sono di gran magnificenza, ma quel che v' ha in essa di più rimarchevole è la sua Cupola, essendo una delle più vistose di Constantinopoli.* Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 42. I am grateful to Andrew Halladay for helping me with the Italian. For a Turkish translation, see Carbognano, *18. Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 63.

(d. 1833), another Ottoman-Armenian writer who was educated in Italy and wrote a late-eighteenth-century guide to the monuments of his native Istanbul. He goes so far as to deem "the dome and general building style of [the Nuruosmaniye] superior to those of all the other mosques," and after noting the use of marble columns to decorate the monument, he praises its doors, windows, and column capitals for their great elegance.[173]

Non-Ottomans too thought very highly of the Nuruosmaniye, as we have already seen from Peyssonnel's intense admiration. Though he does not rank the mosque, he devotes more time to it than any other Ottoman building, clearly considering it among the finest monuments the city had to offer. Another Frenchman deeply impressed by the Nuruosmaniye was Flachat, who, like Peyssonnel, saw the mosque as it was being erected. His account is unique in crediting the chief black eunuch Moralı Beşir Agha (whom he inexplicably calls Agi Bectache) with endorsing the mosque's final plan, a claim that, whether true or not, certainly reflects the eunuchs' role in fostering the new style:

> One always finds the same design, except perhaps in the mosques constructed during the reign of Sultan Mahamout. . . . The mosque that Sultan Mahamout had built is, without doubt, the most beautiful that one can see in the Empire, after one has seen St. Sophia. One recognizes there the genius and good taste of Agi Bectache, the famous Kislar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, on whom I shall speak hereafter: he approved its plan. They worked on it for five years. Although it is of prodigious height, there is as much of the building under the ground as above it. I do not claim, however, that it is a masterpiece of art. It is square, covered by a dome without columns. The walls are made of large blocks of white marble, which provide the thickness, and which are joined to one another with dust of the same marble, with the result that this mosque seems to be made out of a single block of white marble, sculpted on all sides with beautiful cornices supported by pilasters in relief that are placed all around. A framed double cornice forms the windows, which are fitted with crystals from England; the [courtyard] peristyle is decorated with a number of large columns of Egyptian granite of great

[173] My English rendering is based on a Turkish translation of Inchichean's work: see Ghukas Inchichean [Ğ. İncicyan], *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. and ed. Hrand D. Andreasyan, 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1976), 50.

> beauty; the capitals are gilt; the covering of the dome, minarets, and peristyle is all of lead.[174]

It is interesting here to recall Ahmed Efendi's description, which likewise emphasized that the mosque was "all of solid marble" with a "single dome devoid of the bulk of columns beneath." This latter quality would be eulogized again many years later by the American clergyman Walter Colton (d. 1851), who traveled to Istanbul in the 1830s:

> We visited no mosque on which the eye rested with more tranquillity and satisfaction, than upon the Osmanlie. The entire temple is crowned with a single dome of magnificent boldness and beauty. There are no dividing or distorting objects to disturb the full sentiment which the harmony of the whole awakens. One may study it for days and months, and find his first pleasurable emotions only more deeply confirmed. It is the most simple and finished specimen of architecture of which the capital can boast.[175]

These repeated laudatory judgments of the Nuruosmaniye, which begin upon the mosque's completion and continue well into the nineteenth century, tell us much about the new style in which it was built. That the mosque managed in some viewers' eyes to outshine the city's other monuments may seem curious given later (and still prevalent) rankings of Ottoman architecture, but it should not surprise us that a building of such

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[174] *On retrouve toujours le même dessein, si ce n'est peut-être dans les mosquées qu'on a construites sous la regne de Sultan Mahamout. . . . La mosquée que Sultan Mahamout a fait bâtir est sans contredit la plus belle qu'on puisse voir dans l'Empire, quand on a vu S^{te}. Sophie. On y reconnoît le génie & le bon goût d'Agi Bectache, ce fameux Keslar Aga, ou chef des Eunuques noirs, dont je parlerai dans la suite: il en avoit approuvé le plan. On y a travaillé pendant cinq ans. Quoiqu'elle soit d'une hauteur prodigieuse, elle a autant de bâtiment sous terre que dehors. Je ne prétends pas néanmoins soutenir qu'elle soit un foit un chef-d'œuvre de l'Art. Elle est quarrée, couverte d'un dôme sans colonnes. Les murs sonr faits avec de gros blocs de marbre blanc, qui en sont l'épaisseur, & qui sònt joints les uns aux autres avec de la sciure du même marbre; ce qui fait que cette mosquée paroît n'ètre que d'une seule piece de marbre blanc, sculptée de tous les côtés, avec de belles corniches supportées par des pilastres en relief qui regnent tout autour. Une double corniche à cadre forme les fenêtres, qui sont garnies de crystaux d'Angleterre; le péristile est décoré de plusieurs grosses colonnes de granite d'Egypte d'une grande beauté; les chapiteaux sont dorés; le couvert du dôme, des minarets & du péristile, est de plomb.* Flachat, *Observations*, 1:401, 402–3.

[175] Walter Colton, *Visit to Constantinople and Athens* (New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co., 1838), 55–56. Writing around the same time, Robert Walsh too remarks that the "whole of the interior is covered by an expansive dome, without any visible support of columns": see Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 2:12.

novel design spoke more effectively to contemporary audiences than did its older counterparts. The Nuruosmaniye represented something new and original, a fresh departure from established models.[176] Even the sacrosanct Hagia Sophia was apt to be viewed as old-fashioned in this period (figs. 215–16): touring the East between 1763 and 1764, the English nobleman Frederick Calvert, Baron of Baltimore (d. 1771), found "nothing very remarkable" about the converted church, opining that it was "very heavy" and "not to be compared to two or three other of the capital mosques."[177] Which these mosques were Calvert does not say, but it is not unlikely that the Nuruosmaniye was among them. Indeed, with its omission of semidomes, the building was one of the few that could easily resist the trite Western charge that all of Istanbul's Ottoman mosques were copies of the Hagia Sophia.[178] The English politician and aristocrat John Hobhouse,

[176] I have encountered only one negative assessment of the mosque by an eighteenth- or early-nineteenth-century observer, and that is a remark made by the Austrian Orientalist and diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in a book he wrote on Istanbul: "The building is obviously new, and its recent date is evidenced also by the lack of beautiful columns and a peristyle, features that—as in the other mosques—would be worthy of the temple" (*Der Bau ist sichtlich neu, und von der späten Epoche desselben zeugt auch der Mangel von schönen Säulen und eines Peristyls, das wie bey den übrigen Moscheen des Tempels würdig ware*). Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos, örtlich und geschichtlich beschrieben*, 2 vols. (Pest: Hartleben's Verlag, 1822), 1:425. Uniquely among commentators, Hammer-Purgstall appears to have regarded the mosque's courtyard as not a proper courtyard at all, and he is alone also in wishing that the building had a greater number of supports.

[177] Frederick Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, *A Tour to the East, In the Years 1763 and 1764. With Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks*. . . . (London: W. Richardson and S. Clark, 1767), 69–70. Another English aristocrat who considered the Ayasofya to be rather ponderous was John Montagu, the Earl of Sandwich (*Voyage*, 129), though he is more favorable in his overall judgment: "The fabric is entirely Gothic, yet in that stile of building may be esteemed a master-piece of architecture." Closer to the Baron of Baltimore in the level of his criticism is the Baron de Tott (*Memoirs*, vol. 2, part 1, 228–30), who states that the Ayasofya "is far from being a Master-piece" and that "a more careful examination would have prevented Travellers from lavishing so many Praises on its Structure." For other assessments of this type, see Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Part the Second, Section the First. Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1813), 34–37.

[178] Tournefort (*Voyage into the Levant*, 1:168), who visited the Ottoman Empire in 1701, opines that "[t]he other Royal Mosques of *Constantinople* may be reckon'd so many Copies of *St. Sophia*, more or less resembling the Original." Documenting a journey undertaken thirty years later, Jehannot (*Voyage de Constantinople*, 285) likewise states that "les autres Mosquées Royales . . . ne sont que des copies imparfaites de celle ci [the Ayasofya]." A variant opinion is expressed by John Montagu, the Earl of

Baron Broughton (d. 1869), who toured the Ottoman Empire with Lord Byron (d. 1824) between 1809 and 1810, is explicit in this regard, painting the Nuruosmaniye as a welcome change from its ancient predecessor, and again commending its unified and uninterrupted space:

> [The Nurusosmaniye] is well worthy attention, as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire. The plan of the Osmaniè, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia. A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. . . . [T]he general appearance of the Osmaniè is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection.[179]

More than being vaguely modern, however, the Nuruosmaniye was truly current, particularly in the broadness of its address. The overlapping compliments paid to it indicate a widely shared aesthetic sensibility of the time, one that united Ottoman and outside observers who all agreed on the monument's beauty and distinctiveness, and who in many cases were struck by the same distinguishing features. This, I believe, is key to understanding why the mosque—together with the smaller-scale works that preceded it—partook of such a radically new aesthetic. I have so far spoken of the Ottoman Baroque as

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Sandwich (*Voyage*, 129), who was in Istanbul at the end of the 1730s: "Except the Santa Sophia, all the royal mosques . . . are of much the same model, differing only in extent and magnificence." Such sentiments did not stop with the building of the Nuruosmaniye (see, for example, Tott, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, part 1, 227–28; and Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 37) and can even be encountered today, though they usually concern mosques of the classical period that employ the semidome. The lack of this feature at the Nuruosmaniye is explicitly noted in the travelogue of Charles Pertusier, who was in Istanbul in the early nineteenth century. After stating that the Nuruosmaniye, though less imposing than the Sultanahmet and Süleymaniye, is more elegant than either of them in plan and section, Pertusier explains: "its dome rests on four walls intersecting at right angles, without the addition of these semidomes that we found at the other mosques" (*son dôme repose sur quatre pans se coupant à angles droits, sans addition de ces demi-dômes que nous avons trouvés dans les autres mosquées*). See Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore, suivies d'une notice sur la Dalmatie*, 3 vols. (Paris: H. Nicolle, 1815), 2:86–87.

[179] Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:973–74. Given his stated preference for the Nuruosmaniye's plan, it is somewhat surprising that Broughton (*Journey through Albania*, 2:978) goes on to describe the Süleymaniye as "the most magnificent of the Imperial moscks."

a novel, luxuriant, and courtly style introduced to mark Mahmud's consolidation of power. Yet I have not addressed the question of why, of all possible approaches, a style with such manifest Western borrowings was selected for this purpose in the first place. Part of the answer lies, of course, in the impact of European goods on Ottoman taste, but this cannot be the main reason; the change came about too rapidly and deliberately to be attributed to the usual suspect of "influence." A far likelier explanation is that the new manner was designed from the outset to resonate on an international level, boldly involving the Ottomans in what had in any case become a thriving international mode: the Baroque.

I have already addressed in my introduction why I believe the Baroque to be an appropriate framework in which to view the transformation of Ottoman architecture during the eighteenth century. In its broadest and—for my purposes—most fruitful sense, the term "Baroque" describes a continuum of related architectural traditions that flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were characterized by their spirited, often showy, and sometimes uncanonical use of classically derived forms. But perhaps the most notable quality of the Baroque was its geographical extent. Though its origins lay in late-cinquecento Counter-Reformation Italy, the style was enthusiastically taken up throughout seventeenth-century Europe, achieving a reach not seen since the Gothic. England, for example, had remained minimally affected by classicism until this period, when William and Mary (r. 1689–1702) updated the late-Gothic Tudor palace of Hampton Court with a Baroque rear facade (fig. 217).[180] One of the reasons for the

[180] See Kerry Downes, *English Baroque Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1966), esp. 1–9, 36–43; and Giles Worsley, "Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Archer: The Search for an English Baroque," in *Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe and the Americas*, ed. Henry A. Milton (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 99–117.

growing prestige of the new style was the grandiose interpretation it received in France, especially in the Palace of Versailles, which was begun in 1664 and enlarged and remodeled into the late eighteenth century (figs. 12–13). Built by Louis XIV as a magnificent seat for his court, the palace and its gardens came to embody the Bourbon kings' theatrical and absolutist style of rule, establishing a model that other European monarchs—including England's William and Mary—were anxious to emulate.[181]

It was not only in Europe, however, that the new manner spread. The Baroque can justifiably be called the first truly global style, with examples extending from Latin America to East Asia.[182] Colonialism played a major role in this dissemination: the Portuguese and Spanish implanted the Baroque (in its Italian-inspired ecclesiastical form rather than its French monarchical iteration) throughout their empires, as shown by such works as the Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City (1573–1813) and St. Joseph's Seminary and Church in Macau (1728–58) (figs. 218–19).[183] These various colonial Baroques invariably took on a local flavor, often resulting in original and productive departures from the European models on which they ultimately drew. It is tempting to see the Ottoman Baroque—another highly localized rendition of the style—as representing a

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[181] For Versailles and its impact, see Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Versailles*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991); and Howard Creel Collinson, ed., *Versailles: French Court Style and Its Influence* (Toronto: University of Toronto School of Continuing Studies, 1992). For the pan-European influence of French public monuments, see Chastel-Rousseau, introduction to *Reading the Royal Monument* , 4–7.

[182] See Lois Parkinson Zamora and Monika Kaup, eds., *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Michael Schreffler, *The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Glenn Neil Patton, "Francisco Antonio Guerrero y Torres and the Baroque Architecture of Mexico City in the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1958); Jeremy Tambling and Louis Lo, *Walking Macao, Reading the Baroque* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009); and Cesar Guillen-Nuñez, *Macao's Church of Saint Paul: A Glimmer of the Baroque in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

[183] See the preceding note.

similar phenomenon, but this would be to conflate it with traditions that came about through colonialist conquest, and thus to perpetuate the notion that the Ottomans passively succumbed to European influences.

A more fitting comparison with the Ottoman Baroque would be cases where the style was actively appropriated by non-Western cultures. At the same time that the Portuguese were constructing St. Joseph's Seminary and Church in Macau, the Chinese emperor Qianlong (r. 1735–96) commissioned a set of Baroque buildings to be erected as part of the Old Summer Palace complex in Beijing (fig. 220).[184] Designed by European Jesuits in the emperor's service and built between 1747 and 1783, these palace buildings combined eclectic Western forms with Chinese building techniques. They were furnished with real and mock European objects, and their gardens were decorated with animated fountains of a type previously unknown in China. As Greg Thomas has noted, "Qianlong did not take Western architecture any more seriously than Europeans took Chinese architecture,"[185] and these fantastic structures (destroyed along with the rest of the Old Summer Palace in 1860) were light-hearted pleasure pavilions that delighted in the exoticism of the Occident. This Chinese answer to European *chinoiserie* may lead us to wonder whether the Ottoman Baroque was not in its own way a counterpart to *turquerie*, a question eloquently posed by Shirine Hamadeh when she asks "what makes a cartouche on a fountain in Istanbul an index of Westernization, and a Turkish pavilion in Vienna merely an Oriental folly."[186]

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[184] See Greg M. Thomas, "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles: Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and European Palace Cultures," *Art History* 32, no.1 (February 2009): 115–43.

[185] Ibid., 134.

[186] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 11.

But there is an important distinction to be made between the Ottoman Baroque and the kinds of artistic exoticism found in both Europe and China. With the latter, we are dealing with limited and quite often self-evidently playful departures from the prevalent aesthetic standard. Qianlong's Occidentalist tastes did not affect the mainstream of Chinese architecture, just as European examples of *chinoiserie* and *turquerie* were always restricted in their application. In the West, mosques and pagodas might be built as ornaments to gardens (fig. 221), and whole rooms might be kitted out in imagery and artifacts evoking the Far East, but for the most part—and especially in more austere contexts such as ecclesiastical buildings—classicism remained the order of the day.[187] To be sure, scholars have shown *chinoiserie* and *turquerie* to have their serious sides, whether these were consciously recognized or not,[188] and there are cases of European architecture that incorporate Eastern ideas with a more pronounced sense of gravity. Nebahat Avcıoğlu has argued that Stanislas Leszczynski (r. 1704–9, d. 1766), the deposed king of Poland who spent part of his exile under Ottoman protection, took some Turkish architectural principles westwards with him when he eventually settled in Lunéville as the Duke of Lorraine.[189] Stanislas did indeed build a Turkish-style pavilion in the grounds of his new seat, the Château de Lunéville (fig. 222), but he made no major changes to the Baroque palace itself. It is therefore difficult to accept Avcıoğlu's rather

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[187] For *chinoiserie* and *turquerie*, see Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon, 1993); Avcıoğlu, *Turquerie*; and Stein, "Exoticism as Metaphor." In contrast to architecture, European garden design was more profoundly affected by Chinese models during the eighteenth century, particularly in England: see Thomas, "Yuanming Yuan/Versailles," 128–30.

[188] Stein ("Exoticism as Metaphor") explores French *turquerie* as a metaphor for tensions and anxieties within France itself, while Avcıoğlu (*Turquerie*, 267) argues that the Europeans "used Ottoman-inspired architecture to form and convey messages and alliances" (an example of what she means will be discussed presently in the main text).

[189] See Nebahat Avcıoğlu, "A Palace of One's Own: Stanislas I's Kiosks and the Idea of Self-Representation," *The Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (December 2003): 662–84.

sweeping claim that the former king's limited use of Ottoman forms—no matter how seriously motivated on its own—"was predicated on the urge . . . to fashion a tangible royal identity for himself and to reinforce a precarious sense of (royal) self with a brand-new architectural language whose symbolic richness was paramount."[190] A more convincing instance of an earnest use of Eastern models is provided by the Karlskirche in Vienna (fig. 223). Built between 1716 and 1737 by the architects Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (d. 1723) and his son Joseph Emanuel (d. 1742), this famous domed Baroque church is fronted by a pair of cupola-topped columns that—though fashioned after Trajan's Column—are decidedly reminiscent of minarets. The result is a building that simultaneously recalls St. Peter's Basilica and the imperial mosques of Istanbul, and it has been convincingly argued that this dual allusion was meant to evoke the idea of Habsburg Vienna as a Third Rome.[191]

Even with such cases as the Karlskirche, however, we are not much closer to finding something comparable to the Ottoman Baroque. An isolated use of minaret-like columns or the insertion of a Turkish kiosk into the grounds of a classicizing palace is hardly analogous to the profound and widespread changes seen in the post-1740 architecture of Istanbul. The "Tulip Era" manner—with its clear yet contained references to Western motifs—can more compellingly be likened in nature to European *turquerie*, but the Ottoman Baroque involved too thorough a stylistic shift to be analyzed in these terms. We are dealing, rather, with a new official mode whose most distinguishing aspect

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[190] Ibid., 663–64.

[191] See Nicholas Temple, *Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2007), 180–83. The elder Fischer's interest in and knowledge of non-European buildings is attested by his well-known 1721 book *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, a survey of world architecture that included numerous works from the Ottoman Empire.

was its use of Western-derived forms, and whose swift rise to preeminence was confirmed by the Nuruosmaniye. We saw in the previous chapter how the Ottoman Baroque probably had its origins in the palace, and additions made to the Topkapı during the 1750s bear out this significant palatial association. Osman III, again completing a project inherited from his brother, expanded the harem with a splendid kiosk perched on a high marble terrace, its interior bedecked with Baroque and Rococo ornaments of various media (figs. 224–25).[192] That this kiosk functioned as the sultan's privy chamber shows that it was no mere pleasure pavilion, whatever impressions its fancy decor may today conjure. But it is the use of the style for a monumental imperial mosque—at once the most public and prestigious forum in Ottoman architecture—that proves the impossibility of approaching the Ottoman Baroque as a kind of cheerful exoticism. To be sure, the Nuruosmaniye lacks the polychromy and ornamental busyness that characterize Osman's kiosk and other palatial structures, but such a distinction can be seen also in earlier Ottoman architecture, where sacred spaces were typically distinguished by their more sober decorative schemes. The difference is one of degree rather than kind, and we are left with having to acknowledge the Ottoman Baroque as a mode that was considered appropriate for the most solemn of contexts.

If the Qing version of the Baroque is too whimsical for comparison to what we see in Istanbul, there is another Eastern power that adopted the style with the same seriousness as the Ottomans: Romanov Russia.[193] When Peter the Great founded the city

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[192] For this kiosk, see Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* , 63–64; Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, 49 and pl. 142; Nurhan Atasoy, *Harem*, trans. Michael D. Sheridan (Istanbul: Bilkent Kültür Girişimi Publications, 2011), 58–63; Ertuğ, *Topkapı*, 170; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 71; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 435–36.

[193] For Baroque architecture in Russia, see Basile Baudez, "The Monument to Peter the Great by Falconet: A *place royale* by the Neva?," in Chastel-Rousseau, *Reading the Royal Monument*, 93–105; James

of St. Petersburg in 1703, he resolved to create from scratch a metropolis equal to those of Western Europe, enlisting Italian, German, and other European architects and experts to realize his dream. The court relocated to the new capital in 1712, and by the time Peter died in 1725, his city had indeed become a magnificent architectural achievement worthy of its Western counterparts, boasting such monuments as the Peterhof Palace and the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul (figs. 226–27). What made this accomplishment all the more remarkable was its revolutionary nature: though Baroque elements could already be seen in the architecture of Moscow during the late seventeenth century, St. Petersburg represented a far more radical and conscious attempt to import contemporary Western norms. The result of this campaign—dubbed by scholars the "Petrine Baroque"—marked a turning point in Russian architecture, establishing a brand-new idiom that would remain influential for the next two centuries and that greatly impressed audiences both within and without the empire. In his eulogy of Peter, the French polymath Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (d. 1757) went so far as to say that the tsar had "caused architecture to be born in his country."[194]

Such positive assessments of Peter's new capital were based on more than just its architectural merits; they also reflected a belief—sometimes an admission—that Russia had earned its place in the European political sphere. The city's creation coincided with the Great Northern War of 1700–21, a conflict waged between Russia and Sweden together with their respective allies (including the Ottomans on Sweden's side).

Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Dmitri Shvidkovsky, "The Founding of Saint Petersburg and the History of Russian Architecture," in *Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe and the Americas*, ed. Henry A. Milton (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 79–97; Shvidkovsky, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars*, trans. John Goodman (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1996); and Cornelia Skodock, *Barock in Russland: Zum Œuvre des Hofarchitekten Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).

[194] Quoted and translated in Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, 1.

Ultimately ending in victory for Peter, the war confirmed Russia as a force to be reckoned with and the dominant power in a considerable swath of Northern and Eastern Europe. The Tsardom of Muscovy was now officially reborn as the Russian Empire, and the new capital of St. Petersburg was a bold proclamation of this ascendency. Peter, who had himself traveled to various Western countries to build alliances, evidently understood the role that architecture might have in promoting the image of Russia as a key European player.[195]

The Petrine Baroque offers some telling parallels to the Ottoman. It too came about through the rapid and deliberate adoption of certain European models at a time of growing interaction with the West. It too flourished under the patronage of a monarch confident in his standing both domestically and internationally, symbolizing his political and martial successes. And it too demonstrates that the Baroque could be meaningfully taken up by a non-Western culture. Indeed, the Russian case proves that the Baroque had ceased by the eighteenth century to be a European monopoly, and that its global spread was not dependent on colonial transplantation. When the Ottomans crafted their own version of the style a few decades later, they were thus participating in what had already become a fully international (as opposed to colonialist) phenomenon.

As well as demonstrating the transregional relevance of the Baroque, the founding of St. Petersburg also underscores the lofty associations that gave the style such cachet in the first place. The Baroque was a mode that spoke of power and kingly ambition, and it was in this capacity that Peter imported it for the new capital of his own emergent

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[195] For the far-reaching impact of Peter's reign, see James Cracraft, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004).

empire.[196] Though the architecture of St. Petersburg tended to follow the rather understated kind of Baroque practiced in Northern Europe, it did not lack in grandiosity, and the Peterhof was in its own time often compared favorably to Versailles.[197] Modern scholarship too has been largely positive in its treatment of the palace and other Russian works of its kind, evaluating such architecture as a resourceful and effective means for Peter to express his imperial aspirations. It is striking how the Ottoman Baroque—despite the many circumstances it shares with the Petrine—has generated a very different reaction among scholars. Neither traditionalists nor revisionists seem to have explored the possibility that Mahmud's aim in sponsoring the new style was akin to Peter's in founding St. Petersburg. There are several reasons why such a connection has not been made. For one thing, the Ottoman Baroque is far less faithful to its European sources than the Petrine, a point to which I shall return. For another, Peter's architectural revolution came at a time when his realm was growing in power and extent; while Mahmud too had won wars and made gains for his empire, the defeats and territorial losses that followed his reign mean that the Ottoman Baroque—regardless of the situation when it first appeared—has become tainted with associations of decline. But the most basic reason why the Ottoman material has not been as favorably viewed as the Russian is, quite simply, old-fashioned prejudice. It seems that the Russians, as a Christian people, are considered to have been culturally equipped to borrow from their Western coreligionists, whereas the Muslim Ottomans are not. According to this uneven approach, what borrowings the Ottomans did make were part of the same unfortunate process that led

[196] For the construction of symbolically charged Baroque cities across Europe, see Gary B. Cohen and Franz A.J. Szabo, eds., *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

[197] See Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, 196–97, 210.

them to seek Western military and technological advice; no negative assessment is made of the fact that Tsar Peter similarly engaged European experts in such fields as fortification and shipbuilding.[198] Even revisionist scholars appear wedded to this dichotomous way of thinking, favoring models that have the Ottomans looking eastwards to other Islamic lands for inspiration.

It is interesting to note that one of these lands—Mughal India—had itself long been experimenting with Western themes in its art, something the scholarship has had no trouble admitting. While the Mughals never entered the Baroque fold in the same way as the Ottomans or Russians, their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture made conspicuous use of naturalistic European-derived forms, inspired mainly by Western prints (fig. 21).[199] As Ebba Koch has observed, these cross-cultural inclusions allowed the Mughal emperor "to show his world-wide connections and his international status as a ruler belonging to the family of the kings of the world."[200]

If such an argument can be made for the Mughals, then why not the Ottomans? The reluctance on all sides to accept the Ottoman Baroque as a legitimate enterprise within a shared cultural framework is all the more remarkable given how deeply entrenched the empire was in Europe. It is true that Westerners and Ottomans themselves conventionally spoke of each other in oppositional terms—"Turkey" versus

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[198] For Peter's soliciting of Europeanizing expertise in these fields, see Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, 111–25.

[199] See Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 251–62. In addition to prints, many of which were brought by Jesuit missionaries, the Mughals may also have been looking to the Portuguese colony of Goa, where many Baroque buildings were erected: see José Pereira, *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India* (New Delhi: Books & Books, 1995). For Mughal architecture in the eighteenth century, see Chanchal Dadlani, "'Twilight' in Delhi? Architecture, Aesthetics, and Urbanism in the Late Mughal Empire" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009); and Dadlani, "The 'Palais Indiens' Collection of 1774," Avcıoğlu and Flood, "Globalizing Cultures," 175–97.

[200] Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column," 260.

“*Frengistān*”—and that religion was the main factor in this conceptual divide, but we should be wary of accepting such rhetoric at face value. Although I too am guilty in this dissertation of employing the paired terms “East” and “West,” and “Ottoman” and “European,” it is important to remember that these are convenient shorthands that obscure the continuities and overlaps that existed between the two ostensible halves. Whatever each may have said of the other in its discourse, the Ottoman Empire and “Europe” were not only part of each other’s worlds, but really part of the same world. Russia, by contrast, entered the game rather late, and was arguably a more remote entity in European eyes than was the Ottoman Empire. Before the founding of St. Petersburg, Western commentators spoke of Moscow no less disparagingly than they did of other Eastern cities, complaining of the prevalence of wooden construction and the general lack of order.[201] Istanbul too may have been accused of these faults, but it was nevertheless a familiar city that had long been intrinsic to European political and cultural activity.

The Ottoman Empire’s status as an established European power reminds us that the Baroque would not have seemed particularly far-off from the perspective of Istanbul. While Qing China had every reason to treat European buildings as distant exotica, the Ottomans were in no such position. The Baroque was flourishing on the very borders of the empire in such locations as Hungary and Venetian Dalmatia, and examples of it could be found even within Ottoman territory, as in the vassal Republic of Ragusa and the recaptured city of Belgrade (figs. 228–29).[202] Though I argued in the previous chapter

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[201] See Cracraft, *Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, 19–38.

[202] For Baroque architecture in these regions, see Elisabeth Hempel, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland*, English trans. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Horvat, Matejčić, and Prijatelj, *Barok u Hrvatskoj*; Horvat-Levaj, *Barokne palače*; Tomić, *Barokni oltari*; Maximilian

that these more local instances of the Baroque were not the main source of inspiration for what occurred in Istanbul, they nevertheless help to contextualize the Ottoman case as something contiguous with, rather than separate from, the broader European tradition. One of the characterizations that scholars have made of the new style is that it was chronologically out of keeping with the Baroque proper, gaining ground just as the West was turning to Neoclassicism.[203] But this is true only if we take a Francocentric view: in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe—that is, in those parts of the continent closest to the Ottoman world—the Baroque and Rococo continued to thrive well into the second half of the eighteenth century. To take the city of Buda as an example, one of its grandest Baroque monuments, the Church of St. Anne, was begun in the 1740s and not consecrated until 1805, with much of its lavish interior scheme dating from the 1760s and '70s. In the same city is the White Cross Inn of 1770, a Baroque building whose facade is prominently decorated with Rococo plasterwork (figs. 230–31).[204]

Besides showing that the Ottomans were not lagging behind Europe once they adopted the Baroque, such examples also elucidate the factors that rendered the style so fitting a vehicle for Ottoman self-expression. Given that the Baroque was then the current architectural mode in Eastern and Central Europe—the long-contested territories that lay between the Ottomans and their chief foes, the Habsburgs and the Romanovs—would it not have been a confident move on Sultan Mahmud's part to stake his own claim to the

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Hartmuth, "The Balkans in an Age of Baroque? Transformations in Architecture, Decoration, and Patterns of Patronage and Cultural Production in Ottoman Europe, 1718–1856" (master's thesis, Koç University, 2006); and Nikola Samardžić, "The Emergence of the Baroque in Belgrade," in *The Peace of Passarowitz, 1718*, ed. Charles Ingrao, Nikola Samardžić, and Jovan Pešalj (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2011), 255–66.

[203] See, for example, Kuban, *Baroque Architecture*, 505–6, 508.

[204] For these buildings, see Eberhard, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe*, 304–5.

style? The Baroque was already a widely understood monarchical aesthetic to which elite Ottomans would have had considerable exposure through portable objects and images. By the 1740s—on the heels of the Treaty of Belgrade and not long after the establishment of St. Petersburg—the style was ripe for Ottoman reinterpretation. It is important to note that the empire sent several embassies to Austria and Russia throughout the eighteenth century, and though the reports resulting from these missions do not address architecture, the returning ambassadors must have contributed to Ottoman awareness of what was being built by their enemies.[205] The creation of a comparable kind of architecture in Istanbul was thus a timely and competitive move on the part of an empire seeking to reassert itself in terms that spoke to the conditions of the day.

These conditions included a livelier culture of diplomacy, as discussed in the previous chapters. Notwithstanding Mahmud's victories against his imperial rivals, the Ottomans were fully aware that the world and their relationship to it had changed, and that a diplomatically maintained peace was the surest way to preserve the empire. This provides another context in which to understand the Ottoman Baroque, a style that—for all its self-assertiveness—brought Istanbul into closer aesthetic dialogue with the rest of Europe. I do not wish to suggest a simplistic homology between Ottoman political and artistic shifts, nor to paint the developments of this period as an exercise in conciliation. Rather, I am proposing that the increasingly diplomatic climate of the eighteenth century resulted in a growing sense among the Ottomans of belonging to a common European landscape: no longer aiming to vanquish the continent, they were now seeking to establish themselves as an influential fixture in its balance of power. That the empire's

[205] For these embassies, see Hasan Korkut, *Osmanlı Elçileri Gözü ile Avrupa* (Istanbul: Gökkubbe, 2007), passim; Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1987).

Western neighbors accepted the Ottomans in this new role—allying with them militarily, assisting them technologically, courting them politically—underscores the significance of this conscious reorientation. The British ambassador Porter was particularly welcoming of the shift, reporting several months into Osman III's reign that "the Grand Seignor seems to adopt the Steps of his brother, determin'd to live in peace & on a friendly footing with his Neighbours."[206] In another dispatch, Porter implies a connection between the sultan's peaceful policies and his cosmopolitan taste in the arts:

> We continue . . . with the greatest tranquillity possible, and as much ease freedom and liberty as in Sultan Machmuts time, the Grand Seignor seems to take a taste for diversions, there is a band of Musick here in the Christian taste, which he carrys with him his days of recreation, he is frequently abroad.[207]

The rise in these very years of an Ottoman version of the Baroque cannot have been unrelated to the empire's intensified diplomatic efforts with the rest of Europe. As an internationally understood mode practiced across the continent, the Baroque was at once a shared and competitive discourse: the new architecture of Istanbul thus allowed the empire to enter the visual fray as a fully-fledged player in the European scene.

Such an argument presupposes that the Ottomans believed their architecture to be significant in the eyes of the wider world. There is no doubt that the buildings of Istanbul had long addressed outsiders: the city's ever-present community of foreign diplomats and merchants were continually hosted in sultanic and other elite settings. Cases such as Saʿdabad amply demonstrate the degree to which the Ottomans sought to impress the Europeans who shared their spaces, an effort that was met with commensurate interest and appreciation. Interactions of this type put the Ottomans squarely on center stage. A

[206] Dispatch dated May 2, 1755, TNA, SP 97/38, n.p.

[207] Dispatch dated March 15, 1755, TNA, SP 97/38, n.p.

common criticism made by contemporaneous Western observers—even in the more diplomatically engaged eighteenth century—is that the empire expected to receive embassies from abroad but rarely sent its own.[208] This was largely put down to Turkish arrogance, but another explanation is that Istanbul had inherited from Constantinople the status of a world city, in which the Ottomans could advance their international interests on home turf. Within this microcosmic context, the Ottomans knew that they were playing to a wide spectatorship, and though this awareness had always informed their architecture, the eighteenth century brought a more conscious engagement of outside viewers, particularly after 1740. The intense building activity of these years amounts to a deliberate campaign to update the Ottoman capital in a fashion that would be relevant to the world beyond the empire.

An especially important site in this campaign was the mosque. Though official receptions were conducted in palatial settings, almost all European travelogues include a tour of the imperial mosques as one of the first things on the author's itinerary. The Ayasofya was usually the main object of curiosity and required official permission to enter, but other mosques could be seen simply by tipping the doorman. La Mottraye, who stayed in Istanbul between 1699 and 1714, writes that access to the Ayasofya was not as difficult as earlier travelers had reported, and he goes on to say: "I saw also, with abundance more Ease, and almost for nothing, the other Royal Mosques; and indeed all

[208] See Calvert, *Tour to the East*, 61; and Robert Herron, trans. and ed., *A Collection of Late Voyages and Travels, Chiefly Translated and Abridged from the French and Other Foreign Publications of Neibuhr, Mariti, Beachamp, &c. &c.* (Edinburgh: Watson and Co.; London: J. Hamilton, 1797), 364. As I have indicated, the Ottomans sent various embassies abroad during the eighteenth century, but not to the extent of other great European powers, and not for the purpose of long-term missions. The first permanent Ottoman embassy in Europe was that of Yusuf Agah Efendi to London, between 1793 and 1797: see Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 42–43; Ömer Kürkçüoglu, "The Adoption and Use of Permanent Diplomacy," in *Ottoman Diplomacy: Conventional or Unconventional?*, ed. A. Nuri Yurdusev (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 131–50; and Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri*, 168–79.

that I had a Mind to."[209] This openness appears to have been correlated with the more diplomatic bent of the period. During his stay in 1740, Pococke found Istanbul to be surprisingly welcoming of its tourists, something he attributes to the contemporary political climate:

> I happened to see Constantinople at a time when the Turks were in good humour, and had no reason to be displeased with the Franks (except that the soldiery would gladly have continued the war against the [Habsburg] emperor) that they just made a very honourable peace for themselves with that monarch, and not a very disadvantageous one with the Muscovites whom they dreaded as a power superior to them; so that I went freely all over Constantinople, and was so far from being affronted in the least, that I rather met with civility in every place; entered publickly into such of the mosques as I desired to see, and sometimes even on Fridays, just before the sermon began . . . This is permitted by speaking to the keeper of the mosque, and giving him a very small gratuity, and at other times sending for him when the mosques were shut.[210]

The Ottomans' readiness to admit Europeans into their mosques shows that such visits must have been rather commonplace, as borne out also by the frequency with which they are reported in the travelogues. It should thus not surprise us that a building like the Nuruosmaniye may have been intended to impress such outside viewers, whose interest in the city's mosques would have been well known to the Ottoman elite. Indeed, what better way to visually declare the empire's revitalized might to foreign observers than through a new sultanic mosque in the latest style? Palaces, after all, were far less easily seen and accessed, and they lacked the religious significance that made the imperial

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[209] La Mottraye, *Travels*, 1:184. A century or so later, Lord Broughton (*Journey through Albania*, 2:963) wrote: "St. Sophia may be seen without a firman; a few shillings procure admittance, but the other moscks cannot be visited without such permission." He goes on to note that this was the opposite of what had been the case a century earlier, and he is corroborated by Edward Daniel Clarke (*Travels in Various Countries*, 34, where the accompanying footnote gives an English translation of the requisite firman). The situation seems to have reverted not long after, however, for Robert Walsh tells us that while admission to the other mosques could be obtained without too much trouble, a Christian trying to enter the Ayasofya was "always driven back with abuse," even if he had the requisite firman: see Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 1:48. But given that Western reports of visits to the monument (including Walsh's own) continued unabated, this assertion should be taken with a pinch of salt.

[210] Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. 2, part 2, 133.

mosques such a charged symbol of the sultan’s God-given right to rule. From the European point of view, not only were the mosques more conveniently toured than the sultan’s residences, but they were also (regardless of their style) more intelligible as buildings, a point to which I shall return in the next chapter. The laudatory Western reactions to the Nuruosmaniye prove the success of the Ottoman strategy in creating a monument that would resonate among Istanbul’s constant stream of foreigners.

It is important, however, not to lose sight of the local perspective in all this. The principal and officially intended audience of the Nuruosmaniye was, of course, the Ottoman people themselves, the majority of whom would have had little if any sense of the architecture’s cross-cultural aspects. To be sure, individuals such as craftsmen and merchants of imported goods may well have recognized what the new style shared with the modes of Europe, but even if this awareness was talked about and made more widely known, most ordinary Ottomans would have responded to the mosque in accordance with their own cultural background. They would have seen in the monument a highly original reinterpretation of a traditional building type, a type whose essential features had been sufficiently retained to satisfy local precepts and expectations. In the eyes of such viewers, the mosque’s novel style would have been appreciated not for its foreign references, but for its freshness and inherent magnificence.

The Ottoman elite—including those behind the Nuruosmaniye—would no doubt have been more conscious of the building’s dialogue with other traditions, and I have already argued that such a dialogue was quite intentional. Yet even for these Ottomans, “Westernization” was not a relevant criterion. The Baroque was by now too international and diffuse a mode to be understood as belonging to a particular geography, much as we

find today with Neoclassical public buildings and metropolitan skyscrapers. Moreover, the Ottoman take on the style was so idiosyncratic that nothing about its overall effect could really be seen as alien.[211] What scholars have treated as a sign of Turkish ineptitude or incomprehension—that is, the lack of a "true" Baroque sensibility akin to that of the West—is in fact one of the new style's greatest strengths. Had the Ottomans wanted to produce a more faithful variety of Baroque, they could and would have done so: that the earliest of Istanbul's Baroque works are also the most stylistically Europeanizing is proof enough that the more distinctive approach of the Nuruosmaniye came about by design rather than by accident. In a sense, the Ottomans were able to have their cake and eat it too, producing a kind of architecture whose cross-cultural references were expressed in decidedly localized terms. All that was needed for the style to achieve this balance was a generalized evocation of the world outside the Ottoman realm, bringing with it such rich and loaded associations as Versailles, St. Petersburg, and the reconquered Belgrade. The noncommittal and open-ended nature of this evocation meant that people could recognize in the new style whatever it may have reminded them of; witness, for example, Peyssonnel's comparison of the Nuruosmaniye courtyard to the colonnades of St. Peter's. But none of these allusions (whether intended or perceived) was at risk of obscuring the Ottoman Baroque's truly Ottoman character. The very fact that the style's first monumental product was an imperial mosque is emblematic of this.

[211] It is notable in this regard that when the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria Draperis, located in Pera and founded in 1585, was reconstructed after the fire of 1767, its altar and chancel were built using imported marble worked in a late Baroque manner by the Roman sculptor Lorenzo Cerotti. Clearly, Istanbul's own Baroque manner was felt to be too local in flavor to suit this Roman Catholic space, whose rebuilding was overseen by Habsburg and other foreign notables. The church's less public parish office, however, does make use of Ottoman Baroque elements, namely an arcade (originally open though now blind) of mixtilinear arches springing from square fluted columns with fluted vase capitals. These forms are close to those found in Ottoman Baroque buildings of the 1740s and '50s, including the Nuruosmaniye, and may have been reclaimed from the pre-fire church. For the renovation of the church and its relationship to local and Western Baroque modes, see Girardelli, "Architecture, Identity, and Liminality," 241–48.

It is worth briefly returning at this point to the question of what made the Ottoman Baroque so unlike contemporary Western *turquerie*. In European art, the world of the "Turk" was treated as scarcely more familiar than that of the "Chinaman," and both kinds of Orient were frequently combined to produce an imaginative medley.[212] This approach is curious given the proximity of the Ottoman Empire and the long-standing ties—cultural as well as political—that connected it to the rest of Europe. It is tempting to argue that a sort of psychological unease with this shared (and often fraught) history was the cause of *turquerie*'s exaggerated insistence on Ottoman otherness. True, not all European responses were quite so standoffish: I have already mentioned the Karlskirche in Vienna, and another case demonstrating that Western art could meaningfully incorporate Ottoman themes is that of the Genevan artist and self-styled "Peintre Turc" Jean-Étienne Liotard (d. 1789), who lived in the empire between 1738 and 1743 and specialized in portraits of European residents and travelers in authentic Ottoman costumes, with Bonneval and Pococke among his sitters (fig. 42).[213] Such examples, however, are much in the minority, and the overall picture in the West presents a striking contrast to the Ottoman Baroque. The traditional interpretation of this difference—that Europe retained its artistic integrity while the East was unable to resist outside influences—can easily be turned on its head to argue that the Ottoman approach shows greater confidence, even audacity: we are dealing with an almost willful cosmopolitanism

[212] For the conflation of Ottoman and Chinese themes in Europe, see Avcıoğlu, "A Palace of One's Own," 670–73.

[213] See Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, "Jean-Etienne Liotard's Envelopes of Self," in *Cultures of Forgery: Making Nations, Making Selves*, ed. Judith Ryan and Alfred Thomas (New York and London: Routledge), 127–43; and Smentek, "Looking East"; and Chapter 1, n. 90 above. Ewa Lajer-Burcharth interprets Liotard's portraits—particularly those of himself—as reflecting eighteenth-century concerns with defining the self, particularly in relation to the (exotic) other: "it is, in a sense, as a subject of doubt that Liotard defines *himself* as a cosmopolitan artist—in his exotic sartorial masquerades as well as in his numerous self-portraits."

by which the Ottomans loudly and proudly inserted themselves into an international architectural discourse.[214]

This bold move—so much more difficult to categorize than a case like St. Petersburg—has troubled modern scholarship, just as it did later nineteenth-century observers who were disturbed by the Ottoman Baroque's perceived stylistic impurity. Viewers of the period itself, however, were evidently unconcerned with such criteria, instead reading the new style as its creators appear to have intended. The unanimity with which eighteenth-century Ottomans and Westerners extol the Nuruosmaniye—at least in the surviving sources—confirms the building's broad appeal. While Europeans recognized something newly familiar in the monument, their writings do not discuss the phenomenon as one of Westernization. On the contrary, they fully accept the Nuruosmaniye's Ottoman nature at the same time that they acknowledge its cross-cultural borrowings, praising the result even if it contravened Western artistic canons: suffice it to recall Peyssonnel's description of "a monstrous mixture of the European and Turkish Style, though still magnificent and elegant." The unperturbed response of European observers—which prevails also in their descriptions of other buildings of the time—shows that the Ottomans were not alone in considering themselves entitled to such borrowings. There is nothing to indicate that eighteenth-century Westerners found the Ottomans' interest in European art surprising or inappropriate, nor that they viewed the result as being contradictory to the "Turkish Style." What impressed Peyssonnel and other foreigners was not that the Nuruosmaniye appeared Western, but that its thoroughly Ottoman fabric so successfully incorporated references to the prestigious tradition they

[214] I am very grateful to Ewa Lajer-Burcharth for discussing these issues with me and helping me to formulate the argument I have just outlined.

knew from their own countries.[215] This tradition was not thought of by its contemporaries as our retrospectively defined Baroque, yet it was surely recognized as something that had spread throughout and beyond Europe, and whose various iterations all spoke of power and dominion. As distinctive as the Ottoman version of the style was, it still partook of this widespread *koiné* and all its connotations, visually underscoring the empire's connectedness to—and ambitions within—the world around it.

[215] In the nineteenth century, as aesthetic criticism became increasingly academic and taxonomic in nature, the Nuruosmaniye's stylistic fluidity meant that even its more overt Western references were apt to be missed. Robert Walsh, whose preferred mode of Ottoman architecture were the neoclassical palaces being erected by Mahmud II, writes that, "[n]otwithstanding the intentions of its first architect, the design of the mosque of Osman is purely Oriental; yet it has an elegant appearance." As if to visually underscore this opinion, Allom's accompanying illustration of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard, which is otherwise largely accurate, greatly exaggerates the almost imperceptible horseshoe shape of the round arches, as well as the point of the baldachin arch behind. See Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 2:2–3, 12. A mid-nineteenth century encyclopedia that reproduces Allom's depiction goes even further in Orientalizing the structure, which is now fancifully presented as a paradigm of the "Arabian or Moorish Style": "In Constantinople the forecourt of the mosque of Osman is a remarkable Moorish structure. The mosque itself is a more recent building, dating only from the last century, whilst the court which forms the avenue to it is probably 800 years old. It is in the purest Moorish style, although the columns, which are somewhat thicker than usual in Moorish buildings, have clearly been taken from ancient Roman buildings, their clumsy capitals notwithstanding." See Johann Georg Heck, ed., *Iconographic Encyclopædia of Science, Literature, and Art*, trans. and ed. Spencer F. Baird, 4 vols. (New York: Rudolph Garrigue, 1851), vol. 4, part 1, 145. Whether the author of these words ever saw the mosque for himself is doubtful, and I have not encountered this bizarre interpretation of the courtyard anywhere else.

CHAPTER 4

THE OLD, THE NEW, AND THE IN-BETWEEN: STYLISTIC CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE MOSQUES OF MUSTAFA III

Osman III's short reign was followed by the longer and more eventful rule of Mustafa III, who came to the throne on October 30, 1757, and remained in power until his death on January 21, 1774 (fig. 232).[1] The son of Ahmed III (both Mahmud and Osman had died without issue), Mustafa was forty years old when he emerged from twenty-seven years of seclusion in the harem to become sultan. The first decade of his rule was characterized by the same peaceful approach to foreign affairs that his two predecessors had favored. Largely through the efforts of the well-regarded and long-serving grand vizier Ragıb Pasha (d. 1763), the empire assiduously resisted French pressure to enter the Seven Years' War (1756–63), a global conflict involving much of Europe. But this commitment to diplomacy was subsequently tested by Russian ambitions in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was forcibly made a protectorate by Catherine II (r. 1762–96) in 1768. The tsarina's actions sparked a revolt in the commonwealth, and when the Russians entered Ottoman territory in pursuit of fleeing Polish forces, Mustafa—spurred on by France and certain factions within his own government—declared war on Russia.

Although the Ottomans initially thought themselves at an advantage, the conflict proved extremely damaging to the empire, which suffered a series of humiliating defeats at Russian hands. Military reforms aimed at reversing the situation were initiated in 1770

[1] For the events of Mustafa's reign, see Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-āṣār*, 1:92–2:315; Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 1:178–82, 2A:12–126, 2B:1–117; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, 8:197–448; and Kahraman Şakul, "Mustafa III," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. G Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 411–12.

under the guidance of the Baron de Tott, a French artillery officer of Hungarian origin who helped to found the Imperial School of Naval Engineering (*Mühendisḫāne-i Baḥrī-i Hümāyūn*) in 1773 (the school established earlier in the century by Mahmud I was by now defunct). Nevertheless, the war continued in Russia's favor, consuming the latter part of Mustafa's reign and still raging at the time of his death.[2]

Mustafa may have failed in his efforts to secure his realm against outside enemies, but he fared significantly better on the home front. The sultan was no less anxious than his father had been to add to the capital's architectural wealth, and he enthusiastically restored the damage done to the city by a series of major earthquakes between 1766 and 1767. This building activity, which continued even against the backdrop of war, resulted in two grand new royal mosques as well as the reconstruction of the Fatih Mosque, one of Istanbul's most venerable monuments. Built twenty or more years after the advent of the Ottoman Baroque, these mosques demonstrate a striking consciousness of the new style's place in tradition and history, giving us a valuable sense of an otherwise undocumented discourse. What emerges is a coherent set of aesthetic practices and concepts that stake the Ottoman claim to the Baroque in terms that both engage and challenge contemporary discourses in the West. The confidence of this architectural statement is an important reminder that the empire's military losses—whatever effect they may have had on Ottoman self-perception—did not hinder the sustained refashioning of Istanbul into a contemporary global metropolis.

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[2] For the events surrounding this war, including Tott's activities, see Tott, *Memoirs*; Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, 100–69; Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 129–60; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 247–50, 251–52; and the sources cited in the preceding note.

Placing the New Style: The Ayazma and Laleli Mosques

Beyond its own intrinsic significance, the Nuruosmaniye had reestablished the mosque as the principal form of sultanic architectural expression. So effective was this royal reclaiming that the patronage of non-sultanic mosques seems to have suffered a corresponding decline. The mosque of the grand vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha (completed 1734–35) is the last monumental example of this category to be built in Istanbul (figs. 112–13), and the humbler nature of its successors suggests that the right to construct large domed mosques once again became an imperial prerogative after the mid-eighteenth century. Though sparked by the Nuruosmaniye, this shift owed as much to the sultanic complexes that followed it, and particularly those erected by Mustafa, who was eager to continue the newly revived practice. With no wars to win in the early part of his reign, however, the sultan faced certain restrictions in what he could build, as noted by Peyssonnel:

> Sultan Mustapha III. ascended the throne in the time of profound Peace. Desirous to signalize himself by a work of piety, and not having yet any right to add a new Mosque to the public edifices to his Capital, he caused one to be built at Scutari, near the Sea.[3]

The monument in question is the Ayazma Mosque in Üsküdar, begun in 1757 and opened in 1760 (figs. 233–56).[4] Perhaps again because of his non-ghazi status, Mustafa

[3] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 197.

[4] For the Ayazma Mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 494; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 69–70; Sadi Bayram and Adnan Tüzen, "İstanbul – Üsküdar Ayazma Camii ve Ayazma Camii İnşaat Defteri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 22 (1991): 199–288; Mustafa Bilge, "Üsküdar Ayazma Camii ve Bölgede İmarlaşma," in *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI, 6–9 Kasım 2008: Bildiriler*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2009), 609–20; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 387; Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:79–89; İlknur Aktuğ Kolay, "Ayazma Camisi İnşaat Defterine Göre Yapıda Kullanılan Bezeme ve Tefrişat Malzemeleri," in *Celal Esad Arseven Anısına Sanat Tarihi Semineri Bildirileri*, ed. Banu Mahir (Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 2000), 211–17;

did not build the mosque in his own name, but dedicated it to his mother, Mihrimah, and his older brother Süleyman, both of whom had died when he was an adolescent. Şemʿdanizade tells us that the mosque was originally named in honor of Mihrimah, though the designation did not take hold.[5] The name currently in use, which was prevalent even when Şemʿdanizade was writing, derives from the mosque's location in the garden of the then derelict Ayazma Palace, itself called after a holy spring (*ayazma*) on its grounds. Mustafa's acquisition of this disused site for his first major mosque constituted an impressive act of urban regeneration that would have added to the project's legitimacy and prestige. Accompanying the mosque itself was a primary school (*ṣıbyān mektebi*), bathhouse, timekeeper's office (*muvaḳḳitḫāne*), and a wall fountain, of which only the last has survived (fig. 238).

The architect of the Ayazma is unknown, though scholarly consensus favors Mehmed Tahir (d. after 1788), about whom I shall speak later. Regardless of who designed it, the mosque demonstrates a striking continuity with the Nurusomaniye and is often dubbed its miniature.[6] It follows its bigger cousin in the outlines of its prayer hall, whose single dome is raised high on four copiously fenestrated baldachin arches. Adjoining the prayer hall is the sultan's pavilion, which takes the form of a two-story L-shaped structure formed mainly of colonnaded passageways. As is not uncommon for smaller royal foundations, the mosque has only one minaret (with a later stone cap) and no courtyard; it is fronted instead by a domed and arcaded portico that is approached by a

Kuban, Ottoman Architecture, 543 (where the mosque is misattributed to Mihrişah Emine Sultan); and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 29.

[5] Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:39. Vaṣıf (*Meḥāsinü'l-āṣār*, 1:187) does not give the monument a name, calling it only "the mosque of Üsküdar" (*cāmiʿ-i Üsküdar*).

[6] For instance, in Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 387.

dramatic semicircular stairway. Even with these obvious differences, the Ayazma's resemblance to the Nuruosmaniye is immediately apparent, underscoring the success of Mahmud's mosque in setting a new model to follow. The similarity extends even to the way the buildings are sited, for the Ayazma too occupies a hilltop location, in this case giving the mosque far more grandeur and visibility than it would otherwise have had; its elevated position means that it can clearly be seen even from across the Bosphorus.

The inauguration of this compact yet ambitious complex was an event of some importance. In a contemporary dispatch, the British ambassador Porter echoes his earlier views on Mahmud by relating the Ayazma to the Ottomans' steadfast avoidance of conflict in this period:

> no sign of any motion either by Land or Sea, no thought but Consecrating a new Mosque, built by the Sultan at Scutary, and of the approaching birth of a Prince, or Princess, expected next Month; The Vizier in great power, living quiet and at ease . . . he has sufficient aquanimity to seem to enjoy it, to seek to continue it, and to avoid whatever may intervene with its stability.[7]

The grand vizier being described here is Ragıb Pasha, who indeed treaded carefully enough to remain in power until his natural death. He played an important part in the new mosque, composing the versified chronogram that is written above its door in a fine *nastaʿlīq* hand signed by the grand mufti, Veliyyüddin Efendi (d. 1768) (fig. 242). It was in fact these two men who inaugurated the mosque, as we learn from the Ottoman sources, which describe the customary distribution of honorific robes.[8] Mustafa's absence on this occasion is curious given his evident investment in the project; it may again relate to the decorous ascription of the mosque to his mother and brother. In any case, the court

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[7] Dispatch dated February 18, 1761, TNA, SP 97/41, fol. 147a.

[8] For the inscription, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 494; and Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:80–81. For the inauguration, see Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:39; and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:187–88.

chronicler Vasıf judiciously avoids mentioning the sultan's nonattendance, thus leaving his association with the mosque undiminished in the official narrative.

The building too is keen to present itself as Mustafa's pious work. The overdoor inscription jointly provided by the grand vizier and mufti—the sultan's representatives on the day of the inauguration—calls the edifice "the exquisite mosque built by the Shah, Sultan Mustafa," who is himself described as "a paragon for the people of Orthodoxy."[9] This lucid and easily read text appears immediately below a dense *thulth* inscription mentioning the sultan's mother and brother, a clever juxtaposition that gives notional precedence to the mosque's commemorative function while effectively claiming the monument for Mustafa himself. Architecturally also, the mosque is entirely worthy of its royal founder, proudly displaying the by-now established Baroque style. The columns of the entrance portico are topped by a particularly beautiful variant of the Ottoman scroll capital, with its volutes shaped as acanthus leaves and its bell carved to resemble an overblown corolla (fig. 241). A slightly plainer version of this design occurs inside the prayer hall under the round arches forming the gallery at the back. Projecting forward from the right-hand side of this gallery is the sultan's private loge, which, because of the mosque's smaller dimensions, has been placed away from its customary position against the qibla wall; it is screened by an elaborate arcade of openwork wood resting on stone columns, and the wall adjoining it is decorated with Chinese blue-and-white tiles (figs. 246–49).[10] The mihrab and minbar opposite are expertly carved works of marble inlaid

[9] The inscription reads: *Muḳtedā-yı ehl-i sünnet cāmiʿ-i mecmūʿ-ı ḫayr / Ḳıldı çūn bu maʿbed-i zībāyı inşā bī-riyā / Ṣadr-ı ʿaṣrı bendesi Rāġıb dedi tārīḫini / Cāmiʿ-i raʿnā bināʾ-ı Şāh Sulṭān Muṣṭafā*. For an alternative English translation, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 494.

[10] These tiles are of a type widely imitated in the West, and indeed, scholars have long misidentified those in the Ayazma as European: see Gülgün Yılmaz, "Üsküdar Ayazma ve Beylerbeyi Camilerinde Kullanılan

with colored stones; particularly impressive are the openwork parapets of the minbar, composed of lushly combined scrolls and vegetal elements (figs. 250–52). Circumscribing the whole of the prayer-hall interior, including the galleries, are two continuous bands of dentils (fig. 253). Such moldings appear also within the mihrab, around the window- and doorframes, and—true to their royal connotation—all over the arcade screening the sultan's loge. This abundance of dentils is echoed by the less extravagant use of the motif on the main gate into the mosque precinct and on the fountain marking the precinct's exterior northern corner. Rising behind this fountain, the showy pavilion by which the sultan would have entered his loge leaves us in no doubt of the building's imperial nature (figs. 236–37).

Those who saw the Ayazma in its own time were duly impressed. Vasıf, from whom we might expect such praise, speaks of the mosque in the same terms as he does the Nuruosmaniye, likening it to the Kaaba's heavenly prototype and extolling its luminescence.[11] Şemʿdanizade is less generically eulogistic, remarking in particular on the mosque's high-quality stonework and its imposing mihrab and minbar, the latter of which is indeed a tour de force of carving (fig. 252). He also makes the interesting observation that the building resembles "a well-fashioned incense burner with a single minaret in the shape of a rose-water flask."[12] This perceptive comparison suggests that the most salient features of the mosque in contemporary viewers' eyes were the height

Çin Çinileri," in *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI, 6–9 Kasım 2008: Bildiriler*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2009), 271–78.

[11] See Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:187.

[12] *Gül-ābdān resminde bir minā̄reli muṣannaʿ buḫūrdān şeklinde laṭīf cāmiʿdir*. Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:39; and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:187–88. The same observation occurs in one of the manuscript copies of Ayvansarayi's compendium of mosques: see Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî'*, 596n1.

and singleness of its dome, and the luxuriance of its decorative scheme, which, like an actual incense burner, makes rich use of openwork (fig. 34). The Ayazma's loftiness and beauty are noted also by the Ottoman-Armenian banker and writer Sargis Hovhannisean (d. 1805), who penned an account of his native Istanbul in the early 1800s.[13] Western travelers have little to say on the building, which was off the usual tourist trail, but relevant in this regard are the writings of the curious figure Sauveur Lusignan, a European who spent a long and colorful residence in the Ottoman Empire before settling in England.[14] In a letter describing an excursion to Üsküdar undertaken in 1786 with a party of Englishmen, Lusignan asserts that "there is nothing remarkable in [the town's] buildings, if we except the jami or mosque of Sultan Mustapha, which makes an elegant appearance."[15] It is telling that the rest of Üsküdar's imposing though generally older monuments failed to make such an impression on Lusignan, for whom the Ayazma's up-to-date style must have been an important distinguishing factor.

While largely fashioned in the same modern mold as the Nuruosmaniye, however, the Ayazma exhibits notable references to older architectural norms. The great arches of the prayer-hall baldachin have stepped outlines, and the windows that they frame terminate in four-centered pointed arches (fig. 254). Both of these features bypass the Nuruosmaniye and hark back to its sixteenth-century model, the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque at Edirnekapı (fig. 174). Scholars have tended to argue that the Nuruosmaniye's

[13] See Sargis Hovhannisean [Sarkis Sarraf Hovhannesyan], *Payitaht İstanbul'un Tarihçesi*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2006), 72.

[14] Lusignan traveled to the Ottoman Empire in his youth and, having established himself as a merchant, settled in Egypt to serve the rebel mamluk Bulut Kapan Ali Bey, after whose fall he moved to England. For Lusignan's own account of the revolt and his involvement in it, see Lusignan, *A History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, against the Ottoman Porte. . . .* (London: James Phillips, 1784).

[15] Sauveur Lusignan, *A Series of Letters. Addressed to Sir William Fordyce. . . .* 2 vols. (London, 1788), 1:62.

daring novelties were followed by a more cautious return to tradition, as if the Ottomans were unprepared for where Mahmud's mosque had taken them.[16] The reappearance at the Ayazma of the four-centered window, a type that had fallen from use in the 1740s, might be considered evidence for such an attitude. But if the mosque's unknown architect was striving for conservatism, he could have done a far better job of it. His incorporation of older forms into the building's Baroque fabric is selective and witty, serving to accentuate the new style rather than mitigate it. The steps framing the baldachin arches are themselves delineated by a prominent Baroque molding, and the lowermost step in each case descends into a sweeping curve. Contrasting with the baldachin's pointed-arched windows are the bell arches of the royal pavilion and the round arches of the entrance portico. And carved in relief between the pointed windows are pilasters carrying Baroque pinnacles with finials in the shape of crescent moons. These curious reliefs—of which there are in-the-round equivalents over the entablatures of the entrance and mihrab—are a recasting of the pinnacles that crown the main door into the courtyard of the mid-sixteenth-century Süleymaniye Mosque (figs. 255–57). Though referring back to this old prototype, the reliefs produce an effect that is alien to earlier Ottoman architecture, where baldachin tympana are decidedly planar.

We are dealing, then, with a careful and knowing juxtaposition of traditional and Baroque features—steps leading into curves, crescents surmounting balusters, pointed arches alongside round ones. The overall aesthetic is still very much of its time, and the few (if prominent) references to the past suggest a kind of commentary on the part of the architect. It is as if he is reflecting on the relationship of the new style to what had gone

[16] See Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 70–71, 106; and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 31.

before it, creatively interspersing the one with the other in a way that affirms the great changes that had taken place. This was, after all, twenty years since the advent of the Ottoman Baroque, by which time the style had a long enough past to be retrospectively contemplated in terms of the empire's artistic history. Various restoration projects of the period would have encouraged this diachronic approach, for the Baroque was now being used to renovate Istanbul's historical monuments, including the Mahmud Pasha Mosque of 1463. Located next to the Nuruosmaniye, this esteemed old foundation—which follows the inverted T plan characteristic of early Ottoman architecture—was renovated in 1755–56 by Osman III, who added a new marble minbar, mihrab, and prayer loge carved in the latest Baroque manner (figs. 258–60); a repair later in the century would see the columns of the portico encased in piers with scroll capitals.[17] It was also during these years that Ottoman Baroque motifs were beginning to appear outside Istanbul, as with the Cihanoğlu Mosque of 1756 in the Aegean town of Aydın,[18] and the *sabīl-kuttāb* (school-cum-fountain) that Sultan Mustafa built between 1758 and 1760 in Cairo (figs. 261–

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[17] Mahmud Pasha was a *devşirme* of Byzantine origin who went on to become Mehmed the Conqueror's grand vizier and son-in-law. Despite distinguishing himself in the sultan's service, he fell out of favor and was executed in 1474 for reasons that remain unclear. His reputation soon became something of a posthumous cult, and he is known to this day as *veli*, or saint. Mahmud's mosque, which is part of a complex including his tomb, was therefore of considerable status when Osman restored it, and there are in fact some telling correspondences between the renovation and the nearby Nuruosmaniye. The mosque's new mihrab is thus a less elaborate rendition of the Nuruosmaniye's, complete with dentils (the florid pediment over the entablature is evidently later, and probably of the nineteenth century), while its minbar is decorated with blind arches that are extremely similar to those framing the ablution fountains along the Nuruosmaniye's flanks. It is perhaps because of the two mosques' proximity and the shared name of their founders that some of the supernatural legends associated with Mahmud Pasha—including knowledge of the language of animals—later became associated with Mahmud I. For Mahmud Pasha and his mosque, see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, 1953), 174–89; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, ed. William C. Hickman and trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 327–29; and Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 109–19.

[18] For the Cihanoğlu Mosque, see Goodwin, Ottoman Architecture, 387–88. For the adoption of Baroque forms in the Aegean region more generally, see Ayda Arel. "Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 212–8; and Arel, "18. Yüzyılda İzmir Çevresinde Mimari Ortam," in *18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı* (Istanbul: Sanat Tarihi Derneği, 1998), 9–31.

64).[19] The style could now claim a legitimate place in the Ottoman tradition, and the Ayazma confirms as much by situating it in a longer aesthetic timeline. Such consciously synthesized forms as the crescent-topped pinnacles are clever statements declaring the fully Ottoman character of this particular kind of Baroque. That the building was designed against this conceptual backdrop is evident from its relationship to the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque, a relationship that is more significant than it initially seems: another mosque by Sinan belonging to the same princess stands on the shore of Üsküdar not far from the Ayazma, which was itself dedicated to a sultana named Mihrimah.[20] In referring back to its sixteenth-century predecessors, the Ayazma is evoking an association with their great patroness and architect while at the same time underscoring its own stylistic modernity.

[19] Though local in workmanship and overall character, the *sabīl-kuttāb* includes important Baroque elements. The *sabīl*'s grilled windows terminate in segmental arches that spring from S-scroll corbels, forming an outline reminiscent of the baldachin pediments of the Nuruosmaniye and the bell arches of the Ayazma's royal pavilion. More specifically, the windows' marble jambs are carved with Ottoman Baroque motifs, including shells and dentils, while marble panels inserted in the wall above display the same repertoire together with the sultan's tughra. These carved marble pieces are close enough to the contemporaneous art of Istanbul that they may have been produced in and sent from that city. Indeed, crowning the engaged columns that flank the windows are Ottoman scroll capitals that almost certainly came from Istanbul: they are identical to those found on the gates of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard. Such importation was apparently the case also for the Dutch blue-and-white tiles decorating the *sabīl-kuttāb*'s interior, for Hans Theunissen has shown that these are very likely the remnants of a batch of tiles first brought to Istanbul for use in the Topkapı Palace, where most of them remain. The carved marble capitals (and perhaps other pieces) of the building's exterior could thus have been sent to Cairo from Istanbul together with these tiles. It is interesting to note that the *sabīl-kuttāb* established in 1750 by Mahmud I (for which see Chapter 2, n. 121) lacks the "metropolitan" Baroque flourishes that distinguish its later counterpart. For Mustafa's *sabīl-kuttāb*, which has recently been restored, see Ḥusaynī, *Al-Asbila al-ʿUthmāniyya*, 255–57 and figs. 149–56; Hans Theunissen, "Nederlandse tegels in de *sabil-kuttab* van Sultan Mustafa III in Cairo," *Keramika* 18, no. 2 (2006): 26–32; Hans Theunissen, "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: The *Sabil-Kuttab* of Sultan Mustafa III in Cairo," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 9, no. 3 (2006): 1–283; Jaap Jongstra and Hans Theunissen, "Caïro *Revisited*: Conservering van Nederlandse tegels in de *sabil-kuttab* van Sultan Mustafa III in Caïro," *Keramika* 20, no. 3 (2008): 12–17; and Agnieszka Dobrowolska and Jarosław Dobrowolski, *The Sultan's Fountain: An Imperial Story of Cairo, Istanbul, and Amsterdam* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo, 2011.

[20] The Üsküdar Mihrimah Sultan Mosque will be discussed below in Chapter 5. As Gülru Necipoğlu pointed out to me, Üsküdar was very much associated with the patronage of the sultanas, who built their palaces and mosques there. For examples from the sixteenth-century examples, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 280–92, 301–5.

This type of deliberate engagement with the empire's architectural history is characteristic also of Mustafa's second and greatest mosque, the Laleli, constructed in the walled city between 1760 and 1764 (figs. 265–78, 280–96, 298–309).[21] Peyssonnel again provides a rather detailed account of how the monument came into existence:

> Several years after [the building of the Ayazma], when the Khan of the Tartars, Krim Guerai [Qırım Giray (r. 1758–64, 1768–69)], in the first Campaign of the last War with Russia, had laid waste New Servia, and annihilated the Establishments that Empire had there formed, the heads of the Law were eager to honour Sultan Mustapha with the surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, and the Mufti bestowed it on him by his *Fetfa*. In consequence of this Decree, that Prince built, in Constantinople, in the *Lalelu Mahalla*, or quarter of Tulips, the Mosque which bears his name, and is denominated *Nour Mustapha*, though the common people usually call it *Lalelu Djami*, the Mosque of tulips, from the name of the quarter in which it is built.[22]

Despite his usual reliability, Peyssonnel is here muddling his facts: the Laleli had already been completed by the time that war with Russia broke out, meaning that Mustafa, like Ahmed I before him, decided to build in spite of the traditional restrictions. It is true, however, that the sultan was proclaimed ghazi not long after the victory of his vassal Qırım Giray,[23] and this was evidently a matter of some importance to him: the dispatches

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[21] For the Laleli Mosque and its complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 25; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 70–71; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 388–91; Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi"; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 540–43; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 30–31; Aras Neftçi, "Lâleli Külliyesi'nin İnşaat Süreci" (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, 2002); and Gülsün Tanyeli, "Laleli Külliyesi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 5:190–93.

[22] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 197–98.

[23] Besides his successes against the Russians, Qırım Giray is notable for the marble fountain he added in 1764 to the Bakhchisaray Palace, seat of the Crimean khans. Known as the "Fountain of Tears" and made famous by Pushkin's poem of the same name, the fountain is a tall pedimented block with a niche hosting a series of small shelf-like basins whose water feeds into a large basin beneath. It is carved in a manner very much reminiscent of the Ottoman Baroque, demonstrating how influential the style had become by this time. The literature holds that it was made by a Persian master named Omar. See Jeremy Howard, "From Baghçesary *Salsabil* to Bakhchisarai Fountain: The Transference of Tatar Triumph to Tears," in *By Force or By Will: The Art of External Might and Internal Passion* (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 2002), 177–90. Qırım Giray died in March 1763, shortly after his victories. He was much admired by the Baron de Tott, who spent time at his court as a military adviser. Tott's memoires make the unsubstantiated claim that the khan died as a result of being poisoned by his Greek doctor. See Tott, *Memoires*, vol. 1, part

of the French ambassador show that he requested the title in February 1769 before it was finally granted to him in May.[24] Mustafa's keenness to earn the honorific may have been motivated by a desire to retrospectively legitimize his already finished mosque, which would account for Peyssonnel's atypical confusion. At any rate, the newly bestowed title became increasingly untenable as Ottoman military fortunes worsened. An Ottoman journal tells us that when the sultan attended Friday prayers at the Ayasofya in February 1771 and was hailed as a ghazi during the sermon, two individuals present at the mosque shouted, "It is a lie! He is no ghazi!" (*yalandır, ġāzī değildir*). The event was reported with relish a few months later in the European press.[25]

Perhaps it was because of his shaky claims to an intramural foundation that Mustafa did not succeed in attaching his name to the mosque he built. The original name as given by Peyssonnel—evidently coined on analogy with "Nuruosmaniye"—cannot have been widespread, since it is nowhere else attested. Another French source contemporary with the mosque's opening—an ambassadorial journal—reports that the

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2, 207–10; and Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 206–8, esp. 207n580.

[24] See CADN, 166PO/A/55, fols. 7a, 18b. The delay proved fortunate, for it allowed the sultan to be proclaimed ghazi only weeks after the Ottomans had successfully defended the Fortress of Khotyn from the Russians, who were forced to retreat. The victory was short-lived, however: the Russians soon returned and drove the Ottomans out of Khotyn in September 1769. See Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:326; and Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 149–50.

[25] The two individuals are identified in the journal as a Mevlevi dervish and his Arab companion. Whether the anonymous author of the journal was present at the mosque or is reporting the incident second-hand is unclear. The Western newspaper version of the event is somewhat different: "When the emperor went to the mosque of Sultan Achmet, his highness there received the accustomed eulogiums, among which the name of Ghazi or conqueror displeased one of the dervises so much, that he could not help expressing his indignation, by crying aloud, 'That that title was not in any manner suitable to the reigning prince, who had already lost more than half of his European states; and that therefore it appeared to be designed as a mockery on the Musselmen then in the mosque.' This Turkish monk (according to the same intelligence) was strangled a few days ago, by order of the Sultan." See Göksu, *Müellifi Mechûl bir Rûznâme*, 17; and "Foreign Intelligence," *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, April 11–13, 1771, issue 698.

building was called “Sultan mustafa jamissi” upon its opening.[26] The Ottoman sources, however, almost always identify the mosque as *Lāleli* in reference to its district, which in turn is called after a legendary local sheikh known as Laleli Baba.[27] Popular lore still holds that Mustafa, following his later restoration of the Fatih Mosque, moaned, “I have built three mosques, but one of them has been taken by my forefather, one by a mystic [Laleli Baba], and one by the water [*ayazma*].”[28]

Whether or not Mustafa ever voiced such a complaint, the Laleli was certainly intended as his personal legacy to the Ottoman capital. It is the last sultanic foundation to be built in the old walled city, where it stands, like the Nuruosmaniye, on the right of the Divanyolu as one moves inland. Construction began even as the Ayazma was still being completed; Vasıf records that the foundation-digging ceremony, held in April 1760, was led by the sheikh of the Ayasofya, and involved prayers, sacrifices, and the distribution of charity to the local poor.[29] In September of the same year, to quote a British newspaper of the time, “The Grand Signior, assisted by the Grand Vizier and the Mufti, laid . . . the first Stone of a magnificent Mosque, which his Sublime Highness intends to build at his

[26] See CADN, 166PO/A/37, p. 389. Peyssonnel’s claim that the mosque was called “Nour Moustapha” may reflect a later elaboration of the name on the model of the Nuruosmaniye. It is interesting to note that the version of the name given in the French journal represents the vernacular spoken form (*Sultan Mustafa Camisi*) as opposed to the proper written form (*Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Cāmiʿi*).

[27] While I found various documents descriptively referring to the mosque as Mustafa’s, I did not come across any that use the compound *Sulṭān Muṣṭafā Cāmiʿi* or *Nūr-ı Muṣṭafā*.

[28] The saying recurs in various forms in the literature, and my English rendering is a paraphrase rather than an exact translation of any one version of it. I have not been able to determine the origins of the saying, which does not appear in the eighteenth-century sources. For one account of the saying and Laleli Baba’s association with the mosque, see Baha Tanman, “Laleli Baba Türbesi,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 5:189–90.

[29] See Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü’l-ās̱ār*, 1:178.

own Expence."[30] Ottoman records of this ceremony show that the sultan was not in fact present,[31] though his association with the mosque was evidently enough to see him inserted into later reports of the event. The emphasis placed by the newspaper on Mustafa's personal wherewithal to finance the building suggests that that the Ottoman court was anxious to preempt any criticisms of the project, which could not be paid for as tradition required by the spoils of war.

Also casting Mustafa's mosque in a good light were the circumstances by which land was acquired for it. Like the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli was a tight squeeze in an already crowded city, and existing structures had to be bought and destroyed to make way for the complex. Vasıf stresses that the purchases were made to everyone's satisfaction, and he is seconded somewhat unexpectedly by the Baron de Tott, who writes that "[e]ither the Interest or the Religious Zeal of the Proprietors prevented Mustapha from meeting any Obstacle."[32] One of the reasons for this lack of conflict was that Mustafa used the earth and stone dug up at the site to fill in part of the shore near the Yeni Kapı, resulting in a whole new neighborhood. Tott tells us that the houses built on the infill were inhabited by "Turks" who had been compelled to move there from the mosque's site, but Hovhannisean, who is a more reliable source, writes that the new district was given to the Armenians.[33] Either way, the creation of the neighborhood was a highly visible and ambitious act of urban regeneration that would have further vindicated the Laleli project.

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[30] "Postscript," *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, November 1, 1760–November 4, 1760, issue 2283.

[31] See BOA, D.TŞF.6/41; and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:178.

[32] See Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:178; and Tott, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, part 1, 151–52.

[33] See Tott, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, part 1, 150–51; and Hovhannisean, *Payitaht İstanbul*, 7.

The complex as it was completed makes the best of the substantial though by no means vast plot of land it occupies (fig. 266).[34] Delimited by a roughly rectangular perimeter, the core of the foundation is made up of a mosque, which includes a courtyard and royal pavilion (fig. 281); a tomb and sebil that line the Divanyolu and flank one of the gates into the complex (fig. 270–74); and an imaret that was once adjacent to a now-lost madrasa (figs. 275–76). The mosque has two minarets, though only the southwest one had been erected at the time of its opening, the other being added six or seven years later. The reason for this delay is unclear, but the second minaret was almost certainly planned from the start, as its base and foundation are enclosed by the royal pavilion.[35] It is perhaps significant that the addition of this minaret came not long after Mustafa was declared a ghazi. At any rate, both minarets were modified in the late nineteenth century, their conical lead caps replaced by the bulbous stone finials we now see. Elevating the mosque is a high vaulted basement that, uniquely, functions as a building in its own right, enterable by a door next to the sebil (fig. 277); contemporary sources indicate that this was built as a storehouse (*maḫzen*).[36] Just north of the rectangular precinct is a khan that would have generated revenues for the complex (fig. 278). A fire necessitated extensive

[34] Parts of the precinct wall lining the Divanyolu (today's Ordular Caddesi) were moved back when the road was widened in the twentieth century: see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 388.

[35] Otherwise, the royal pavilion would have to have been rebuilt, something for which there is no evidence. The sources that mention the addition of the second minaret are Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 25; Hovhannisean, *Payitaht İstanbul*, 7; and Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:64. As Karaali ("Laleli Külliyesi," xvi) notes, there are no known archival documents relating to it. Tanyeli ("Laleli Külliyesi," 190), followed by Kuban (*Ottoman Architecture*, 541), write that there is physical evidence of the minaret's later insertion, though they do not specify what this evidence is. The fact that the minaret's base is enclosed by the sultan's pavilion makes it difficult to examine. When I visited the mosque in 2009 and 2010, this minaret had been dismantled in the course of repairs to the building; it has since been reconstructed.

[36] See Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi," 25–26. The basement was originally intended to host shops, but the building supervisor felt the structure would be too damp for the purpose and so had it built instead as a storehouse (presumably for items that would not suffer from the moisture). Interestingly, the basement has reverted to its originally intended function and today houses a market.

repairs to the mosque and its ancillaries in 1783; this restoration seems largely to have preserved the buildings' original appearance. Although he did not succeed in fixing his name to the monument, Mustafa was able to secure his burial in the tomb, whose street-facing windows were updated with elaborate marble frames in the nineteenth century (fig. 270). The combination of an imperial tomb and double minarets marked the sultanic status of the Laleli, successfully distinguishing it from the rest of Mustafa's building projects.

The Laleli's construction is unusually well documented, and scores of weekly payrolls have survived.[37] These record an average of 770 workers, with non-Muslims outnumbering Muslims by approximately three to two.[38] While the mosque's architect is nowhere confirmed, it seems that art historians are justified in their customary attribution to Mehmed Tahir Agha, to whom I referred above. Vasıf's entry on the foundation-laying ceremony talks in some detail about the early plan of the mosque, telling us that "a pleasing and magnificent design was commissioned from the chief architect, who—expending the greater part of his energies and investigating every part of the site—composed an elegant design." The architect was rewarded for his efforts with a robe of honor, besides which "five [other] architects who accompanied him in producing the design also drank from the cup of favor." [39] Vasıf does not name the chief architect, whom we know from other sources to have been Hacı Ahmed Agha. Whether this man had any serious involvement in designing the mosque is impossible to say, though Vasıf's

[37] The documentation is very well presented and discussed in Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi." Also see "Neftçi, "Lâleli Külliyesi"; and Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 191, 200–202, nos. 231, 243–45.

[38] See Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi," 75–109.

[39] *Bir resm-i dilkeş ü pür-nümayiş istiḫrācı miʿmār aġaya sipāriş olunup mūmā-ileyh daḫi cüll-i ġayretini ṣarf ve her ṭarafı keşf ile bir resm-i ḫᵛoş-āyende ṭarḥ u rasf edüp . . . ve iḫrāc-ı resimde hemdūş-ı mürāfaḳat olan beş nefer miʿmārān daḫi cām-ı iltifātdan cürʿa-nūş oldular*. Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-āṯār*, 1:178.

reference to five additional architects suggests that he was more than anything a team leader.[40] One of these five architects must have been Mehmed Tahir Agha, who was Ahmed's deputy before he was himself elevated to the rank of chief architect. He held the title, with interruptions, between 1761 and 1784, including at the time of the Laleli's completion. As this long tenure indicates, Mehmed Tahir, unlike other eighteenth-century *miʿmār aġa*s, had greater direct involvement in the architectural process, and the documents trace his participation in numerous projects.[41] Most telling with regard to the Laleli is the written protocol of the mosque's inauguration, which shows that Mehmed Tahir received his robe of honor not with the state ministers, but together with those actually involved in the mosque's construction, in the same way as Simeon Kalfa before him.[42] Looked at in relation to the opening ceremonies of other mosques whose architects are known, this detail is good evidence that Mehmed Tahir Agha was indeed the Laleli's main designer.

One of the reasons that Vasıf gives for the positive reception of the Laleli's initial plan is that "it resembled the Mosque of Sultan Selim,"[43] meaning the Selimiye in Edirne, built by Sinan between 1569 and 1575. This similarity is borne out by the finished building, which, like its predecessor, consists of a single-domed octagonal baldachin with

[40] To be sure, collaboration was—and is—a normal part of architectural practice, and no master acts without a workshop. Nevertheless, Western sources from the period repeatedly tell us that the chief architect played a minimal creative role, while the Ottoman sources record a quick succession of men who held the office, many of them unnamed and referred to only by their title. Mehmed Tahir Agha is something of an exception in this regard, for he enjoyed a long (if interrupted) tenure and is called by his name in such sources as the Laleli protocol register.

[41] For Mehmed Tahir Agha's life and career, see Ahmet Vefa Çobanoğlu, "Mehmed Tahir Ağa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 28:535–36; and Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Onsekizinci Asır Sonlarında bir Türk San'atkârı Hassa Başmimarı Mehmed Tahir Ağa Hayatı ve Meslekî Faaliyetleri," *Tarih Dergisi* 10, no. 7, (1954): 157–80.

[42] See TSMA, D. 721/573, fol. 3b.

[43] *Sulṭān Selīm Cāmiʿine müşābih.* Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-āṣār*, 1:178.

semidomical squinches at its corners, an apsidal projection containing the mihrab, and a quadrangular courtyard preceding the prayer hall (figs. 279–80, 297–98). Vasıf's recording of this comparison—an unusually specific example of Ottoman aesthetic commentary—indicates the consciousness of the overlap, and proves, moreover, that it was not only artists and craftsmen who were reflecting on the empire's artistic past, but patrons and other observers, too. That the Selimiye should have been selected as a model is not surprising given its status as a great royal foundation and Sinan's masterpiece, and it is worth recalling that the mosque inspired a treatise by Dayezade Mustafa in this period. Interestingly, Dayezade quotes an observer as saying that the Selimiye's only fault "is that it is in Edirne rather than in Istanbul";[44] the Laleli was thus making good this flaw by bringing Sinan's distant exemplar into the heart of the capital, creatively translating it into the new Baroque idiom. One quality of the Selimiye that may have been especially appealing in eighteenth-century eyes is its celebrated use of a single dome, which distinguishes it from most of Istanbul's imperial mosques and brings it closer to what we know of Ottoman Baroque preferences.[45] As before, however, the result of this historical engagement is far more original rather than it is nostalgic. To begin with, the Laleli is much smaller than the Selimiye, and this seeming deficiency is turned into an advantage, for the building's reduced footprint augments its relative height: the Laleli's dome is 12.5 m wide and 24.5 m high, whereas the Selimiye's reaches 43.25 m and has a

[44] Dāyezāde, "Translation of the Selimiye Risālesi," 315–16.

[45] Interestingly, Dayezade ascribes a spiritual meaning to the Selimiye's single dome: "The aim of building this mosque with a unique dome and not surrounding it with smaller domes like other mosques is to indicate the saying: 'the Truth has come, and false hood has vanished.' Through this Islam is compared to the unique dome whereas the other religions are compared to the smaller domes. Perhaps through this he [Sinan] also represented the earth and the seas being created under the one unique dome." This English rendering is taken from Dāyezāde, "Translation of the Selimiye Risālesi," 331. For a transliteration of the original Ottoman passage and a modern Turkish rendering of it, see Dāyezāde, *Edirne Sultan Selim Camii Risalesi*, 19; and Dāyezāde, "Selimiye Risâlesi," 115.

diameter of 31.25 m. The former thus appears to soar in comparison with its far squatter sixteenth-century counterpart, producing an effect more in keeping with Baroque tastes. There is both physical and documentary evidence that the prayer hall's length and breadth were somewhat reduced after construction began, with the result that the lateral piers of the baldachin were incorporated into the walls instead of being left freestanding as at the Selimiye.[46] This change means that the prayer hall is not as wide as the courtyard that precedes it, but the shortfall is elegantly addressed by the use of vaulted galleries along the hall's flanks, which are thus brought in line with the courtyard (figs. 285–86). As well as increasing the sense of verticality, this altered design again better answered contemporary standards, which, as we saw with the Nuruosmaniye, placed a great premium on uninterrupted spaces that could be viewed at one glance.

The Laleli's Baroque loftiness is enhanced by the high basement that raises it above the bustle of the street, as well as by the dramatically narrowing stairways that lead up to the courtyard's three gates (fig. 287, 289). No less theatrical, and again distinguishing the building from older monuments, is the royal pavilion adjoining the mosque (figs. 281–84). As with the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli's position on the north side of the Divanyolu means that the main approach to the building is from the back, in this case through a grand round-arched marble gate flanked by little fountains and located in the southeast corner of the precinct (fig. 268). This gate leads by means of a staircase to the top of the basement on which the mosque stands, a substantial paved area that surrounds the building and serves as a sort of outer court, again recalling the Nuruosmaniye. Facing the direction of the gate is the qibla wall's exterior and the royal

[46] See Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi," 18–19; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 541. The reason for this change is unclear, though Kuban, without explanation, calls it "the result of a structural necessity."

pavilion's entrance, which is located just to the right of the prayer hall and fashioned as a round-arched marble portal in the same manner as the precinct gate. This portal gives access to a grand arcaded ramp that extends parallel to the prayer hall before turning the corner and joining the sultan's loge, which, as at the Ayazma, has been pushed back to the hall's northern corner. Here, the pavilion consists of nothing but the ramp and a small lavatory, so that the structure is entirely devoted to showcasing and memorializing the sultan's ceremonial entrances. Indeed, even more than at the Nuruosmaniye, the Laleli's pavilion exploits topographical limitations to establish a rival axis to that defined by the courtyard on the other side, transforming the area around the back facade of the mosque into a forecourt for the *selāmlıḳ* and other sultanic visits.

Amplifying the mosque's distinctly eighteenth-century proportions and layout are its stylistic features, which again are very much unlike their counterparts at the Selimiye. Round arches and deep cornices are used throughout, and curvilinear flying buttresses brace the sides of the prayer hall and the base of the dome (fig. 281). Most of the column capitals are variations of the scroll type, with those of the courtyard porticoes being notable for their abstract monumentality (fig. 292). The courtyard as a whole is particularly striking for its Baroque details. Each of the three marble gates leading into it takes the form of a round-arched door surmounted by a fanned arrangement of stone wedges and flanked by columns that support an entablature (figs. 287–90). The entablature is doubled in the case of the main gate to the northwest, where the roofline rises in a Baroque sweep to accommodate the additional level. Crowning the inner face of this gate, as well as the door into the prayer hall opposite, is a marble panel carved with C- and S-scrolls and vegetal designs (fig. 294); these elements form asymmetrical

cartouche-like compositions that reveal an engagement with the Rococo. In the middle of the courtyard is an octagonal ablution fountain with bell arches and leafy column capitals. The surrounding portico arches, though retaining the hint of a point, are flanked by pilasters that support a simple but elegant entablature running all the way around (figs. 291, 293).

A similar range of decorative elements can be found inside the prayer hall (figs. 295–96, 298–309). The circular piers of the baldachin have irregularly shaped foliate capitals above which runs a continuous cornice. Incorporating the sultan's screened prayer loge at the back of the hall is a gallery that is made up of round arches borne on leafy scroll capitals with simplified egg-and-dart moldings around their echini. Analogous capitals support the entablature of the mihrab, whose niche is a less fancy version of the Nuruosmaniye's. The neighboring minbar is carved with a range of Baroque forms, including pilasters, bell arches, and dentil moldings. Prominently displayed on each side of the minbar is Mustafa's tughra, an innovative calligraphic flourish that is in keeping with the copious use of inscriptions throughout the prayer hall. These features, which all follow eighteenth-century patterns, are interspersed with unmistakable references to older buildings. The wooden shutters of the doors and windows are inlaid with a traditional three-dot *çintamani* design, and decorating the minbar and mihrab are elaborate multifoil crests punctuated by rosettes, recalling such models as the mihrab of the Selimiye and the courtyard gate of the Fatih Mosque (figs. 306–7), to be discussed below. As with the mosque's more general evocation of the Selimiye, these historicizing touches serve to contextualize rather than counteract the scheme's otherwise modern character: flanking the crest of the mihrab, for example, are

two bulbous Baroque pinnacles. A similar stylistic fusion occurs at the Laleli's nearby tomb, where marble architraves and entablatures carved in the eighteenth-century manner appear alongside reused sixteenth-century Iznik tilework (fig. 274).

Notwithstanding the obvious differences between the two buildings, the Laleli clearly shares much of its craftsmanship with the Nuruosmaniye. The documents, as noted, show that Christians constituted a large majority of the workforce, and it is significant in this regard that the underground holy well (*ayazma*) of the Greek Church of St. Mary of the Spring at Balıklı—largely rebuilt in 1835—includes four slender marble columns with scroll capitals analogous to those of the Laleli sebil (figs. 272, 310–11).[47] Underlining this Greek connection, one of the major figures involved in the Laleli was the chief stonemason Kozma—the same Kozma who had worked alongside Simeon Kalfa in the earlier building. He was the only Christian to be honored with a robe at the inauguration, and in a contract he signed relating to his duties, he is termed "master builder of the imperial mosque" (*ser-ḳalfa-ı cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn*), which suggests he may have been Mehmed Tahir's deputy as he had been Simeon's.[48] As for Simeon himself, it seems that he was no longer active by this period: there is no record of his involvement in any project after the Nuruosmaniye, and the story of his red shoreline house, discussed in

[47] The columns support a canopy over the well. The rounded arches springing from them are today of exposed brickwork, but Thomas Allom's illustration of the structure (Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 2:51–53) shows it clad in stone and sharing its space with other Baroque-looking elements that have not survived. Also see n. 80 below.

[48] The contract is transliterated in Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi," 82. It is interesting to note that the Laleli's first building administrator was Ali Agha, the same name as the individual who held the post at the Nuruosmaniye. However, the overlap is in this case coincidence, for the Laleli's Ali Agha was a different person: see Karaali, "Laleli Külliyesi"; 76–77; and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:178.

the previous chapter, implies a comfortable retirement.[49] Kozma's participation in both monuments provides a useful framework for considering the continuities and differences between them. Like Kozma, many of the artists working on the Laleli would have had years of experience in the new style, and this is evident in how they have applied it. The Nuruosmaniye's almost bombastic novelty has here been tamed into a more serene, almost studied rendition of the Ottoman Baroque. The courtyard gates, for instance, take the main door of the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard and reduce it to its abstract essentials, replacing its highly plastic half-sunburst with a flat blind arch formed of triangular voussoirs (figs. 182, 290). The effect is not to move away from the new style, but to use it in a more contemplative fashion, an endeavor aided by the selective incorporation of historical references. Now fully settled and naturalized, so to speak, the Ottoman Baroque reveals its defining modus operandi at the Laleli—exaggerated proportions, spatial unity, theatrical staging, and a characteristic decorative vocabulary. Certain features like the Nuruosmaniye's semielliptical courtyard were evidently felt not to be essential to achieving the desired outcome, and the result is no less current for not repeating such experiments. On the contrary, the use of a rectangular courtyard, together with the

[49] Pamukciyan, citing the nineteenth-century historian Mustafa Nuri, suggests that Simeon went on to become the architect of the Laleli. None of the archival or eighteenth-century sources, however, mentions Simeon in connection with the project. Another Greek architect to whom the Laleli has been latterly attributed is an individual named Constantinos, who is credited with the mosque by Ypsilantis, as well as by the scholar-monk Kaisarios Dapontes (d. 1784) in one of his unpublished notebooks. These notebooks are kept at the Xeropotamou Monastery on Mount Athos, whose katholikon was built around the same time as the Laleli on the basis of a model sent from Istanbul and designed by the royal architect Constantinos (see n. 163 of the previous chapter). Miltiades Polyviou, who has published the model and examined Dapontes' notebooks, identifies this Constantinos with the one linked to the Laleli. But while this architect may indeed have been involved in the mosque's design and construction, the Ottoman sources do not document it, whereas Kozma's contribution is evident from several documents. See Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, 4:147; Pamukciyan, "Foti Kalfa'ya Dair İki Kaynak Daha"; Ypsilantis, *Ta meta tin alōsin*, 385; Polyviou, "Schediasmos kai kataskenē stē naodomia tou 18ou aiōna"; and Savvas, "Architectural Styles." I am very grateful to Dimitris Loupis for translating Polyviou's article for me.

octagonal plan of the baldachin, instantly sets the Laleli apart from the Nuruosmaniye, allowing Mustafa's mosque to proclaim its novelty on its own terms.

Indeed, the Laleli fully revels in its individuality, and perhaps the most striking way in which the building distinguishes itself is through a bold citation of Byzantine architecture. The exterior walls of the courtyard and the prayer hall's qibla facade are constructed of alternating courses of brick and stone (fig. 281), and though this technique had a long and unbroken history in local architectural practice, it was not at all typical of Istanbul's imperial mosques. Such construction was, however, common in high-ranking Byzantine edifices, among them the Church of St. Chora, built between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and the Church of Theotokos Kyriotissa, completed in the twelfth century (figs. 312–13); these were both converted by the Ottomans into mosques, known respectively as Kariye and Kalenderhane.[50] The use of brick and stone at the Laleli was, on the one hand, a clever decorative expedient, enlivening the building's rear facade—the side facing the street—in a manner that was both effective and economically sound. But the technique also served to associate the monument with its esteemed Byzantine forerunners, and that this connection was intended is clear from the mosque's interior, whose walls and furnishings are copiously veneered with panels of beautiful colored marble, predominantly red and green in hue (figs. 303).[51] Such cladding can be found also in the converted churches just named, as well in the most prestigious of all local Byzantine monuments, the Ayasofya. The Laleli in fact makes a specific reference to the

[50] For these churches as mosques, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 178, 184–85; Göyünç, "Kalenderhâne"; and Süleyman Kırımtayıf, *Converted Byzantine Churches in Istanbul: Their Transformation into Mosques and Masjids* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2001), 25–27, 74–77.

[51] Sources show that these colored stones were brought from Bandırma, on the Marmara coast: see Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, 200–201, no. 243.

erstwhile cathedral through the two superposed panels of ornamental polychrome stone inlay on the wall of the raised gallery at the back of the prayer hall. These consist of geometric designs, with that of the lower panel—a composition of abstract scrolls arranged around a central green oval—undoubtedly based on the similar panels of inlay that decorate the interior of the Ayasofya (figs. 314–15). Inside the much more intimate space of the Laleli, the effect of this marble polychromy is one of jewel-like richness.

With its lofty associations, the Laleli was a fitting monument to its royal founder. The sources show that the mosque was inaugurated twice in as many weeks, first by the grand vizier and mufti and then by the sultan himself, who arrived in grand procession for his first *selāmlıḳ* at the building.[52] It was during the second of these events that robes were distributed; the protocol largely followed what had taken place at the Nuruosmaniye's opening, except that the lack of a reception room in the pavilion meant that the sultan sat instead on a throne placed outside the structure. In his record of the ceremony, Vasıf calls the Laleli "the envy of the distinguished mosques that preceded it and the sultanic temples that came before."[53] Less generalized praise is offered by Mustafa's waqfiyya, which calls the Laleli

> a most excellent, charming, and wondrous blessed noble mosque and light-filled elegant temple; admirably composed, strongly built, and high-columned; made of pure marble—polished, gilt, and decorated—and resembling the Ever-Inhabited House [the Kaaba's heavenly prototype], brightly illumined and without like or comparison.[54]

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[52] See BOA, D.TŞF., 7/55, pp. 12–13; Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:64; and Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:232–33.

[53] *Maḥsūd-ı cevāmiʿ-i eslāf-ı güzīn ve maġbūṭ-ı maʿābid-i selāṭīn-ı peşīn olduġundan* . . . Vāṣıf, *Meḥāsinü'l-ās̱ār*, 1:223.

[54] *Aḥsen ü dilfirīb ü ebdaʿ müstaḥsenü't-tertīb ile ḳaviyyü'l-bünyān, müşeyyedü'l-erkān, ruḫām-ı ḫām-ı mücellā ve mermer-i sāf-ı muṭallā ve muḥallādan mānend-i beyt-i maʿmūr-ı sāṭiʿu'n-nūr-ı bī-naẓīr ü bī-ʿadīl mücedden bir cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i feyż-ās̱ār ve maʿbed-i laṭīf-i cāmiʿü'l-envār binā vu inşā* . . . Vakıflar

The emphasis here on the building's height and rich use of stones reflects well the actual architecture.

The unofficial sources have less to say about the monument, whose measured design was unlikely to engender as much commentary as the larger and more audacious Nuruosmaniye. Şemʿdanizade is extremely positive about the building, calling it "a well fashioned mosque—appropriate to its standing—that brings together the faithful."[55] Carbognano, however, writes that the Laleli "has nothing of note except for a grand subterranean edifice made up of three naves with semicircular arches and large square piers," referring to the mosque's basement.[56] Carbognano's compatriot Mouradgea d'Ohsson must have felt differently, for though he does not describe the Laleli Complex in his famous *Tableau*, the mosque and tomb are both separately depicted on a plate illustrating the section on mosques (fig. 316).[57] That this plate has only two other images—one of the Ayasofya and the other of the Sultanahmet—shows that Mouradgea held the Laleli in high regard, and the way in which the monuments are represented gives us a good sense of how Mustafa's mosque must have looked to a contemporary observer. Though nowhere near as large as the two older monuments, it nevertheless seems loftier and less bulky, and the minaret closest to the viewer rises the full height of the image frame. Both minarets are shown with their original lead caps, while the tomb appears

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Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Archive of the General Directorate of Pious Endowments), Defter no. 1406, p. 22.

[55] *Ḥaḳḳ budur ki mevḳiʿinde olmağla cāmiʿü'l-cemāʿat bir muṣannaʿ mescid olmuşdur*. Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2A:64.

[56] *Questa . . . non ha altro di particolare, che un grand' edificio sotterraneo fabbricato a tre navate con archi semicircolari, e con grossi pilastri quadrati*. Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 41–42; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 63.

[57] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman*. 3 vols. Paris: De l'imprimerie de Monsieur (Firmin Didot), 1787–1820, vol. 1, pls. 30–31.

without the nineteenth-century additions to its windows. Such must have been the tomb's appeal that Mouradgea devotes a whole separate print to its interior, which is depicted with its original Rococo paintwork rather than the inauthentic archaizing decoration that now takes its place (fig. 317).[58]

Matching Mouradgea's visual enthusiasm for the Laleli is the verbal reaction of Dallaway, who describes the Laleli as a "small, but most elegant mosque . . . built by Sultan Mahmoòd in 1753."[59] This misattribution is important for showing that the Laleli's architecture was understood as being of a piece with the novel style established under Mahmud. Dallaway continues by telling us that the building "is completely wainscoted with veneered marble, and has two large embroidered tablets, representing the cities of Mecca and Medina."[60] These embroideries have not survived, but the prayer hall's marble cladding remains a defining aspect of the building. The same feature was noted a few years after Dallaway by Charles Pertusier (d. 1836), a French artillery officer who visited Istanbul in the early nineteenth century and wrote a guidebook to the city. Pertusier tells us that the Laleli

> is of a very elegant construction and revetted with very beautiful marbles. Its height is composed of a single dome; in the porticoes of its inner court, one finds with pleasure the Ionic order, though not without some alterations.[61]

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[58] Ibid., pl. 37.

[59] Dallaway, *Constantinople*, 62.

[60] Ibid.

[61] *[L]a mosquée Laléli . . . est d'une construction très-élégante et revêtue de très-beaux marbres. Son comble ne se compose que d'une dôme; dans les portiques de sa seconde cour, on retrouve avec plaisir l'ordre ionique, non cependant sans quelques altérations*. Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, 2:53. The near-contemporary English translation of Pertusier's work is much abbreviated, which is why I have not used it.

While Pertusier does not associate the mosque's marble-clad interior with Byzantine models, it is significant that he interprets the capitals of its courtyard as a variant of the Ionic. Indeed, his recognition of a classicizing quality in the Laleli's architecture is highly appropriate given the building's deliberate recollection of late antique Constantinople.

The Byzantine Connection: Reclaiming a Local Classical Heritage

The Laleli was neither the first nor only eighteenth-century mosque to incorporate Byzantine references. We saw in the previous chapter that the qibla wall of the Nuruosmaniye makes use of a variant kind of dentil molding whose squares face alternating directions. This is a motif of Byzantine origin that features prominently in the Ayasofya, which is surely the source of the Nuruosmaniye's rendition (figs. 318–19).[62] More patently Byzantinizing is the mosque built in 1769 near the Sublime Porte by Mustafa's sister Zeyneb Sultan (d. 1774) (figs. 320–23).[63] Constructed of alternating courses of brick and stone, this curious little monument is almost affectedly archaizing, and might easily be mistaken at first sight for a converted church. Its single dome is encircled by a fenestrated band whose undulating roofline and round-arched windows very much follow Byzantine models. A closer look reveals some early Ottoman quotations also, among them the pointed arches of the windows and portico, and the arabesques and geometrical interlace carved onto the marble panels over the precinct and

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[62] This motif is known as the Venetian Dentil, after its use in Veneto-Byzantine and Venetian architecture.

[63] For the Zeynep Sultan Mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, xxvii–xxviii; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 70–71; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 396; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 31; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 544.

prayer-hall entrances. These Islamicate details reveal an awareness of the continuities between late Byzantine and early Ottoman architecture.[64] The final element in the mix is the Baroque: the mosque's capitals are all of the scroll variety, and cheek by jowl with the arabesques and interlace are classicizing moldings and tassel-shaped corbels from which spring the round arches of the doorways. While confirming the building as a product of its time, these modern touches do not lessen the mosque's decidedly Byzantine feel.

Such overt harking back to local Greek exemplars is not, to be sure, typical of Ottoman Baroque architecture, though it happens enough that it cannot be dismissed as accidental. On the one hand, the inclusion of Byzantine references relates to the more general phenomenon that I have already identified, whereby the new style—particularly after the Nuruosmaniye—was being actively considered in the light of what had gone before it.[65] But there appears to be something additional behind this renewed engagement with Istanbul's Byzantine heritage, and that is a recognition of that heritage's rapport with the Baroque. Many of the forms characterizing the new manner drew on models that were themselves related to the late antique architecture of pre-Ottoman Constantinople, and this overlap cannot have escaped Ottoman observers. Indeed, the conscious way in which the Laleli and other mosques evoke Byzantine precedents bespeaks a real understanding of the Baroque's shared lineage with local Greek art.[66] This in turn

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[64] For these continuities, see Robert Ousterhout, "The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 165–76.

[65] For this historicizing tendency, see Maurice Cerasi, "Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture, 1720–1820," in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: "A Supra-National Heritage"*, ed. Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur (Istanbul: YEM Yayın, 2001), 34–42.

[66] For the shared Romano-Byzantine heritage of Europe and the Ottoman Empire, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 82–92.

suggests that the Ottomans were both aware of and anxious to challenge European discourses that claimed possession over the legacy of antiquity. By demonstrating the consonances between the Baroque and the pre-Islamic works on their doorstep, the Ottomans were asserting their right to the new style as cultural insiders with their own classical patrimony.[67]

Ottoman interest in Byzantine architecture was, of course, nothing new, and there are numerous examples of earlier borrowings from Greek models.[68] The semidomes of the Ayasofya, for instance, left an enduring mark on Ottoman mosque design after the conquest of Constantinople, with buildings like the Süleymaniye plainly adapting the cathedral's vaulting scheme (figs. 66, 137).[69] Entailing a more literal kind of appropriation was the use of spolia, a continual practice in Ottoman architecture from its inception onwards.[70] But in the eighteenth century, this existing cognizance of the empire's pre-Islamic heritage seems to have come into sharper focus. Significant in this regard is the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome, a monument that was boldly imitated

[67] It is perhaps not too farfetched to consider in this context the lidless porphyry sarcophagus that was placed in front of the Nuruosmaniye's Baroque tomb, where it still remains. Though plain and undecorated, the sarcophagus is distinguished as a princely work by its size and material, and it is tempting to see its placement near the royal domed tomb as a conscious juxtaposition of Byzantine and Ottoman Baroque funerary arts. Lord Broughton (*Journey through Albania*, 2:974–75) writes that the sarcophagus—then serving "as a cistern for rain-water"—was one of two claimed as the tomb of Constantine, though he dismisses the notion. For the sarcophagus and other antiquities in the Nuruosmaniye's vicinity, see Murat Sav, "Çemberlitaş ve Nuruosmaniye Camii ile Çevresinin Arkeotopografyası," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 5 (2012): 7–24, esp. 11–12.

[68] For Byzantine continuities in early Ottoman architecture, see Ousterhout, "The East, the West." For the cultural and material continuities between Byzantine Constantinople and early Ottoman Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*.

[69] For Ottoman architecture's engagement with the Ayasofya in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 82–92, 139–40.

[70] In this, too, the Ottomans were behaving in a manner comparable to both their Byzantine predecessors and their European neighbors, who made no less use of ancient spolia: see Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Mediaeval Mediterranean* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), esp. 474–82.

by the renowned fountain at Saʿdabad (figs. 11, 17). The ancientness of the bronze column—produced in Delphi after 497 BC and relocated to Constantinople in AD 324—had long been recognized by the Ottomans, who attributed the work to Constantine the Great (r. 306–37) and believed it to have apotropaic qualities.[71] In 1700, the column's heads—one of which was already damaged—were removed, the culprit(s) being variously identified in the sources.[72] By 1718, however, the heads were back in some form or other, for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in a detailed letter on the Hippodrome written in that year, reports seeing the serpents "with their mouths gapeing"; she was probably observing a temporary repair.[73] The Ottomans' concern for preserving the

[71] An early legend, reported in the sixteenth century by the court chronicler Kemalpaşazade, was that the column warded off real snakes. Reflecting these supernatural associations, the historian Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, in a passage about the loss of the column's heads in 1700, insists that they disappeared without human intervention, an assertion that resembles an equally fanciful tale recounted by the contemporaneous English writer Aaron Hill (see n. 73 below). Western sources record various new beliefs that arose from this point on, with the heads' removal being linked to, among other things, the fall of İbrahim I and the ravages of the plague. A popular tradition that survived until the end of the empire was that the column's destruction would result in the return of Christian rule in Istanbul. See V. L. Ménage, "Serpent Column," 170–71, 173; Hill, *Full and Just Account*, 138; Mrs. G. L. [Mary Georgina Emma] Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), 1:102–3; and Worsfold, "Serpent Column," 337.

[72] As reported in numerous Western travelogues, one or more of the heads were popularly held to have been lopped off by a variously identified sultan in a show of strength. This legend elaborated an earlier (and apocryphal) tradition that Mehmed II, upon taking Constantinople, had smashed off the jaw of one of the heads, which indeed lacked its lower part by the early sixteenth century. While sometimes accepting these claims, European writers, beginning with La Mottraye, often attribute the loss of the two undamaged heads to unruly members of the Polish ambassador's retinue. See V. L. Ménage, "Serpent Column," 169–73; Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, 1:102–3; and La Mottraye, *Travels*, 1:205–6. As mentioned in the previous and following notes, others held that the heads disappeared spontaneously.

[73] See Montague, *Complete Letters*, 1:400; and Worsfold, "Serpent Column," 337. It is impossible to dismiss Lady Mary's observation as a careless slip: her account is far too thorough and detailed, and she even goes on in the same letter (401) to chastise other writers who had falsely reported that the figures on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosius lacked their heads. In a footnote to the letter (400n2), Lady Mary's editor, Robert Halsband, notes the discrepancy between her account and others', and he suggests as a solution the travelogue of the English writer Aaron Hill (*Full and Just Account*, 138), which mentions that one of the heads of the column had fallen off before "being fastned on again by some Ingenious Artist." But Hill, who was in Istanbul between 1700 and 1702, is in fact referring to a repair supposedly carried out in the mid-seventeenth century after the head had spontaneously come away as a portent of İbrahim I's dethronement, about which unlikely event he remarks, "the *Turks* have some grounds to look upon [the column] as an *ominous* remain of *Magic Skill*." Hill himself describes the column as if it still had its heads, suggesting he saw it shortly before its decapitation. The likeliest explanation for Lady Mary's report, then,

monument—whether by restoring the original or erecting their own version of it—dispels the repeated claim made by Westerners that the Turks had no interest in their ancient heritage. On the contrary, the serpent jet at Saʿdabad suggests an attempt to recapture, indeed reinvigorate, the talismanic properties of the damaged column. Besides referring to the city's past, this charged act may also have been a response to the growing Western interest in the empire's antiquities:[74] it seems the Ottomans wished to demonstrate their own claim to and understanding of what the ancients had bequeathed them. That they left the column up even after it had been decapitated is proof enough of their concern for the antique remains on their soil.[75]

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is that the column had undergone some sort of temporary repair using a material like plaster. It is, of course, possible that she never saw the monument, or else filled in its missing parts for the sake of a better narrative, but this is difficult to square with the other details of the letter, which are full and clearly based on firsthand observation. Supporting Lady Mary's claim is the fact that Saumery (*Memoires et avantures*, 1:105–6, 137)—who visited Saʿdabad in 1722 and remarked on the fountain's resemblance to the Serpent Column—gives no indication in his account of the Hippodrome that the column was missing its heads; on the contrary, he merely repeats the well-worn legend that one of the heads had been damaged by a sultan (see the previous note). In any case, the column was once again entirely headless by 1731, when Jehannot (*Voyage de Constantinople*, 181) saw it as such, though Flachat (*Observations*, 1:408), who was in Istanbul between 1740 and 1758, describes the monument as if still intact, perhaps reflecting another temporary repair. All later accounts are of a headless column.

[74] For examples and discussion of this interest, see Pierre Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople. With a Description of its Situation, the Conveniencies of its Port, its Publick Buildings, the Statuary, Sculpture, Architecture, and Other Curiosities of that City. With Cuts Explaining the Chief of Them*, ed. and trans. John Ball (London: printed for the benefit of the translator, 1729); Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and Back to England* (London: W. Bowyer, 1747); and Can Bilsel, *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 39–50. William Eton (*Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 215–16) presents the Ottoman response to this interest in an entirely negative (and extremely misleading) light: "[The Turks] are also jealous of Europeans, who wish to obtain possession of any parts of those remains; but the only use they themselves make of them, is to pull in pieces the marble edifices to burn them into lime."

[75] Westerners more sympathetic to the empire noted that the Ottomans had preserved many of the ancient and Byzantine works they had come into possession of: see, for example, Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 6–9. Regarding the Serpent Column specifically, La Mottraye (*Travels*, 206) found the Ottomans' attachment to the monument puzzling: "I wonder their Antipathy for the Figures of any living Creatures had not made them take away the whole Column some Ages since, to melt it down for a Piece of Artillory." Tournefort (*Voyage into the Levant*, 2:196) writes that the Ottomans even went to the trouble of re-erecting the monument after its disfigurement: "Sultan *Mourat* is said to have broke away the Head of one of 'em [the snakes]: the Pillar was thrown down, and both the other Heads taken away in 1700, after the Peace of *Carlowitz*. What's become of 'em, no body can tell; but the rest has been set up again." The Ottomans' reluctance to part with the column may have been due in part to their belief in its talismanic

Something else that made the Serpent Column such a fitting model for the Saʿdabad jet was that it allowed the Ottomans to rival the figural fountains of Europe in terms that made sense to native audiences. In this instance, the column's resemblance to Western zoomorphic fountains was coincidental, but where Ottoman Baroque architecture was concerned, the local connection was quite real. The Italian(ate) column capitals that inspired Ottoman imitations at the start of the 1740s had the same pedigree as their Constantinopolitan counterparts, which too followed the Corinthian and Composite orders. There are Byzantine versions also of such motifs as egg-and-dart and dentil moldings: they appear, for example, on the marble entablature resting on the lower colonnade inside the sixth-century Church of SS. Bacchus and Sergius, which the Ottomans renamed the Mosque of Little Ayasofya (fig. 324).[76] Like the dentil-studded cornice of the Nuruosmaniye, this entablature features an inscription, and its wide soffit is carved with geometric compositions that are close in concept to the marble panels decorating the undersides of the Nuruosmaniye's interior galleries (fig. 325). The extensive restoration projects of this period would have encouraged Ottoman architects and craftsmen to take note of such Byzantine monuments, many of which were renovated as part of the campaign to update the city. Among the buildings thus refurbished was the Kalenderhane, to which a sultanic prayer loge was added in 1747.[77] An official journal entry about the loge's installation draws an explicit parallel with the building's presumed

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properties (see n. 71 above). Robert Walsh, who saw the column in the 1820s, writes that it was thought to be "a talisman that protected the Greek empire," and that its stump was thus "constantly battered with stones by the Turks, as if their ancient superstition and prejudice yet existed": see Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 1:45. However, this is the opposite of the more widely reported belief that the column's continued existence prevented the return of Christian rule.

[76] For this church as a mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 209; and Göyünç, "Kalenderhâne"; and Süleyman Kırımtayıf, *Converted Byzantine Churches*, 20–24.

[77] See Chapter 2, p. 156.

royal status under the Byzantines, stating that "when the aforesaid mosque was an ancient place of worship, it was worthy of being visited by kings."[78] Another revered Byzantine church to be modernized in this period was, of course, the Ayasofya, whose Baroque accretions I have already discussed.[79]

It should be remembered that many, if not most, of the builders involved in these projects were themselves Greek, and this very likely inflected their relationship to the material. The Ottoman Greek community's increasing exposure to Western intellectual currents, which stressed the Hellenic origin of European art and learning, must have had an impact on how members of that community situated themselves in relation to their Constantinopolitan heritage, particularly at a time of nascent Greek nationalism.[80] This adds another dimension to how we consider the local strain of the Ottoman Baroque. To

[78] Ve *cāmiʿ-i mezbūr maʿbed-i ḳadīm olduġunda şāyeste-i ẕehāb-ı mülūk olup* . . . ʿÖmer Efendi, "Rûznâme-i Sultan Mahmud Han I (1160/1747–1163/1750)," 32. Such consciousness of the building's age is evident also from an official *rūznāme* kept at the start of Abdülhamid's reign Recording the sultan's visit there, the author, Mustafa Agha, describes the Kalenderhane as being "of ancient construction" (*ḳadīmü'l-binā*). See Muṣṭafā Agha, "Abdülhamid I. Hakkında 8 Aylık Ruznâme (1188:1774/1775)," ed., Necati Öndikmen (master's thesis, Istanbul University, 1952), 69.

[79] As discussed by Necipoğlu, the Ayasofya's mosaics were largely whitewashed in the eighteenth century, perhaps in response to newly developed legends seeking to give the monument a more Islamic identity. Nevertheless, parts of the scheme remained visible throughout the period. The Baron de Tott writes: "We may still perceive the remains of the Wings of four Cherubim, which ornamented the Cornice of the Arch: but the Turks, who absurdly wash this Cupola with Lime-water, have entirely destroyed these Mosaics; which they would otherwise have done by continually tearing of large flakes, bought, by barbarous Curiosity, of Ignorance and Avarice, no less barbarous." Similarly, Clarke tells us that tesserae from the dome were being sold as souvenirs, though he records that the mosaics of the Virgin and saints were still visible as late as 1800. See Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument," 220–21; Tott, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, part 1, 230; and Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 35.

[80] It would be instructive in this regard to consider the Greek and Armenian communities' own architecture during this period, but very little of it has survived, the vast majority of churches having undergone extensive renovation in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2, n. 84). One of the few remaining eighteenth-century examples is the canopy of the underground holy well of the Greek Church of St. Mary of the Spring at Balıklı, discussed above in the main text. If this limited evidence is anything to go by, the Ottoman Baroque (in its officialized form) had become the preferred mode for Istanbul's dhimmi architecture by the mid-eighteenth century. St. Mary's main building yields no further information, having been re-erected with Russian support in a neoclassical style in 1835 (at which time, it should be noted, Muslim Ottoman buildings were being designed in the same manner). In Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, 2:28–30, the interior of the church is depicted much as it appears today.

be sure, Byzantine sources alone cannot account for the new style, whose chief innovations are related to contemporary trends outside the empire. But it is nevertheless significant that the Ottomans were already living among one tradition of classically derived architecture even as they were drawing on another.

Indeed, Istanbul was a city rich with relics of its Byzantine past, and inhabitants of the city would regularly have encountered them as they went about their daily business. The same was true of the courtly elite, for as Gülru Necipoğlu has discussed, the grounds of the Topkapı Palace were a veritable archaeological museum, scattered with everything from a Corinthian victory column to mosaic-decorated churches (fig. 326).[81] Interestingly, these remains were once thought to include the portico of the Conqueror's Pavilion, a treasury-bathhouse complex built in the palace's Third Court by Mehmed II in about 1460 (fig. 327).[82] The reason for this misidentification was the portico's Westernizing architecture and Byzantinizing decoration: its round arches are borne on variants of the Modern Ionic capital close to those in use in Renaissance Italy, while its vault was once decorated with figural mosaics. This remarkable structure—whose creators already recognized the relationship between Western and Eastern classicism—allowed Mehmed to present himself as a universal king and heir to the Roman emperors, though the lack of any successor to this kind of architecture meant that its message and origin were soon forgotten. Such overt engagement with European and Byzantine models would not recur in Ottoman building until the mid-eighteenth century,

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[81] See Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 46–47, 208–9; Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 26–27; and Necipoğlu, "Virtual Archaeology" in the Light of a New Document: The Topkapı Palace's Waterworks and Earliest Buildings around 1509," *Muqarnas* 30 (2013): forthcoming. Also see Julian Raby, "El Gran Turco: Mehmet the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1980), 222–28.

[82] For this structure, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 124–41.

by which time the Conqueror’s pavilion could itself be counted as a source of “antique” inspiration: the fluting around the bells of its column capitals may well have been the source for the analogous decoration found on many Ottoman Baroque capitals.[83]

In his description of the Conqueror’s portico, the English traveler Aaron Hill (d. 1750), who was in Istanbul between 1700 and 1702, tells us that six of its columns “the *Turks* report to have been brought from *Troy* to *Constantinople*, when ’twas yet *Byzantium*.”[84] The reference here to Troy is notable in light of the widespread fifteenth- and sixteenth-century belief in the Turks’ descent from the Trojans.[85] This notion was popular among the Ottomans’ Western allies and sympathizers, who wished to bring the Turks into the European fold, but it also seems to have gained ground within the empire

[83] Interestingly, Uğur Tanyeli maintains that these capitals were added in the eighteenth century, an untenable view both structurally (the capitals are incorporated into the original fabric of the building) and stylistically (they are quite different from actual Ottoman Baroque capitals). I am grateful to Gülru Necipoğlu for bringing Tanyeli’s view to my attention. See Uğur Tanyeli, “Topkapı Sarayı Üçüncü Avlusu’ndaki Fatih Köşkü (Hazine) ve Tarihsel Evrimi Üzerine Gözlemler,” *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 4 (1990): 157–88; and Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 68n117.

[84] Hill, *Full and Just Account*, 157. Hill’s knowledge of the portico must have been secondhand, for he describes it as being semicircular. This same mistake is made of other structures in the Topkapı’s third court, as vividly reflected by a fanciful plan of the palace that is inserted between pp. 156 and 157 of Hill’s book. The structures of the preceding courts are described and represented more accurately, which suggests that Hill gained access to the palace without being able to enter its more private third court. Where he got the idea that this area contained buildings and porticoes of semicircular plan is unclear, particularly as earlier Western accounts of the palace do not describe it in this way.

[85] For the belief that the Turks were descended from the Trojans (dubbed *Teucri* by Virgil), see S. M. Can Bilsel, “‘Our Anatolia’: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey,” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 232–35; James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207; James G. Harper, “Turks as Trojans; Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe,” in *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures*, ed. Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 151–79; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), esp. 1–64; Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism,” 10–11; and Ana Pulido-Rull (with translations by Christopher Brown), “A Pronouncement of Alliance: An Anonymous Illuminated Venetian Manuscript for Sultan Süleyman,” *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 114–16, 139 (also see n. 90 below); and Terence Spencer, “Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance,” *The Modern Language Review* 47, no. 3 (July 1952): 330–33. The belief is particularly interesting given that many European peoples (including those promoting the idea of the Turks as *Teucri*) themselves claimed descent from the exiled Trojans. This claim—maintained at various times by the Venetians, French, and British—harked back to the Romans’ assertion to the same effect.

itself. Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek biographer, Kritovoulos (d. *c*. 1470), describes the sultan as a Philhellene who regarded the Trojans as a fellow Asiatic people whose mistreatment by the Greeks he was avenging.[86] Mehmed himself adopted the style "Caesar of Rome" (*Ḳayṣer-i Rūm*) following his conquest of Constantinople, capital of what was still the Eastern Roman Empire, and he had real plans to take Old Rome, too.[87]

The title of Caesar was not perpetuated beyond Süleyman the Magnificent, and the identification of the Turks with the Trojans lost currency after the Renaissance.[88] Nevertheless, the idea that the Ottomans had a legitimate place in the civilizational framework of Europe did not disappear, and may in fact have experienced a revival in the more diplomatic climate of the eighteenth century. Suggesting this is a report written in 1741 by the Comte de Bonneval, then serving at the court of Mahmud I as the military adviser Ahmed Pasha. The document, of which a copy survives in Paris, discusses the political landscape of Europe and was composed, Bonneval tells us, in response to questions posed by the sultan himself;[89] Mahmud was presumably presented with an Ottoman translation of it. In its broad lines, the report is an apologia for the long-standing alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire, and for what Bonneval sees as the two polities' joint supremacy in Europe. This preeminence, we are told, is based on the status

[86] See Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed*, 136, 181–82.

[87] See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 494–95; and Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 249.

[88] For Süleyman's use of the title, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (September 1989): 401–427, esp. 410–11.

[89] The report is headed "Mémoire du Comte de Bonneval donné a la Sublime Porte par ordre du Grand Seigneur Le 4. fevrier 1741" and is transcribed in one of the volumes of diplomatic writings that is today kept at the archives of the Ministère des Affaires étrangères at La Courneuve: 133CP (Turquie)/108, fols. 67a–89a.

of the French and Ottomans as true heirs to the Roman Empire.[90] After describing the founding of Constantinople, Bonneval writes that it is the same city "where today reign in glory the invincible Emperors of the Ottoman race, legitimate successors of all the grandeur of Rome, of the Caesars and Constantines, by the right of arms, the same right that had established all the majesty and power of the Roman Republic."[91] He goes on to say that his intended reader, the sultan, "will see at the same time that it is not without very convincing reasons and rights that his august predecessors—successors of the Eastern Emperors and followers of their example—have always recognized the Emperors of France as the Western Emperors."[92] These "reasons and rights" rest primarily on the French kings' descent from Charlemagne, whose authority as Holy Roman Emperor had been acknowledged by the popes and the Byzantine rulers.

Bonneval's vindication of the Ottomans as a people with a valid claim to a Roman—and hence European—heritage probably reflected a broader view held by those in the West who looked favorably on the empire. The English naturalist Edward Daniel

[90] It is interesting to note that a Venetian panegyric composed for Süleyman the Magnificent discusses the French and Turks as descendents of Apollo by Cassandra, daughter of Priam: "From this pregnancy were born two sons, one named Franco and the other Teucro [Teucer]. After the ruin of Troy, the two departed, Franco coming to inhabit Gaul, and for his virtuous deeds he deserved to rename it; and thus it was called Francia by him. But Teucer, with greater fortune, was the one who initiated your divine House, and from him descended the heroic and celestial Ottoman Emperors." See Christopher Brown's translation in Pulido-Rull, "Pronouncement of Alliance," 139.

[91] *[C]ette nouvelle Capitale devint bientot la rivale de Rome par ses richesses par son Etendue, et par sa Magnificence, mais plus encore par sa situation unique et avantageuse sur les les deux Mers elle porta de l'aveu du public le nom de Constantinople pour consacrer la memoire de son illustre fondateur, et c'est la même ou regnent aujourd'huy glorieusement, les Invincibles Empereurs de la race Ottomane, legitimes Successeurs de toute la grandeur Romaine, des Casars et des Constantins, par le droit des armes, le même droit qui avoit fondé toute la Majesté et la puissance de la republique Romaine*. Ibid., fol. 73a.

[92] *[I]l y verra en même tems que ce n'est pas sans des raisons, et des droits fort convaincants que ses augustes Predecesseurs Successeurs des Empereurs d'orient, et a leur example, ont toujours reconnu les Empereurs de France pour Empereurs d'occident*. Ibid., fols. 81b–82a

Clarke (d. 1822), who traveled to Istanbul in 1800, begins his description of the city by expounding its ancient continuities:

> The literary traveller, visiting Constantinople, expects to behold but faint vestiges of the imperial city, and believes that he shall find little to remind him of "the everlasting foundations" of the master of the Roman world. The opinion, however, may be as erroneous as that upon which it was founded. . . . [T]he plain matter of fact may prove, that in the obscure and dirty lanes of Constantinople; in its small and unglazed shops; in the style of architecture observed in the dwellings; in the long covered walks, now serving as bazars; in the loose flowing habits with long sleeves, worn by the natives; even in the practice of concealing the features of the women; and, above all, in the remarkable ceremonies and observances of the public baths; we behold those customs and appearances which characterized the cities of the Greeks.[93]

A belief in the overlap between the Ottomans and ancients seems also to have informed the work of another naturalist of the time, the German physician Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (d. 1840). In a short book of biological theories published in 1790, Blumenbach divides the nations of the world into five categories, each illustrated by an accompanying engraving; the first of these images—representing the "more or less white" Caucasian race—shows two lovers in Turkish costume reclining on a sofa (fig. 328).[94] As David Bindman has noted, "it is interesting that . . . such an exotic scene

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[93] See Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 1–13, esp. 3. Lord Broughton (*Journey through Albania*, 2:840–41) likewise considers the Ottomans and Byzantines to be culturally kindred peoples linked by shared ancient traditions, though he denies them (and other non-Westerners) a fully European identity: "With respect to general customs, the Greeks and Turks had little to learn of each other at the fall of the eastern empire. . . . [O]n the whole, the system of manners belonging to the civilized ancients of the West and East, seems to be nearly the same as that of the modern Orientals, and entirely distinct from that of the Franks and of Christendom. If the Russians, Poles, and Hungarians, have any peculiarities which distinguish them from other Frank Christians, it is because these nation are of Oriental origin . . . The beard, the loose robe, the recumbent posture, the use of the bath, distinguished the old inhabitants of Italy and Greece no less than those Asia." It is notable that Broughton here views the Ottomans as part of a continuum with other peoples located in Eastern Europe rather than as cultural outliers.

[94] The book, entitled *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte* (Contributions to Natural History), and its engravings, executed by Daniel Chodowiecki, are discussed in David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 197–200, from which my translation of the German *mehr oder weniger weiss* is taken. I am grateful to Professor Bindman for bringing the image of the amorous "Turkish" couple to my attention. It may be tempting to see this picture, which includes a servant girl standing close to the lovers, as representing the famed Circassian beauties whom the Ottomans

should be taken as representative of Europe, rather than a scene of Western European life or an evocation of the Greek ideal."[95] Evidently, the Ottomans' European credentials were widely enough accepted for such an image to pass muster.

The Ottomans for their part may also have revisited notions of their "classical" lineage during the eighteenth century. Bonneval was, after all, writing at the sultan's court, and though he presents his work as an answer to Mahmud's queries, he is likely to have said what he knew his patron wanted to hear. It is not improbable, then, that the ideas contained in Bonneval's report were already current in at least some Ottoman quarters, and if not, they would certainly have been picked up after his text was circulated. Notable in this regard is a copy kept in the Topkapı Palace Library of the *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie*, a four-volume illustrated book on the cities and monuments of Italy authored by Joan Blaeu (d. 1673) and published in 1704.[96] As with many other European books and prints at the Topkapı, the book contains a number of Turkish annotations clarifying its content for Ottoman readers; many of these are short translations of the images' captions, but some are longer commentaries written on the flyleaves and other opening pages (fig. 329). Remarkably, signatures and dates attached to the texts show them to have been written in 1732–33 by none other than İbrahim

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selected for their harems, but the prominent inclusion of the turbaned male—clearly a "Turk" proper—shows the image to be a more general evocation of the Ottoman Empire's inhabitants.

[95] Ibid., 199.

[96] Joan Blaeu, *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie, ou, description exacte de ses villes, palais, eglises, &c.*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: P. Mortier Libraire, 1704). Blaeu's work was originally published in Amsterdam in 1633 under the title *Theatrum civitatum et admirandorum* before being republished in various European languages. For the Topkapı copy, inventoried as H. 2724 and H. 2751 (each containing two volumes), see İrepoğlu, "Batılı Kaynakar," 65. I am extremely grateful to Zeynep Atbaş for providing me with images from this copy.

Müteferrika, the famous Transylvanian-born founder of the first Ottoman printing press.[97] His note at the start of the work's fourth volume, which is devoted to Rome, explains that the city was known in the vernacular as the "Red Apple" (*Ḳızıl Elma*), and though Müteferrika does not say so, this is the same name that Mehmed the Conqueror had used as a metaphor for his desire to possess the prized territory.[98] This reference to Rome's old symbolic nickname shows that the idea of the city as the unconquered counterpart to Constantinople had survived into the eighteenth century; with this idea would have come an awareness of the two capitals' common heritage.

Later in the same note, İbrahim explains the purpose of the book by telling us that "the royal palaces, ancient works, eminent pavilions, curious theaters, and other wonderful buildings and esteemed things present in that city have been depicted and described so as to provide the bedazzled eyes of the low and high with a pleasing spectacle and agreeable pastime."[99] Any Ottoman undertaking this visual tour would surely have been struck by how much seemed familiar: views of domed places of

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[97] The notes identifying the author and date appears on the flyleaf of vol. 1 (H. 2724) and the reverse of the frontispiece of vol. 3 (H. 2751). The first reads "Translated by the lowly and humble İbrahim of the stewards of the Sublime Porte, anno 1145" (*min tercemeti'l-ḥaḳīri'l-faḳīri İbrāhīm ʿan müteferriḳagān-ı Dergāh-ı ʿĀlī, sene 1145*), and the second, "Translated by the lowly geographer İbrahim of the stewards of the Sublime Porte, anno 1145" (*min tercemeti'l-ḥaḳīri İbrāhīmi'l-coġrāfī min müteferriḳagān-ı Dergāh-ı ʿĀlī, sene 1145*). The neat calligraphy of these and all the inscriptions in the book suggests that they may be the work of a professional scribe transcribing İbrahim's words.

[98] The note is written on the reverse of vol. 4's frontispiece (H. 2751). For the term *Ḳızıl Elma*, see Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 494; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 11–12; and Karl Teply, "Kızıl Elma: Die große türkische Geschichtssage im Licht der Geschichte und der Volkskunde," *Südost-Forschungen* 36 (1977): 78–108. The term is used of Rome in one of the late-fifteenth-century marginal Turkish captions found in a Greek manuscript of Pseudo-Callisthenes's Alexander Romance, which the Ottomans appropriated with the conquest of Trebizond in 1461: see Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, ed. Nicolette S. Trahoulias (Athens: Exandas, 1991), 129; and Necipoğlu, "Visual Cosmopolitanism," 52–53n3. For Ottoman Anatolia as Rome/Rūm, see Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own."

[99] *Ve ol beldede mevcūd sarāyhā-yı mülūkāne ve ās̱ār-ı ḳadīme ve ḳuṣūr-ı refīʿe ve temāşāgāhā-yı ġarībe ve sāʾir ebniye-i ʿacībe ve eşyā-yı muʿtebere dīde-i ġurūr-pīşe-i ʿavām u ḫavāṣṣa naẓargāh-ı feraḥ-efzā vu seyrāngāh-ı ḥaẓẓ-nümā olmaḳ üzere resm ü taṣvīr olunmuşdur.*

worship, of public squares and hippodromes dotted with commemorative columns, of princely cavalcades through the city's streets (figs. 169, 330–31)—all these sights had their equivalents in Ottoman Istanbul, and the resemblance between them was in many cases the result of a real shared pedigree. Even before the advent of the Ottoman Baroque, when İbrahim Müteferrika wrote his commentaries, the overlaps between the two cities would have been palpable to Ottoman audiences; once the new style had taken hold, the commonalities would have appeared all the more striking.[100] This copiously annotated copy of the *Nouveau théâtre d'Italie* demonstrates a robust Ottoman interest in Old Rome, an interest that—considered alongside the fusion of Constantinopolitan and Baroque elements in the architecture itself—implies that educated Ottomans did indeed recognize their capital as the other side of the West's post-classical coin.[101]

Unwritten Discourses: Theories of Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

The recognition of Istanbul's classical inheritance was, as we have seen, not limited to Ottoman viewers. Western travelers to the city were well aware of the continuities

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[100] Several of the monuments depicted in the book, particularly St. Peter's, feature curved colonnades, whose resemblance to the Nuruosmaniye's courtyard cannot have been lost on Ottoman viewers.

[101] Versions of this awareness continued into the twentieth century. In the preface to his dictionary of Turkish published in 1899, the lexicographer Şemşeddin Sami writes that, as compared with Eastern Turkish, Ottoman Turkish had "acquired great elegance and grace from the point of view of pronunciation and expression as a result of a natural, local predisposition to progress and civilization present in the areas in which it is spoken" (*[L]isānımız . . . söylendiği yerleriñ, Asya-yı vusṭā vu şimālīye nisbeten, terraḳī vü temeddüne olan istiʿdād-ı mevqiʿī vü tabîʿîsi sāʾiḳasıyla, şīve-i telaffuẓ u ifāde cihetince pek çoḳ ẓarāfet ü leṭāfet peydā etmiş*). The idea present here is that the Ottomans' inheritance of Eastern Rome had entailed a cultural as well as territorial acquisition. As discussed by Can Bilsel, the same notion underlined a kind "Anatolian Humanism" that developed in early republican Turkey and sought to claim for the new nation the cultural legacy of the civilizations that had previously occupied its soil. See Şemse'd-dīn Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-ı Türkī*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İḳdām Maṭbaʿası, 1318/1899), vol. 2, p. d (iv); and Bilsel, "'Our Anatolia.'"

between ancient and Byzantine architecture, even if they often regarded the latter as a debasement of the true classical mode. Writing in about 1740, the Earl of Sandwich voices a not atypical judgment when he says that the Ayasofya's "fabric is entirely Gothic, yet in that stile of building may be esteemed a master-piece of architecture."[102] What Sandwich means here by "Gothic" is the busyness and disorder that many Westerners accused the Byzantines of introducing into the Greek manner. A less positive opinion in the same vein was expressed later in the century by the British military captain David Sutherland, who states, "in comparison of other works of the ancients, the design [of the Ayasofya] becomes poor and inelegant. The capitals are by no means chaste, and the architecture throughout is very indifferently executed."[103]

When it came to the city's Ottoman monuments, those who prized the classical standard could be still harsher in their critiques. The French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (d. 1708), who visited Istanbul in 1701, bluntly writes that "the *Turks* have hardly any Notion of Magnificence, and follow no one Rule of good Architecture," a deficiency he attributes to their opposition to figural art: "without Figures the Taste can't be form'd, either in Sculpture or Painting; the *Turks* therefore are never the better for those Antiquities they have up and down among 'em."[104] Like other Westerners,

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[102] Sandwich, *Voyage*, 129.

[103] David Sutherland, *A Tour up the Straits, from Gibraltar to Constantinople. With the Leading Events in the Present War between the Austrians, Russians, and the Turks, to the Commencement of the Year 1789* (London: J. Johnson, 1790), 350–51. Yet more critical is the Baron de Tott (*Memoirs*, vol. 2, part 1, 228–30), who states that the building's columns are "without Order in their Entablatures, or Rule, or Taste in their Profiles" and that "[t]here is, in fact, nothing admirable in this Edifice, but the richness and abundance of the Materials."

[104] Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, 2:181, 194. Aaron Hill (*Full and Just Account*, 130) writes that "the *Turks*, unskill'd in ancient Orders of *Ionick*, *Dorick*, or *Corinthian* Buildings, practice methods independent on the Customs of our *European Architecture*, and proceed by measures altogether *new*, and owing to the Product of their own *Invention*." However, this judgment does not stop Hill from being generally positive in his assessment of Ottoman architecture, including the Topkapı Palace. Eton (*Survey of the Turkish*

Tournefort was particularly unappreciative of Ottoman palatial architecture, which he regarded as bearing all the marks of Oriental haphazardness: "By the *Turkish* Pavilions . . . a Man may easily perceive he is moving from *Italy*, and approaching towards *Persia*, nay *China* itself."[105] Yet even he cannot help but express admiration for the imperial mosques, and indeed, the European commonplace that these buildings all copied the Ayasofya necessarily entailed an admission—sometimes begrudging—that the Ottomans were in their own way perpetuating the art of antiquity. Thus Tournefort himself concedes that "if [the Turks] have made fine Mosques, it is because they had a fine Model before their Eyes, the Church of *St. Sophia*; a Model, which indeed is not to be followed in the Erection of Palaces."[106] Others attributed the continuity to the Greek ethnicity of the architects, as when Pertusier writes that the typically Ottoman "mixture of the Gothic style with the less degraded architecture of the Late [Roman] Empire" was to be blamed on the Greeks, "for they are the ones who gave the Turks this way of altering forms. Moreover, the erection of all the sacred buildings of which the Ottoman capital can boast is due to this nation."[107]

Empire, 215), in keeping with his rabidly anti-Turkish attitude, is far more critical, arguing that the Ottomans' "architecture does not imitate that of Greece, nor have they corrected one fault, or conceived any idea of proportion, from the perfect models they have daily before their eyes. In short, they have never studied architecture. . . . They have taken their notions of general forms from the Arabs, and have added nothing of their own."

[105] Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, 2:181. Clarke (*Travels in Various Countries*, 351) writes that "the Seraglio . . . has nothing to boast of," though he is more complimentary of the sultan's waterside pavilions, which he too compares to Chinese architecture.

[106] Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, 2:181.

[107] *Cependant on regrette d'y trouver encore le mêlange du style gothique avec l'architecture moins dégradée du Bas-Empire; mais c'est aux Grecs qu'il faut s'en prendre, car ce sont eux qui ont donné aux Turcs cet exemple d'altération dans les formes. D'ailleurs, l'érection de tous les édifices sacrés, dont la capitale des Ottomans peut s'enorgueillir, est due à cette nation*. Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, 2:415. Eton (*Survey of the Turkish Empire*, 215) writes: "The Church of St. Sophia . . . is the model by which most of the other mosques in Constantinople have been built; and this perhaps was owing to the architects being Greeks or Armenians."

Though Ottoman mosques were far from being mere imitations of Ayasofya, their architecture was certainly informed by it and other Byzantine monuments, and it is not surprising that European visitors—whose own places of worship too drew on antique domed prototypes—often found the mosques to be more to their taste than other kinds of Ottoman buildings. The ready legibility of the mosques predisposed Westerners to admire them and interpret their details in familiar terms, sometimes in preference to actual antique architecture. In his description of the Süleymaniye, Tournefort argues that the mosque's "Outside outdoes *St. Sophia:* its Windows are larger and better disposed, its Galleries more regular and stately."[108] And Lady Mary, writing of her visit to the Selimiye in Edirne, deems the mosque "the noblest building [she] ever saw," calling its architecture "very regular" and remarking on the "Marble pillars of the Ionic order" that form the courtyard porticoes.[109] These capitals are in fact of the traditional *muqarnas* type, but the overall impression made by the mosque was evidently recognizable enough to Lady Mary that she identified the building's elements with their Western counterparts.[110]

The ability of the mosques to answer European notions of architectural order only increased with the stylistic changes of the eighteenth century. While Lady Mary may have recast what she saw to fit her own precepts, Pertusier is on surer ground when, as quoted above, he describes the columns of the Laleli as Ionic (fig. 292). The revived imperial mosques of this period took what was already a widely intelligible model and

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[108] Tournefort, *Voyage into the Levant*, 2:169. Some earlier Western visitors to the empire had also deemed the Süleymaniye equal or superior to the Ayasofya: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 221 and 222.

[109] Montagu, *Complete Letters*, 1:358 (May 17, 1717, to the Abbé Conti).

[110] Similarly, she describes the Iznik tilework of the walls as "Japan China which has a very beautifull Effect," and the mihrab as "a large Niche very like an Altar": Montagu, *Complete Letters*, 1:358–59.

made it still broader in appeal, adding Baroque and other classically inspired details to a structural core that in any case shared much with its Western counterparts. This is not to say that the Ottomans were pandering to European expectations, but that the mosques' existing relationship to post-Roman architecture rendered them ideal loci for the convergence of Eastern and Western aesthetic standards.

Exemplifying this are the responses discussed in the previous chapter to the Nuruosmaniye's single-domed space. The repeated praise that Ottoman and European observers expressed for the mosque's uninterrupted and unified interior should be seen in the context of eighteenth-century architectural theories commending such spaces. Montesquieu's (d. 1755) unfinished though well-known essay on taste, published in 1757, contrasts the discordance of a "Gothic" structure—"a riddle" in whose "various parts and ornaments the mind perceives the same perplexity and confusion . . . that arise from reading an obscure poem"—with the harmony of a "Grecian" one, "whose divisions are few, but grand and noble."[111] Such ideas were widespread among European artists and theorists of the time, and Montesquieu's formulations proved particularly influential to the French architect Julien-David Le Roy, who not only toured the Ottoman Empire to see firsthand its ancient remains, but also observed with admiration the raising of the Nuruosmaniye's dome.[112] A few years later, after the death of Pope Benedict XIV in

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[111] Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, "An Essay on Taste. Considered with Respect to the Productions both of Nature and Art. A Fragment Found Imperfect among the Papers of the Late President," trans. Alexander Gerard, in *An Essay on Taste. By Alexander Gerard, M. A. Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic, in the Marischal College of Aberdeen. With Three Dissertations on the same subject. By Mr. de Voltaire. Mr. D'Alembert, F.R.S. Mr. de Montesquieu* (London: A. Millar; Edinburgh: A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1759), 276–77.

[112] See Chapter 2, n. 81. For Le Roy's writings on Greek architecture and his debt to Montesquieu's essay, see Julien-David Le Roy, *The Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, ed. Robin Middleton, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), esp. 102–3, 368–70, 380–82; and

1758, the French cleric and *philosophe* André Morellet (d. 1819) traveled to Rome, where he saw St. Peter's Basilica; he writes of the experience in his memoires, "I have heard some artists and metaphysicians argue that it is a defect in this admirable monument that it does not produce its impression all at once, or make its grandeur felt in the first instant."[113] Morellet himself disagreed with this criticism, but the prevailing view into the nineteenth century was that well-designed buildings should be unencumbered and visible in one look.[114] It is worth recalling here Lord Broughton's earlier-quoted description of the Nuruosmaniye, in which he dubbed the mosque "a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire" and lauded in particular its unified space, "the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection."[115]

There is no equivalent textual discourse on the Ottoman side, where aesthetic theorization is in any case extremely rare. It is notable, however, that Ahmed Efendi's history of the Nuruosmaniye explicitly remarks on the mosque's uninterrupted single-dome plan, paralleling the contemporary Western commentaries. To be sure, the spatial qualities of the Nuruosmaniye's interior can be very well explained without reference to Western concepts: integrated spaces had been a goal in Ottoman mosque architecture since the sixteenth century, so that the later buildings merely build on an existing local

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Christopher Drew Armstrong, *Julien-David Leroy and the Making of Architectural History* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[113] *J'ai entendu des artistes et des métaphysiciens soutenir que c'est un défaut dans cet admirable monument, de ne pas produire tout-à-coup toute son impression, et de ne pas faire sentir au premier instant toute sa grandeur*. André Morellet, *Mémoires inédits de l'abbé Morellet, de l'Académie française, sur le dix-huitième siècle et sur la revolution; précédés de l'éloge de l'abbé Morellet, par M. Lémontey*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Ladvocat, 1822), 1:68.

[114] See Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 135–36. I am grateful to Suraiya Faroqhi for bringing this work to my attention.

[115] See Chapter 3, p. 232.

trend. But the overlap between Ottoman practice and European theory in the eighteenth century is nevertheless striking, and raises the possibility of the kinds of discursive correlations that I have already proposed regarding the empire's antique heritage. For just as the Ottomans seem to have had an answer to the West's much-vaunted classicism, they very likely possessed their own theories of architecture, even if these did not find their way onto the written page. Such theorization would no doubt have been rooted in local tradition and practice, but it would also have been in dialogue with relevant Western ideas. Gülru Necipoğlu has demonstrated that correspondences already existed between Ottoman and European architecture during the Renaissance, a phenomenon that she attributes to the Mediterranean's shared architectural heritage and the Ottomans' acquaintance with Western artistic discourses.[116] This acquaintance, she argues, fed into the Ottomans' own aesthetic theories, which "were not articulated in treatises because the transmission of professional knowledge remained largely confined to workshop training."[117] In the eighteenth century also, the absence of written treatises should not be taken to mean an absence of theoretical concepts, whose main means of communication was probably verbal. There is every reason to suppose that Ottoman architects and patrons of this period conceptualized their buildings with the same interest and intellectual engagement as their Western peers. The development of the Ottoman Baroque style is proof enough that the Ottomans were aware of contemporary architectural discourses in the West and able to respond to them with their own highly sophisticated approach.

[116] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 77–103, 146–47.

[117] Ibid., 146–47. Also see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleymaniye Complex," 92.

Indeed, the buildings themselves—our best document in this regard—bespeak a mode that was both systematic and lucid. Much has been done to demonstrate the logic and underlying principles of classical Ottoman architecture, but scholars of all persuasions have tended to regard the eighteenth-century monuments as lacking this degree of codification. The architecture itself, however, suggests otherwise, especially when we consider the mosques of Mustafa's reign, by which time the Ottoman Baroque had become a well-developed, mature style. To take the Laleli as an example, the use of various column types across the complex reveals a clearly meaningful modulation from area to area. One can speak of a "standard" column employed for the mosque's street-facing ancillaries, namely the tomb and sebil: this has a characteristic scroll capital, with foliate corner reliefs carved close against the echinus (figs. 272–73). A monumentalized version of this design occurs in the mosque's courtyard, where the much taller columns have capitals whose corner decorations have become plastic elements in their own right, each resembling a triangular scrolled corbel with leafy frills (fig. 292). It is not surprising that Pertusier read these columns as a variant of the Ionic. Meanwhile, the interior and exterior galleries of the prayer hall feature a smaller though more elaborate kind of capital, with delicate acanthus corner scrolls growing out of a simplified egg-and-dart echinus that sits on a fluted neck (figs. 286, 300). An almost identical design is used for the columns flanking the mihrab, except that here, the capitals' acanthus-scroll corners issue directly from the necking and are each studded with a jewel-like oval, making these the fanciest of all the Laleli's columns (fig. 305). This decorative gradation, which matches the complex's spatial and functional hierarchy, is evidently the result of careful thought and planning.

We see this also from the plainest columns of the Laleli, which appear in two very different contexts. The first is the public kitchen facing the mosque's courtyard; this has simple square columns of limestone with block-like capitals, appropriate enough given that this is the most utilitarian part of the complex (fig. 276). The second context is the royal pavilion, which, despite having a rather intricate entrance, consists of simple square columns with unornamented Tuscan-like capitals all along its ramp (fig. 283). In this case, the choice of a plain design constitutes an act of decorum, minimizing the visual challenge that the ramp—which was, after all, a secular encroachment on the mosque proper—presents to the adjacent prayer hall. Unlike the rudimentary stone pillars of the imaret, these columns are handsomely crafted pieces of marble, so that the sultan's private passageway could appear at once modest and dignified.

Such systematic variation in form and ornament can be found throughout the architecture of the Ottoman Baroque, once more militating against the idea that the style lacked gravitas or semiotic legibility. To be sure, we are not dealing with the level of standardization and consistency that characterized (at least in theory) the use of the classical orders in Europe, but this is clearly not what the Ottomans were aiming for. Variety itself appears to have been a prized quality of the Ottoman Baroque, whose products exhibit far greater formal and decorative diversity than earlier Ottoman buildings, which more closely resembled Western architecture in their reliance on a set number of forms. The later buildings are no less logical for departing from this more strictly codified model, and there are in fact enough correlations among them to indicate the existence of certain fundamental principles. Thus although the prestigious qibla wall often features the choicest ornamental touches within a mosque, the most uniformly

exuberant part of any given complex is usually the sebil. This is certainly the case at the Laleli, where the undersides of the fountain's eaves are faced with marble panels whose Baroque reliefs are livelier than anything found elsewhere in the complex (fig. 272). The avoidance of comparable decorativeness in the mosque itself may initially surprise us, but it makes a great deal of sense if we consider the need to distinguish the prayer hall as a sober and dignified space. As social hubs invariably placed on the precinct exterior, the sebils could afford to be more ornate than the statelier mosques they accompanied, a contrast that worked to the mutual advantage of both structures. Also suggesting an adherence to certain norms is the almost exclusively sultanic use of the dentil molding, and the preference in early Baroque madrasas for fluted or reeded column capitals (figs. 126, 391).[118] To determine all such patterns and correspondences would require a comprehensive survey of every Ottoman Baroque building. But even a more limited look at the period's mosques shows that the architecture was far from haphazard in conception or execution. Though architects and patrons may not have discussed aesthetic matters in treatises and other texts, the buildings for which they were responsible record a sophisticated and developed visual culture whose discourses could, it seems, flourish without being written down.[119]

[118] Such column capitals occur in the madrasas of the Hacı Beşir Agha Complex, the Sadr-ı Esbak Seyyid Hasan Pasha Complex (to be discussed in the following chapter), and the Nuruosmaniye Complex.

[119] Two collections that might shed much light on this topic—both of them regrettably inaccessible during my fieldwork—are the Western architectural books and prints housed at the Topkapı Palace Library, and the architectural plans and drawings (most of them nineteenth-century) in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive.

The Look of Tradition: The Rebuilt Mosque of Fatih

Of the mosques built during Mustafa's reign, the one that most compellingly demonstrates the aesthetic consciousness of the Ottoman Baroque is, interestingly, that which has the least to do with the new style: the new Mosque of Fatih (figs. 332–33, 336–58).[120] Mehmed the Conqueror's original foundation had been built between 1460 and 1463 as the new capital's first imperial mosque complex, occupying Istanbul's highest hill (figs. 334–35).[121] Designed by the convert architect Atik Sinan, the mosque and its ancillaries ushered in an unprecedented sense of monumentality and regularity in Ottoman religious architecture. The mosque itself consisted of a courtyard, a pair of minarets, and a prayer hall whose main area was covered by a large dome supported on its qibla side by a semidome of equal diameter. This distinctive vaulting scheme—a response to the recently acquired Ayasofya—is rarely encountered in other Ottoman mosques, which prefer to use the semidome in pairs or fours.[122]

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[120] For the Fatih Complex in its current form, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 11–16; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 70–71; Semavi Eyice, "Fâtih Camii ve Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 12:244–49; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 394–95; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 538–40; and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 31–32. Goodwin's entry on the mosque includes a photograph showing its minarets with undulating stone caps. The caption to the image states, "The Baroque caps to the minarets have been replaced by others of lead in the late classical style," but the depicted finials are in fact a late-nineteenth-century alteration. As with the other Baroque mosques, the rebuilt Fatih would have had conical lead caps over its minarets.

[121] For the original Fatih Complex, see Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "The Fatih Mosque at Constantinople," *The Art Bulletin* 12, no. 2 (June 1930): 179–95; Robert Anhegger, "Eski Fatih Cami'i Meselesi," *Tarih Dergisi* 6 (1954): 145–60; Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi* , 125–71; Goodwin, Ottoman Architecture, 121–31; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 66–99; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 84–87.

[122] For other examples of this rare type, see Goodwin, *Ottoman Architcture*, 114–21. Among these mosques, the only other sultanic one is Konya's Selimiye (1558–67), which reproduces the plan of the original Fatih except for the courtyard.

In 1766, a great earthquake struck Istanbul and damaged many of its buildings, most notably the Fatih Mosque, whose dome collapsed.[123] Mustafa had little choice but to entirely rebuild the irreparable prayer hall, and though, as we saw, he supposedly grumbled at having to do his ancestor's bidding, the result would have reflected equally well on him. Indeed, by the time the mosque was completed in 1771, when the empire was once again at war with Russia, Mustafa would have been altogether glad of such a tangible connection to his victorious forebear. Şemʿdanizade, for one, certainly viewed the project as adding luster to Mustafa's own reputation, favorably comparing the sultan not only to Mehmed, but to all his predecessors:

> Truly, there has never before been a body of good works comparable to what this glorious emperor has achieved, for this oeuvre—already comprising exalted and beautiful mosques on both continents, in Üsküdar, Ayazma, and Laleli in Istanbul—became still more eminent with the renewal and completion of this mosque, which, as well as being the mosque constructed by his illustrious ancestor, is an unequalled building full of arts and marvels.[124]

Şemʿdanizade does not elaborate on what made the architecture so admirable, but undoubtedly the most striking quality of the rebuilt mosque is how far it diverges from the tastes of its own time. Designed in a thoroughly archaizing manner with pointed arches, geometric lines, and little surface plasticity, the building might easily be mistaken for a work of the classical period. The choice of style was partly determined by the need to harmonize with the mosque's fifteenth-century porticoed courtyard, which survived the earthquake intact and was maintained, together with the prayer hall's marble entrance, for the new mosque (figs. 336, 340–41). But the major reason for this architectural

[123] For the earthquake and the damage is caused, see Ambaseys and Finkel, *Seismicity of Turkey*, 136–45.

[124] *Ḥaḳḳ budur ki bu şehriyār-ı zī-şānıñ muvaffaḳ olduğu ḫayrātı eslāfı olmadı, yaʿnī Üsküdar'da, Ayazma'da ve İstanbul'da Lāleli'de iki ḳıṭʿa muʿallā ve zībā cāmiʿler cemīʿ ḫayrātı cāmiʿ iken böyle cāmiʿ ki ṣāḥib-i ḳadīmininñ bināsınıñ cāmiʿ olduġunu cāmiʿ olduġundan ziyāde ṣanāyiʿ ü bedāyiʿi cāmiʿ bir lā-naẓīr cāmiʿi tecdīd ü tekmīl ile daḫi ser-firāz ḳılındı*. Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2B:86.

historicism was surely an awareness that the Baroque manner could not evoke the original building's venerable age. Builders and audiences clearly understood the interrelationship and relative connotations of the different kinds of architecture around them, and though the Baroque had firmly established itself as the prestige style of the day, it was evidently felt to be unfitting for a monument dating from the conquest.

Yet the new mosque does not simply reproduce the design of its predecessor; on the contrary, it follows an entirely different plan in which the central dome is surrounded by semidomes on all four sides, with smaller cupolas filling the corners. Known in the literature as the quatrefoil plan, this scheme was first monumentalized by Sinan's Şehzade Mosque in 1548, after which it was taken up in the seventeenth century by the Sultanahmet Mosque and Yeni Cami (figs. 132, 134).[125] The decision to employ the quatrefoil plan for the new Fatih Mosque entailed an implicit criticism of the original's somewhat ungainly design, whose asymmetrical use of a single semidome did not accord with subsequent aesthetic standards. For although the new Fatih Mosque had to look suitably old, it also had to look suitably graceful, a criterion unlikely to be met by emulating the outmoded works of the fifteenth century. This balance of age and elegance was instead sought in the influential sixteenth-century idiom of Sinan, an idiom whose ties with the empire's heyday made it appropriate—if anachronistically so—to Mehmed's memory. Far from being random, the choice of style for the new mosque evidences a careful and sophisticated consideration of the available artistic options.

[125] For the history and development of this scheme, see Machiel Kiel, "The Quatrefoil Plan in Ottoman Architecture Reconsidered in Light of the 'Fethiye Mosque' of Athens," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 109–22. Kiel argues that the plan had become so emblematic of prestigious Ottoman architecture that its use was "almost inevitable" for the rebuilt Fatih Mosque (ibid., 119). However, as I argue in the main text, the mosque's plan in fact marked a conscious return to a tradition that had been superseded by the single-dome model.

The success of this strategy is borne out by the readiness with which observers accepted the conceit. Inchichean writes that the mosque was rebuilt in a form that was somewhat different from and more beautiful than the original, pointing out its similarity to the Yeni Cami.[126] His contemporary Carbognano, however, tells us that the second version of the mosque was "said not to be much different from the first,"[127] which shows that as collective memory of the earlier monument faded, Mustafa's archaizing replacement was increasingly taken at face value. Writing of the mosque only a few years later, Hovhannisean does not even mention its reconstruction, and most Western descriptions accept the monument as the original.[128] It was, indeed, something of an academic breakthrough when Mehmet Aga-Oglu proved in the 1920s that the present mosque did not resemble the first.[129]

But while viewers had good reason to be fooled, the mosque is not without some telltale indications of its modernity. To begin with the exterior, the windows piercing the domes and semidomes are only very slightly pointed, and in some cases fully rounded. Moreover, the four domed turrets surrounding the main central dome—which are the external expression of the baldachin piers—are square with curved vertical edges, their contours accentuated by a prominent cornice (fig. 339). This chamfered design is a deliberate departure from the circular or hexagonal turrets of earlier mosques, introducing

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[126] Inchichean, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul*, 45.

[127] . . . *che come dicesi non è assai diversa dalla prima*. See Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 40; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 62. He too notes the mosque's resemblance to the Yeni Cami.

[128] This is true even of the learned Orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, whose early-nineteenth-century description of the Fatih Mosque does not question the building's age. On the contrary, he describes its furnishing—including the distinctly Baroque minbar—as being "of white marble, soberly worked in the old plain style" (*von weissem Marmor, schlicht im alten einfachen Style gearbeitet*). See Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, 1:386–97, esp. 393.

[129] See Aga-Oglu, "Fatih Mosque."

a subtle though telling Baroque note. These carefully incorporated eighteenth-century details serve almost as a signature of the mosque's rebuilders: like a painting restoration whose differentiated texture intentionally belies its own authenticity, the new mosque rewards more astute observers by revealing its true age.

The date of the building becomes clearer still if we move to the east corner, where a large and handsome royal pavilion joins the sultan's prayer loge (figs. 338, 342–43).[130] With no equivalent before the 1600s, this pavilion is an obvious post-classical marker, as confirmed by its round arches and curving Baroque cornice. And yet the structure distinguishes itself from more recent pavilions and harks back instead to seventeenth-century models: its ramp thus plays second fiddle to an elevated suite of rooms that—as at the Sultanahmet and Yeni Cami—appears stuck onto the prayer hall as an afterthought. A more remarkable nod to history is to be found on the arcade that forms the pavilion's ramp. The square piers supporting the ramp's round arches are partially chamfered along their corners, each chamfer being carved with a boss-like corbel at its upper end and a triangular dart at its lower. These little geometric ornaments are lifted straight from the classical Ottoman repertoire: they can be seen on the fifteenth-century *muqarnas* capitals of the mosque's courtyard (figs. 344–47). The inclusion of these old-fashioned touches in the otherwise modern pavilion reverses the terms of what we saw in the architecture of the prayer hall, cleverly reconciling the two structures through their inverse relationship to each other.

[130] In his additions to Ayvansarayi (*Garden of the Mosques*, 12), Ali Sati writes that the ramp was built "for the purpose of ascending from the ground to the upper level of the gallery on horseback." I have not, however, found any other reference to this practice, whether in relation to the Fatih Mosque's pavilion or its counterparts elsewhere. On the contrary, the descriptions we have of the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration show that the sultan dismounted his steed before entering the ramp. The standard Turkish transliteration of Ayvansarayi (*Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî'*, 49–50) accidentally omits the passage, but I checked Crane's translation again the original Ottoman publication: see Ayvansarāyī Ḥüseyin Efendi (enlarged by ʿAlī Ṣāṭı), *Ḥadīḳatü'l-cevāmiʿ* (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿĀmire, 1281 [1864]), 10.

Close to the ramp and facing the mosque's qibla wall is Mehmed's domed octagonal tomb, also rebuilt by Mustafa (figs. 348–49). Unlike the prayer hall or pavilion, the tomb—which would undergo further changes during subsequent renovations—is thoroughly Baroque in design, though it retains the domed polygonal shape of the structure it replaced. The departure here from the revivalism characterizing the rest of the architecture is notable, and it establishes a link to Mustafa's own smaller but analogously formed tomb at Laleli (fig. 270). Somewhat ironically, then, Mehmed's mausoleum serves as the clearest indicator of his foundation's afterlife under Mustafa, associating the two sultans much more effectively than would have been possible through the mosque itself. The message was aimed at the constant flow of worshippers who would have visited the tomb to say prayers for the Conqueror, and who would surely have noticed how stylistically current the structure looked in relation to the mosque right beside it.

Entering the mosque, we encounter a similar kind of visual interplay between differing architectural registers (figs. 350–58). The first impression is that of an older space, with its pointed baldachin arches and multiple semidomes. Adding to the sense of traditionalism is the *muqarnas*-hooded marble mihrab, which is probably reused from the original mosque, and the round piers with *muqarnas* capitals that carry the vaulting of the lateral and rear galleries (figs. 352, 354). Unlike the mihrab, these capitals were freshly carved for the new mosque, representing a highly persuasive revival of a form that had fallen from use over two decades earlier. It is not long, however, before the interior reveals itself to be of later late. The classic white mihrab is accompanied by an exuberant Baroque minbar with polychrome inlays, while the *muqarnas*-topped piers of the galleries have engaged scroll capitals lower down on their shafts (figs. 353–54).

Springing from these capitals are round arches that are part of a continuous arcade that supports the galleries' raised floors and incorporates rows of marble columns with their own scroll capitals. As on the building's exterior, these Baroque elements bring the mosque into the eighteenth-century fold even as they submit to the overall sense of antiquity that the architecture so compellingly evokes. This stylistic dialogue also encompasses a small domed library accessible through a door on the right of the qibla wall (figs. 337, 359–60).[131] Built by Mahmud I in 1742–43, the library makes a rather humble impression from the outside, where it appears dwarfed by the adjacent prayer hall, but its interior contains among the most imposing Ottoman Baroque columns to be seen, with ostentatious Corinthianizing capitals analogous to those of other royal works from the 1740s. The far simpler scroll capitals of the neighboring prayer hall are almost as different from this earlier Baroque design as they are from the traditional *muqarnas* type, asserting their up-to-dateness even within the new style's own limited chronology.

This deliberate combination of diverse visual modes not only allowed Mustafa to honor his ancestor while decorously signifying his own patronage, but it also gave the mosque's designers and builders the chance to engage even more intensely in the sorts of aesthetic reflections that characterized their output in this period. Records show that these individuals included many of the same figures who had worked on the very different mosques of the preceding years, testifying to their versatility and aesthetic acuteness. Mehmed Tahir Agha, who was still chief architect, received a robe of honor at the lavish *selāmlıḳ* that marked the project's completion, though the fact that the protocol register lists him separately from the workforce suggests that his involvement may have been

[131] The library was constructed together with a now-lost *Buḫārī-ḫāne*, a building for the reading of Bukhari's collection of hadith: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 12 (though Crane's footnote mistakenly states that the library has also not survived).

principally nominal.[132] As for the men whom the register does list under the workforce heading, Kozma Kalfa again occupies an important place among the Christian contingent, which numbers fourteen out of the total forty. He is preceded, however, by a certain Yani Kalfa, whom other sources somewhat confusingly nickname "Blind Yani" (*Kör Yani*). This individual was evidently an architect of some importance, and probably the main designer of the rebuilt Fatih Mosque: a petition dated 1789 and seeking his release from exile calls Kör Yani "a master builder of imperial constructions" (*ebniye-i hümāyūn ḳalfası*) and goes on to say that he had "even built the noble mosque of the deceased Sultan Mehmed Khan the Conqueror."[133]

Yani and the other artists involved in the project created a work that is one of our best indications of the intelligent and informed visual culture in which the Ottoman Baroque developed. Through its carefully orchestrated return to tradition, the mosque became the exception that proves the rule, affirming the new style's place relative to the modes it had eclipsed. The artists' acuity in producing such a statement was surely matched by their audience's in comprehending it, and it is likely that the sultan himself was keen to ensure that the mosque looked and read as it should. For besides being the period in which the Baroque found its feet, Mustafa's reign—through his avid activities as a patron—ensured that the revival of the imperial mosque would not remain a one-off

[132] See BOA, C.SM., 140/7024.

[133] *Kör Yani fi'l-aṣl ebniye-i hümāyūn ḳalfası olup ḥattā Fātḥ Sulṭān Meḥmed Ḫān merḥūmuñ cāmiʿ-i şerīfini zelzeleden ṣoñra mersūm binā etmiş imiş.* See BOA, HAT., 183/8461. The petition was submitted in Yani's behalf by the grand mufti, whose father, we learn, had been served by the *ḳalfa*. Yani was spending his exile on the island of Chios; his supposed fault is not mentioned in the petition. A note at the top of the document indicates that his freedom was granted. Yani was a common enough name among the *ḳalfa*s that it is difficult to know which documents mentioning such an individual are referring to Kör Yani. The following documents— ranging in date from 1755–56 to 1789—are among the likelier candidates: BOA, C.AS., 1046/45944; BOA, C.BH., 90/4311; BOA, C.BH., 94/4502; BOA, C.NF., 1/24 (where he is called "Kör Yani"); BOA, C.NF, 46/2277; BOA, D.BŞM., d. 3369; and TSMA., D. 3218.

incident. The sultan’s enthusiasm in this regard was not lost on those who saw the fruits of his endeavors, as Şemʿdanizade’s exultant appraisal demonstrates. Contrary to the saying popularly attributed to him, then, Mustafa had little reason to complain about his architectural legacy.

CHAPTER 5

AT THE SULTAN'S THRESHOLD:

THE PAVILION-FRONTED MOSQUE AS NEW IMPERIAL PARADIGM

Mustafa III was succeeded upon his death in January 1774 by his younger half-brother Abdülhamid I, who was 42 years of age when he emerged from seclusion to ascend the throne (fig. 361).[1] Writing of Abdülhamid's accession in an official dispatch, the French ambassador to the Porte, the Comte de Saint-Priest (d. 1821), noted that the new sultan had chosen Mahmud I as his model.[2] This choice of exemplar is not surprising. Abdülhamid had inherited an empire again at war with Russia, and he could only hope to emulate Mahmud's success in replacing conflict with a favorable peace. In the event, the sultan was unable to repeat his predecessor's achievements. Peace was declared at Küçük Kaynarca in July, but on terms that lost the Ottomans control of the Crimea and the northern shore of the Black Sea. Nine years later, in the wake of a series of rebellions within the empire's provinces, Russia annexed the ostensibly independent Crimea, a move that the Ottomans, spurred by Britain and Prussia, sought to oppose by declaring war in 1787. The ensuing conflict saw the Ottomans again defeated, though not before Abdülhamid died in 1789 at the age of 64.

[1] For the events of Mustafa's reign, see Aḥmed Vāṣıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakāikü'l-Ahbâr*, ed. Mücteba İlgürel (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1978); Şemʿdānī-zāde, *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi*, 2B:117–3:51; Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 157–70; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 377–84; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 252–59; and Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi: Sultan I. Abdülhamid (1774–1789)* (Istanbul: Tatav, Tarih ve Tabiat Vakfı, 2000).

[2] *Le Grand Seigneur s'est ouvertement declaré vouloir remettre à ses Visirs le Soin de toutes les affaires, ainsi que le pratiquoient ses predécésseurs et nomement Sultan Mahmoud qu'il paroit choisir pour modèle.* See CADN, 166PO/A/49, pp. 201–202.

Despite his failure to restore Ottoman military strength, Abdülhamid was rather more successful at following Mahmud's example in architecture, renovating his capital after a series of devastating fires and building two new mosques. One of these, associated with a substantial and innovative complex, established an entirely new model that would shape all future imperial mosques. These impressive works remind us that Ottoman ambitions remained vital even in the face of Russian expansion. Indeed, Abdülhamid's reign was marked by bold efforts to reinvigorate the state and its army, including the founding of new military and engineering schools and the reopening of the Ottoman printing press. While drawing on Western models and expertise, these endeavors represented a concerted effort on the part of the Ottomans themselves to address the shortfalls that had weakened their political and military capacity. The attempt was not without payoff, for Ottoman forces were able to stave off the Habsburgs when the latter joined the Russians against the empire in 1787. And even the loss of the Crimea did not diminish Ottoman claims to universal authority: in 1779, Abdülhamid was formally invested as caliph, having already been acknowledged at Küçük Kaynarca as the spiritual leader of the Crimean Muslims. These developments saw the Ottoman claim to the caliphate forever augmented.[3] The impressive architectural projects that the sultan undertook in these years gave further expression to his worldly and spiritual assertions.

[3] See Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), esp. 68–89; Bruce Masters, "Caliphate," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. G Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 114–15; and Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 211–25. Abdülhamid's caliphal investiture is recorded in a summary of French diplomatic dispatches, in an entry dated December 3, 1789. The entry merely states: "Investiture Califale: enfin consomée." I was not able to find the letter summarized by the entry, nor any further information as to the form this ceremony took. See CADN, 166PO/A/55, fol. 227b.

Lining the Streets, Courting the City: The Hamidiye Complex at Bahçekapı

Abdülhamid's keenness to build his own mosque complex surfaced early in his reign, as explained by the court chronicler Enveri (d. 1796) in an entry for the year 1775:

> Because the princely and imperial person of His Just and Munificent Majesty the Caliph and Khan was desirous from the start to cause the increase and proliferation of pious foundations, his luminous royal heart was at this time inspired to establish and build an exalted mosque and lustrous imaret for the sake of God Almighty in his sublime caliphal seat, and so he immediately expressed his kingly resolve to realize this good work. But most of the selected places already had mosques and masjids, and it came to his pure mind that the noble mosque of Her Highness the late Valide Sultan—may she rest in peace—was in need of an imaret.[4]

The mosque meant here is the Yeni Cami at Eminönü, and once the sultan decided to provide it with an imaret, a plot of land was acquired just inland of the mosque in Bahçekapı, with the grand vizier and grand mufti presiding over the foundation-laying ceremony.[5]

Enveri's description of the project's origins is as interesting for what it omits as for what it includes. Written after Abdülhamid's investiture as caliph, the account makes much of the title and its implications for the imaret as a work for God by His earthly representative. Enveri is also adroit in explaining why the project had to be downscaled, blaming a lack of space for what the sultan had originally envisioned. While it is certainly true that finding the site necessary for an imperial mosque would have been difficult, the

[4] *Öteden-berü Ḫalīfe-i kerāmet-ās̱ār ve Ḫāḳān-ı maʿdelet-kār ḥażretleriniñ ṭabʿ-ı hümāyūn-ı ḫıdīvāneleri teks̱īr-i ḫayrāt ve tevfīr-i meberrāta maʿṭūf olmaġın Dārü'l-ḫilāfeti'l-ʿaliyyelerinde li-vechi'llāhi teʿālā bu es̱nāda bir cāmiʿ-i muʿallā ile bir ʿimaret-i zībende binā ṭarḥ u inşā olunması żamīr-i münīr-i şehriyānelerine ilhām ve derʿaḳab ol kār-ı ḫayrıñ ḳuvveden fiʿle getirilmesin ʿuhde-i mülūkānelerine iltizām buyurup lākin iḫtiyār olunacaḳ maḥalleriñ eks̱eri cevāmiʿ ü mesācidden ʿibāret ve cennetmekān Vālide Sulṭān—ṭābete s̱erāhā—ḥażretleriniñ cāmiʿ-i şerīfleri bir ʿimārete muḥtāc olduġu ʿaḳs-endāz ḫāṭır-ı ṣāf-serīretleri olmaġla . . .* Enverī Saʿdu'llāh Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i Enverī* (AH 1182–95), Süleymaniye Library, Yahya Tevfik, no. 253, fol. 477b.

[5] Ibid., fols. 447b–48a.

decision not to build one must have been determined equally, if not more so, by the dictates of tradition: Abdülhamid was far from enjoying the rights of a ghazi able to erect his own mosque in the capital.[6] Nevertheless, the resultant compromise was highly intelligent. As well as being one of the most important and visible mosques in the city, the Yeni Cami was among the most frequently attended by the sultans during Friday prayers. It also carried a special significance for Abdülhamid owing to the fact that his parents were buried in its mausoleum; indeed, he chose the mosque over the expected Ayasofya for the first *selāmlıḳ* of his reign.[7] By ostensibly completing the Yeni Cami, the sultan was solidifying his association with that monument and assuming some of its overall glory for himself: Carbognano in fact discusses Abdülhamid's additions as belonging to the nearby mosque.[8] This resourceful act of patronage recalls not only the circumstances of the Yeni Cami itself—the mosque had been finished by one valide sultan after being begun by another—but also Mahmud I's well-regarded Ayasofya campaign earlier in the century.

Making the most of the opportunity, Abdülhamid in fact created something far more extensive than just a public kitchen (figs. 362–66, 368–89).[9] The imaret was

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[6] To be sure, the sultan was declared a ghazi in 1788, presumably after a successful battle against the Habsburgs in the war that had been declared the previous year: see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 58. The declaration came late in his reign, however, and would very soon have been compromised by the empire's ensuing defeat.

[7] See Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 55.

[8] See Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 39; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 61.

[9] For the Hamidiye Complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 483–86; İ. Birol Alpay, "Abdülhamid I Külliyesi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 1:36–37; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 74–75; H. Örcün Barışta, "Hamidiye Çeşmesi ve Sebili," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 3:544; Ahmet Hamdi Bülbül, "IV. Vakıf Han'ın Yerindeki Önemli Eser: Hamidiye İmareti," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 4 (2012): 6–16; Müjgân Cunbur, "I. Abdülhamid Vakfiyesi ve Hamidiye Kütüphanesi" *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 22 (1964): 17–

adjoined by a sebil with a primary school (*mekteb*) on top of it, and accompanied by a madrasa, library, and tomb. The imaret—a large rectangular structure arranged around an open courtyard—and the sebil-school attached to its right-hand corner were completed in late 1777 (figs. 365–66). Already much altered during the later nineteenth century, the imaret and school were demolished in 1911 and replaced by the Dördüncü Vakıf Han, an office building (now a hotel) designed by the architect Kemaleddin Bey (d. 1927) (fig. 367). The sebil, however, was salvaged and moved to its current location in front of the Zeynep Sultan Mosque, near the Sublime Porte (figs. 372–73). Completed a few years later in 1780, the rest of the complex—located across the street from where the imaret once stood—has fared rather better and survives largely intact. The madrasa—again built around an open court—forms a single edifice with the library, with a small domed masjid completing the ensemble; these buildings are now used by the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (figs. 362, 376–83).[10] Just to the left of the madrasa is the domed and porticoed tomb, where Abdülhamid was interred upon his death in 1789 (figs. 384–89). Lining the street-facing sides of the madrasa and imaret were revenue-generating shops, an arrangement still preserved by the modern stores that today front the erstwhile madrasa (fig. 362).

Collectively, these various buildings constitute nothing less than a mosque complex without its own mosque. The idea of setting up a foundation that consisted of one or more of these elements without being tied to a mosque was not in itself new. The

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69; İsmail. E. Erünsal, "Hamidiye Kütüphanesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 15:469; Semavi Eyice, "Hamidiye Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 15:465–68; and Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 76–77.

[10] I am very grateful to the directorate of the chamber for allowing me access to the building.

first independent Ottoman library, for example, was established on the Divanyolu in 1678 by Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa (d. 1691), with other examples soon to follow. And in 1745, further along on the Divanyolu, the former grand vizier Seyyid Hasan Pasha (d. 1748) built a two-story structure consisting of a Baroque sebil on its lower level and a courtyarded madrasa and masjid on its upper (figs. 390–91).[11] Such mosque-less foundations, which appeared in the late seventeenth century and became increasingly common in the eighteenth, were usually established by non-sultanic patrons, for whom they provided a more affordable means to build pious works. What Abdülhamid did at Bahçekapı was to take this model and give it unprecedented scale and monumentality, combining every possible element short of an actual mosque. The result, which came to be known as the Hamidiye Külliyesi, is justly considered the last of the old city's sultanic complexes.[12]

Befitting its royal status, the imaret was opened with a grand ceremony in 1777, while work continued on the structures opposite. Enveri tells us that the sultan prayed for the project's speedy completion so that he might "visit that pious foundation—the cause of many blessings—and admire its design, construction, and manner of arrangement."[13] At a propitious date and time determined by the chief astrologer, the sultan went to the imaret with the grand vizier, grand mufti, and other men of state, and reposed for a time in the administrator's office, which had been specially decked in fruits and flowers. He

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[11] For these buildings, see Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 526, 559; and Doğan Yavaş, "Seyyid Hasan Paşa Külliyesi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 6:543–44.

[12] See Eyice, "Hamidiye Külliyesi," 465.

[13] *Ol ḫayrāt-ı müstevcibü'l-berekātıñ ṣūret-i ṭarḥ u inşā ve çigūnegī-i vażʿ-ı bināsın temāşā ve imdād-ı rabbānī ile cilve-ger-i tamām olmasına duʿāya irāde-i hümāyūn-ı Ḥażret-i Ẓıllu'llāhı maʿṭūf u niyyet-i cāzime-i şehriyārāneleri maṣrūf buyurulmağın* . . . Enverī, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 542a.

then moved to a nearby audience hall and watched as prayers were performed in turn by the sheikhs of the Ayasofya, of the imaret itself, and of the Nuruosmaniye. The presence of the last of these sheikhs underscored Abdülhamid's identification with Mahmud I, as well as the building's conceptual ties to the revived imperial mosques. After these prayers came the distribution of robes of honor, undertaken on the sultan's behalf by the grand vizier. The recipients included the building supervisor, who was the city prefect (*şehr emīni*) Hafız Mustafa Efendi; the chief imperial architect Mehmed Tahir Agha, whose practical involvement is again difficult to determine; and another twelve unspecified individuals who had worked on the building. Once all the robes were distributed, the sultan returned to his palace.[14]

The difference between this sultanic complex and its earlier counterparts rested not only in its independence from a new mosque, but also in its novel relationship to the surrounding urban fabric. Unlike traditional complexes that were arranged within walled precincts according to their own compositional logic, the Hamidiye is fully integrated into the streets around it, facing onto rather than away from them (figs. 362–66). The road that runs between its two halves was and remains one of the city's principal commercial thoroughfares, forming part of the route the sultan would have taken when visiting the Yeni Cami. This arrangement ensured maximum visibility for the complex, which—without a mosque as its centerpiece—might well have been lost from sight if screened behind a precinct wall.

[14] Ibid., fols. 542a–42b. Enveri does not gives the names of either Hafız Mustafa Efendi or Mehmed Tahir Agha, whose involvement is known from other sources (see Eyice, "Hamidiye Külliyesi," 465). Enveri's entry immediately following (fols. 542b–43a) describes the launching of a new galleon, recalling the way in which the sources report the Nuruosmaniye's foundation-laying ceremony (see Chapter 3, p. 181).

The complex's designers seem to have fully understood the possibilities for display afforded by its situation. Photographs of the lost imaret show that its main entrance was a monumental marble gate consisting of a round-arched door flanked by two pairs of columns carrying an entablature. Just to the left of this gate, and adding to its showiness, was a sumptuous Baroque wall fountain. Those who entered into the courtyard within would have seen a series of round and basket arches borne on marble columns with scroll capitals (figs. 368–71). Such columns are still to be found in the madrasa opposite, their simple capitals decorated with fully-formed volutes in the manner of the Ionic. They carry a round-arched wraparound portico that fronts the students' domed cells, which are set on a basement that lifts them above the shops outside (figs. 378–79). The madrasa shares its entrance with the library, and though this door is an understated affair set back from the street, the library—which stands on a high vaulted basement to the right of the madrasa's shops—prominently juts out (figs. 376–77, 380–81).

Occupying the equivalent position at the other end of the madrasa is the tomb, which is the stateliest element of the whole complex (figs. 384–89). It is square in plan with rounded corners, a design that is curiously close to that of the turrets surmounting the piers of the recently completed Fatih Mosque. Abdülhamid would in fact renovate the Conqueror's tomb—which had already been rebuilt by Mustafa III—in a style comparable to his own in 1784–85, rendering the association between the two complexes more palpable (fig. 348–49).[15] The Hamidiye tomb is crowned by a dome that rests on an

[15] Occasioned by a fire in 1782, Abdülhamid's restoration of Fatih's tomb is commemorated by a dated inscription over the inner face of the structure's door: see Eyice, "Fâtih Camii," 246. The sources show that the sultan visited his ancestor's tomb with particular frequency: see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 49

octagonal transitional zone with diminutive squinches. Carbognano describes the structure as being "elegantly constructed of marble,"[16] reflecting the fact that the whole of the exterior below the octagonal transition is clad in this stone, quite in contrast to the brick and limestone used for the neighboring madrasa and library. With its deeply molded cornices and minimally pointed arched windows, the design of the tomb is eminently Baroque, as confirmed when we enter the gate piercing the building's walled enclosure, which contains a small cemetery. Dominating this enclosure is the tomb's deep arcaded portico, whose Ionic-like columns are identical to those of the madrasa. The tomb's entrance, meanwhile, is a smaller version of the lost imaret gate, with foliate scrolls decorating its architrave and column capitals. The interior is circumscribed by a beautifully composed *thulth* Koranic inscription that curves with the building's rounded corners and swoops up to accommodate the doorframe. Abdülhamid's tomb occupies the center of the space, where it is overlooked by an elaborately carved niche containing the Prophet's footprints. Recent restorations have brought to light the successive layers of painting that covered the interior of the tomb and its portico, including the original Rococo paintwork with its green and pink hues.

This princely building fully engages the viewer even before he or she has entered. Recalling the arrangement of street-side shrines, its lowermost windows are large rectangular openings whose grilles allow easy visual access to the interior, encouraging passers-by to stop and offer prayers for the sultan. That the tomb stands at the corner of a crossroads makes it still more inviting to look at, and indeed, the window at this

[16] . . . *il suo Mausoleo elegantemente costrutto di marmo* . . . Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 39; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 61.

particular corner is flanked by two little fountains, providing water to the people while reminding them to pray for their benefactor (fig. 386).

These fountains would once have been in dialogue with the sebil that originally stood facing the tomb at the opposite crossroads. If the tomb is the most elegant part of the complex, the sebil is the liveliest (figs. 372–75). Its central component—the sebil proper—is a rounded projection with five grilled windows and a dome, while its side areas, which flank the curved projection and are at right angles to one another, each host a wall fountain. Faced entirely with carved marble, this small structure is among the most exuberant of all Ottoman Baroque sebils, with an abundance of shells, scrolls, and moldings. As is typical for the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the style has taken on greater plasticity, and the cartouche-like ornaments above the arched windows and niches are especially notable for the way they push out from the wall. There is also a growing Rococo tendency, reflected in the asymmetrical curvature of the scrolled corbels of the entablatures. Though outmoded by Western European standards, these Rococo elements relate to the style's continued use in Central and Eastern Europe during this period, and they demonstrate, moreover, the continuing experimentalism of the Ottoman Baroque. The sebil's fresh and energetic decorative scheme surely became a talking point for the many who saw and used the facility.

The effort put into making the Hamidiye an attractive and engaging sight is clear from Enveri's account of the inauguration, which concludes with a substantial note on the use of calligraphy at the complex.[17] We are told that the *taʿlīq* inscriptions of the imaret and sebil are the work of Yesari Mehmed Esad Efendi (d. 1798), whose expertise in that

[17] See Enverī, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 543a. For translations and transliterations of some of these inscriptions, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 483–86; Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî*, 583–86; and Cunbur, "I. Abdülhamid Vakfiyesi," 17–30.

script was perhaps unequalled. Though many of them have been lost, these inscriptions would have added up to a particularly rich epigraphic program that featured the contributions of some of the most notable writers of the day, including the famous woman poet Fıtnat Zübeyde Hanım (d. 1780). The texts resulting from this confluence of talents were designed not only to be recognized for their literary and artistic value, but also to be read and discussed, and those that survive on the sebil remain crisp and legible (fig. 375). In the inscriptions he composed for the wall fountains flanking the sebil's curved projection, the poet Lutfullah Efendi anticipates the attention that the structure would generate for his work: "Carving into the marble his name, Lutfi has among the people earned fame."[18]

Above the windows of the sebil itself runs a longer poem by Hayri that makes clear the intended message of the structure, and with it the complex as a whole:

> His [Abdülhamid's] dew of justice has moistened the world,
> The rosebud of health opens and laughs in the weak,
> Those now contented surround that just emperor's court
> And, like rivulets, prostrate at his feet!
>
> May his mighty banner be a cypress in the meadow of victory,
> And his enemies' blood flow like water from his sword![19]

It is interesting how this verbal imagery seems both to respond to and enrich the visual imagery of the sebil's decorative scheme. With its references to lushness and regeneration, the text complements the luxuriant carvings that cover the structure, and it furthermore associates their ornamental vitality with the vigor and joy of a successfully waged war. Those who witnessed the work's artistic magnificence were, then, really

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[18] *Luṭfī ḳazup mermere nām oldu enām içre benām.*

[19] *Jāle-i ʿadli ile buldu ṭarāvet ʿālem / Açılup gülmededir gonçe-i ṭabʿ-ı żuʿafā / Dolanup dergehin ol şāh-i ʿadālet-cāhıñ / Yüz sürer pāyine cūlar gibi aṣḥab-ı ṣafā // ʿAlem-i şevketi serv-i çemen-i nuṣret olup / Aḳa tīġinden anıñ ṣu gibi ḫūn-i āʿdā.*

seeing a symbol of the prosperous and dynamic state that produced such a marvel. Carbognano picks up on this idea when he describes the sebil as having “various beautiful domes and marbles of different colors, embellished with carving and gilding, as well as several Turkish inscriptions which celebrate the memory of that monarch.”[20] As Hayri’s poem explains, the spectators involved in this artistic encomium were in a symbiotic relationship with the sultan, whose nourishment of them fed into their obedience to him. The interdependence of ruler and ruled is a theme at the heart of the Hamidiye, a complex that orients itself towards the people, invites them to partake of its visual beauty and public services, and asks that they, in turn, glorify the man who had made it all possible.

This unabashed appeal to Istanbul’s inhabitants was part of the continuing elaboration of the practices by which the sultan made himself visible and available. The sultan’s almost apotropaic presence at large fires, for example, had become all but compulsory by the time of Abdülhamid, who performed the duty so well that he would even revisit the affected area the next day.[21] David Sutherland, who was in Istanbul during Abdülhamid’s reign, writes in his travelogue:

> in case of fire, or any other alarm, the Grand Signior himself, and all the Great Officers are immediately abroad. Were the Sovereign to neglect appearing on occasions of this kind, it would be thought as great a reflection on him, as if, as a General, he remained in his tent when his camp was attacked.[22]

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[20] *. . . con varie belle cupole, e marmi di diversi colori, arricchiti d’intagli e dorature, come pure di parecchie Iscrizioni Turchesche, che illustrano la memoria di quel Monarca.* Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, 39; and Carbognano, *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 61.

[21] For the significance attached to the sultans’ appearance at such fires, see Hakan T. “Opium for the Subjects?,” 114–15 (as well as the works cited in Chapter 3, n. 88 of this dissertation). For Abdülhamid’s particular devotion to this duty, see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 234–42.

[22] Sutherland, *Tour up the Straits*, 353.

Describing the custom at the start of the nineteenth century, Lord Broughton tells us that the people would sometimes begin these fires deliberately to bring the sultan to their side and "communicate their discontents" to him:

> The person of the despotic monarch of the Ottomans is, on these occasions, accessible to all, and . . . is then obliged to listen to the revilings of the meanest amongst his people, even of the women themselves.[23]

The use of fire to draw the sultan's attention also became a feature of the *selāmlıḳ* in these years, as Peyssonnel's remarkable description relates:

> There is, perhaps, no Monarch in the world more accessible than the Emperor of Turkey. All his subjects, indiscriminately, Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, may, every Friday, when he goes publicly to Mosque, present him a petition. . . . Those who imagine themselves aggrieved, and resolve to prefer a complaint immediately to the Sovereign, range themselves in a line, in the square, before the great gate of the Seraglio. Each carries on his head a kind of match, or wick, lighted and smoaking, which is considered as the allegorical emblem of the fire that consumes his soul. When the Emperor passes, and perceives the smoak, he stops, and gives orders to some of his attendants to collect the Petitions, which he receives and places in his bosom.[24]

This curious practice does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, and was perhaps an unusual elaboration that failed to take hold. Nevertheless, Peyssonnel's account is typical of others from the later eighteenth century in its emphasis on the sultan's eagerness to receive petitions. The collecting of petitions was, to be sure, a long-established part of the *selāmlıḳ*, but the greater detail in which later observers describe this aspect of the ceremony suggests that the sultan was now more actively involved in overseeing it.[25] Indeed, a Prussian travelogue from the 1830s tells us that Abdülhamid's son Mahmud II would sit in a specially appointed building on his return from the mosque and personally

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[23] Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:886.

[24] Peyssonnel, "Strictures and Remarks," 205.

[25] This development is discussed in İpşirli, "Osmanlılarda Cuma Selamlığı," 466.

receive anyone wishing to voice a complaint.[26] Such accessibility was still some way off under Abdülhamid, but the account of his *selāmlıḳ* by the Welsh clergyman Thomas Watkins (d. 1829), besides confirming that the ceremony had retained much of its older form, leaves us in no doubt of the sultan's deliberate show of concern for his subjects:

> On this occasion he is attended by four or five hundred horse [*sic*], among which are his principal eunuchs and officers, and also by two or three thousand janizaries &c. &c. As he passes, all people are permitted to present him their petitions; which, when he sees lifted up on the end of a stick, he orders one of his slaves to receive. I have been twice present at this procession, and think it the most magnificent and interesting I ever beheld. . . . [T]he splendour, the novelty, the silence, the solemnity of this spectacle, cannot, I think, but make a most powerful impression upon every foreign spectator.[27]

What was true of foreign spectators would also have been so of the sultan's own subjects, and the augmented sense of display and interaction that such descriptions indicate should inform our understanding of the Hamidiye. The forthright way in which the complex presented itself was both a response to and marker of the sultan's increasingly public face, and the symbolism of its street-oriented buildings would have

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[26] "The Sultan [while processing to the mosque] greeted the people on each side courteously, but his nods were more friendly and familiar, as he passed the small knot of Russian officers amongst whom I stood. About an hour afterwards, we proceeded further into the city, to be present at a still more remarkable scene, which is generally connected with the return from the mosque. In a warehouse, that transversely crosses the end of a long street, the Sultan sat quite alone, smoking a pipe in perfect tranquillity. His suite and military were so disposed in the two passages, on each side, which led into this main street, that they were not visible—somewhat like actors behind the scenes. Here the sovereign awaited the complaints and petitions of the populace, who, however, as far as I saw, either from content, or fear of the armed escort, were sparing in their addresses. After making a rich preset to the possessor of the warehouse, which had served for royal occupation during half an hour, the Sultan again moved his splendid steed, and rode back to the Seraglio." Friedrich Tietz, *St. Petersburgh, Constantinople, and Napoli di Romania, in 1833 and 1834: A Characteristic Picture, Drawn during a Residence There*, trans. James D. Haas (New York: Theodore Foster, 1836), 161. I have not encountered another report of such an arrangement, suggesting that what Tietz witnessed was something of a short-lived experiment. The "warehouse" he describes is obviously some sort of commercial premises; the original German calls it a "Kramladen," which means "junk shop" today but denotes a mercer's or grocer's shop according to a German-English dictionary of 1798. See Tietz, *Erinnerungs-Skizzen aus Rußland, der Türkei und Griechenland. Entworfen während des Aufenthalts in jenen Ländern in den Jahren 1833 und 1834*, 2 vols. (Coburg and Leipzig: Sinner'schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1836), 2:103.

[27] Thomas Watkins, *Travels through Swisserland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands to Constantinople; through Part of Greece, Ragusa, and the Dalmatian Isles*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1792), 2:227–28.

become still greater when Abdülhamid paraded through them on his way to the Yeni Cami (fig. 392). Even without the spectacle of the *selāmlıḳ*, the complex was a constant reminder of sultanic presence, and it is relevant in this regard that Abdülhamid frequently ventured out incognito into the streets to inspect his capital and hear the people's opinions for himself. The practice—known as *tebdīl* (transformation)—was not in itself new, but Abdülhamid showed unprecedented enthusiasm for it.[28] His ostensible anonymity did not stop these excursions from being carefully staged affairs that at least some members of the public were in on: during one such outing, someone actually went up to the sultan and tried to hand him a petition, a breach of etiquette that nearly cost the man his life.[29] Though this incident did not end well, the fact that the man approached the sultan at all is proof of the trend (at least notionally) towards a more open and involved style of kingship.

The result of this shift is evident enough at the Hamidiye, and it is interesting to note—especially in light of Watkins's reference to the "foreign spectator"—that even non-Ottomans found the complex more approachable. Described by Carbognano as "famous," Abdülhamid's library became a popular haunt for Western Orientalists, who could enter it, Pertusier tells us, "without much difficulty" (fig. 393).[30] One such Orientalist was the Austrian diplomat Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856), who

[28] See Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 47–51. Also see Karateke, "Opium for the Subjects?," 115.

[29] Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 49. That these outings were staged to the public's knowledge is suggested also by an unofficial *rūznāme* entry that notes the sultan's incognito visit in June 1774 to the Beşiktaş Mosque (today known as the Sinan Pasha Mosque): see Göksu, *Müellifi Mechûl bir Rûznâme*, 67.

[30] Carbognano (*Descrizione topografica*, 39; and *Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, 61) refers to the library as "l'insigne Biblioteca del Sultan *Abdul-hamid*," while Pertusier (*Promenades pittoresques*, 1:219) informs us, "Les étrangers peuvent avoir accès dans quelques-unes de ces bibliothèques; et celle d'Abdul-Hamid . . . leur sera ouverte sans trop de difficulté."

served at the Austrian embassy in Istanbul between 1799 and 1807, and who discusses the Hamidiye library in a book he wrote about the city:

> Of all the libraries of the capital, this is the most accessible and useful for the Europeans living just across the harbor in Galata or Pera, owing both to the proximity of its location and to the helpfulness of its custodians. Those [libraries] belonging to the mosques are mostly inside them, barely possible to visit by means of a firman, while others like the large and beautiful library of *Raghib Pasha* are too remote, and Europeans are not allowed to read in them.[31]

The welcoming façade of Abdülhamid's complex was thus matched by the actual ease with which its facilities might be accessed. This new spirit of openness was by no means limited to the Hamidiye, as we see when we turn to the building that functioned as its pendant on the other side of the city.

"As a Heavenly Pavilion": The Beylerbeyi Mosque

Between 1777 and 1778, as work continued on his complex at Bahçekapı, Abdülhamid built a new mosque on the site of the recently demolished İstavroz Palace in Beylerbeyi, a village on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus (figs. 394–402, 404–14).[32] The

[31] *Von allen Bibliotheken der Haupstadt ist diese sowohl wegen der Nähe der Lage, als wegen der Gefälligkeit der Custoden die für den in Galata oder Pera gerade gegenüber im Hafen wohnenden Europäer die zugänglichste und benützbarste. Die an den Moscheen sind meistens innerhalb derselben, kaum mittels Fermans zu besichtigen möglich, andere wie z. B. die schöne grosse Bibliothek Raghibpaschas sind zu weit entlegen, und Europäern ist dort zu lesen nicht gestattet.* He goes on to note that, regardless of the library, European visitors were left undisturbed during prayer times, when the Muslim users would rise to perform their devotion within the library itself. See Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, 1:522–23.

[32] For the Beylerbeyi Mosque and its complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 480–83; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 77–78; Mehmed Rebii Hâtemi Baraz, *Teşrifat Meraklısı Beyzâde Takımının Oturduğu bir Kibar Semt Beylerbeyi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1994), 1:110–18; Selçuk Batur, "Beylerbeyi Camii," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 2:203–5; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 397–99; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 33; and Selçuk Mülâyim,

contemporaneity of the two projects is noted by Enveri, drawing an explicit connection between them, and he also informs us that the mosque's construction was managed by the same administrator, Mustafa Efendi.[33] Abdülhamid's *waqfiyya* underscores the projects' relationship by discussing the mosque immediately after the complex, as if one were the complement of the other.[34] Even the mosque's dedication forged a link, for Abdülhamid built it not in his own name, but rather to commemorate his mother, Rabiʿa Sultan (as with the Ayazma, the name did not stick). This new shoreline queen mother's mosque could therefore displace the Yeni Cami as the mosque to which the Hamidiye was conceptually tied, and indeed, Ayvansarayi's famous compendium of religious monuments describes both works under the heading of *Beğlerbeği Cāmiʿ-i Şerīfi*.[35] Abdülhamid was thus able to "complete" his complex by erecting a mosque whose affiliation to it was readily understood by contemporary observers, despite the distance between the buildings. Not only was this strategy tactful, but it was also highly effective, tying the shores of the capital together and adding to the two projects' collective impact.

The Beylerbeyi Mosque was itself part of a small complex that included besides a primary school, a timekeeper's office, and a bathhouse, all of which have survived, albeit much altered (fig. 397). The mosque was built as a single-domed prayer hall with one minaret—the two we now see are later additions—and no courtyard. Borne on an octagonal baldachin with little semidome squinches, the dome (which is a modern

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"Beylerbeyi Camii ve Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 6:75–77.

[33] See Enverī, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 569a.

[34] The waqfiyya is fully transliterated in Cunbur, "I. Abdülhamid Vakfiyesi," 30–67 (see 37 for the back-to-back mentioning of the Hamidiye and Beylerbeyi).

[35] See Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 480–86; and Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi'*, 579–86.

replacement of the damaged original) stands high in relation to the rather small area it covers, creating a typically Baroque profile (fig. 398).[36] There is, however, an unusually modest quality to the prayer hall's exterior. The stones making up its walls are not regularly dressed, and they are here and there interspersed with seemingly random courses of brickwork. No decoration appears on these walls other than the concave cornices at their upper edges, and the arches of the windows waver indecisively between being curved and slightly pointed (fig. 396). As if to match this rather understated architecture, the sultan's inaugural prayer at the mosque was, according to Enveri, undertaken without ceremony (*bi-lā resm*), though he did distribute a limited number of robes of honor and other gifts.[37] It was left up to the grand vizier on a subsequent Thursday to reward the artistic workforce, about whose members we have no clear information.

Notwithstanding this lack of pomp and circumstance, whoever designed the Beylerbeyi was well aware of the need to announce the building's royal status. The prayer hall itself may present an unremarkable exterior, but the mosque's principal façade, which is fronted by a jetty extending into the Bosphorus, is a quite different matter (figs. 402, 404). Here, instead of the expected courtyard or entrance portico, the architect has placed a two-story structure that reaches the height of the squinches and exceeds the width of the prayer hall to which it is attached. This structure consists of a round-arched arcade carrying an enclosed upper level that is pierced by a single row of

[36] For the various restorations undergone by the mosque, see Ahmet Hamdi Bülbül, "Beylerbeyi Camii (Hamid-i Evvel Camii)'inde Onarım Faaliyetleri," *Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı* 2 (2011): 117–26. Old photographs show the minarets with bulbous late-nineteenth-century stone caps, since replaced with lead cones.

[37] See Enverī, *Tārīḫ*, fol. 569a–569b.

rectangular windows and covered by hipped roofs. As well as running beyond the width of the prayer hall, each end of the structure projects forward, resulting in two lateral wings that stand entirely proud of the mosque (fig. 401). Attached to and tucked behind the wing on the left is an additional block-like extension that is carried on piers and accessed by a staircase (figs. 398–400).

What we are seeing here is a radical reinterpretation of the sultan's pavilion, which has gone from being an elaborated ramp adjoining the prayer hall to constituting the very front of the mosque.[38] This change has brought with it a return to the pavilion's residential character, for the structure—with its projecting wings, hipped roofs, and rectangular windows—makes unmistakable reference to the kind of architecture associated with Ottoman palaces and mansions (figs. 6, 9, 11, 446). In this regard, the Beylerbeyi pavilion recalls its equally residential seventeenth-century counterpart at the Yeni Cami, but with the fundamental difference that it has been fused to the mosque's front rather than treated as an appendage.

This arrangement takes full advantage of—and was probably inspired by—the Beylerbeyi's position on the Bosphorus. Because the mosque is on the Asian side, its entrance necessarily faces the waterfront, and the architect has used this opportunity to create a façade that deliberately resembles a yalı, or elite shoreline mansion. Images of the Palace of Saʿdabad, which too overlooked a body of water, show a similar style of architecture, typified above all by its protruding wings (figs. 9. 11). Unlike most structures of this kind, however, the mosque's pavilion is made of stone rather than wood, thus recasting the residential model in costlier, more prestigious terms. The Beylerbeyi

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[38] For this novel pavilion, see Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," 282; and Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," 574.

was not the first waterside mosque to capitalize on its situation in this way: Sinan's Mihrimah Sultan Mosque in Üskdüdar is fronted by a wide-roofed double portico with a projecting belvedere, and this structure, which is today set back from the water, originally opened onto a jetty (fig. 403).[39] But this earlier evocation of a waterside pavilion is not nearly as explicit as the Beylerbeyi's yalı-like frontage, which looks almost like an independent building affixed to the prayer hall behind it. The disjuncture works to both parts' advantage, allowing the pavilion to wear its residential character on its sleeve without infringing stylistically onto the mosque proper, whose superiority is signaled by its height and dome.

At the same time, the pavilion functions as an integral part of the mosque's overall composition, lending the whole a decidedly palatial air that makes clear the building's royal credentials. This is a highly efficient alternative to the traditional (and far more expensive) arcaded courtyard, and it also makes a virtue of the mosque's humble scale and unfussy architecture, which are features more in keeping with the residential idiom. Doing double duty as the prayer hall's entrance portico, the arcade that forms the lower story of the pavilion has a door in its wider central bay, which is approached by a steep stair (fig. 404–5). The marble columns framing this door are distinguished from the rest by their foliate scroll capitals, and there is also a carved inscription panel filling the tympanum of the arch. Its text—which is written not in the intricate *thulth* typical of mosque entrances, but in a very legible *nastaʿlīq*—affirms the palatial overtones of the building:

> He is the Creator, the Everlasting!
> For the jewel-like soul of the Queen Mother
> Did His Majesty Sultan Hamid build this holy mosque

[39] For this mosque and its waterside setting, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, 301–5.

As a heavenly pavilion; may that emperor’s mother,
Rabiʿa Sultan, receive her reward from the Almighty.[40]

This conceit is carried through into the mosque’s interior (figs. 406–14). Having entered the portico-cum-pavilion, we encounter another door with an inscription over it, in this case a longer poem that dubs the mosque “a matchlessly unique pearl” and celebrates its distinctive location “on the shore of the sea.”[41] Through this door is the prayer hall, whose qibla wall has an apsidal projection flanked by engaged marble piers with scroll capitals and fluted entablatures. The marble mihrab in the center of this apse is likewise Baroque in design, but the walls around it are clad in reused Iznik and Kütahya tiles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as some Chinese blue-and-white tiles of the type widely imitated in Europe.[42] Such tilework is extremely unusual for the mosques of this period, and though it may in part refer to the interiors of earlier monuments like the Yeni Cami, it also relates to the continuing use of tilework in palatial settings, which—in keeping with unwritten codes of decorum—tended to be more ornately embellished than architecture in the public realm. About the same time that he built the Beylerbeyi, Abdülhamid also renovated the sixteenth-century domed Imperial Hall in the harem of the Topkapı Palace, introducing Baroque wall fountains and Dutch blue-and-white tiles to an interior that already contained earlier Ottoman faience (fig.

[40] *Hüve’l-Ḫallāḳu’l-Bāḳī! / Rūḥ-ı ʿālī-güher-i Vālide Sulṭān içün / Ḳaṣr-ı Firdevs gibi Ḥażret-i Sulṭān Ḥamīd / Yapdı bu cāmiʿ-i pāki; ede ecrin īṣāl / O şehiñ vālidesi Rābiʿa Sulṭān’a Mecīd.* For an alternative translation, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 481.

[41] The translations are Crane’s: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 481; and Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü’l-Cevâmî‘*, 580.

[42] See Yılmaz, “Üsküdar Ayazma ve Beylerbeyi Camilerinde Kullanılan Çin Çinileri.”

415).[43] The use of a similar decorative repertoire at the contemporaneous mosque is striking.

Also recalling the Imperial Hall's scheme—which includes an eighteenth-century musicians' balcony at one side—is the stately gallery that dominates the back of the Beylerbeyi's prayer hall (figs. 413–14, 416). This is the interior expression of the pavilion's upper level, and the sultan would have entered it by the block-like lateral extension noted earlier, which comprises a large foyer ascended by a staircase from the outside. The gallery itself corresponds to the upper story of the mosque's façade, and mimics it by projecting forward at either end. Its round arches are carried on marble columns whose capitals are an adaptation of the Corinthian, with bead-studded fronds at their corners and shells on their main faces. This design is a patent imitation of the kind of capital employed over thirty years before in the earliest Ottoman Baroque works of Mahmud I (fig. 360). Besides indicating a consciousness of the new style's internal development, the sudden revival of this type suggests an attempt to evoke the positive associations of Mahmud I's reign, which was, as we saw, Abdülhamid's stated model for his own sultanate. Such capitals are also used in the portico of the masjid attached to the Hamidiye madrasa, creating a direct visual link between the complex and the Beylerbeyi (figs. 416–17). There is, moreover, a palatial connection, for though they had been replaced in the public sphere by a range of less ornate scroll capitals, variants of the Corinthianizing type continued to be employed in palace interiors: they appear, for instance, in the apartments that Abdülhamid constructed in the Topkapı harem (fig.

[43] These Baroque renovations are usually attributed to Osman III, but Hans Theunissen has convincingly demonstrated that the greater part of the scheme belongs to the reign off Abdülhamid: see Theunissen, "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: *Hünkâr Sofası* and *Hünkâr Hamamı*," 78–108.

418).[44] The use of similar capitals for the Beylerbeyi's gallery adds to the pavilion-like air of the mosque.

So too does the royal prayer loge, which occupies the gallery's right-hand projection, distinguished by its curving overhang and lattice screens placed between colonnettes of dark red stone (figs. 413, 419). On the back wall of the loge, next to its door, is a naturalistic landscape painting that resembles a fictive window. Though a nineteenth-century addition, this picture—highly unusual for a mosque setting—plays on the existing "heavenly pavilion" theme, and again recalls the kind of decoration associated with palace interiors, where landscape murals became common after the eighteenth century (fig. 420).[45] Such palatial allusions were already present in the loge's original scheme, specifically in a poem written in gold *nastaʿlīq* on the inner face of the curved architrave surmounting the colonnettes. This text, which is now partially effaced, once dubbed the mosque a "sublime court" (*dergāh-ı ʿālī*), the same phrase used of the sultan's actual court, and its central couplet took the comparison even further:

> The prayer will doubtless be answered
> Of whoever enters this court sincerely[46]

The idea of the mosque as a court where deserving supplicants might have their wishes granted is extremely powerful, and key to understanding the Beylerbeyi's success as a royal foundation. What is remarkable about the mosque's arrangement is the proximity into which it would have brought the sultan and his subjects. To be sure, the

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[44] For these apartments, see Atasoy, *Harem*, 64–69; and Ertuğ, *Topkapı*, 172–74.

[45] For this genre of mural painting, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 301–4; and Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk resim sanatı, 1700–1850* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1977), 77–170.

[46] *Olur ḳarīn-i icābet duʿāsı bī-şübhe / ḫulūṣ ile kim eder bu dergāh içre duḫūl*. This part of the poem is no longer visible. For a transliteration of the full inscription, see Baraz, *Teşrifat Meraklısı*, 1:113.

royal prayer loge is physically as aloof as it had always been, but there is a new sense of intimacy as a result of the pavilion's placement at the front of the mosque: for the faithful entering by way of this structure, the experience was almost one of passing through the sultan's threshold (*āsitāne*, *eşik*), age-old symbol of Ottoman imperial authority.[47] Once inside the prayer hall, moreover, worshipers would have found themselves in a space entirely overlooked by the pavilion's gallery, as if the sultan were hosting them. This situation is curiously reminiscent of (though unlikely to be related to) Bursa's fifteenth-century Yeşil Mosque, whose entrance side also has an elevated palatial apartment with a royal box facing the qibla wall opposite.[48] At the Beylerbeyi, however, the interplay of parts is more pronounced, and the conceptual integration of ruler and ruled more complete. Indeed, when not being used by the sultan and his retinue, the pavilion's gallery appears to have functioned as a primary school, reached by its own staircase at the opposite end from the sultan's.[49] Though this staircase was later blocked and a separate primary school built behind the mosque, the impression of being a space in which the sultan and populace might intermingle remained a defining characteristic of the Beylerbeyi.

The effect is aided rather than compromised by the building's lack of monumentality. With a smallish prayer hall and no grand entrance ramp, the mosque may not appear as imposing as the Nuruosmaniye or Laleli, but its modest proportions actually

[47] *Āsitāne-i Saʿādet*, Threshold of Felicity, was one of the officially used names for Istanbul. Besides their temporal uses, *āsitāne* and *dergāh* were terms and concepts associated with the Sufi orders, whose lodges were considered spiritual courts. For the symbolism of the threshold, see Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 319; and Tolga Uslubaş and Yılmaz Keskin, *Alfabetik Osmanlı Tarihi Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Karma Kitaplar, 2007), s.v. "asitane."

[48] See Tanman, "Kasr-ı Hümâyun," 573.

[49] See Baraz, *Teşrifat Meraklısı*, 1:112.

bring it much closer to Ottoman palatial architecture. The Topkapı Palace consists of a series of related pavilions and kiosks instead of a single great edifice, and these spaces impress the viewer less by their size than by their sumptuously decorated interiors, which in fact seem all the richer for their intimate scale. Significant in this regard is Edward Daniel Clarke's description of the queen mother's domed audience chamber in the Topkapı harem (fig. 420), to which he gained rare access in 1800.[50] Unlike the many Europeans who considered the palace to be lacking in order and elegance, Clarke well understood the intended effect of this kind of architecture, writing of the audience hall as an ideal stage set for the courtly activities it accommodated:

> Nothing can be imagined better suited to theatrical representation than this chamber. It is exactly such an apartment as the best painters of scenic decoration would have selected, to afford a striking idea of the pomp, the seclusion, and the magnificence, of the Ottoman court. The stage is best suited for its representation; and therefore the reader is requested to have the stage in his imagination while it is described. . . . At the upper end is the throne, a sort of cage, in which the Sultana sits, surrounded by latticed blinds; for even here her person is held too sacred to be exposed to the common observations of slaves and females of the Charem. A lofty flight of broad steps, covered with crimson cloth, leads to this cage, as to a throne.[51]

It is interesting that Clarke's description of the sultan's far larger Audience Hall, which is adjacent to the queen mother's rather small chamber, is not nearly as long.[52] For him and no doubt many other viewers, magnificence was not dependent on monumentality, but could be achieved equally well by more intimate princely settings.

The Beylerbeyi—whose royal gallery is tellingly recalled by Clarke's portrayal of the sultana's latticed throne balcony—was just such a setting, and recognition of its

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[50] For the queen mother's apartments, including the audience chamber, see Atasoy, *Harem*, 104–6; Ertuğ, *Topkapı*, 135–37; and Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 177–78.

[51] Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, 22–23.

[52] Ibid., 24.

relationship to palatial interiors would not have been limited to the sultan and his retinue. Though very few outsiders can ever have seen the private areas of the palace as Clarke did, many inhabitants of and visitors to Istanbul could experience the architecture of the Topkapı's second court, where the Council Hall (*Dīvān*) was open to any Ottoman subject seeking justice.[53] This moderately sized structure of three domed chambers—built in 1526 and renovated several times thereafter—might have felt almost claustrophobic when filled with council members and petitioners, but this would only have enhanced the impact of its sumptuous decoration (figs. 421–23). Designed in the same spirit is the Gate of Felicity (*Bābü's-saʿāde*), which is at the far end of the second court and marks the entrance into the more private areas beyond.[54] The gate, which Abdülhamid rebuilt in its current form after his accession, takes the form of an open kiosk with Baroque columns and a domed canopy that projects from the door, whose flanking walls are painted in imitation of polychrome stone revetment (figs. 424–25).[55] Once again, the effect is one of small-scale princely luxury rather than monumental grandeur, and this is equally true of the Beylerbeyi's interior. The mosque presents itself as an extension of the sultan's court, a choice space in which one is intensely aware of being under the sovereign's generous auspices. Here, the earthly justice promised by the imperial council merges with the heavenly favor of God, reminding the congregation both of the sultan's benevolence and of his divine right to rule.

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[53] For the Council Hall, see Ertuğ, *Topkapı*, 26–27; and Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 58–61, 79–86.

[54] For the gate, see Ertuğ, *Topkapı*, 35–37; and Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 88–90.

[55] An official *rūznāme* entry dated October 4, 1774, records the opening of the rebuilt gate. The event was marked by a grand ceremony attended by the men of state and the architects (who are not named), and the gate was hung with beautiful brocades and satins. See Muṣṭafā Agha, "Abdülhamid I. Hakkında 8 Aylık Ruznâme," 32.

As Clarke's account of the queen mother's chamber vividly captures, Ottoman palatial architecture owed much of its success to the courtly ceremonial that it so effectively staged. The Gate of Felicity, for example, became an important ritual backdrop during religious holidays, when the sultan would sit beneath its canopy on a bejeweled throne as his dignitaries and servants stood in file before him. The splendor of this scene is recorded in a painting from the reign of Selim III (1789–1807) by the Ottoman-Greek artist Konstantin Kapıdağlı (fig. 425).[56] Clarke, whose visit to the harem naturally took place when the women were away, shows that the aura of these courtly performances lingered even when the players were offstage. Absence could in fact be turned to symbolic advantage, as with the famous grilled window looking into the principal chamber of the Council Hall. This screened opening allowed the sultan to watch proceedings unseen from an adjacent loge, but it also became a permanent emblem of the royal gaze, for one never knew for certain if the sultan was there or not. The Beylerbeyi's royal pavilion likewise served as a perpetual reminder of the sultan's presence, giving lasting physical shape to the experience—real or imagined—of being at his court.

The power of this imagery was not lost on those who saw the mosque in its own day. Hovhannisean describes the building as large and notes its lead roof, a seemingly redundant observation given that this metal was the usual covering for royal mosques.[57] He was presumably responding to the pavilion, whose lead-sheathed pitched roofs—typical of palatial architecture—indeed deserved mention when compared to the tiled roofs of most waterside mansions. The mosque is also referred to by another Istanbul-

[56] For this painting, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 292–93; and İlber Ortaylı et al., *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen: Sultan III. Selim Han*, exh. cat. (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi, 2008), 110–111, cat. no. 7. For Kapıdağlı and his works, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 290–94.

[57] See Hovhannisean, *Payitaht İstanbul*, 69.

born Ottoman Armenian, the famous Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson, who served as dragoman to the Swedish ambassador before being ennobled by Gustav III of Sweden (r. 1771–92) and moving to Paris.[58] It was there in the 1780s that Mouradgea prepared his well-known and monumental study on Ottoman religion, in which he lists the Beylerbeyi (here called after the nearby village of İstavroz[59]) as the latest of the capital's fourteen imperial mosques:

> 14. *Istavroz-Djeamissy*, from the name of the suburb in which it has been erected [by the reigning sultan *Abdul-Hamid I*. It is called also *Zeïl* [i.e., *z̲eyl*, "appendix"], a name applied to that imperial mosque which happens to be lowest in rank.[60]

Despite this latter remark, it is significant that the Beylerbeyi was already being classed among the fourteen principal mosques of the capital, outranking larger royal foundations like those of Mihrimah Sultan. Also telling is the fact that Mouradgea omits any reference

[58] For Mouradgea d'Ohsson's life and works, see Carter V. Findley, "A Quixotic Author and His Great Taxonomy: Mouradgea D'Ohsson and His *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*," paper presented at the 19th International Congress of Historical Sciences Conference, Oslo, October 25, 1999; and Sture Theolin et al., *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau général of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century = İmparatorluğun Meşalesi: XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nun Genel Görünümü ve Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık Ticaret ve Sanayi A. Ş., 2002).

[59] The name İstavroz Camii is usually reserved for the Mosque of Bostancıbaşı Abdullah Agha, built in 1581 and located in İstavroz proper. It is unclear why Mouradgea has used the name for the Beylerbeyi Mosque, though there is no doubt from his description which building he means.

[60] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre, l'histoire de l'Empire Othoman*, 7 vols. (Paris: De l'imprimerie de monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1788–1824), 2:450. The translation is taken from the abridged English edition of the work: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Oriental Antiquities, and General View of the Othoman Customs, Laws, and Ceremonies*. . . . English trans. (Philadelphia: Printed for the Select Committee and Grand Lodge of Enquiry, 1788), 529. The seven-volume French edition was published alongside a luxury version of three enormous tomes, containing the same text but with the addition of numerous engraved plates: d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820). The history that Mouradgea planned as the second part of his work was never published.

to the mosque's formal dedication to Rabiʿa Sultan, instead associating the building exclusively with Abdülhamid himself.[61]

Among Western observers, Pertusier calls the mosque "elegant," and Lord Broughton dubs it "magnificent."[62] Such praise was due in part to the building's picturesque though flattering village context, and Hammer-Purgstall acknowledges as much when he describes the Beylerbeyi as "a not large but charming mosque, which, by the splendor of its forms, distinguishes itself from all the buildings surrounding it."[63] A nearly contemporaneous source—and one of the most important we have on the mosque—is the travelogue of the Polish politician Count Edward Raczyński (d. 1845), who visited Istanbul in 1814. Raczyński saw the Beylerbeyi during the *selāmlıḳ* of Mahmud II (r. 1808–39), Abdülhamid's son, and his detailed description of the procession, which took place by water, conveys how the ceremony and its setting mutually reinforced each other's part in the spectacle:

> As soon as I arrived, I saw a squadron of richly decorated gondolas that had sailed here to Belirbey from Constantinople. These all belonged to the retinue of the Grand Signior, which had accompanied him to the mosque. Each dignitary of the state and seraglio had his own caique of a certain prescribed form, and with a particular number of rowers, which he cannot exceed. This richly equipped flotilla took up the whole width of the Bosphorus, and vividly laid before my eyes the Asiatic splendor of the mighty ruler. I marveled at the strong and beautiful physique of the rowers, who reminded me of the gladiators of antiquity; at the

[61] Similarly, the Ayazma—thirteenth in Mouradgea's list—is attributed to Mustafa III without mentioning his mother or brother, in whose memory it was built. The Beylerbeyi's alternative name today is *Hamid-i Evvel Camii*, Mosque of [Abdül]Hamid I, again making no reference to Rabiʿa Sultan.

[62] See Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, 1:34 ("élégante"); and Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:878.

[63] *Sultan Abdul Hamid, wiewohl er das Reich nicht mit Eroberungen vergrössert hatte, und also nach den Grundgesetzen des Islams keine Moscheen zu erbauen berechtiget war, baute hier dennoch eine nicht grosse, aber artige Moschee, die sich durch den Glanz ihrer Formen aus allen sie umgebenden Gebäuden mit Auszeichnung hervorhebt*. Hammer-Purgstall, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, 2:308. Hammer-Purgstall is somewhat off-track here with his assertion that Abdülhamid—having failed to expand his empire—did not have a legitimate right to erect the Beylerbeyi, for this restriction really only concerned mosques built in the walled city.

> precious and sparkling jewels of the chief state officials; at the copious retinue, most of them dressed in gleaming silk garments; at the number of black and white eunuchs, pages, mutes, dwarfs, and other servants; at the emperor's two gondolas, decorated with gold arabesques, mostly gilt at the front, and provided with golden rows; at the arrow-like speed with which the squadron glided there; at the deep silence of this numerous crowd—everything about this parade was new to me, all recalling the magnificence of a Harun al-Rashid.
>
> Once the gondolas had approached the shore, some of the retinue jumped onto the jetty and positioned themselves in the prescribed order. Upon the giving of a signal, the Grand Signior moved towards the mosque. At the head of the gleaming train went a group of hasseki or bodyguards, with silk garments and curved sabers at their sides; they were followed by the peiks and solaks, with heavily plumed Roman helmets, and from between them emerged the emperor. He wore a green pelt with black fox trim, his turban adorned with an aigrette of gemstones—estimated to be worth half a million thalers—and a plume of bird-of-paradise feathers. His dagger, which he wore on his belt, was provided with a very precious handle of diamonds.[64]

After only half an hour inside the mosque, the sultan left as he had arrived, returning to his palace.

Such *selāmlıḳ*s by water were not new, but they grew in frequency and splendor from the late eighteenth century onwards.[65] With its palatial frontage, the Beylerbeyi would have provided Mahmud's grand entrance with a highly appropriate stage. If Raczyński's verbal description only implicitly refers to the role played by the building, a clearer idea of it is given by two engravings that illustrate his account (figs. 426–27).

[64] My English translation is based on the German and Turkish editions of the travelogue: see Edward Raczyński, *Malerische Reise in einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*, trans. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (Breslau [Wrocław]: Grass, Barth, und Comp., 1825), 122–26; and Edward Raczyński, *1814'de İstanbul ve Çanakkale'ye Seyahat*, trans. Kemal Turan (Istanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1980), 69–71.

[65] The British gentlewoman Mary Georgiana Emma Dawson Damer, who visited Istanbul six months into the reign of Abdülmecid I (1839–61) and kept a diary of her travels, describes the sultan's *selāmlıḳ* to the Laleli Mosque as "[his] first procession to prayers by land, for hitherto he had always gone in a state caique." It is extremely unlikely that this was indeed the case, and Dawson Damer had been in the city only a few days when she wrote this claim, but it is nevertheless significant—and indicative of shifting practices—that she believed the *selāmlıḳ* by water to be the usual form of the ceremony. Indeed, as these waterborne visits grew in importance, the land parade may have suffered a corresponding diminishment in grandeur: Dawson Damer writes of the Laleli *selāmlıḳ*, "Nothing could less answer one's ideas of eastern magnificence than this procession, which consisted merely of a dozen led horses, though these were handsomely and richly caparisoned, followed by a suite of not above thirty or forty officers of rank, and a body-guard. . . . They have adopted the European dress; but this being ill-fashioned, ill-made, and still worse put on, gives them a very slovenly appearance." See Dawson Damer, *Diary of a Tour*, 1:106–7.

These were made after drawings by the artist Ludwig Fuhrmann (d. 1829), who accompanied the count on his journey, and whose images are thus valuable primary documents.[66] The second of Fuhrman's illustrations shows the mosque and the surrounding village from the Bosphorus, the ideal vantage point. The mosque's pavilion is in clear architectural dialogue with the yalıs in its vicinity, which too have projecting wings, and spread before it on the water is a lively assortment of boats. Only some of these are the caiques involved in the procession; the rest are smaller sail- and rowboats filled with ordinary spectators, who, though left out of Raczyński's account, were essential as the intended audience of the event. They appear also in the first illustration, which depicts the sultan and his attendants walking out of the mosque on lengths of cloth as members of the public—including women and children—watch from the side and over the walls. Both images indicate a remarkable degree of proximity between the sultan and his subjects, and indeed, their respective portrayals of the event show that Raczyński and Fuhrmann too must have been able to observe proceedings from close quarters, though neither would have been allowed inside the mosque.

The second engraving is important also for depicting the mosque in its original state, when it had only a single minaret rising from beside the right-hand wing of the pavilion, and when the roofs of the wings may have been more vault-like in form.[67] Mahmud II clearly esteemed his father's mosque, and his magnificent *selāmlıḳ* there—

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[66] For Fuhrman's involvement in the journey, see Jerzy Pertek, *Poles on the High Seas*, trans. Alexander T. Jordan (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978), 212–13. His engravings appear only in the original Polish edition: See Edward Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Turcyi odbytey w roku MDCCCXIV* (Wrocław: Drukiem Grassa, Bartha i Kompanii, 1821), plates 43–44.

[67] It is difficult to know whether the latter detail has been accurately portrayed in the engraving (see also the following note), but it is not unlikely that the wings' roofs were higher and more bulbous than they are today. This would not have compromised the residential appearance of the pavilion, for such vault-like roofs were are fairly common in Ottoman palace architecture.

which far outshone Abdülhamid's inaugural visit—shows that the building was rising in status. In keeping with this development, Mahmud had the single minaret demolished and replaced by a new pair between 1810 and 1811, their bases built next to the pavilion's wings slightly forward of where the old tower had stood (fig. 429). It is clear from the architectural evidence—and confirmed by Fuhrmann's illustration—that this renovation did not, as some scholars have maintained, entail the (re)construction of the pavilion itself, though Mahmud did enlarge and rebuild the jetty in front of it (fig. 428).[68] These changes brought the mosque more in line with other sultanic foundations, as an inscription over one of the jetty's new gates proudly announces:

> May His Paradise-Dwelling Majesty Abdülhamid Khan
> Be proud in the hereafter of his progeny's excellence;
> Never has God provided an emperor with as worthy an heir
> As his most august son, the glorious king;
> Having perfected his pious foundation, the apple of his eye
> Has proved himself a sovereign worthy of the afterlife;
> For as long as the Muhammadan prayer-call reaches the heavenly throne, O Lord,
> May his minaret of majesty endure in the world;
> Exceeding its earlier state, I have composed its chronogram:
> Mahmud Khan made for this temple two minarets.[69]

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[68] The scholarship is confused and undecided on this matter. For a summary of the debate, see Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 77; and for the untenable view that the pavilion is of later construction, see Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 629–30. Physical examination of the building can leave no doubt that the present pavilion is the original. As well as being stylistically in keeping with a late-eighteenth-century date, the pavilion is of different construction from the better-dressed stonework of the minarets, and the joins between it and the attached minaret bases are very obvious, particularly where the cornice has been cut to accommodate the later addition. If the physical evidence might be challenged, Fuhrmann's illustration—drawn over five years before the renovation and published contemporaneously with it—clearly shows the pavilion looking as it still does, with all its parts accounted for (though see the preceding note). To be sure, the image is not exact in every detail, perhaps as a result of having been translated into an engraving: the roof of the pavilion's central section, for example, is shown with two little cupolas sticking out of it, and these appear to be a misinterpretation of the semidome squinches of the octagonal baldachin just behind. Nevertheless, the pavilion as an overall entity is depicted as the same structure that we see today.

[69] *Cennet-mekān Ḥażret-i ʿAbdü'l-Ḥamīd Ḫān / Etsin beḳāda devlet-i necliyle iftiḫār / Bir pādişāha etmedi ḫayrü'l-ḫalef Ḫüdā / Maḫdūm-ı aʿẓamı gibi şevketlü şehriyār / Ḫayrātını mükemmel edüp nūr-ı dīdesi / Oldu ḥayāt-ı s̱ānīye maẓhar o tācdār / Çıḳdıḳca ʿarşa yā Rabb eẕān-ı Muḥammedī / Olsun menār-ı şevketi dünyāda ber-ḳarār / Refʿ eyleyüp ʿatīḳını tārīḫini dedim / Maḥmūd Ḫān bu maʿbede yapdı iki menār.*

Mahmud's augmentation of the Beylerbeyi suggests that the mosque's potential was not fully understood until after it had been built. Though its design seems to have been an innovative experiment based on its topography, the mosque became something of a surprise hit, inspiring several smaller imitations in its immediate wake. Probably the earliest example is the Mosque of Cezayirli Hasan Pasha (d. 1790), the grand admiral (*ḳadudān paşa*) of the Ottoman fleet, who rebuilt his earlier mosque on the model of the Beylerbeyi in 1784–85 (figs. 430–31).[70] Because the mosque stood in the middle of the marine barracks of the Imperial Shipyard (*Tersāne-i ʿĀmire*), in modern-day Kasımpaşa, Hasan Pasha was able to provide its domed prayer hall with a royal loge; this takes the form of a pavilion on columns that is stuck to the front of the mosque, an arrangement that clearly refers to the Beylerbeyi.[71] It is interesting to note that this later pavilion, unlike its sultanic parent, is more humbly constructed of wood, and that its residential character has not suffered in the absence of a shoreline setting. In 1787–88, on the other side of the Golden Horn near Unkapanı, a consort of Abdülhamid's named Fatma Şebsefa Hatun (d. 1805) erected another mosque of this type in honor of her deceased son (fig. 432).[72] The structure in this case is of alternating courses of brick and stone, its pavilion very much resembling a wingless version of the Beylerbeyi's. Another royal consort—Mihrişah Sultan (d. 1805), mother of Selim III—built an analogous mosque in Halıcıoğlu,

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[70] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 353–54; and Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 83, 84, 129–31, 167–68. For Cezayirli Hasan Pasha and his close relationship with the sultan, see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 125–29; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 252.

[71] That this structure was a sultan's pavilion is attested in Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 353, where it is called a *maḥfil-i hümāyūn*. Abdülhamid's visit to the mosque is recorded in the sources: see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 56.

[72] For this mosque, see Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 85, 132–34, 169–70; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 414; and Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 544–45. The sultan's visit to the mosque is recorded in the sourses: see Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 57.

on the northern Shore of the Golden Horn, in 1793–94 (figs. 433–34).[73] Originally surrounded by barracks, this mosque recalls the Beylerbeyi not only because of its frontal pavilion, but also in being tied to a complex located on the shore opposite to it, namely Mihrişah Sultan's contemporaneous tomb, imaret, school, and sebil at Eyüp (figs. 435–36).[74] These back-to-back successors to the Beylerbeyi show how effective its architectural conceit had proved.

Something else about Abdülhamid's mosque that anticipated future developments was its suburban shoreline location. Although the building of mosques—including royal ones—along the city's waterways was already a well-established practice, the Beylerbeyi marks the moment when such settings became preferred: no sultan would ever construct a mosque in the walled city again, and imperial patronage shifted instead to the shores of the Bosphorus, as I shall discuss in my conclusion. This was a sensible move in several regards. It sidestepped the controversy of erecting new mosques in the capital at a time of continuing military losses, and it also avoided the difficulty of finding suitable plots of land in the city's crowded fabric. Mosques built in suburban contexts were more cost-effective, since they did not need to be large to stand out in their surroundings. Moreover, the sultans could make a virtue of their expanded patronage, using it to enhance the image of an ever more present, ever more visible ruler. While the mosques of Istanbul proper remained the most esteemed and frequented, the new shoreline structures afforded

[73] For this mosque, today known as the Kumbarhane/Humbarahane Mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 326; and Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 85, 135–36, 171–72. The mosque has been very poorly restored, particularly its pavilion, whose windows are now anachronistically pointed.

[74] For the Mihrişah Sultan Complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 274–75; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 87–88; and Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 410–11. The relationship between the complex and Mihrişah's mosque is underscored by the fact that the two are mentioned together in Ali Sati's description of Eyüp Sultan: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 274, 275.

the sultans valuable opportunities to cast a wider public-relations net.[75] The English traveler and author Albert Richard Smith (d. 1860), who saw Abdülhamid's grandson Abdülmecid I (r. 1839–61) process by land to the Beylerbeyi in 1849, reveals in his travelogue that these suburban appearances were just as important for the sultan's interaction with his subjects as were his *selāmlıḳ*s in the heart of the city:

> A crowd of people, consisting principally of females, had collected before the mosque, and a square space was kept by the soldiers. Some little courtesy was shown to visitors, as the Franks were permitted to cross this enclosure to a corner close to the door, by which the Sultan was to enter. . . . The mob kept increasing. People brought petitions to give to the Sultan when he arrived, and were marshalled in a heap near the door by a *cavass* [*çavuş*?] or policeman, who had a whip in his hand to enforce obedience and order; men with cakes and sweetmeats loitered about. . . . . When [the sultan] got to the door of the mosque, the people held their petitions, which were like briefs, up in the air. An attendant collected them, and then the Sultan entered, whilst the household gave two loud cries, meant as cheers in his honour.[76]

Smith opines that the Beylerbeyi Mosque "stands in the same relation and bearing to St. Sophia . . . as Rotherhithe Church does to St. Paul's,"[77] an astute observation that suggests the dialogue existing between such mosques and the larger monuments of the capital proper. These buildings together formed a network that extended over the wider city and served both to accommodate and commemorate the sultan's show of benevolent

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[75] Abdülhamid visited over 45 different mosques during 350 selāmlıḳ parades; about 150 of these visits were to the Ayasofya, whose proximity to the palace made it the preferred choice in times of inclement weather. See Sarıcaoğlu, *Kendi Kaleminden bir Padişahın Portresi*, 56.

[76] See Albert Richard Smith, *A Month at Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (London: David Bogue, 1850), 102–6. Like Mary Georgiana Emma Dawson Damer (see n. 65 above), Smith was let down by the spectacle, largely, it seems, because it did not confirm to his expectations of Oriental splendor: "He was dressed in a plain European blue frock coat and trowsers, with the fez, and did not at all come up to the gorgeous gentleman I had pictured from my childhood. . . . I was disappointed at feeling no terror as he approached. Nobody was bowstrung, nor were any heads cut off. The Duke of Wellington riding down to the house on a fine afternoon has produced more excitement." It is interesting to note how much less impressive the *selāmlıḳ* became to Westerners after Mahmud II's dress reforms.

[77] Ibid., 102. Rebuilt in 1714–15 by the architect John James, St Mary's Church in Rotherhithe stands on the southern bank of the River Thames in what is today South London and what was formerly Surrey. It is a well-built and important parish church.

dominion over his people. Though many more suburban mosques of this type had been built by the time Smith was writing, the trend was already well underway in the late eighteenth century.

This proliferation of shoreline mosques was to some extent related to the spread of waterside palaces that had begun earlier, but it also differed from it. While both kinds of building contributed to the sultan's visibility, the mosques were more compelling signs of his selfless munificence. The theme of reviving old neighborhoods or creating new ones was, as we have seen, already important in the discourse surrounding the imperial mosques of the eighteenth century. In the case of the waterside mosques—whose construction indeed introduced new facilities to comparatively undeveloped areas—this topos could be still more compellingly invoked. It is significant that Abdülhamid's other major mosque, built in 1780–81, replaced a disused shoreline mansion of the Mirgünoğlu family, some way up the Bosphorus on its European side.[78] As Ayvansarayi's compendium explains,

> His Majesty Sultan Abdülhamid Khan commanded that the place become a village with its land a tax farm. An unpretentious village with a blessed congregational mosque, a hamam and shops was newly created, and subsequently, in the period of Selim Khan the Third, it gained more distinction and became larger in extent.[79]

The mosque at the heart of this new village—today the suburb of Emirgan—was entirely rebuilt by Mahmud II in 1838, and though we do not know its design, the edifice that replaced it—a domeless stone prayer hall with a wooden pavilion at its front—may reflect the original arrangement (fig. 437). At the very least, the mosque would have had

[78] For this mosque, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 445–48; and Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 399, where the current structure is mistaken for the original.

[79] The translation is Crane's: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 448.

some sort of pavilion attached to it, and whether or not this was a yalı-like structure as at the Beylerbeyi, the symbolism would have been difficult to miss: the defunct Mirgünoğlu mansion had—for the honor of God and the good of the people—been eclipsed by an altogether different kind of pavilion, along with the flourishing village it came with.

The Beylerbeyi, which survives largely as it had been conceived, was no less emblematic of these ideas. It too replaced a real palace with a heavenly pavilion and its ancillaries, bringing practical benefits to the people even while serving the sultan's own image. The point is aptly verbalized by an inscription over the large rear gate into the mosque's precinct, which stands prominently on the main road of the village (fig. 438):

> Since [Abdülhamid] ascended the throne of the exalted destiny of Osman,
> He sincerely increased, time and again, goodness and righteousness.
> This abode was brought to life with imperial zeal.
> [Beylerbeyi] became a new and flourishing city, when [before] it has been a valley of sighs.[80]

Such projects amply demonstrated that, even in fraught times of war, the sultan was more than capable of providing for the improvement of his expanding capital and, with it, the wellbeing of his subjects.

Architecture of a New Order: Selim III and His Üsküdar Project

Abdülhamid's nephew and successor, Selim III, was no less cognizant of the importance of building in the face of conflict. Born in 1761 to Mustafa III and the concubine Mihrişah, Selim was the first male addition to the House of Osman since 1725, and much

[80] The translation is Crane's: see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 482. For a transliteration of the inscription, see Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî*, 582.

hope was invested in his eventual sultanate.[81] He received a thorough education and enjoyed rare freedom under his uncle, even maintaining his own correspondence with Louis XVI of France (r. 1774–92, d. 1793). When Abdülhamid died in 1789, Selim was a young man of 28 years, the first sultan for nearly a century not to ascend the throne in middle age. His reign promised much, and he was intensely aware of the high expectations held of him.

Selim's first task was to conclude the wars with Russia and Austria that he had inherited from his uncle. The Ottomans' early successes against the Habsburgs did not prevent the latter from taking Belgrade in late 1789, six months into the new reign, while attempts to reverse the Russian annexation of the Crimea proved futile. Hostilities with Austria ended in 1791 with the Treaty of Sistov, whose terms could have been much worse for the empire: the threat posed to the Habsburgs by the French Revolution, which broke out in 1789, and by the Ottomans' Prussian allies compelled Austria to return Belgrade and settle instead for a few meager border gains. The conflict with Russia, however, cost the empire dearly, and the Ottomans were forced to recognize Romanov control of the Crimea when they signed the Treaty of Jassy in 1792.[82]

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[81] For Selim's life and reign, see Aḥmed Fāʾiz Efendi, *III. Selim'in Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi tarafından tutulan Rûznâme*, ed. V. Sema Arıkan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1993); Aḥmed Fāʾiz Efendi, "III. Selim Devri," in Mehmet Ali Beyhan, *Saray Günlüğü (25 Aralık 1802–24 Ocak 1809)* (Istanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2007), 109–201; Aḥmed ʿĀṣım, *Tārīḫ-i ʿĀṣım*, 2 vols. (Istanbul: Cerīde-i Ḥavādiṯ Maṭbaʿası, 1284 [1867]); Cābī ʿÖmer Efendi, *Câbî Târihi (Târîh-i Sultân Selîm-i Sâlis ve Mahmûd-i Sânî): Tahlîl ve Tenkidli Metin*, ed. Mehmet Ali Beyhan, 2 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 1:1–179; Aḥmed Cevdet Pasha, *Tārīḫ-i Cevdet*, rev. ed., 12 vols. (Istanbul: Maṭbaʿa-ı ʿOṯmāniyye, 1302–09/1884–91]), 4:234–8:311; Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 180–258; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 389–418; Ortaylı et al., *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen*; Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789–1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 259–74; and Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *III. Selim: İki Asrın Dönemecinde İstanbul = İstanbul at a Turning Point between Two Centuries* (Istanbul: İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti, 2010).

[82] For a summary of these events, see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 180–84.

Although peace had come at a high price, Selim was now able to embark on a series of reforms aimed at bolstering the empire and avoiding future losses. At the heart of this initiative was the establishment in 1794 of a new army whose training, equipment, and dress were all patterned on Western models. The name of this army—*Niẓām-ı Cedīd*, "New Order"—became the name for Selim's reforms more generally, covering a range of measures that included the founding of the Imperial School of Engineering (*Mühendisẖāne-i Berrī-i Hümāyūn*) in Hasköy and the appointment of the first permanent Ottoman ambassadors to various European capitals.[83] Like the earlier reforms on which it built, Selim's New Order made considerable use of Western advisers and experts, and the Ottomans were keen to show the rest of Europe that they were not lagging. Mahmud Raʿif Efendi (d. 1807)—the polyglot chief secretary to the Porte's ambassador to Britain, Yusuf Agah Efendi (d. 1824)—penned a French treatise on the reforms upon his return to Istanbul. Entitled *Tableau des nouveaux reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman* and published in 1798, this short book was intended to promote knowledge of the New Order to a wider European audience, and reviews and notices about it in Western journals are proof of the interest the project garnered.[84] Even the circumstances of its publication reflected well on the empire, for the book—complete with naturalistic engravings (fig. 434)—was produced by the Imperial School of Engineering's own printing press, whose output

[83] For the New Order, see the sources cited in n. 80 above and, for a summary, Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 180–213. For the intensification of foreign diplomacy under Selim, see Kürkçüoglu, "The Adoption and Use of Permanent Diplomacy," 131–36; and Thomas Naff, "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83, no. 3 (August–September 1963): 295–315.

[84] See Maḥmūd Rāʿif Efendi, *Tableau des nouveaux reglemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf Efendi* (Istanbul: Imprimé dans la nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie, sous la direction d'Abdurrahman Efendi, 1798). For a facsimile and modern Turkish translation, see Maḥmūd Rāʿif Efendi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yeni Nizamların Cedveli*, trans. and ed. Arslan Terzioğlu and Hüsrev Hatemi (Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1988). For a contemporary journal review of the book, see *The British Critic* 16 (July–December 1800): 463. Mahmud Raif Efendi was ultimately shot dead by opponents of Selim's reforms: see Finkel, Osman's Dream, 414–15.

consisted mainly of Ottoman translations of Western atlases and manuals.[85] One of those who read the treatise was Lord Broughton, who considered the reforms to be unprecedented in their scope and ambition:

> It would be impossible to find an instance in the annals of any country, of an attempt equal to the new constitution of Selim, either in the magnitude of its design, or the decisive originality of its bold innovations. The re-establishment of an immense empire upon its former basis was the proposed result, and this was to be accomplished by a total change of national character. The efforts of Peter the Great, stupendous as they were, had been directed to an amelioration of his subjects, which, compared to the reform intended by Selim, was slow and partial.[86]

Despite their consciously European framework, Selim's reforms were not foreign in orientation, and nor did they entail the "total change of national character" that Broughton claims.[87] Among the sultan's most ardent supporters were members of the Nakşibendi and Mevlevi orders, Sufi groups that were closely tied to the state and saw reform as the surest means of preserving the empire, and thereby Islam itself.[88] But there was also a great deal of opposition to the New Order from those who stood to lose power, particularly the janissaries, who rightly suspected that the sultan would replace them with

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[85] See Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi, 1776–1826* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık ve Kitapçılık, 1995).

[86] Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:1010 (and 1011 for discussion of Mahmud Raif Efendi's treatise).

[87] In an article I wrote on a series of Ottoman inserts added to the famous *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp in 1800–01, I discuss how the inserts show their author, Mehmed Arif, to have been a man who was both a traditionally-minded Sunni and a proponent of Selim's reforms. Mehmed Arif was Selim's gunkeeper, and his views and attitudes were probably representative of the sultan's circle more generally. See Ünver Rüstem, "The Afterlife of a Royal Gift: The Ottoman Inserts of the *Shāhnāma-i Shāhī*," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 245–337, esp. 248–49, 258–63.

[88] Selim III was a member of the Mevlevi order. Among the Nakşibendi, the greatest support for Selim's reforms came from the müceddidī (renewer) branch, which traced its lineage back to the seventeenth-century Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order of India. See Uriel Heyd, "The Ottoman ʿUlemā and Westernization in the Time of Selīm III and Maḥmūd II," in *The Modern Middle East: A Reader*, ed. Albert Hourani, Philip S. Khoury, and Mary C. Wilson (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 29–59, esp. 33; and Itzchak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 77–78. I am very grateful to Tülay Artan for bringing the Sufi support for Selim to my attention.

the new army if he could. The risk of revolt posed by the janissaries was a constant check on Selim's reformist agenda and prevented the new army from reaching its full potential.[89]

Selim's program was further frustrated when the empire once again became embroiled in international conflict in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Having already lost their oldest Western ally with the fall of the *ancien régime*, the Ottomans were reluctant to invite additional misfortune by joining European efforts to contain the revolution. But when Napoleon (r. 1804–14, 1815; d. 1821) invaded the Ottoman province of Egypt in 1798, the empire was forced to declare war, now finding itself in alliance with its former enemy Russia. Selim's new army fought alongside the British to keep Napoleon from taking Acre, and in 1801, again with British help, the Ottomans were able to expel the French from Egypt.[90] Mindful of French ascendency and happy to leave well enough alone, Selim took a diplomatic tack and refused to partake in any further campaigns against Napoleon, instead recognizing him as emperor of France in 1806.[91] In a letter sent to his grand vizier that year, the sultan discusses a portrait that Napoleon had gifted him, and rather patronizingly seeks to demonstrate his own expertise in the niceties of European diplomacy:

> He has shown great friendship and sincerity by sending me his portrait. In Europe, it is an important custom for friends to present each other their portraits. You would not know about this, but I am happy with this action of his. I too have a

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[89] For overviews of the opposition to Selim's reforms, see Heyd, "Ottoman ʿUlemā," 33; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 261–62, 266–27.

[90] For an overview of these events, see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 229–41.

[91] For Selim's recognition of Napoleon and its consequences, see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 242–43.

specially made portrait of myself; it is a large panel. I am going to send it to my friend the emperor.[92]

The portrait in question has not been identified, though it may have resembled Kapıdağlı's well-known painting of the sultan seated on a sofa (fig. 439).[93]

Selim's keenness to promote himself visually extended also to his use of architecture.[94] If his predecessors had built in spite of difficult circumstances, Selim did so almost in defiance of them, and the renovation of the Ottoman capital continued unabated during his reign. One of his most important contributions was the rebuilding of the Eyüp Sultan Mosque, which stood a little outside the walled city opposite the supposed tomb of the eponymous Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad who had died in 674 during an Arab raid on Constantinople.[95] Founded by Mehmed II in 1458, the mosque was the first to be constructed in Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest, and, together with its tomb, quickly became the holiest Muslim shrine

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[92] *Baña taṣvīrini irsāl eylemek pek büyük dostluḳ u ḫulūṣī iẓhār eylemekdir. Avrupa'da dost dosta taṣvīrini hediyye eylemek muʿtenā ʿādetdir. Sen bilmezsiñ hele bu muʿāmelesinden memnūnum. Benim daḫi maḫṣūṣ yaptırdığım kendi taṣvīrim vardır. Büyük levḥadır. Anı İmparaṭor dostuma irsāl eyleyeceğim.* The document is transliterated in Enver Ziya Karal, ed., *Selim III. ün Hatt-ı Humayunları*, 2nd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1999), 92–93. For a French translation and discussion of the document, see Edhem Eldem, "Pouvoir, modernité et visibilité: l'évolution de l'iconographie sultanienne à l'époque modern," in *Le corps du leader: construction et représentation dans les pays du sud*, ed. Omar Carlier and Raphaëlle Nollez-Goldbach (Paris: Harmattan, 2008), 171–75.

[93] This possibility is discussed by Edhem Eldem ("Pouvoir, modernité et visibilité," 172–73), though he argues that a portrait showing the sultan on horseback or enthroned would have been a likelier choice. The rest of Eldem's article discusses the subsequent use of Western-style portraits by the Ottoman sultans. For this and other portraits of Selim by Kapıdağlı, see Bağcı et al., *Ottoman Painting*, 294–95; and Ortaylı et al., *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen*, 112, 114–19, cat. nos. 8, 10–13.

[94] For an overview of architectural projects during Selim's reign, see Deniz Esemenli, "Sultan III. Selim Dönemi Mimarisi," in Ortaylı et al., *Bir Reformcu, Şair ve Müzisyen*, 25–41.

[95] For the Eyüp Sultan Mosque, including its original form, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 269–76; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 411–12; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, 45–51; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 545–48; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 34; and Aptullah Kuran, "Eyüp Külliyesi," in *Selçuklular'dan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye'de mimarlık = Architecture in Turkey from the Seljuks to the Republic*, ed. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Lucianne Thys-Şenocak, and Timur Kuran (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2012), 488–95.

complex in Europe. The sultans eagerly capitalized on having such an eminent saint as their patron, frequently visiting the shrine during their processional appearances. Moreover, the courtyard lying between the mosque and tomb served as the usual venue for the sword-girding ceremony by which a new sultan was invested with power. Selim's decision to rebuild the mosque between 1798 and 1800 was motivated partly by practical considerations—the structure had fallen into disrepair by the time of his reign—and partly by a desire to tie his patronage to so venerable a site. Recalling his father's restoration of the almost equally old and esteemed Fatih Mosque, he erected a building that combines a revivalist sixteenth-century style with certain telltale Baroque features (figs. 440–45): the pointed arches of the new courtyard, for example, are carried on Ionic-like scroll capitals, and the prayer hall, whose main dome has small semidomes all around it, is accompanied by a ramped sultan's pavilion. These modern elements relate the mosque to the nearby complex that, as mentioned above, had recently been established by Selim's mother, Mihrişah. Lining one of the streets that lead to the mosque through Eyüp's elite cemeteries, Mihrişah's complex constitutes a lively Baroque ancillary to the shrine, and it would have provided her son's processions with a stately and up-to-date backdrop (figs. 435–36). The timing of Selim and Mihrişah's Eyüp projects made clear the Islamic dimension of the sultan's reformist drive, and it is notable that the Mevlevi Sufis—staunch backers of the New Order—became increasingly prominent in the girding ceremonies held in the rebuilt mosque's courtyard.[96]

[96] It is today widely thought that the Mevlevi sheikhs of Konya had always had the privilege of girding the sultan, but as F. W. Hasluck has shown, the order's involvement in the ceremony is not documented earlier than the seventeenth century and did not become usual until the nineteenth. Before this late date, most of the investitures were carried out by the grand mufti or chief of the Prophet's descendents (*naḳībü'l-eşref*). The change in practice that occured immediately after Selim III's reign was so successful that the Mevlevi's role soon became regarded as an age-old institution, complete with its own legend. Indeed, the nineteenth-century railings surrounding the great tree in the center of the Eyüp Sultan courtyard have finials

More explicitly emblematic of Selim's reforms were the numerous barracks he constructed for the training and accommodation of his new troops. Designed as large multistory quadrangles, these barracks were of Western inspiration and represented a new architectural type in the Ottoman context. The earliest example appears to have been the aforementioned Kasımpaşa marine barracks, built during Abdülhamid's reign, but it was under Selim that these monumental structures began to proliferate along the city's shorelines.[97] Although they were largely of wooden construction and would all go on to be rebuilt by his successors, Selim's barracks succeeded in transforming Istanbul's extended cityscape, providing highly visible signs of the empire's hoped-for military turnaround. Once again, Selim was supported in his endeavors by his mother, whose mosque at Halıcıoğlu—discussed above—stood in the middle of a now lost barracks complex, close to the engineering school at Hasköy (fig. 434).

It was also in these years that the German-born painter and architect Antoine Ignace Melling (d. 1831) entered into Ottoman service, the first documented case of a non-renegade Christian Westerner working in the sphere of Ottoman civil architecture.[98] Melling had come to Istanbul as a member of the Russian ambassador's suite and eventually attracted the interest of Selim's sister and confidant Hadice Sultan (d. 1821), who commissioned him to design dresses and jewelry in addition to works of

in the distinctive shape of the tall Mevlevi cap. The rise of the Mevlevi in this reformist period coincided with the decline and eventual banning of the Bektashi order, to which the janissaries were tied. See F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 2:604–22.

[97] For these barracks, see Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 552–57.

[98] For Melling's own account of his time in the empire, with engravings after his drawings, see Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, 2 vols. (Paris, Strasbourg, and London: Treuttel et Würtz, 1819). For a modern edition with English and Turkish translations, see Melling, *A Picturesque Voyage to Constantinople and the Shores of the Bosphorus = İstanbul ve Boğaz Kıyılarına Pitoresk Seyahat = Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, ed. Rezan Benatar, trans. İrvin Cemil Schick and Ece Zerman (Istanbul: Denizler Kitabevi, 2012).

architecture. Hadice corresponded with the artist in a simplified Turkish written using the Latin alphabet, addressing him in accordance with his Christian status as "Melling Calfa."[99] The most notable product of their collaboration was the Hadice Sultan Palace, a grand shoreline residence of neoclassical design built in the 1790s at Defterdarburnu, near Ortaköy (fig. 446). As with the rest of Melling's Ottoman output, the palace no longer survives.

Through Hadice's backing, Melling also came to work for the sultan himself, though the vast majority of royal projects continued to be entrusted to native artists. Especially important in this regard is Foti Kalfa, a Greek architect who is said by the nineteenth-century minister and historian Mansurizade Mustafa Nuri Pasha (d. 1890) to have been Simyon Kalfa's apprentice.[100] While no evidence exists to support this claim, Foti, like Simeon, must have trained as a master carpenter, as some of the Ottoman sources refer to him as such.[101] He was held in high regard by the sultan, who in 1805 rewarded his "fine services and devotion" to imperial architecture by decreeing him exempt from the usual taxes and sumptuary laws imposed on non-Muslim subjects.[102] This privilege was extended also to Foti's sons, who assisted him in his work. One of the

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[99] For Melling's relationship with Hadice Sultan, including reproductions and transliterations of their letters, see Jacques Perot, Frèdèric Hitzel, and Robert Anhegger, *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa: Mektuplar*, trans. Ela Güntekin (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001).

[100] See Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, 4:147. For other sources on Foti Kalfa's life and career, see Pamukciyan, "Foti Kalfa'ya Dair İki Kaynak Daha"; Kevork Pamukciyan, "Üsküdar'daki Selimiye Camii'nin Mimarı Kimdir?," in *Zamanlar, Mekânlar, İnsanlar*, Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkılar 3. (Istanbul: Aras, 2003), 155–59.

[101] See BOA, D.TŞF.d.26076, where he is referred to as "Foti, master carpenter" (*neccār ḳalfası Foṭi*).

[102] See BOA, C.ML.25245 and BOA, C.BLD.4859. These decrees—which instruct their recipients not to interfere with Foti's dress, horse, or caique—commend the architect's work on the Selimiye Mosque (to be discussed presently in the main text) and his services to "other imperial buildings": *Gerek cāmiʿ-i meẕkūr ve gerek ebniye-i hümāyūn/mīriyye ḫidemātında ḥüsn-i ḫidmet ve ṣadāḳati* . . . We learn from another decree (BOA, HAT., 1490/32) that Foti himself had applied for these privileges shortly before work was completed on the Selimiye, with the sultan agreeing to grant them once the project was finished.

projects that Foti participated in was the new Eyüp Sultan Mosque, construction of which took place during the tenure of the chief architect Mehmed Arif Agha. The roles of these two men relative to each other is unclear, though Foti clearly played a major part in designing the mosque: he is listed first among the Christians in a register of officials, artists, and workmen who received robes of honor at the building's inauguration.[103] Remarkably, this document does not follow the conventional practice of relegating all the Christians to the end, for Foti and his associates precede some of the Muslims on the list. Whether the same order was followed in the actual ceremony cannot be known, but either way, the open favor that Foti enjoyed demonstrates an increasing willingness on the part of the Ottoman state to acknowledge the services of non-Muslim architects.

Foti was a leading figure also in Selim's greatest project, a new mosque complex in Üsküdar (figs. 447–69). Called the Selimiye, the complex was built between 1802 and 1805 in Üsküdar's less developed southern part.[104] The choice of name was a frank declaration of the mosque's founder, who felt confident enough not to dedicate the monument to a deceased relative. Indeed, an official *rūznāme* entry recording a visit by Selim to the mosque almost a year before its completion shows that the name had already been decided.[105] Three chief architects—Mehmed Arif Agha, Ahmed Nureddin Agha,

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[103] See BOA, D.TŞF.d.26076.

[104] For the Selimiye Mosque and its complex, see Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 495; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, 90; Selçuk Batur, "Selimiye Camii," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 6:512–15; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 413; Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:323–33; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 545; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 33; and M. Gözde Ramazanoğlu, "Selimiye Camii ve Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1988–), 36:434–36.

[105] Dated July 22, 1804, the entry tells us that the sultan went incognito to the site and "looked about his imperial work, the Noble Selimiye Mosque and the buildings around it" (*es̱er-i şāhāneleri olan Selīmiyye Cāmiʿ-i şerīfi ve etrāf bināları temāşā birle . . .*). He then went to the royal pavilion of the neighboring

and İbrahim Kamil Bey—served during the construction, but the main builder was almost certainly Foti Kalfa, since the decrees awarding him privileges stress his involvement in the mosque and date from immediately after its completion.[106] What Foti and his team created was no ordinary complex: in addition to such expected ancillaries as a primary school, a timekeeper's office, a bathhouse, and fountains, the mosque was accompanied by ninety-seven shops, a printing house, a bakery, shoreline facilities for rowers and porters, and various factories and workshops for the production of goods ranging from candles to textiles. In short, the Selimiye was conceived as a fully equipped new urban center, distinguished by its cutting-edge facilities and wide streets arranged on a grid system, which extended from the shore to the hill of the Karacaahmet Cemetery about a kilometer inland. Hovhannisean, whose description of Istanbul contains one of the few references to the Selimiye that date from its founder's lifetime, tells us that the project resulted in a "well-populated neighborhood" with "important and necessary" buildings.[107]

The establishment of this grand model district coincided with that of the neighboring Selimiye Barracks, a vast waterside structure erected between 1800 and 1803 for the new army (fig. 448).[108] Easily seen from across the Bosphorus, these barracks announced Selim's reforms to the rest of the city, and the adjacent mosque complex was surely meant to be regarded in conjunction with them. Both works occupied the erstwhile

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barracks to watch the performance of military drills in the yard adjacent to the building. See Aḥmed Fāʾiz Efendi, "III. Selim Devri," 151.

[106] See n. 102 above.

[107] See Hovhannisean, *Payitaht İstanbul*, 75. My English rendering is based on the Turkish translation of the original Armenian.

[108] For the Selimiye Barracks, see Afife Batur, "Selimiye Kışlası," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 6:515–16; and Gözde Ramazanoğlu, "Üsküdar'da Muallem Bostaniyan (Selimiye) Kışlası (1800–1809)," in *Uluslararası Üsküdar Sempozyumu VI, 6–9 Kasım 2008: Bildiriler*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi, 2009), 271–78.

grounds of the Kavak Palace, which was destroyed to make way for the barracks, thus underscoring the public-mindedness of Selim's project. Completing this monument to the New Order was a Nakşibendi lodge that formed another component of the Selimiye; it stood at the upper end of the complex next to the Karacaahmet Cemetery, as if a spiritual complement to the barracks downhill.[109]

The mosque itself—the only major part of the complex to have survived largely unchanged—is in effect a summation of the key shifts witnessed by preceding decades, combining what Selim and his builders must have considered the best of earlier models (figs. 447–54). Its single-domed prayer hall returns to the plan established by the Nuruosmaniye and followed by the Ayzma, with a square rather than octagonal baldachin. Built within a walled enclosure on the hillside overlooking the barracks, the Selimiye further resembles the two earlier mosques in its elevated location, though its visibility from and proximity to the water—qualities shared by the Ayazma—mean that it also partakes of the trend towards shoreline sites. Stylistically, the mosque fully embraces the innovations of the Ottoman Baroque. The deeply molded arches of the baldachin are, for the first time, entirely round, their form accentuated by their enlarged decorative keystones. The window have round or bell-shaped arches, and those piercing the baldachin tympana are framed by pilasters like those of the Ayazma, except now without crescent-moon pinnacles. Curvilinear flying buttresses brace the dome and lateral walls, recalling in more exaggerated form their counterparts at the Laleli, whose architecture is

[109] It is interesting to note that Karacaahmet, after whose tomb the whole cemetery is named, was a saint revered by the heteredox Bektashi order, which was affiliated with the janissaries. As Gülru Necipoğlu suggested to me, the placement of the Nakşibendi lodge opposite the cemetery probably signified an ideological opposition to the Bektashi shrine and its connotations. For the lodge, which was rebuilt between 1834 and 1836 and stands today as the Küçük Selimiye Çiçekçi Mosque, see Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:142–57; and M. Baha Tanman, "Selimiye Tekkesi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols. (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Tarih Vakfı, 1993–95), 6:516–18. For the hostility of reformist members of the ulema towards the janissaries and Bektashis, see Heyd, "Ottoman ʿUlemā," 41–42.

also evoked by the thin courses of red brick that enliven the base of the Selimiye's dome. The rest of the structure is of well-dressed stone elegantly carved with moldings and architraves, with marble galleries of basket-handle arches along the flanks of the building.

The fineness of its construction distinguishes the Selimiye from the less polished Beylerbeyi, and so too does its relative monumentality, which sees a return to the more imposing proportions of the mosques predating Abdülhamid's. Nevertheless, the Beylerbeyi's impact is very much evident in the design of the Selimiye's entrance side, where we again find a wide royal pavilion in lieu of a courtyard (figs. 452–53, 455–57). The pavilion follows its prototype in having two block-like lateral wings that extend beyond the width of the prayer hall. Greater in scale than their counterparts at the Beylerbeyi, these blocks are borne on marble arcades that resemble and join those along the mosque's sides, and they are proportionally aligned with the lower tiers of the much taller prayer hall. Their rectangular windows, low roofs, and plastered walls, however, distinguish them as residential in style. Each of the blocks has its own entrances and staircase, and that on the right—that is, to the southwest—is larger and contiguous with the sultan's prayer loge, thus reversing the arrangement of the Beylerbeyi.

The gallery connecting the two wings is here set back, allowing for the placement of a vaulted entrance portico between them in front of the main entrance to the prayer hall (figs. 457–60). Ascended by a semicircular stairway, this marble-built portico comprises five bays and an additional central projection, with round and basket-handle arches resting on columns that feature subtly foliated scroll capitals. Flanking the portico and bordered by the pavilion's wings are two lofty minarets, each with a single balcony. The

stone finials that today surmount these towers are the result of a later restoration, replacing the conical lead caps of the original design (fig. 452). The prayer-hall entrance at the back of the portico is a magnificent marble doorway carved in high relief with undulating scrolls, aigrette-like crests, and Rococo cartouches (fig. 460). Towards the top of the door, immediately below a cartouche containing Selim's tughra, is a versified *nastaʿlīq* inscription that calls the sultan "the ornament of the caliphal crown and most high emperor."[110] The text goes on to describe the mosque and its complex in terms familiar from the Beylerbeyi:

> He made this temple prosper like a pavilion in the Paradise of Delight,
> And through his fine endeavors he brought Üsküdar back to life[111]

Entering the mosque, we find ourselves in a space that again bears out the palatial conceit of the building's façade (figs. 461–66). The main area is entirely covered by the dome, and there are no lateral galleries to complicate this configuration. Though not particularly large, the hall is rendered light and airy by its tall, copiously fenestrated walls. The paintwork that today covers these walls and the rest of the interior is in an anachronistic classical Ottoman style, no doubt creating a very different effect from that of the original scheme, of which no record survives. A marble frieze carved with the Victory Sura wraps around the majority of the hall below the first row of arched windows, recalling the inscription of the same text at the Nuruosmaniye. The mihrab, located at the back of an apsidal projection, and the nearby minbar are beautifully carved works of marble, with decoration in the same Baroque-Rococo mode of the prayer hall's entrance.

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[110] *Zīver-i tāc-ı ḫilāfet şāh-ı ʿālī menḳabet*.

[111] *Eyledi bu maʿbedi ābād çūn ḳaṣr-i Naʿīm / Üsküdār'ı ḳıldı iḥyā çūnki ḥüsn-i himmeti*. For a transliteration of the full inscription, see Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, 1:324.

Opposite these furnishing, and likewise made of marble, is an arcaded rear gallery whose upper floor connects the pavilion's two wings (figs. 465–67). Each wing is entered by a door and contains a series of rooms and halls for the sultan and his suite, thus developing Beylerbeyi's model into a truly functional little palace. To return to the gallery, its central arch is wider and flatter than those flanking it, with a convex face that curves towards the qibla (fig. 466). Hanging from this arch is an extraordinary piece of stone- or metalwork shaped to look like a tasseled curtain that has been gathered into swags, a feature unique to the Selimiye. This fictive curtain, which frames one's passage into and out of the prayer hall, adds another residential note to the building, as if having been drawn up to permit access to a choice sultanic space.

A palatial setting is suggested also by the design of the royal prayer loge. In contrast to what we saw at the Beylerbeyi, the loge here is not integrated into the rear gallery; it instead occupies an extension of the pavilion's southwestern block that is attached to the right-hand wall of the prayer hall, and it communicates with the mosque's interior by means of an arched opening close to where the wall meets the entrance side (figs. 452, 468–69). This novel arrangement leaves the loge outside the space of the prayer hall and turns its grilled screen into a window overlooking the congregation below. The conceptual and visual relationship to the Topkapı's Council Hall is now even more striking than at the Beylerbeyi, and it is important to note that Selim had renovated the hall a decade earlier in 1792–93, overlaying its sixteenth-century architecture with a lavish Baroque-Rococo skin (figs. 421–23).[112] This thorough updating of the empire's chief judicial institution came just as Selim was launching his reforms, and the timing

[112] Selim's renovation of the Council Hall is commemorated by an inscribed marble panel hung on the outside of the building.

cannot have been accidental. With its revitalized scheme, the Council Hall became a building fit for the New Order, and thus an even more appropriate referent for Selim's politically charged and eminently modern mosque.

Unfortunately for the sultan, the symbolic promise of the Selimiye Mosque did not translate into reality. Tensions with the New Order's opponents mounted as work on the complex came to an end, such that even the opening of the mosque could not proceed without trouble. Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (d. 1895)—who chronicled this period in the mid-nineteenth century—omits the inauguration from his account of the relevant year, instead discussing it in a later section that summarizes the janissaries' increasing unruliness at this time:

> Indeed, when the construction of the Selimiye Mosque in Üsküdar was completed, His Majesty Sultan Selim Khan resolved to go there with a kingly retinue on the first Friday, and so all the dignitaries of the Sublime Porte, together with others whose presence was required, occupied themselves several days beforehand with preparing for the procession; and as the spectators were making ready to cross over to the Üsküdar shore, the janissaries—responding to rumors that the soldiers of the New Order would replace them in lining up for the ceremonial salutation—all took up arms with the intention of destroying the dignitaries of the Sublime Porte and targeting the members of the New Order with their bullets. When it became known that they [the janissaries] were coming to the Üsküdar shore, the [planned] ceremony was abandoned, and it was announced and assured that the duties of the *selāmlıḳ* would be restricted as in the past to the janissaries, and that the soldiers of the New Order would not be seen outside their barracks; and upon this, one Friday several weeks later, a single *selāmlıḳ* was made to the aforementioned mosque.[113]

[113] *Ḥattā Üsküdār'da Cāmiʿ-i Selimiyye'niñ bināsı ḫitām bulduḳda ibtidāki Cumʿasında Sulṭān Selīm Ḫān Ḥażretleri kevkebe-i mülūkāne ile oraya gitmek muṣammem olduġundan bi'l-cümle ricāl-i Bāb-ı ʿĀlī ve sāʾir ḥużūru lāzım gelenler çend rūz muḳaddem tehyiʾe-i esbāb-ı ḥaşem ü ḫadem ḳaydine iştiġāl ve seyirciler daḫi Üsküdār yaḳasına geçmek üzere istiʿcāl etmişiken Yeñiçeriler yerine Niẓām-ı Cedīd ʿaskeri ṣaff-beste-i selām olacaḳ imiş ḥavādiṡi münteşir olmasıyla Yeñiçeriler ʿale'l-ʿumūm silāḥlanıp Bāb-ı ʿĀlī ricāli telef ve Niẓām-ı Cedīd neferātını dāne-i tüfenge hedef etmek üzere beynlerinde ittifāḳ ederek Üsküdār yaḳasına güẕār etdikleri maʿlūm olıcaḳ alaydan ṣarf-ı naẓarla selāmlıḳ ḫuṣūṣu ke-mā fi's-sābıḳ Yeñiçerilere münḥaṣır olacaġı ve Niẓām-ı Cedīd ʿaskeri ḳışlasından ḫāric-i maḥallde görünmeyeceği beyān ü teʾmīn olunaraḳ çend hafta ṣoñra cāmiʿ-i meẕkūra yalıñız bir defʿalıḳ olmaḳ üzere bir Cumʿa günü selāmlıḳ edilmişidi.* Cevdet Pasha, *Tārīḫ-i Cevdet*, 8:68. The official *rūznāme* record of the inauguration glosses over these problems entirely. It tells us that Selim visited his newly completed mosque by water and oversaw the distribution of robes to his chief black eunuch, who was the *waqf* administrator; to the deputy *waqf* administrator (*ḳāʾim-maḳām-ı vaḳf*), the steward of the valide sultan; and to the building supervisor,

But this was not the end of Selim's problems. His decision to support Napoleon led to yet another unsuccessful war with Russia between 1806 and 1812. Meanwhile, his attempts to introduce the new army into the Balkans fueled the anger of internal opponents, who in 1806 prevented the troops from entering Edirne. Turkish historiography has dubbed this event the Second Edirne Incident, for like its namesake a century before, it marked the beginning of a revolt that would eventually topple the sultan. Encouraged by members of the court and ulema who were hostile to the reforms, mutinous Ottoman troops marched on the capital in 1807 under the leadership of the janissary Kabakçı Mustafa (d. 1808). The sultan tried to assuage the rebels by dissolving the new army and executing the key members of his reformist circle, but he was nonetheless forced to abdicate in favor of his cousin Mustafa IV (r. 1807–8), a son of Abdülhamid's. Selim was killed on the orders of his successor in 1808, and his body interred in the tomb of his father, Mustafa III, at Laleli.[114]

Although his life and reforms were cut short, Selim acquired a high reputation in death, with his Üsküdar project surviving as a tangible reminder of his thwarted goals. Mustafa IV was himself deposed by partisans of Selim in late 1808, and the throne now passed to Mustafa's younger brother, Mahmud II. A young and energetic ruler, Mahmud took up his cousin's baton and set about a series of radical measures, including the introduction of dress reforms in 1826 and, most notable of all, the destruction of the

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Hüseyin Efendi. Afterwards, the chief black eunuch oversaw the distribution of robes and gifts to the staff and workforce, whereupon the sultan returned to his palace. See Aḥmed Fāʾiz Efendi, "III. Selim Devri," 171–72. The literature sometimes asserts that Selim frequently attended his new mosque, but the *rūznāme*, which covers his reign till mid-1206, records no further *selāmlıḳ*s there—it seems the sultan kept away from the building in the light of lingering controversy. For a list of the mosques attended by Selim between 1802 and 1806, see Mehmet Ali Beyhan, *Saray Günlüğü (25 Aralık 1802–24 Ocak 1809)* (Istanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2007), 32–38.

[114] For an overview of these events, see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 243–52; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 414–22; and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 271–74.

janissaries that same year.[115] This latter act—the so-called Auspicious Incident (*Vāḳʿa-ı Ḫayriyye*)—was immediately followed by the reconstruction of the Selimiye Barracks, which the janissaries had burned down in the turmoil surrounding Mustafa's dethronement. The new building, which still stands today, restored both the physical and emblematic integrity of Selim's Üsküdar project.

Even when the barracks lay desolate, those who viewed the Selimiye and its associated buildings were duly impressed by what Selim had created. Lord Broughton, whose admiring assessment of the New Order was quoted above, visited Üsküdar shortly after Selim's fall and recognized the ambitious, if unfulfilled, aims that underlay the complex:

> [O]n a hill above, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by the late Selim, the exercising-ground, the mosck, and several wide regular streets, intended by that enterprising Sultan to have been allotted to manufacturers of silk and cotton, which, as it is, are sent from Smyrna to England, spun there, and again imported to Constantinople, to be worked into garments and household furniture.[116]

Writing almost contemporaneously, Pertusier too praises the Selimiye's "fine neighborhood," with its "large, perfectly straight streets that cross at right angles,"[117] and he gives an enthusiastic description of the "superb mosque" itself:

> Situated in the middle of a spacious court, regular and surrounded by a breast-high wall, thus allowing the eye to enjoy all the advantages of its position, this mosque presents a square crowned by an elegant cupola, its faces ending in circular sections that serve to support the dome. Attached to the façade is a grand colonnaded gallery, flanked by two minarets and terminating in two pavilions,

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[115] For these events, see Aksan, *Ottoman Wars*, 259–342; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, 422–43; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 274–77; and Shaw and Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 1–22.

[116] Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:882.

[117] *[O]n a encore sous les yeux ce beau quartier, du même fondateur que la mosquée, partagé en rues larges, tirées au cordeau, coupées à angles droits et aboutissant toutes à des points de vue délicieux.* Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, 2:356.

> whose ground stories are porticoes, and whose upper floors are lodgings for the imams.[118]

It is curious that Pertusier should have misinterpreted the royal pavilion in this way, though telling that he did so on the basis of its residential pretensions.

A more accurate, though no less favorable, reading of the Selimiye is provided by the British traveler Charles MacFarlane (d. 1858), who was invited to look inside the mosque by its imams in 1828:

> The interior was exquisitely simple: it was lined from dome to floor with pure white marble! The sculptured ornaments were few and in good taste; they were chiefly scrolls. Egyptian mats covered the floor, and they, save a beautiful marble pulpit, a kiblè [i.e., mihrab], and a sort of chandelier, hung with ostriches' eggs, were the only furniture in the body of the Mosque. The tribune or gallery devoted to the Sultan, and which had often been occupied by the unfortunate Selim, who built and endowed the Mosque, was high above the door, and faced with trellice work (like the nuns' recesses I have before had occasion to allude to), very prettily gilt. I staid within about half an hour.[119]

MacFarlane's reference to extensive marble cladding is not borne out by the actual architecture, and it is likely that what he saw was exposed dressed limestone as on the outside of the building. At any rate, the heavy-handed paintwork that covers the walls today had yet to be been introduced.

For MacFarlane, the Selimiye was a mosque "conspicuous, imperial, and well deserving attention."[120] The terms in which he eulogizes the building recall the praise

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[118] *La superbe mosquée du sultan Selim III, qu'on découvre sur une éminence d'où la vue peut s'étendre à plaisir, devient le but auquel vous tendez. Située au milieu d'une cour spacieuse, régulière et entourée d'un mur à hauteur d'appui , par conséquent qui permet à l'œil de jouir de tous les avantages de la position, cette mosquée offre un carré couronné d'une coupole élégante, et dont les pans se terminent par des portions circulaires servant de point d'appui au dôme. Une grande galerie à colonnade, flanquée de deux minarets, et terminée par deux pavillons, dont le rez-de-chaussée offre des portiques, l'étage, des logemens aux imam , est adaptée à la façade.* Ibid., 2:355–56.

[119] Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828. A Residence of Sixteen Months in the Turkish Capital and Provinces: With an Account of the Present State of the Naval and Military Power, and of the Resources of the Ottoman Empire* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1829), 465n.

[120] Ibid.

lavished by other commentators on the Nuruosmaniye, and indeed, of all the Baroque mosques, the Selimiye is perhaps second to that monument with regard to the detail in which its architecture was written about.[121] This is not surprising. The Selimiye had borrowed and updated the Nuruosmaniye's winning design, taking a model already redolent of Ottoman prosperity and combining it with the recently developed and equally meaningful pavilion façade. Half a century after the Ottoman Baroque had first appeared, Selim and his architects were able to learn from what the new style had bequeathed them and produce a highly successful amalgam of earlier experiments. The result would in turn set an enduring paradigm for the future.

[121] I am distinguishing here between indiscriminate references to the buildings and descriptive responses to their architecture. In this respect, the Selimiye does indeed appear to come second to the Nuruosmaniye.

CONCLUSION

By the early 1800s, Istanbul was a city reshaped by the new sultanic foundations that had been introduced into its fabric. Mouradgea d'Ohsson's late-eighteenth-century list of imperial mosques, to which I referred in the last chapter, ranks the buildings "by their respective pre-eminence" as follows: "1. *Saint-Sophia*"; "2. *Sultan-Ahmed* . . . called also *Alty-Minarély*, or the mosque with six minarets"; "3. *Sultan-Suleyman*, or *Suleymaniye*"; "4. *Sultan-Bayezid*" (1501–06); "5. *Sultan-Mohammed*" (Fatih Mosque); "6. *Nour-Osmany*"; "7. *Sultan-Selim*" (Yavuz Selim Mosque); "8. *Eyub*"; "9. *Lalély*"; 10. *Validé-Sultana*, called also *Yéni-Djeamy*"; "11. *Schahzadé-Djeamissy*"; "12. *Validé-Djeamissy*" (Yeni Valide Mosque); "13. *Aiazma-Djeamissy*"; and "14. *Istavroz-Djeamissy*" (Beylerbeyi Mosque).[1] No fewer than four of these fourteen monuments were established in the second half of the eighteenth century. The factors determining the buildings' order include age, size, location, and ceremonial importance, and it is striking that the Nuruosmaniye and Laleli come as high in the list as these criteria allow, outranking even such forerunners as Eyüp Sultan and the Yeni Cami. Collectively, the four later mosques mark the return of the sultan's personal patronage, following as they do a century and a half's hiatus during which only the queen mothers had built. Mouradgea makes no mention of the fact that the Ayazma and Beylerbeyi were, in fact, dedicated to their founders' mothers, and instead associates them wholly with the sultans themselves. Had he written the list a few years later, he would no doubt have included Selim III's new complex at Üsküdar.

[1] See Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Oriental Antiquities*, 528–29.

Mouradgea wrote his list not long after the reconstruction of the Fatih Mosque, and not long before that of Eyüp Sultan. Indeed, the eighteenth-century revival of the sultanic mosque entailed not only the establishment of new foundations, but the extensive remodeling of the city's existing monuments. The well-known engraving in Mouradgea's book of the celebration of the Prophet's nativity shows the interior of the Sultanahmet Mosque decorated with Rococo paintwork, a quick and inexpensive way for Ahmed's successors to renew the building and associate their own patronage with it (fig. 470). Other old mosques would have been similarly modernized, though nineteenth-century overpainting—by which the buildings were updated anew—and later attempts to restore the original schemes have left no trace of this Baroque work (figs. 471–72). Besides revisiting the monuments of their predecessors, the sultans of the eighteenth century also made changes and additions to non-royal mosques, as I have discussed in relation to such examples as the Kalenderhane and Mahmud Pasha Mosque. A key tool in this process of architectural sultanification was the new Baroque style, which became an expedient and recognizable marker of the boost in royal patronage.

As the sources from which I have quoted demonstrate, this redoubled show of sultanic presence was impressive to many, convincing locals and foreigners alike that the Ottoman Empire was no spent force. Lord Broughton, whose record of his early-nineteenth-century visit is replete with references to architecture, found in Istanbul much to contradict the already stereotyped notion of Ottoman decline:

> [T]he powerful states of Europe have, in the opinion of most writers, been prevented from the expulsion of the Ottomans from Europe, only by their interested jealousies and mutual dissensions. Yet although the existence of this barbarian power in the most flourishing regions of Europe, confined on every side by hostile kingdoms, or by an element possessed by Christians, has been for a century regarded as a reproach to all civilized nations, and a standing wonder, it

> must be acknowledged, that the decline of the Ottoman empire has by means been so rapid, nor its disgraces so repeated and uninterrupted, as casual observers are apt to believe.[2]

Broughton was writing against the backdrop of the Napoleonic Wars, which struck a fatal blow to the Holy Roman Empire, ancient enemy to the Ottomans. Whatever losses the Ottoman state was suffering in this period, it still ranked as one of the principal sharers of power in Europe and beyond. The unabated campaign to turn its capital into a modern world city was both a product and a symbol of the empire's still vital ambitions.

This campaign continued throughout the nineteenth century in terms very much predicated on the achievements of the eighteenth.[3] A string of new pavilion-fronted imperial mosques were built along the European shore of the Bosphorus, the first of them in Tophane, not far from Mahmud I's fountain. Called the Nusretiye, "victory," this mosque was erected by Mahmud II in 1826, shortly before his destruction of the janissaries (figs. 473–74).[4] It is patently modeled on the Üsküdar Selimiye, whose inauguration the janissaries had prevented twenty years earlier, and whose symbolism the reformist Mahmud must have well understood. Later legend has added to the Nusretiye's association with the New Order by romantically, though erroneously, attributing its name to Mahmud's "victory" over the janissaries.[5] But despite its almost literal citation of the

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[2] Broughton, *Journey through Albania*, 2:1005–6.

[3] For the continued architectural refashioning of Istanbul during the nineteenth century, see Çelik, *Remaking of Istanbul*.

[4] Ayvansarāyī, *Garden of the Mosques*, 384–86; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 417–18; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 631–33; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, 34–35; Tuğlacı, *Role of the Balian Family*, 47–52; and Alyson Wharton, "Building the *Tanzimat*: The Power of the Balyan Family in the Age of 'Re-Organisation'" (PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2011), 175–76.

[5] The view that the Nusretiye is so called in celebration of the janissaries' downfall is an accepted one in the scholarship, and it is entirely thanks to Edhem Eldem—who found documents proving that the mosque was named before the "Auspicious Incident"—that I now know this not to be the case.

Selimiye, the Nusretiye also asserts itself as a product of its own time, exhibiting a style that has moved away from the Baroque to an Ottoman interpretation of Neoclassicism.

The architect of the Nusretiye was an Armenian kalfa named Krikor Balian (d. 1831), whose descendents would enjoy a virtual monopoly of imperial building projects during the nineteenth century.[6] His son Garabed (d. 1866) and Paris-educated grandson Nigoghos (d. 1858) were commissioned by Mahmud II's son and successor, Abdülmecid I, to construct a new waterside palace at Dolmabahçe, on the site of the Beşiktaş Palace. Completed in 1853, the result was an enormous Neoclassical edifice that replaced the Topkapı as the sultan's principal residence (fig. 475). These two architects were also responsible for a contemporaneous mosque built close to the palace in the same style. Founded by Abdülmecid's mother, Bezmiʿalem (d. 1853), the mosque comprises a small though lofty domed prayer hall that is preceded by an extensive, truly palatial-looking pavilion (figs. 475–76). The architecture is Neoclassical through and through, with the two minarets designed as Corinthian columns up to their balconies. Further up the Bosphorus in Ortaköy, Abdülmecid built his own similar mosque a year or so later, again entrusting the project to the Balian family (fig. 477–78).[7]

These new shoreline mosques facilitated the burgeoning practice of the water *selāmlıḳ*,[8] discussed in the last chapter, and they also acted as publicly accessible

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[6] For the Balian family and their works, see Tuğlacı, *Role of the Balian Family*; Alyson Wharton, *Architects of Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: I.B. Tauris, forthcoming), based on Wharton, "Building the *Tanzimat*"; and Wharton, "Identity of the Ottoman Architect."

[7] For these buildings, see Ayvansarāyī, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi'*, 490–91, 526; Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 421–22; Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 619–24, 634–38; Tuğlacı, *Role of the Balian Family*, 109–245, 381–84; and Wharton "Building the *Tanzimat*," passim.

[8] A guidebook to Istanbul published in 1839 explains: "The Visit of the Sultan to a Mosque takes place every Friday at noon, and should be seen by travellers. The mosque he means to pray in is never known

satellites to the numerous palaces that were being established or reconstructed along the Bosphorus at this time. Even more than their eighteenth-century forerunners, these mosques make a virtue of their reduced scale, for with their ever more prominent pavilion frontages, they take on the character of royal chapels—small yet choice spaces whose users could never forget the imperial personages hosting them. The visual strategies may be very different from those employed for the sultanic foundations of earlier centuries, but the product is no less identifiable, and whatever modern observers may make of the nineteenth-century imperial mosques, there is no mistaking their royal patronage.

Nor is there any difficulty in recognizing their stylistic consonance with the wider world. Building on the example of the Ottoman Baroque, the later mosques are bold and idiosyncratic renditions of the internationally thriving Neoclassical mode. As I discussed in the introduction, the 1870s witnessed an ostensible repudiation of this "foreign" style, but the architecture that came out of this pseudo-revivalist drive was itself entirely in keeping with the kinds of Orientalist and Eclectic architecture then flourishing in the

until that morning, but the boatmen at Topphanna obtain early information, so that no mistake is likely to occur in trusting to their guidance; his visits are generally to some small mosque on the Bosphorus. He selects those which possess least endowments, because the establishment wherein he performs his weekly devotions, always receives a considerable donation on the occasion. . . . He embarks at his palace in a splendid state barge, richly gilt and elaborately carved. He sits upon a sofa-like divan that crosses the barge beneath a cumbrous canopy of gilding, supported by massive columns. The sofa is covered with purple cloth, and the inside lined with silk embroidered in gold. His attendants follow in numerous boats, little inferior in magnificence. . . . The troops are drawn up on shore to receive him, and when his barge appears the band commences playing and continues to do so until he is within the mosque. The dignitaries of state and Pashas are on the landing place formed into lines, waiting to receive him. When he lands they all with one accord bow to the earth. This salutation is called the grand Salaam. He never returns it or takes notice of any one, but walks straight into the mosque, between the Seraskir Pasha and some other distinguished favourite, proceeded by two men with silver censers, from which issues the smoke of burning perfumes. When the mosque is at any distance from the landing place, beautiful chargers richly caparisoned are in waiting, one of which he mounts. On these occasions his subjects take the opportunity of presenting their petitions, and an officer is sent to collect them. The Sultan remains at his devotions about half and hour, then returns in the same manner in which he arrived. Sometimes he will take coffee in a garden contiguous to the mosque. On returning, the forts and the ships of war fire royal salutes." Levinge, *The Traveller in the East*, 300–1.

West.[9] The discourse once again obscures the evidence provided by the material itself, and it is clear that the global turn taken by the Ottoman Baroque remained paradigmatic until the end of the empire.

Nevertheless, I do not wish to paint an overly neat or deterministic picture, or to deny the many issues that accompany and complicate the subjects addressed by this dissertation. My focus on Istanbul has almost entirely excluded the architecture of the provinces, study of which would provide a fuller context for the shifts of the capital and shed light on their wider ramifications. Even within Istanbul, I have paid scant attention to the patronage of non-sultanic mosques, which, though eclipsed by royal commissions after the mid-eighteenth century, still remained an important part of the city's architectural life. Perhaps most in need of further consideration is the architecture of the dhimmi communities, which has barely survived the intense reconstruction of the nineteenth century, but is instrumental to understanding the formation of the Ottoman Baroque.

Indeed, the role played by Christian Ottomans in creating the new style raises some of the most interesting and difficult questions surrounding my topic. Though I have treated the dhimmis as full members of Ottoman society whose expertise in the Baroque was a largely practical matter, the issue is problematized somewhat by their continual disparagement in the Muslim sources, where Christian Ottomans accused of wrongdoing are often branded foreign agents.[10] Ottoman Greeks and Armenians for their part

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[9] See Ersoy, "On the Sources of the 'Ottoman Renaissance,'" esp. 350–62; Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins"; and Turgut Saner, *19. Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarlığında "Oryantalizm"* (Istanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret, 1998).

[10] For examples of these aspersions, see Sāmī, Şākir, and Ṣubḥī, *Subhî Tarihi*, 123, 663–64; and Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl," 189, 191. For the persistent idea of non-Muslim Ottomans as a fifth column, see Salâhi R.

frequently sought the protection of European ambassadors, who were allowed to grant them *berāt*s, privileges giving quasi-foreign status to their dhimmi recipients, most of whom were merchants or diplomatic functionaries.[11] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, a famous member of this group, even went on to become an ennobled subject of the Swedish king. What did it mean, then, to have an architectural style whose main practitioners belonged to communities that were often regarded with suspicion by the Muslim elite? Was the authorship of the architecture irrelevant to how it was perceived, or does Peyssonnel's account of the rejected church-like design of the Nuruosmaniye reflect a real controversy surrounding the possible "Christian" connotations of the new style?

These are questions that the available documents do not allow us to answer fully. Among the surviving sources, only those of the later nineteenth century begin criticizing the dhimmi architects and their works as foreign; none of the eighteenth-century commentaries, whether Eastern or Western, suggests that the architecture was considered un-Ottoman by its contemporaries. At the same time, it is impossible not to wonder how audiences squared the still plentiful Ottoman disparagement of the infidel West with the adoption of a new mode that was intentionally related to European artistic traditions.[12] Part of the answer lies in the often rhetorical nature of this ossified discourse, though opposition to Western-derived innovations could also be very real, as with Selim III's failed New Order.

Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993).

[11] For the practice of granting *berāt*s and its ramifications, see Edhem, *French Trade*, 281–83; and Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations," 102–3.

[12] A notable example of this disparagement can be found in Ahmed Efendi's description of the procurement of lead for the Nuruosmaniye: see Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ*, 38. For discussion of another example, this time from the opening years of the nineteenth century, see Eldem, "18. Yüzyıl."

Such apparent tensions exist also in present-day Turkey, where the desire to be counted as a fully-fledged European nation is accompanied by an undercurrent of ideological mistrust of Western values and habits.[13] While I realize the dangers of suggesting anything as reductive as an unchanging national attitude, I am tempted to imagine that Ottoman discourses concerning Europe were no more resolved or definable than modern Turkish ones. This type of contrariness is, of course, not limited to Turkey, and the Western-inspired products of globalization proliferate without difficulty even in those states that declare themselves hostile to the West. As far as architecture is concerned, a type that is widely enough borrowed can evidently shake the specific associations of its place of origin. More precisely, those associations become part of a cumulative meaning that grows with the type's spread and renders it a prized and intelligible site of competitive cross-cultural posturing. The newly erected skyscrapers of East Asia and the Arabian peninsula make reference to their ultimately American prototypes even as they try to surpass them.

It is perhaps in similar terms that we should regard the Ottoman Baroque, a mode that developed when globalization was in its lively beginnings. Although affecting all areas of architecture in Istanbul, the style was at its most public and monumental in the imperial mosques, whose resurgence was rendered all the more striking by their novel appearance. The use of the Baroque for these esteemed buildings in turn confirmed its prestige and meaningfulness, so that building type and style became mutually reinforcing. At once traditional and modern, the resultant monuments enabled the Ottomans to display their new aesthetic to the world's gaze without neglecting local expectations.

[13] As I revise this dissertation for submission, Prime Minister Erdoğan is accusing protestors against his government of being part of a foreign-led conspiracy to destabilize Turkey.

What allowed the Ottomans to embark on this project with such gusto was an awareness both of their standing within Europe and of the Baroque's unprecedented reach: they took on the style with full conviction of their entitlement to it, emboldened by their own Romano-Byzantine patrimony. To judge from contemporary sources, the move was as successful in the eyes of outsiders as it was at home, clear evidence that the Ottomans were not alone in considering themselves part of the European political and cultural landscape. For regardless of the conceptual and actual conflicts that exacerbated the empire's relationship with its Christian neighbors, the reality of the Ottomans' long-standing involvement in European affairs trumped whatever notions of an East-West divide the two sides maintained. This was particularly so in the context of the vigorous transregional exchanges that characterized the eighteenth century.

Such an interpretation of the buildings opens important new avenues in the study of late Ottoman visual culture, a field that continues to be dogged by the legacy of earlier, largely dismissive approaches. While certainly more positive, the prevailing view held by the current scholarship—set by a number of recent influential works[14]—is one that emphasizes the creative modernity of eighteenth-century Ottoman art but is uneasy, even embarrassed, when it comes to accounting for why that modernity so clearly engaged with European models. An understandable urge to rebut the charge that eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture became debased and foreign has led, ironically enough, to a tacit acceptance of the very assumptions on which that charge was based: that is, the revisionist underplaying of Western-inspired elements in the Ottoman Baroque only perpetuates the belief that the presence of such elements is indeed a marker of decadence. This reluctance to acknowledge the buildings' style for what it is has also, as a corollary,

[14] Hamadeh's publications are particularly notable in this regard.

hindered our ability to investigate the likely meanings carried by this architecture in its own time. But once we disassociate the adoption of Western-derived forms from the notion of Westernization itself, the scholarly baggage that prevents a franker, more head-on assessment of the material can finally be dispensed with. What emerges in its stead is a global framework in which this new style of architecture no longer seems out of place or in need of justification. Such a methodological shift may also prove fruitful to the study of other kinds of "Westernization" in the late Ottoman Empire, whether cultural or political.

As I have tried to demonstrate throughout this dissertation, the sort of "global" I am referring to is not a vaguely shared zeitgeist or an idealistic notion of worldwide pluralism, but a real context in which demonstrable conditions and mechanisms allowed certain forms to acquire international currency. It is in this context that the Baroque—or at least my reclaimed version of it—provides such a rewarding model with which to elucidate the architectural refashioning of eighteenth-century Istanbul. In turn, the Ottoman material sheds much light on the study of the Baroque itself, significantly expanding a field that, while certainly global in its purview, remains fixated on Christian and colonial geographies. Adding the Ottoman variant to the existing canon of Baroques can only enrich our understanding of how and why these related modes flourished as widely as they did. Moreover, the Ottoman Baroque—with its profusely decorative but undoubtedly charged vocabulary—might very aptly be utilized in ongoing art-historical efforts to debunk the traditional equation of certain types of Baroque-Rococo ornament with frivolity and meaninglessness.

Indeed, there is nothing light-hearted or trivial about the architectural revolution that the Ottoman Baroque brought about in eighteenth-century Istanbul. The imperial mosques built at this time were predicated on the empire's vision of itself as a revitalized and active power in a changing world. Later discomfort with their cross-cultural references has obscured the crucial role played by these very citations in achieving what the monuments were designed for in the first place. Recasting an old and venerable type in the light of a new and widely shared architectural sensibility, these remarkable mosques were the centerpiece of a momentous endeavor to transform the Ottoman capital in response to the conditions of the day. The result was no less than a new kind of architecture fit for the global stage, and recognized as such by the varied audiences whose admiration it won.

APPENDIX

AHMED EFENDI'S TĀRĪḪ-İ CĀMİʿ-İ ŞERĪF-İ NŪR-I ʿOS̱MĀNĪ *(HISTORY OF THE NOBLE MOSQUE OF NURUOSMANİYE), 1756–57*

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (see p. 167–68 and n. 21), Ahmed Efendi's *History of the Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye* survives in a single manuscript copy (Istanbul Univesity Library, T. 386) and a late Ottoman print edition. Ahmed Efendi must have composed the work some time between Shawwal 1169 (June 29–July 27, 1756), which is the last date mentioned in the text, and the death of Osman III on October 30, 1757, for none of the references to this sultan describes him as deceased. It is likely that the original copy was made for the building administrator, Derviş Efendi, who emerges from the account as Ahmed Efendi's chief benefactor.

The manuscript, whose unnumbered folios have latterly been paginated in pencil, is written in a tidy black *naskh* with occasional rubrics, including the red title on the opening text page. The neatness of the text suggests that it was copied (directly or indirectly) from an earlier original, preserving its occasional lacunae. Despite the overall clarity of its penmanship, the text of the manuscript contains a good number of errors, some of which may have been introduced by the scribe, and others of which may be Ahmed Efendi's own.

Neither the scribe nor the date of the manuscript is indicated, though the flyleaf bears—in addition to the abbreviated title *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānīyye*—an Arabic ex libris dated 25 Shawwal 1260 (November 7, 1844) and revealing that the book was once in the possession of İşkodralı Şerifi Mustafa Pasha (d. 1860), governor of Shkodër

and later Medina, whose seal appears alongside the inscription. Underneath is a second, undated, ex libris—again in Arabic and with a seal—pertaining to Mustafa Pasha's son ʿAli Rıza Bey.

The 1919 print edition gives no indication of its source and deviates from the manuscript on numerous occasions. These divergences might have suggested that the transcription was based on another, unknown, copy of the text, except that one of the variants is clearly a misreading of a strangely broken-up word in the Istanbul University copy (see n. 109 below). A number of the differences between the manuscript and print edition represent attempted corrections—some more successful than others—of the scribe's mistakes.

The transliteration below takes the manuscript as authoritative, with the print edition's variants given in the footnotes. When the scribe has obviously made a simple slip of the pen, I have spelled the word as it ought to have been written and noted the misspelling. But in those cases where the scribe has more deliberately or consistently used a non-standard spelling (as with *ebniyye* rather than *ebniye*), I have followed suit by retaining the error. Recurrent mistakes of this type are not pointed out after their first appearance. Compound words that are formed of separately written elements are hyphenated, while those that are written as single words are transliterated as such if the closed form is attested in the modern Redhouse dictionary, and hyphenated if not. The scribe has a curious habit of breaking up words over two lines, which I have represented with a slash at the point of division (e.g., *etdir/ildiğinden*).

The pagination of the manuscript is indicated by bold numbers in square brackets, and that of the print edition by bold numbers in curly brackets. These numbers are

inserted also into the translation, though the very different grammatical structure of the two languages means that the pagination of the Turkish original cannot always be neatly mapped on to the English.

In both my transliteration and translation, I have benefited a great deal from the works cited in Chapter 3, n. 21, even if I have not always agreed with them.

Transliteration of the Text

[1]{3} Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī

Cenāb-ı Haḳḳ—ʿazze şānuhu—ḥażretlerine ḥamd-i bī-ġāye ve Resūl-i ekrem ve āl-i aṣḥāb-ı muḥterem ḥażerātına ṣalāt-ı bī-nihāye/den-ṣoñra bāʾis̱-i tasṭīr-ı kitāb-ı sıḥḥat-nıṣāb budur ki Āsitāne-i Saʿādet-medār'da Bedestān-i Cedīd ḳurbünde kāʾin ṣarıḳcılar öñünde cebeciler ḳulluġuna mürūr u ʿubūr olunan ṭarīḳ-i ʿāmmıñ cānib-i yesārında bundan aḳdem vāḳiʿ olan mescid-i şerīf fużalā-yı dehirden ʿālem-i ḳudse irtiḥāl eden Ḫᵛāce Saʿadü'd-dīn Efendi'niñ duḫter-i saʿd-aḫteri Fāṭıma nām ḫātūnuñ vaḳf-ı celīlesi olup mürūr-i eyyām ve kürūr-i aʿvām ile müşrif-i ḫarāb ve zelāzil vuḳūʿunda māʾil-i türāb ve bir vechile ṣalāt-ı mektūbeniñ edāsına ʿadem-i ḳudret ve vaḳfından daḫi ibnāsına liyāḳat olmadıġından maḥalle ahālīsi muḳaddemā Sulṭān Aḥmed Ḫān—ʿaleyhi'r-raḥmetü ve'l-ġufrān—ḥażretleriniñ rikāb-ı hümāyūnlarına refʿ-i riḳʿa edüp tecdīdini niyāz eylediklerinde keşfine emr-i hümāyūn buyurulmaġın heyʾet-i ḳadīmesi üzere tecdīdine ḳırḳ kīse aḳçe gider deyü keşf olunup defteri rikāb-ı müsteṭābe ʿarż olunmuşiken ṭāḳçe-i

nisyān ve ʿalā **[2]** ḥālihi vaḳit güẕerān baʿdehu Ḫüdāvendigār-ı sābıḳ-ı maġfiret-nişān Ġāzī Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ḫān ḥażretlerine maḥalle ahālīsi ʿarżuḥāl ve birḳac defʿa istirḥām-ı ḥāl edüp beşinci defʿa ʿarżuḥāl eylediklerinde ol vaḳit Dārü's-saʿāde Aġası kātibi olan semāḥatlu Dervīş Efendi'ye ḥavāle ve keyfiyyetini suʾāl içün emr-i hümāyūn olmaġın ṭaraflarından Aġa cābīsi[1] Ḥācı Ṣāliḥ'i taʿyīn ol-daḫi vaḳt-i ʿişāda maḥalline gidüp mescid-i şerīfiniñ imāmını ḫānesinden iḫrāc **{4}** mescid-i merḳūm kimiñ vaḳfı olup ve ṣūret-i inhidāmı ne rütbede olduğunu istinṭāḳ ve muḳaddemā ḳırḳ kīse aḳçeye keşf olunup metrūken ḳaldıġı ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām Efendi neẓāretinde olduġunu istiḫbār ve taḳrīrini ʿalā vuḳūʿihi gelüp inhā eyledikde ber-vech-i muḥarrer keyfiyyetini ḳarīn-i ʿilm-i ʿālem-ārā-yı şehriyārī olmaġla baʿdehu bi'n-nefs Cenāb-i Şeyḫü'l-İslām-ı feżāʾil-irtisām Efendi ḥażretlerinden istifsār buyurduḳlarında vaḳfı żaʿīf ü bī-ḥāṣıl olup cānib-i vaḳıfdan inşāsına ḳudret olmadıġını Pādişāh-ı mürüvvet-penāh ḥażretlerine bi'l-müşāfehe ifāde-i ḥāl ve binā[2] olunmaḳ içun vaḳfiyyeti istibdāl olunmasına fetvāʾ-i[3] şerīf daḫi vermekle bināʾen ʿaleyh tecdīdi emr-i hümāyūn-ı merḥamet-maḳrūn olmaġın defterdār-ı esbaḳ ʿĀṭıf Efendi merḥūmuñ dāmādı olan ʿAlī Aġa her işinde muḳaddem kār-güzār ve her vechile müstaḳīm ü sadāḳat-kār ve her ḫuṣūṣda mücerrebü'l-eṭvār olduġu ez-ḳadīm Dervīş Efendi'niñ maʿlūmları olduġundan ġayri muḳaddem daḫi[4] Ḫalḳalı nām ṣu yollarınıñ tecdīd ve reʾsen icrāsına meʾmūr olduḳda sıdḳ u istiḳāmeti tekrar ẓāhir **[3]** ve saʿy-i belīġ birle ḫiẕmeti kemā-yenbaġī bāhir olmaġla bu ḫuṣūṣa daḫi binā emīni taʿyīn ve

[1] The word is nonsensically mistranscribed as جلبسى in the print edition.

[2] Mistranscribed *ibnā* in the print edition.

[3] Written فتوى.

[4] This word is omitted in the print edition.

zimām-ı umūr-i ebniyye[5] dest-i saʿy-i himmetine tevdīʿ [ü][6] terhīn olunup ol daḫi fenn ṣanʿatında mahāret-i tāmmı olan neccār ḳalfa/larından Kār-āzmūde Simyon nām ẕimmīyi[7] ḳalfa taḫṣīṣ eyledikden ṣoñra biñ yüz altmış bir senesi māh-ı Şevvālü'l-mükerrem'iñ on dördüncü iṡneyn günü eşref sāʿatde binā[8] içün esās ḥafrine mübāderet ve mescid-i merḳūmu hedm ü ḳalʿ edüp ʿarṣası mesāḥa olunduḳda terbīʿan beş-yüz altmış üç ẕirāʿ doḳuz parmaḳ, imāmına ve müʾezzin ile ḳayyımına meşrūṭa olan üç bāb ḫāneden daḫi iki-yüz elli beş buçuḳ ẕirāʿ ki cemʿan sekiz yüz yiğirmi sekiz buçuḳ ẕirāʿ doḳuz parmaḳ ḥāṣıl arāżī olmaġla çünki ol arāżī havālī-i İstanbul'uñ ġāyet şerīf ü muʿteber maḥalli ve eṣnāf-ı **{5}** ṣanāyiʿ ve erbāb-ı ḥirfetiñ ḳurb-i civārı olduġundan evḳāt-ı ḫamsda, belki cemīʿ-i ezminede cemʿiyyet-i Müslimīn ve cemāʿat-i muṣallīden ḫālī olmaz deyü cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn miṡilli maʿbed-i ʿaẓīm inşā olunmaḳ irādesi nevʿa-mā[9] tabʿ-ı bülend-i himmet-i şehinşāhīde cevelān ve bu mefhūm[10] mülāḥaẓadan nāşī binā emini daḫi tevsīʿ-i esās içün keṡret-i ʿamele ile ḫiẕmet-i meʾmūresinde pūyān iken Şehriyār-ı sütūde-kār ḥażretleri Sarāy-ı Dilārā-yı ʿAtīḳ'a biniş behānesiyle maḥall-i bināʾ-ı ṭāreʿi [?][11] nigāh-ı temāşā ve baʿdehu ḫaṭṭ-ı riḥāl ʿizz ü iclāl eṡnāsında meğer köşe başında bir

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[5] The scribe makes the consistent error of placing a *şedde* over the *ye* of this and other words that ought to end in a simple *–iye*.

[6] The necessary conjunction is missing from the manuscript but added in the print edition. There are numerous other instances where the scribe drops the conjunction in this manner.

[7] Written ذمّئ in the manuscript and ذمی یی in the print edition.

[8] Again mistranscribed *ibnā* in the print edition; see n. 2 above.

[9] Mistranscribed as *nevʿi* in the print edition.

[10] Mistranscribed as *mefhūmu* in the print edition.

[11] Written بناء طارۀ (طادۀ؟) in the manuscript and mistranscribed as بنایی طارۀ in the print edition. I have not been able to determine what Ahmed Efendi meant by *ṭāreʾ*, or whether the *hemze* at its end is supposed to signal (as it usually would) a Persiante *iżāfet* or (as seems likelier in this case) mark the Turkish accusative. It is probable that he intended the word to mean "new(ly) appeared." Not only does this explanation fit semantically, but it is supported by the existence of two Arabic words that are likely candidates for what

iḫtiyār adam durub Şehinşāh-ı melik-cenāb ḥażretlerine duʾā eylemiş derʿaḳab Sarāy-ı ʿAtīḳ-i maʿmūreden silaḥdār aġa adam gönderüp Dervīş Efendi'yi istediler. Taʿcīlen gidüp "Sizi şevketlü Efendimiz istiyor" dediklerinde ol vaḳte gelince ḥużūr-ı hümāyūna müs̱ūl olmadıḳlarından başḳa bedīhī **[4]** ẓuhūrundan "ʿAcabā aṣlı nedir?" deyü suʾāl edüp silaḥdār aġa daḫi "Pek ṣıḥḥatini bilmem. Lākin bu ṭarafa gelir iken köşeniñ başında bir pīr-i mübārek adam durur idi. Şevketlü Efendimiz muḳabelesine geldikde el ḳaldırup aġlayarak 'Şevketlü[12] Efendim Pādişāhım, Haḳḳ teʿālā vücūd-i hümāyūnunu ḫaṭāsız eylesin; cāmiʿ-i şerīf bināsına himmet-i mülūkāne/leri maʿṭūf buyurulmaġla cümle ehālī-i maḥalle fuḳarā ḳullarını mesrūr ve ihyā buyurduġunuz içün Haḳḳ teʿālā daḫi Şevketlü Efendimiñ mübārek ḳalbini maʿmūr u iḥyā eylesin' deyü reft-engīz duʿā eylemiş idi. Ġālibā bundan iḳtiżā etmek gerek" deyü ḫaber verüp, [Dervīş] Efendi daḫi ḥużūr-ı fāʾizu'n-nūr-ı ḫusrevāneye çehre-sāy olduḳda "Cāmiʿi resm edüp tīz getir" deyü emr-i hümāyūn olmaġın hemān ol gün müsāreʿaten çār-dıvār bir resm etdirüp getirmişler idi. Lākin pīr-i merḳūmuñ mutażarriʿāne duʿā vu niyāzı Pādişāh-ı taḳvā-penāh ḥażretlerine kemāl-i rütbe teʾs̱īr edüp fi'l-aṣl daḫi cāygīr-i żamīr-i münīr olan cāmiʿ-i kebīr ibnā **{6}** olunacaġı münfehim idi. Bir ḳat daḫi bāʾis̱-i şevḳ-i cemīle ve mübāderetine ʿillet-i müstaḳille olmaġın der-ʿaḳab mücessem tersīm emr ü fermān olunup tabʿ-ı hümāyūn pesend-maḳrūn üzere yek ḳubbe ve dūnunda sütūn s̱ıḳleti olmayup tabaḳāt ve maḥfilleri ve derūn [u] bīrūn heyʾet-i cāmiʿası el-yevm ne ṣūretde ise bir kebīr levḥa üzerinde bi-ʿaynihi resm-i cesīmi ṣūret-yāb ve maʿrūż-ı rikāb-ı müsteṭāb olunup irāʾet ü ṣūret-i

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Ahmed Efendi seems to be evoking: *ṭāriʾ*, "newly added" (Hans Wehr), and—rather more metaphorically—*ṭārr* (fem. *ṭārra*), "(a youth) the down of whose beard has newly made its appearance" (Redhouse).

[12] This word is omitted in the print edition, probably because in the manuscript, it is immediately followed by a crossed-out accidental repetition of *Efendimiz muḳabelesine geldikde*.

heyʾeti maḳbūl-i şehriyār-ı ʿālīcenāb olmaġla ʿalā resmihi bināsına ḳarārdāde olunup ancaḳ resmine göre arāżī-i mevcūde mażīḳ olduġundan tevsīʿi içün menāzil iştirā olunmaḳ be-her[13] ḥāl **[5]** lā-büd olmaġın ʿarżan Çuḳacılar Ḫanı'na ve ṭūlen Cebeciler Ḳulluġu'na varınca ol maḥall ada gibi başḳa bir dāʾire ve ẓarfında birḳaç çıḳmaz zuḳāḳ ve baʿżan odalar içi maḥallāt olup vāfir menāzil ü deḳāḳīn ü maḥāzin ve birḳaç boya-ḫāne ve bunların[14] her biri evḳāf-ı müteferriḳadan olmaġla Ḥaremeyn-i Şerīfeyn ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām ve Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ve bostaniyān evḳāfı müfettişi efendiler ve ḫaṣṣa miʿmār başısı aġa ve miʿmārān kātibi ve ḫulefāsı ve evḳāf mütevellīleri maḥall-i bināda bi'd-defʿāt ʿaḳd-i meclis ve maṭlūb olunan emlākiñ aṣḥābı daḫi ol günlerde ṣavb-ı meclis-i maʿḳūdda mevcūd olup mubāyaʿa olunacaḳ emlākiñ ibtidā-yı emirde maʿrifet-i şerʿ ve miʿmār aġa maʿrifetiyle aṣḥābı muvācehesinde mesāḥa ve keşf-i taḥrīr ü defter[15] ve maʿrūż-ı rikāb-ı hümāyūn olunup mubāyaʿası emr-i cihānmuṭāʿ buyurulduḳdan-ṣoñra mevḳiʿniñ şeref-i iʿtibārına göre her biriniñ ʿarṣa zirāʿına beş ġuruşdan yedi ġuruşa değin, eğer ʿaḳār veyā kārgīr maḥzen ise on ġuruşa değin vażʿ-i fīʾāt, ḳaldı-ki bināsı aḥşābdan olup iki üç ḳat ve cedīd tekellüflü muṣannāʿ-kar ise bināsı zirāʿına yedi ġuruşdan on ġuruşa değin, eğer kārgīr ḫān ve maḥzen ise on-iki buçuḳ ġuruşa değin fīʾāt vażʿ ve mūcibince ḥisāb olunup cümle muvācehe/sinde **{7}** aṣḥābına verildikde ber-mūcib ḳabūl etdi.

[13] Written *be-heme* in the print edition.

[14] The word should be written *bunlarıñ* to mark the genitive. The same mistake is made with other words in the text.

[15] Written *keşf ve taḥrīr-i defter* in the print edition.

Fe-bihā ve illā inṣāfdan ʿudūl ve aḳçesin[16] aḫẕ ü ḳabżdan nükūl edüp ṭamaʿan ruʿūnet ü ḫuşūnet edenler bir dürlü cebr ü ḳahr olunmayup çūnki ḫayrāt olmaḳ ḥasebiyle Pādişāh-ı deryā-nevāl ḥażretlerine ḫayr duʿā etsinler. Maḳṣūd-i hümāyūn daḫi mücerred isticlāb-ı duʿādır deyü vech-i münāsibine göre bedel-i rıżā ẓamm olunaraḳ ber-vefḳ-ı dilḫᵛāh-ı aṭyāb [*sic*][17] u rıżā-dāde ve feraḫ [u] neşāṭları ziyāde olup **[6]** mütevellīlerinden cānib-i hümāyūna ifrāġ ve rüsūm-ı ferāġları daḫi iʿṭā etdir/ildiğinden başḳa eks̱eriniñ istidʿāları üzere binā enḳāżı daḫi kendilerine redd ü teslīm[18] olunmaġla sürūr-ı tāmm ve ḥubūr-ı mā-lā-kelām ile cilve-fürūş-ı neşāṭ [u] behçet olaraḳ mübārek-bād deyüp kīseleri lebrīz-i mümsik-i altın ile her biri geldikleri maḥalle ʿavdetde şitāb eylemişlerdir.

Minvāl-i muḥarrer üzere mubāyaʿa olunan müsaḳḳafāt hedm ve arāżī tevsīʿ olunup iki biñ beş-yüz arşına ḳarīb cāmiʿ-i şerīf ve biñ üç-yüz yetmiş zirāʿ şādırvān temelleri mübāşeret tārīḫinden dört ay müddetinde biñden mütecāviz rencper[19] ve üç-yüzden mütecāviz ve iki-yüz dīvārcı ve alınan müsaḳḳafāt hedmi içün elliden mütecāviz neccār ictimāʿıyla ḥafr-ı esāsda ihtimām-ı tāmm olunur iken Ṣaferü'l-ḫayr duḫūl etmezden muḳaddem cāmiʿiñ temeli teyemmünen vażʿ olunmaḳ içün ve ḳazılan meydān arāżīsiniñ maḥall-i vasaṭında bostan ḳuyusu gibi bir ḳulaġuz ḥafr ve temel vażʿ olunmaḳ içün ḳaʿr-ı zemīne değin ḳazılup āmāde olduġu ḫaber verildikde istiḫrāc u intiḫāb olunan şeref-i yümn sāʿat—ki biñ yüz altmış iki senesi māh-ı Muḥarremü'l-ḥarām'ıñ yiğirmi

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[16] Written *aḳçesini* in the print edition.

[17] *Aṭyāb*—the plural of *ṭīb*, "perfume"—is a curious choice of synonym for *rıżā*. It seems the author has used the word with reference to an additional meaning carried by its singular, *ṭīb*, in Persian: "being favorable" (as in *bi-ṭīb-i nafsī*, "with a willing mind"). There is also the possibility that the word has been written in error, though if this is the case, I have not been able to determine what it might be a mistake for.

[18] Mistranscribed *devr[-i] teslīm* in the print edition.

[19] The manuscript spelling reflects the popular Turkish pronunciation. The print edition uses the more correct *rencber*.

doḳuzuncu Cumʿa ertesi (19 Ocak 1749) günüdür—sāʿatiñ aḳrebi altı buçuḳ ve daḳīḳası altıda iken vażʿ-ı esās fermān olunmuşidi.

Dārü's-saʿāde Aġası Kātibi olan Dervīş Muṣṭafā Efendi cümleden evvel bināʾı[20] teşrīf edüp iḳtiżā eden ḫuṣūṣlara niẓām verdikden-ṣoñra **{8}** ol pīrāye-baḫş-ı rütbe-i ṣadāret-i ʿuẓmā Firarī-zāde[21] ʿAbdu'llāh Paşa ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām fežāʾil-irtisām Esʿad Efendi ḥażerātı ve Ḥaremeyn müfettişi Niʿmetu'llāh Efendi ve hālā Aya Ṣofya-i Kebīr vāʿiẓi Hıżır-zāde Ḥasan Efendi ve Sulṭān Aḥmed Ḫān Cāmiʿi vāʿiẓi Emīr Efendi ve Dārü's-saʿāde Aġası kitābetinden munfaṣıl Dīvān ḫᵛācegānından **[7]** Ḥaremeyn ricāli efendiler ve miʿmār aġa ve ṣu nāẓırı ve sāʾir bi-esrihim[22] gelüp mevcūd ve duḫūl-i vaḳt-i şerefden evvel maḥall-i esāsa nüzūl ve ʿiyār-ı sāʿatler cümle müheyyā ber-dest-i vaḳt-i şerefiñ duḫūline intiẓār-ı diḳḳat olunur iken çāryek sāʿat ḳaldıḳda taʿẓīmen ibtidā Şeyḫü'l-İslām Efendi ve s̱āniyen şeyḫeyn-i muḥtere/meyn ḥażerātı dest-i tażarruʿu bāz ve duʿāya āġāz edüp daʿvāt-i ḫayrı ʿarż-ı icābet-ḫāne-i Yezdān ve mā-ʿadāsı zemzeme-i āmīnde yek-zebān ve ʿinde'l-ḫātime Fātiḥa-ḫᵛān olduḳlarında derʿaḳab vażʿ-ı esās olunup Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ḥażretleri sürūr iẓhār ve biʾr-i esāsa birḳaç ḳabża altın nis̱ār edüp binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa ve miʿmār aġa ve binā ḳalfasına ḫilʿat ilbās ile ikrām ve şeyḫ efendilere maḫṣūṣ ṣurre inʿām ve ʿamele-i sāʾire içün daḫi ʿaṭāyā-yı cemīle ile cümleyi ḥiṣṣe-mend-i maġānim-ı birr ü nevāl buyurduḳlarından ṣoñra teşekküren ḳurbānlar[23] zebḥ olunup merāsim itmām ve nehżat ḳıyām ile Sarāy-ı Āṣafī'ye ʿaṭf-ı zimām ve hengām-ı cemʿiyyet ber-vech-i muḥarrer resīde-i ḫitām olmaġın baʿdehu ke-mā-kān ṭopraḳ ḥafrine müsāreʿat

[20] Written *bināyı* in the print edition.

[21] The second re has been erroneously dotted in the manuscript; the print edition gives the correct spelling.

[22] Misspelled باسرئهم in the manuscript, and correctly written باسرهم in the print edition.

[23] Written *ḳurbānları* in the print edition.

olunup rūzmerre yiğirmi otuz ḳaṭār esterān ve ḳırḳ elli ḳaṭār ḫimār ve bārgirān [*sic*][24] ile çıḳan ṭopraḳ deryāya ve cā be-cā Fażlı Paşa Sarāyı'na ve Cinci Meydānı'na naḳl ve iḫrāc ve yiğirmi iki arşın ḳaʿr-ı zemīne nüzūl etdikde ṣu çıḳup ṣudan daḫi aşağı iki arşın ḳazıldıḳdan-ṣoñra birḳaç maḥalle[25] ṭulumbacı miḳrāṣları ḳurulup cesīm ṭopac direklerinden üçer buçuḳ arşın ḳazıḳlar kaṭʿ ve daḳḳ olunup daḳḳ olunan ḳazıḳların beynleri iki arşın parmağı fāṣıla ile birḳaç biñ arşın vüsʿati olan **{9}** bütün meydān ḳaldırım ṭaşı dizilir gibi demirli[26] ḳazıḳlar ḳaḳılup iki ḳat kireç ve bir ḳat ḫāliṣ ḫorasan ile beyāż senk molozdan memlū rıḫtım **[8]** birḳaç arşın bālāya çıḳup hemvār olduḳda bināya kemāl-i metānet رتانت [*sic*][27] ḥāṣıl olmaḳ içün ayaḳlar seçilüp ve ayaḳdan ayaġa kemerler devr olunup mānend-i[28] ṣarnıç ṣu ḫazīneleri ṣūretyāb ve yer yüzüne çıḳmaġa dört arşın ḳaldıḳda köprülük od ṭaşı ferşine şürūʿ olunduğu es̱nāda—ki biñ-yüz altmış iki senesi māh-ı Şaʿbān'ınıñ on ücüncü günü tārīḫiyle müverraḫdır—Darü's-saʿāde Aġası kātibi olan Dervīş Efendi lafẓan u maʿnen ü ḥaḳīḳaten dervīş olduğu gibi bulunduğu ḫiẕmetlerde daḫi li'llāh fi'llāh ṣıdḳ u istiḳāmet-i ḫulūṣu[29] derpīş edüp pākī-i dāmān-ı ʿıṣmet memdūḥu'l-fiʿāl bir ẕāt-ı ferḫunde ḥıṣāl olduġundan ḥaḳḳında lücce-i ʿāṭıfet-i mülūkāne cūşān ve rütbe-i vālā-yı muḥāsib-i Ḥaremeyn ile ḳadri terfīʿ ve bülendü'l-aḳrān olup ṭaşrada ḫiẕmet-i celīle iẓhāriyle mühimsāz iken ẕātında merkūz olan ās̱ār-ı rüşd-i[30]

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[24] The word should be—and in the print edition is—spelled *bārgīrān*.

[25] Mistranscribed *maḥall* in the print edition.

[26] *Demir* is spelled *tīmūr* throughout the text.

[27] The word as spelled is nonsensical. The print edition replaces it with *raṣānet* and precedes it with a *ve*, which is a good guess as to the intended meaning.

[28] Nonsensically mistranscribed مانند in the print edition.

[29] Mistranscribed *istiqāmet ü ḫulūṣu* in the print edition.

[30] Mistranscribed *rüşd ü* in the print edition.

ẕekiyye-i intibāh meşhūd-ı nażar-ı daḳīḳa-şinās-ı Pādişāh olmaġın Dārü'ssaʿāde Aġası ṭarafından ḥużūr-ı hümāyūna çaġrılup ʿatebe-i şevket ü iclāle vażʿ-ı nāṣiye-i ibtihāl-i şerefin eyledikde Şehriyār-ı ḳadirdān ḥażretleri refʿ-i mehābet-i meclis etmek içün telaṭṭuf-ı kerīmāne ile iẓhār-ı muʿāmele-i istīnās buyurup kemāl-i tevāżuʿ-ı mülūkānelerinden "Dervīş Efendi ne işliyorsun? Hemān onda oturup ẕevḳ-mi edeyorsun?" deyü nevāziş-i bend-nevāz [*sic*][31] buyurduḳlarında zemīn-pūs [*sic*][32] birle "Şevketlü, mehābetlü Efendimiñ devām-ı eyyām-ı ʿömr-i şevketleri duʿā-yı ẖayırlarınıñ ẖiẕmetlerindeyim. Ḥaḳḳ teʿālā vücūd-i hümāyūnlarını ẖaṭāsız edüp ʿāmme-i bende-gān ve bu ʿabd-i ḥaḳīrlerinden ẓıll-i merḥametlerin[33] zāʾil eylemeye" deyü iẓhār-ı ʿarż-ı ʿubūdiyet eyledikde "Baḳ benim bu es̱nāda cāmiʿ-i şerīf bināsı ẖiẕmetinden ehem ü mültezim naẓar-ı hümāyūnumda bir iş yoḳdur, ve sen **{10}** öteden beri sālik-i ḥüsn-i ṭarīḳ ve ḥarekātında maẓhar-ı tevfīḳ olup nāsa ẖayr-ẖᵛāhī **[9]** ve ẖiẕmetinde meşkūrü'l-mesāʿī olduġundan bu ẖuṣūṣda daẖi sadāḳat ü istiḳāmet ve ẖulūṣkārī beẕl-i ḳudret ile ẖiẕmet edeceğiñ maʿlūm-ı mülūkānemiz olmaġla cāmiʿiñ bināsı üzerine seni taʿyīn edüp müstaḳillen nāẓır eyledim. Her umūr-ı ẖuṣūṣuna kemāl-i saʿy-i ihtimām ve ziyāde himmet-i belīġ-i tāmm edüp bidāyetinden nihāyetine değin bir ān üzerinden devr ü mehcūr olmamaḳ üzere min külli'l-vücūh umūrunuñ ber-vech-i merām-ı temşiyet-pezīr [*sic*][34] olması senden maṭlūb olmaġla taʿlīḳ-ı gerden-i ihtimāmıñ olan işbu ẖuṣūṣ-ı meʾmūrda ẖayren ve gerek şerren her ne olur ise senden bilirim. Göreyim seni ne gūne

[31] The correct form is *bende-nevāz*, which is what is written in the print edition.

[32] The suffix ought to be *–būs*. The misspelling is consistently employed in the text.

[33] Mistranscribed *merḥametlerini* in the print edition.

[34] Properly spelled *–peẕīr*, which is how the word is written in the print edition. The mistake recurs consistently.

irāʾet[35] ve ḥüsn-i neẓāret edüp bez̠l-i vücūd edersin. Zīrā bu mādde sāʾir ḫuṣūṣa ḳıyās değil li-vechi'llāhi teʿālā ḫayrāt-ı celīledir. ʿAmele vü faʿalesine ḥayf [ü] ġadr[36] olunmayup ücretleriniñ siyāḳ-ı ʿāmm ve sibāḳ-ı ʿālem üzere tamāmen verilmesine ve ḥuḳūḳ-ı eṣnāf ʿalā mā-cere'l-ʿāde edā olunmasına kemāl-i diḳḳat ve rencīde remīdeden selīmü'l-ḥāl olmalarına bez̠l-i ḳudret edüp herkesiñ irżā olması ve ḥuḳūḳ-ı ʿibād ke-mā yenbaġī icrā ve ḫiz̠met-i iʿmālde olan Müslim[37] ve gerek kefere bir alay żuʿafādan olmaġla işlerinde müsāraʿat bahāne/siyle tecbīr ü tekdīr etdirmeyüp mülāyemet ve reʾfet-i mülūkānemiz üzere ḥareket ve cümlesinden ẕāt-ı merḥamet-ittiṣāfıma ḫayr duʿā aldırmaġa saʿy-i vefret eyleyesin. İn-şāʾa'llāhü teʿālā sen daḫi ḫayr duʿāma maẓhar olduġundan ġayri *küllü nefsin yüczā bi-mā eslefethü*[38] medlūlünce ber-muḳtażā-yı ḥasb-ı ḥāl her ne ise [?][39] encāmında aña göre mücāzāt olacaġıñ emir muḳarrer"[40] deyü kemāl-i emr-i ekīd ü tavṣiye[41]-i şedīd buyurduḳdan ṣoñra cānib-i āṣafīden daḫi emr-i hümāyūnu mutażammın fermān ve emr-i lisān-ı vācibü'l-iz̠ʿān içün balṭacılar ketḫüdāsı ḳoşulup Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ḥażretlerine irsāl **[10]** ve ber-vech-i muḥarrer maʿlūm-ı müşīrīleri olduḳda vezīr-i Āṣaf-naẓīr **{11}** daḫi emr ü tavṣiyeniñ tekrārı ḫilālinde neẓāretini müʾeyyid dūş-ı

[35] Nonsensically mistranscibed ارانت in the print edition.

[36] The conjunction, which is omitted in the manuscript, has been added in the print edition.

[37] The manuscript spells the word as if with a *şedde* over the *lām*, which would give *müsellem* or *müsellim*, neither of which is semantically fitting.

[38] This Arabic saying is written in red.

[39] The word appears as if written اینسه, which would not produce a tenable reading. Without the dot over its second tooth, the word corresponds to how our scribe elsewhere writes *ise* (ایسه). Another possible (though less likely) reading is *etse* (ایتسه), and indeed, the print edition gives the word as ایتسه ك, *etseñ*.

[40] Written *muḳarrerdir* in the print edition.

[41] A *şedde* is mistakenly written over the *ye*.

ibtihācına ṣof ferāce ilbāsiyle ikrām ve ḫiẕmet-i meʾmūrelerine ke-mā yenbaġī ḳıyām eylemişlerdir.

Haḳḳ-ı kelām ve muḥaṣṣal-ı merām budur ki efendi mūmā-ileyh ḥażretleri ber-dāşte-i dūş-ı vedīʿati olan ebniyyede nitāḳ-ı ġayreti meyān-ı himmetlerine şedbend ve vech-i teveccühlerine ebvāb-ı ḥużūr u rāḥatı sedd ve fātiḥa-ı meʾmūriyyetlerinden ḫātime-i meymenet-i lāyiḥasına değin bāzū-yı himmetlerine fütūr getirmeyüp ber-muḳtażā-yı emr-i hümāyūn ḥareket ve sermū tehāvün ü taḳṣīrāt olunmaḳsızıñ [*sic*][42] rūzmerre aḳīb-i ṣalātu'ṣ-ṣubḥ cümleden muḳaddem bināya gelüp ve aḫṣam ʿamele yazısı [?][43] olduḳdan ṣoñra cümleden muʾaḫḫar ḫānelerine gitdiği ve maʿāẕa'llāhi teʿālā bi'd-defeʿāt iḥrāḳ vuḳūʿunda ikişer üçer gece[44] bināda ḳalup tā be-ṣabāḥ şeb-zinde-dār kemāl-i taḥaffuẓ üzere tāb-āver olduğu ḥattā bir ḳaç defʿa ḫāneleriniñ cār[45]-ı mülāṣıḳında ḥarīḳ-ı ʿaẓīm olup selāmetden nā-ümīd olunduğu kendilerine ḫaber verilmişiken ḫayr ü şerre min ṭarafi'llāhi'l-Bārī iʿtiḳādına teşebbüs̱ ile meslek[46]-i dervīşīde s̱ebāt ve her ḥālde icrā-yı ṣadāḳat ü muḫālaṣat edüp binādan bir ḫaṭve ḥareket eylemedikleri cümleʿi[47] engüşt ber-dehā[n][48]-ı ʿacīb ü ḥayret eyledi.

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[42] The word should be spelled *olunmaḳsızın*. The print edition, while correcting the final letter, introduces another error by transcribing the word as *olunmasızın*.

[43] The word appears to be spelled يازوسى, though the final letter is smudged. The print edition nonsensically transcribes it as *pāzūs*. While *ʿamele yazısı* seems the likeliest reading, I have not come across such an expression elsewhere, and my interpretation of the intended phrase (which may well be miswritten to begin with) is tentative.

[44] Nonsensically mistranscribed *kişi* in the print edition.

[45] The word, which is correctly spelled in the print edition, appears as if written *çār* in the manuscript.

[46] The word appears as if written مسلمك, though *meslek* is clearly the intended form, and the one transcribed in the print edition.

[47] Written جمله ئى; the more usual spelling, and the one used in the print edition, is جمله يى.

[48] The *nūn* is mistakenly omitted in the manuscript but restored in the print edition.

Bu vechile ʿale'd-devām iḳāmet, ḫuṣūṣā eyyām-ı şitāda şiddetinde ve hengām-ı sevret-i sermāde günde bir ḳaç defʿa, belki her sāʿat ellerinde ʿaṣā dāʾir ü sāʾir olup binānıñ zīr ü bālāsına ṣuʿūd u nüzūl ederek idāre-i meşiyyet[49] ve erkān-ı erbaʿanıñ her cānibinde bir ḳaç maḥallde olan ayaḳ ve tezgāh[50] usta/larınıñ yanlarına varup teşvīḳ-ı iʿmāl-i mahāret ve taḥrīṣ-ı saʿy-ı müsāraʿat içün ustaları rüʿesāsına ve neferātına ve kār-güẕār ṭaşcı infirādına [*sic*][51] **[11]** bir iki gün ẓarfında mevāzīn-i ḳābiliyyet ü istiʿdādlarına göre üçer beşer ikişer altın ʿaṭiyye ile ẕevḳāne mülāyemet ü luṭfāne istimālet ederek ḥiṣṣe-mend-i vāye-dār-ı ʿāṭıfet olduḳlarında ʿan ṣamīmi'l-ḳalb şehriyār-ı sütūde-/kār ḥażretlerine **{12}** ḫayr duʿā aldırdığı cümleniñ meşhūdu ve ḥāla ʿameleniñ zebān-/zed-i ḥāl ü ḳālleridir.

Ez-cümle ṣırıḳ ḥammālānı her bir[52] ḥaml-i s̱aḳīl olan kebīr ü ʿarīż mermer-i pehlū ve mermer-i sütūn ve ṭaban aḥcārını ṭabaḳāt menziline ıṣʿād içün her bir ʿadedine on sekiz, yiğirmi dört, otuz iki, daḫi ziyāde ḥammāl neferātı ḳoşulup iḳtiżāsına göre ṣuʿūd u nüzūl etdirirler iken taʿab u meşaḳḳatlerini müşāhede eyledikce nisyān-ı miḥen [?][53] içün ekṡer eyyāmda ḥammāl başılarına başḳa ve neferātına başḳa dest-i kerem-peyvestelerinden ḥiṣṣe-dār-ı vāye-dār-ı kerem[54] olanlar aḥcārın taḥmīli içün müsāraʿatde biri birlerini müsābeḳat ederler idi.

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[49] An Ottoman misspelling of the Arabic *mashiʾa*.

[50] The word, which should be written تزكاه, is misspelled تيزكاه, its first part having been misconstrued as the Persian word *tīz*, whose vernacular Turkish pronunciation was (and remains) *tez*. In fact, *tezgāh* is a Turkish variant of the more formal *destgāh* (from Persian *dast-gāh*).

[51] The intended word—and the one given in the print edition—is *efrādına*.

[52] Written *her biri* in the print edition.

[53] The word appears as if spelled محز, which is a nonexistent form. The print edition gives the word as *miḥen*, the most reasonable of the possible readings.

[54] The print edition omits the *dār* following *vāye*.

Ke-ẕālik taşcı kārḫānecilerine ve ḥaṣekiyān [*sic*][55] ve muʿtemedān ve ḫarbeciyān ve sāʾirine işlerinde serīʿü'l-ḥareke olup müsāraʿat ṣūretinde mücidd-i sāʿī olanlara ve bir ḫuṣūṣa taʿyīn olunup itmām-ı merām ile gelenlere bi-ḳadri istiḥḳāḳıhim ʿaṭiyye-i vāfire ile çoḳ kimesneden celb-i duʿā ve anlar daḫi teng-desten rehā bulup ḥaḳḳ budur ki ḥüsn-i rūy-ı lisān ve iks̱ār-ı ʿaṭiyye-i iḥsān ile *Uṭlubu'l-ḫayre ʿinde ḥisāni'l-vücūh*[56] kelām-ı muʿciz-beyānıñ[57] mā-ṣadaḳı olup ṣaġīr ü kebīrini kerem-i ʿaṭāyāsına dildāde ve cümlesi ḫiẕmet iẓhārında üftāde olmaġla rūz u şebān belki her ān Cenāb-i Şehriyār-ı kāmgār ḥażretlerine daʿvāt-i ḫayr eylemek mecmūʿuna vird-i zebān idi.

Ḥattā ḥaṣekiyān ve muʿtemedān ve ḫarbecilerden biri teşdīd ü tehdīd ḳaṣdiyle ʿameleden birine ḫilāf-ı merżiyye ḍurūb u şütūm edüp teşekkī eylediklerinde maḍrūb u āzürde olanları bir tarīḳile muṭayyeb eyledikden ṣoñra ḍarb u şetm edenleri getirdüp muvācehelerinde **[12]** mücāzāt bi'l-fiʿl olduğundan ġayri fī-mā baʿd bir daḫi eylememek üzere menʿ ü zecr olunurlar idi. Ve biriniñ ḥasbü'l-beşeriyye fiʿl-i ḳabīḥ ü melʿanet[58] ṣarīḥi ẓāhir olup yine içlerinden müddeʿī olduḳlarında Müslümān ise taʿyīn olunan orta yazıcısı maʿrifetiyle, ẕimmī ise kendi reʾīsler[59] **{13}** maʿrifetiyle ḥüsn-i müdāfaʿa, eğer bi'ż-żarūr[60] teʾdīb ü tehdīd lāzım gelse daḫi yine āḫir-i ḫuṣūṣda ṭayyib ḫāṭır olacaḳ vechile muʿāmele-i bi'l-mücāmele olunup ḫulāṣa-ı mā-ḥaṣal sekiz seneniñ ẓarfında dört

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[55] Written حصكيان; the proper spelling is خاصكيان.

[56] This hadith should be written اطلبوا الخير عند حسان الوجوه, but appears instead as اطلبوا لخير عند حسان الوجوه.

[57] The print edition mistranscribes the phrase as *kelām-ı muʿciz beyānınıñ*.

[58] The word is nonsensically mistranscribed ملفت in the print edition.

[59] *Reʾīsleri* in the print edition.

[60] The correct form, and that used in the print edition, is *bi'ż-żarūre*.

biñden mütecāviz ʿamele vü faʿale [vü] ḫademe[61] ve fırḳa-ı eṣnāf u zümre-i ḥirfet ve gerek żābıṭāndan[62] ferd-i vāḥid bir tarīḳile dilgīr ve bir vechile tażcīr [*sic*][63] olunmayup her biri kendi mevāzīn-i ḳābiliyyet ü istiʿdātları [*sic*][64] üzere cümlesi ʿāṭıfet ü mürüvvetlerinden ḥiṣṣe-mend-i vāye-dār olup resīde-i ḫitāmına değin her ḫuṣūṣda reʾy-i rezīn-i ʿāḳılāne ve tedbīr-i muʿtedilāne ve baḫş-ı kerem-i ʿaṭāyā-yı cemīle ile mecmūʿunu meşkūr u ḫoşnūd ve her ne ḳadar ḫiṣāl-i ḥamīde var ise kendinden[65] mevcūd olmaġın nām-ı Ḫātemī ki nām-ı vücūd-i saḫā ile celb-i ḳulūb-ı ḫavāṣ u ʿāmm eylediğinden ol vaḳitden beri Pādişāh-ı fütüvvet-penāh ḥażretleri yine [*sic*][66] şebānrūz duʿā-yı ḫayr eylemek kendilerine vücūb mertebesinde olduġunu el-ān teşekkür[67] ü iʿtirāf edüp devām-ı eyyām-ı ʿömr ü devlet-i pādişāhī daʿvātında vaḳf-ı zebān-ı ḥāl ü ḳāl eyledikleri vāreste-i āşikārdır.

Bundan[68] ṣoñra gelelim mā nahnü fīh olan cāmiʿiñ binā taʿrīf ü tavṣīfine. Temel rıḫtımından yer yüzüne çıḳmaġa dört arşın ḳalup köprülük od ṭaşı ferşine şurūʿ olunduġu bundan aḳdem bālāda şerḥ ü taṣrīḥ olunmuşidi. Aḥcār-ı merḳūm ferş olunaraḳ rūy-ı

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[61] It is unclear how *ḫademe* is supposed to relate to the synonymous *ʿamele* and *faʿale* that precede it. A missing *vü* seems in order, though the print edition links the words by *iżāfet* thus: *ʿamele vü faʿale-i ḫademe*.

[62] *Żābıṭānından* in the print edition.

[63] A nonce form derived from the Arabic verb *ḍajira*, whose meanings include being discontented or grieved (hence the legitimate Ottoman word *tażaccur*, “a being vexed, grieved, or disgusted”). The print edition replaces the word with the properly formed but semantically inappropriate *tefcīr* (causing to burst forth and flow; deeming or pronouncing to be a reprobate).

[64] Remarkably, the scribe has misspelled the word according to its normal Turkish pronunciation. The proper spelling, and that employed in the print edition, is *istiʿdādları*.

[65] *Kendinde* in the print edition.

[66] The scribe should have written *ḥażretlerine*, which is what we find in the print edition.

[67] Mistranscribed *mütefekkir* in the print edition.

[68] Nonsensically mistranscribed اشكار وديوندن in the print edition.

zemīne müsāvī olduḳda cāmiʿiñ cevānib-i erbaʿa dīvārları ṭarḥ olunup “Secde zemīni ne miḳdār **[13]** mürtefiʿ olsun?” deyü baʿde’l-istīẕān istişāre olunmaḳ fermān olunmaġla[69] Dārü’s-saʿāde Aġası sābıḳ kātibi ve ol es̱nāda rūznāmçe-i evvel ʿAlī Efendi ve āmedci ḳarındaşı olan şehr emīni Yūsuf Efendi ḥażretleri ve Ḥaremeyn müfettişi Niʿmetu’llāh Efendi ve ḫāṣṣa miʿmārı başısı ve şu nāẓırı ʿaḳd-i encümen-i istişāre ve baʿde’l-müẕākere Sulṭān Aḥmed Ḫān Cāmiʿi intiḫāb olunup aña muḳāyese olunmaġla ḥavlısı zemīninden üç arşın irtifāʿ ile ibnā[70] ve dāʾir[en][71] **{14}** mā dār ṣom mermerden iʿmāl olunaraḳ otuz üç[72] ʿaded eğeden çıḳma muṣayḳal ṭoblu demir pencereleri vażʿ ve secde zemīninden yay kemerleriniñ üzengi ṭabanına çıḳınca ḳadden on beş arşın ṣom mermer ve [ü]zengi[73] taba/nından cāmiʿ ḳubbesine varınca ḳadden yiğirmi sekiz buçuḳ arşın küfeki ṭaşdan olup ve ḳubbeniñ aşaġıları ʿarżan bir buçuḳ, gitdikce bālāya ḳarīb bir arşın altı parmaḳ ḳalıñlıḳıdır.[74] Ve yine ḳubbeniñ zemīn devri yüz buçuḳ arşın olmaġla ḥāṣılı namāz ḳılınan zemīnden tā ḳubbe ʿalemine varınca vech-i muḥarrer üzere on beş arşın ṣom mermer ve yiğirmi sekiz buçuḳ arşın küfeki ve on bir arşın ḳubbe[-i] ṭuġla[75] ki min hays̱ü’l-mecmūʿ elli dört buçuḳ ẕirāʿ cāmiʿiñ ḳaddi iḳtiżā eder.

[69] The *ġayn* somewhat resembles, and may be read as, a *ḳāf*, which is how the letter is transcribed in the print edition.

[70] This word is accidentally omitted from the print edition.

[71] As elsewhere in the text, the grammatically necessary accusative *elif* is not written, though it has been added in the print edition.

[72] This word is accidentally omitted from the print edition.

[73] The word’s opening letters, which the manuscript accidentally omits, are restored in the print edition.

[74] The proper spelling would be *ḳalınlıġıdır*; the print edition transcribes the word as *ḳalıñlıġıdır*.

[75] The scribe has not included the *hemze* needed to indicate the implied *iżāfet*. While adding this *hemze*, the print edition nonsensically changes the following word to *ṭafl*/*ṭıfl*.

Ve kubbeniñ büyüklüğü cā be-cā müẕākere olunduḳca erbāb-ı fünūn u ehl-i vuḳūfuñ ḫaber verdikleri cevāba göre nefs-i Āsitān-ı Devlet-Āşiyāne'de cümle büyük ḳubbe ibtidā Aya Ṣofya-i Kebīr, ikinci Süleymāniyye Cāmiʿi, üçüncü Ebü'l-Fetḥ, dördüncü işbu Nur-ı ʿOs̱mānī Cāmiʿ-i şerīfiniñ ḳubbesi olup mā-ʿadā olan cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn cümle bunların mā-dūnu olduğu müttefeḳun ʿaleyhdir.

Gelelim cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz-ı laṭīfiñ derūnī mesāḥasına: iki ṭarafıñ dīvār ḳalıñlığı ve ṭarafeyniñ çıḳma ṭabaḳalarıyla ʿarżan çām-çarşı ḳırḳ sekiz buçuḳ ẕirāʿ sekiz parmaḳ olup ve yine ṭarafeyniñ dīvār ḳalıñlığı ile ṭūlen ḳırḳ sekiz arşın olmaġla mecmūʿī cāmiʿiñ derūnu **[14]** terbīʿī iki biñ üçyüz ḳırḳ altı arşın eder. Ḳaldı ki şādırvānı ṣuffalarıyla maʿahu dīvār ṭūlen otuz iki buçuḳ arşın, üç parmaḳ, yine ṭarafeyniñ dīvār ḳalıñlıḳlarıyla ʿarżan ḳırḳ iki arşın olup bu ḥisāb üzere terbīʿī biñ üçyüz yetmiş arşın, altı parmaḳ eder; ancaḳ köşeleri müdevver olmaġla terbīʿinden bir miḳdār noḳṣān olur. Ṣuffalarına dikilen serce[76] gözü taʿbīr olunur mermer sütūn on iki ʿaded olup her biriniñ uzunluğu yedi-şer arşın **{15}** ve çām-çarşı ḳalıñlığı yiğirmi ikişer parmaḳdır. Ve cümlesi yek-cevher olup Berġama nām maḥallden gelmişdir.

Eğerçi sütūn-ı meẕkūruñ tafṣīl-i aḥvāli ıṭnābla taṭvīle müʾeddī olacağı bedīhīdir. Lākin baʿdehu zamān iḳtiżā eyledikde keyfiyyeti maʿlūm olup *Küllü emrin leyse fī ḳırṭāsin żāʿa*[77] mażmūnu rūnümā olmaḳ içün rehvār ḳalem ile ifhāma cesāret ve taḥrīrden mücānebet olunmadı. Cāmiʿ-i merḳūm henūz ṣūret-pezīr olmazdan muḳaddem "Ṣuffalarına dikilecek mermer sütūnları āyā ne maḥallden tedārik ederiz?" deyü cümlesi ġavṭa-ḫᵛor-ı girdāb-ı efkār ve ḥīn-i iḳtiżāda ne vechile taḥṣīl ü iḥżār olunmaḳ endīşesi

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[76] Properly spelled *serçe*.

[77] كل امر ليس فى قرطاس ضاع. The more usual form of the expression—in both Ottoman and Arabic texts—uses *ʿilm* in place of *emr*/*amr*.

aṣḥāb-ı meʾmūruñ derūnlarında fī nefsi'l-emr fikr-i ʿaẓīm ve endūh-ı cesīm olup ḥattā meşhūr-ı enām olan üstād-ı kārdān merḥūm Miʿmār Sinān tārīḫinde yazıldığına göre Süleymāniyye Cāmiʿi bināsında mermer sütūnlarınıñ tedārikinde eẕiyyed[78]-i pür-meşaḳḳat-i ṣuʿūbet çekilüp encām-ı kār bir ḳaçını Maḥrūse-i Mıṣr İskenderiyye'sinden ve mā-ʿadā/sınıñ her birini bir diyār ve bir maḥall-i baʿīdeden taḥṣīl ve naḳli müyesser olmuş.

Bu sütūnlar daḫi Berġama ḳaṣabasında ṣaġ ve sālim ve bir ḫarābe kilise dīvārında metrūken ḳāʾim ve kimesneniñ żabṭında olmadığına voyvodası **[15]** ʿālim olup ber-muḳtażā-yı baḫt-ı hümāyūn cümlesi mermer ve serçe gözü yek-cevher olduğu ḫaber verildikde tekrār taṣḥīḥ içün adam gönderilüp geldikden ṣoñra maḫṣūṣ cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ḳalfa gönderilüb sütūnların birini iḫrāc ve taṣnīf eylediği demir tekerlekli ve demir bendli ve ḳuşaḳlamalı ḳızaḳ üzerine alup otuz beş cüft[79] cāmūs mandalarıyla tilāl ü cibālden beş buçuḳ sāʿat mesāfe olan sāḥil-i baḥre bir tarīḳ ile nüzūl ü tesyīr, lākin sāḥil-i baḥr olan maḥall şen ü ʿimāre olmadığından gelen sütūnları sefāyine taḥmīl içün metīn ü vāsiʿ iskele ve Tersāne-i ʿĀmire'de olduğu gibi bir dār aġacı inşā olunmaḳ **{16}** muḳtażā olduğunu mesfūr ḳalfa geldikde taḳrīr ü keyfiyyetini tefhīm ü inhā etmekle iḳtiżā eden kerāsteniñ bulunanı Āsitāne'/den ve bulunmayanı īcāb eden bahāsıyla ol-ṭarafıñ dağlarından kaṭʿ ve iḥżār ve lāzım gelen mühimmāt ve ʿamelesin[80] bu ṭarafdan irsāl olup meẕkūr iskele metīn ü müstaḥkem[81] dār aġacı inşā olunup tarīḳ-i meẕkūr mīşe-/zār[82] ve

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[78] The scribe clearly meant to write *eẕiyyet*, as evident from his inclusion of a *şedde* over the *ye*. The print edition changes the intended expression altogether to what can only be read as *ez-yed*.

[79] *Çift* in the print edition.

[80] *ʿAmelesini* in the print edition.

[81] The scribe has mistakenly placed a *şedde* over the *kef*; this error is avoided in the print edition.

sütūnların tesyīrine ṣaʿb-kār olduġundan teshīl-i taṭhīri muḳtażā olmaġın Berġama'dan mişyet[83]-i esb-süvār ile beş buçuḳ sāʿatlik mesāfe-i baʿīde olan tarīḳ ḫār-ḫāşāk-i aḥcārdan taḫliye [*sic*][84] içün ḳaṭʿ-ı eşcār ve şu yataġı ve çamur ve enhār üzerine cisr iḥdāṯ olunmaġla ber-vech-i meşrūḥ teshīl-i tarīḳ olduġu iḫbār olunduḳdan ṣoñra taḥmīl ve Āsitāne'ye naḳilleriyçün kimi tersāneden ḳalyon taʿyīn olunmaḳ, kimi üç direkli sefāyin istīcār ve her biri muḳtażā-yi ʿaḳlini iḫtiyār ve encām-ı kār birine ḳarār verilmeyüp zīrā ḳalyon taʿyīn olunduġu ḥālde ʿaḳalli iki-üç ḳalyona muḥtāc ve mīrīye maṣr[af]-ı girān [?],[85] üç direkli sefāyin olmaḳ lāzım gelse ancaḳ ikişer sütūnu müteḥammil ve derūn-ı sefīneye daḫi sütūnlar yaṭaġı içün maḫṣūṣ ṣandıḳlar **[16]** çaṭılup bu maṣrafdan başḳa nevl ücreti sekizer kīse aḳçe maṭlūbları olmuşiken nihāyet beş kīse aḳçeye rāżı olmalarıyla iktiżā eden maṣrafından mā-ʿadā on iki sütūn içün altı ḳıṭʿa sefāyin otuz kīse aḳçeye istīcār olunmaḳ lāzım gelir idi.

Henūz ol-miḳdār sefīne ise Āsitāne'de lenger-endāz-ı mevcūd-ı liman olmayup bu ṣūretde endīşesi her biriniñ derūnunda cāygīr ve ne ḳālibe ifrāġ olunacaġı lisānda teẕkīr ve bir ferdiñ ẕihnine lāyiḥ ve ḫāṭırına ḫuṭūr etmedi-ki dil ḳayıḳları her vechile ehven ü eshel olduġunu Dervīş Efendi kemāl-i fehm-i kiyāset ü ġalebe-i feṭānetlerinden istidrāk ü istiḫrāc eylediklerinde nefsü'l-emri mülāḥaẓa edenleriñ cümlesi efendi mūmā-ileyhiñ ḳarīḥa-ı pür-menīḥa/larından taʿaḳḳul ü tezehhün [*sic*][86] eyledikleri **{17}** dil ḳayıḳları her

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[82] The second part of the word is perhaps misspelled *ẓār* in the manuscript.

[83] The word has a *şedde* in the manuscript copy, but *mişyet* is the semantically appropriate reading.

[84] Properly spelled *taḫliye*. The print edition transcribes the word as the nonexistent تمديه.

[85] Written ميريّه مصركران. The only way I can make sense of this is to assume that the penultimate word was meant to be *maṣraf*.

[86] The correct spelling, as employed in the print edition, is *teẕehhün*.

ḥālde serd-mend [?][87] ve ḥafīfü'l-ḥareket [*sic*][88] olduġuna tefaṭṭun ve derk-i tedārikine taḥsīn ve sühūletine teyaḳḳun etmeleriyle mā-hüve'l-ḥaḳḳu daḫi taḥmīn olunan birer sütūndan on iki ḳayıġa verilecek ednā nevl ücreti ve kürek maṣrafı yalıñız bir ḳalyon değil üç direkli sefīneniñ daḫi birine muʿādil ve biriniñ maṣrafına muḳābil olmamaġla efendi mūmā-ileyh her ḫuṣūṣda muṭlaḳā bu māddede tefekkür ve rezānet-i reʾy-i tedbīrleri ḥüsn-i bī-naẓīr hem muvāfıḳ-ı taḳdīr olup bī-taʿab tekellüf[89] ḫitām-pezīr olduġu bedīhīden naḳl olunacaḳ sütūnların her biri niçe[90] yüz ḳanṭār/dan mütecāviz olup bu maḳūle ḫiẕmet-i cerr-i es̱ḳāliñ ʿuhdesinden gelmek Tersāne-i ʿĀmire reʾīsleriniñ memʾūriyyetine menūṭ olmaġın istidʿā olunduḳda içlerinden tefennün-i tāmmı ve mahāret-i kāmilesi olan Meḥmed Reʾīs intiḫāb ve bā-fermān-ı ʿālī taʿyin olunup iḳtiżā eden ālāt-ı mütenevviʿa ve çifte dilli ṭuc maḳara ve sāʾir mühimmātı lāzımeʾi[91] görüp

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[87] It is very unclear what is meant by this word, which seems to combine the Persian adjective *sard* (cold, cool, disagreeable, unpleasant; hard, harsh) with the Persian suffix *–mand* (possessing, endued with). The resultant *sard-mand*/*serd-mend* is not attested in the Persian or Ottoman dictionaries, though it occurs in Evliya Celebi to describe cold weather: see Evliyā Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, Dizini*, ed. Orhan Şaik Gökyay, 10 vols. (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996–2007): 7:33. How the term is supposed to be understood in the context of Ahmed Efendi's account is not at all obvious. Given that the intended meaning is clearly positive, my sense is that the word is being used to describe the caiques' hardiness. This interpretation is strengthened by the semantic overlap that *sard*/*serd* has with the orthographically similar Turkish word *sert* (sometimes spelled *serd*), which means, among other things, "hard." There is also the possibility of scribal error: indeed, the medial *dāl*—written in diminutive superscript—was evidently added after the rest of the word had been completed, suggesting that the scribe may himself have been unfamiliar with the term in question. The print edition omits this diminutive *dāl* and gives the word as *ser-mend*, which is still less intelligible than the manuscript version.

[88] The first word should be written *ḫafīf*, which is how it appears in the print edition.

[89] *Tekellüfe* in the print edition.

[90] *Nice* in the print edition.

[91] Somewhat awkwardly spelled لازمهٔ ئی to indicate the addition of the Turkish accusative *–i* to the end of *lāzıme*. The scribe may have intended *lāzıme* as an adjective qualifying the preceding *mühimmāt* (i.e., *mühimmāt-ı lāzıme*), but if this is the case, he has made the mistake of adding the accusative suffix *–ı* to *mühimmāt* also, as if erroneously phoneticizing the *iżāfet* enclitic. Alternatively, one might interpret *lāzıme* as a noun in its own right that is paired with the nearly synonymous *mühimmāt*, with the accusative suffix appearing at the end of both words. Either way, the resultant meaning is more or less the same. The print edition gives the nonsensical transcription لازوئی.

ḳaldı-ki bu bahāne ile ol-ṭarafda reʿāyā-yı [*sic*][92] vu berāyā ve gerek ehl-i beldeden ferd-i vāḥid rencīde **[17]** ve ṭutulan rençperān ve ḳoşulan ḥayvānāt içün āyende vü revendeye taʿcīz ü remīde olunmayup belki iḥtimāl ü ṣıyānet ve müddet-i iḳāmete verile/cek icārāt ve lāzım gelen mühimmāt bā-ḫuṣūṣ maṣārıf-ı meʾkūlāt min külli'l-vücūh binā ṭarafından rüʾyet ve aṣḥābına redd-i ḥuḳūḳiyyet ve rıżā-yı hümāyūn üzere icrā-yi merāsim-i ʿadālet içün Dervīş Efendi ṭaraf-ı şerīflerinden Aḥmed Aġa nām bir saḳallı aġa ve yanına umūr-dīde beş altı nefer çuḳadār taʿyīn ve biri birlerine neẓāret ü muẓāheret ederek umūr-i merḳūmeniñ temşiyyet-i ḫitāmına saʿy-i belīġ-i diḳḳat olunup miyānede münāferet ve ḫilāf-ı merżiyye ḥareket eylememeleriyçün tenbīh[93]-i müʾekked ve ḥattā maḥallinde kimesneye bār-i miḥnet ve bulunmaz ise żarūret çekmemek içün bir yedek revġan-i sāde ve bir ḳazevi erz-i Mıṣrī ve buña ḳıyās ecnās-ı ẕaḫāʾiri itmām ve es̱nā-yı tarīḳda istirāḥat ve derūnunda beytūtet içün **{18}** müteʿaddid çārge[94] vü ḫiyām verilmekle ve'l-ḥāṣıl cümle mā yuḥtācu ileyh olduḳları malzemeʾi[95] bī-ḳuṣūr tekmīlden ṣoñra mecmūʿunu dil ḳayıḳlarına süvār ve mütevekkilen ʿale's-Settār bādbān-küşā-yı ʿazīmet etdirilmişdir.

Bi-me[nni]hi[96] teʿālā lede'l-vuṣūl şerefrīz-ṣudūr eden emr-i ʿālīşān manṭūḳunca Berġama voyvodası el-Ḥāc Meḥmed Aġa mübāşereti ve bu ṭarafdan taʿyīn olunan Aḥmed Aġa maʿrifeti ve çuḳadārān-ı merḳūmān meʾmūriyyetleriyle rencperān istīcār ve cāmūs

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[92] The *ye* has obviously been added by mistake; the print edition omits it.

[93] An erroneous *şedde* is placed over the *ye*; the print edition omits it.

[94] A Persianized mispelling of *çerge*, a word that is in fact of Greek origin.

[95] *Malzemeyi* in the print edition.

[96] The scribe has accidentally spelled the word without its *nūn*, resulting in the nonsensical بمه. The print edition corrects the error.

mandaları tehīʾ[97]-i iḥżār ve muḳaddemā āmāde olunan demir tekerlek ve demir bende ve ḳuşaḳlamalı ḳızaḳlar üzerine sütūnları taḥmīl etdirilüp beş altı-yüz neferden mütecāviz ḳızaḳ-keşān, ʿarabacıyān ve ʿamele ile rençperān cemʿiyyeti ve cümle meʾmūrān mübāşeretiyle sāʿat be-sāʿat tesyīr-i teʾennī ve ṣavt-ı hāy-hūy-ı meserret ile beş buçuḳ sāʿatlik mesāfe bā-ʿavn-i ʿināyet-i Bārī ve yümn-i himem-i ḥażret-i **[18]** cihāndārī sütūnları sālimen nüzūl ü tesyīri müyesser olduḳda her ʿadedi bir ḳayıġa vażʿ ve taḥmīl ve baʿde't-tekmīl ṭutulan ʿamele vü rencperān ve ḳoşulan devāb ḥayvānātıñ ücret-i yevmiyye ve s̱emen-i maʿrūfeleri ve sāʾir iḳtiżā eden inʿām-ı baḫşişleri[98] ber-mūcib-i emr ü tavsiyye [*sic*] edā vu teslīm ve mecmūʿu ber-vech-i istiḥlāl irżā olunup ehl-i belde ḥamd ü teşekkür ederek vaṭanlarına ʿavdet ve bu ṭarafdan gidenler itmām-ı meʾmūriyyet ile Āsitāne'ye ricʿat, sefāyin daḫi müsāʿid-i eyyām-havā ile bādbān-küşā-yı ʿazīmet edüp müfāreḳatlarınıñ dördüncü beşinci günü biri birini müteʿāḳiben maṣḥūben bi's-selāme Yalı Köşkü öñüne lenger-endāz-ı vuṣlat[99]-ı müyesser olduġunu tebşīr eylediklerinde der-ʿaḳab Dervīş Efendi ve Tersāne-i ʿĀmire'den liman reʿīsī ve ketḫüdā paşa ve tersāne reʾīsleri mīrī üsārā ile Yalı Köşkü'ne gelüp Pādişāh-ı dāver-i luṭf-perdāz-ı bende-nevāz ḥażretleri Yalı Ḳaṣr-ı ʿālīlerinde iken naẓar-ı merḥamet-meʾās̱irlerinden sütūnları fenn-i yesīr ile iḫrāç eylediklerinde Şehriyār-ı kār-gāh u kerāmet-i destgāh ḥażretleri kemāl-i feraḥ u neşāṭarından gelen tersāne reʾīslerine yed-i müʾeyyid/leriyle ceb[100]-i **{19}** hümāyūnlarından ʿaṭiyye-i vāfire iḥsāniyle cümlesini ḥiṣṣe-mend-i vāye-dār-ı ʿāṭıfet buyurdular.

[97] The word is an attested misspelling of *tehyīʿ*, and indeed, the scribe has written it تهىّٔ, as if confusing the two forms. *Tehyīʿ* is itself a variant of the more usual *tehyīʿe*, often rendered *tehiyye* in Ottoman.

[98] *Baḫşiş* is erroneously spelled with a *ye* between the two *şīn*s.

[99] A *şedde* is erroneously placed over the *lām* in the manuscript.

[100] The print edition uses the more formal and correct spelling, *ceyb*.

Sütūn-ı mezḳūrun ḥadīḳa-i ḫāṣṣaya naḳl ve bir ḳaç gün mürūrunda [*sic*][101] ṣoñra tersāneden maḫṣūṣ ḳızaḳlar götürülüp yine ke'l-evvel tersāne ṭaḳımı ve Āsitāne'niñ ḥammāl başısı ve iskele ketḫüdāları bi'l-cümle ḥammālān neferātıyla sütūnları ḥadīḳa-i ḫāṣṣadan aḫẕ ve ṭarīḳ-ı cādde/den her birini birer günde cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn bināsına naḳl ve ḫitām-ı ḫiẕmete değin[102] muḳaddem ü muʾaḫḫar cümle mevcūd olanlara ve öteden gelenlere ve sefāyin rüʾesāsına ve ṭāʾifesine nevl-i sefīneleri ve herkesiñ icārāt-ı **[19]** yevmiyyeleri bi-lā ḳuṣūr verildiğinden başḳa her birisine ferāde ferāde ʿalā ḥaddi merātibihim inʿāmāt u ikrāmları yedlerine teslīm ve mecmūʿu meʾmūllerinden ṣad-efzūn-ı mükerrem olup bundan mā-ʿadā Berġama voyvodası el-Ḥāc Meḥmed Aġa sütūnların naḳli ḫiẕmetinde o ḳadarca bulunmaḳ ḥasebiyle ʿavāṭıf-ı ʿaliyye-i mülūkāne/den rütbe-i vālā-yı ser-bevvābīn-i dergāh-ı muʿallāya pā-nihāde olduġundan başḳa öteden beri sinīn-i mevfūre dīn-i Devlet-i ʿAliyye ḫiẕmetinde emekdār ve maẓhar-ı ʿināyet olmaġa sezāvār iken hezār-inżımām-ı himmet ile ḳapucu başı olanların mecmūʿu yevmiyyelerini kendileri maḥlūlden tedārik ve nāʾil-i nān-pāre ola geldikleri meşhūd-ı ʿālemiyāndır. Mūmā-ileyh ise kemāl-i reʾfet-i mülūkāne ve ġalebe-i mezīd-i ʿināyet-i ḫusrevāneden yevmī yüz elli aḳçe ḳapucu başılıḳ vaẓīfesi bā-ḫaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn tevcīh ü ʿināyet buyurulup müddet-i medīdeden beri ḥasret-yāb olduğu rütbe-i ʿālīye ednā bahāne ile nāʾil-i merām ve meccānen çirāġ-ı tāmm ve mesʾūliyle şādkām olup mütemettiʿ-i şevḳ-ı şādī vü muġtenim-i niʿam-ı ber-murādī olmuşdur.

Ḥattā rüʾus-ı hümāyūnu Dārü's-saʿāde Aġası ṭarafından götüren teberdāra Dervīş Efendi kendi kīsesinden iki-yüz elli ġuruş ikrām edüp bundan ṣoñra yine mūmā-ileyh el-

[101] The word should be—and in the print edition is— *mürūrundan*.

[102] The print edition inserts an unnecessary *ve* here.

Ḥāc Meḥmed Aġaʾı[103] mücerred ṣıyāneten ve ḥimāyeten "Ḳapu ṭarafından yaḫūd aġa ṭarafından adam gidüp aḳçeden çıḳarmasın" **{20}** deyü rüʾus-ı hümāyūnu cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ binā kātibi olup işbu cerīdeniñ muḥarriri olan Aḥmed Efendi ḳullarıyla kendine gönderdiklerinde[104] sādece yalıñız bir teşekkür-nāmesiyle merḳūmu efendi ḥażretlerine ʿavdet ve on-üç gün ẓarfında gidüp gelüp ke-mā kān ḫiẕmet-i kitābetinde eylemişdir.

Ke-ẕālik sütūnlar naḳliyçün tersāneden meʾmūr olan Meḥmed Reʾīs daḫi her vechile riyāsete lāyıḳ ve ṭarīḳında imtiyāz olmaġla[105] **[20]** şāyān-ı müstaḥaḳ olmaġın liman reʾīsliği ʿināyet ü iḥsān buyurulup ol daḫi ṭarīḳında behre-yāb olmaġla el-yevm duʿā-yı ʿömr ü devlet-i cihāndārīye[106] muvāẓebet ile rifʿatinde ḳıyām ve bālādan beri şerḥ ü taṣrīḥ olunan mevādd-i sütūnuñ mācerā-yı aḥvāli bu maḥallde iḫtitām ve tafṣīli ber-vech-i merām müntehī-kelām olmaġın bundan aḳdem cāmiʿ-i şerīf vaṣfı sāzdivān [*sic*][107] ḥavlısı taʿrīfine geldikde żabṭ-ı ʿinan-ı hāme olunup yine şürūʿ olunmaḳ üzere rehīn[108]-i teʾḫīr olunmuşdu.

Tetimmesinden olan mināreteyn ḳapusunuñ alt eşiğinde tā külāh ʿālemine varınca uzun/luġu[109] tamām yetmiş beş buçuḳ zirāʿ [*sic*][110] olup devr-i cismi üç buçuḳ zirāʿ altı

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[103] اغائی. The print edition uses the more expected spelling of *aġayı* (اغایی).

[104] *Gönderdiklerinden* in the print edition.

[105] *Olmaḳla* in the print edition.

[106] Sloppily spelled جهانداریه; the print edition uses the preferable جهاندارییه.

[107] سازدوان, a nonsensical misspelling for what in the rest of the manuscript is written *şādırvān*. The print edition does not correct the mistake.

[108] *Rehn* in the print edition.

[109] As indicated, the word is written over two lines, and the print edition misconstrues its second part as *yaʿnī*. This error—which would not have occurred had the word been undivided—proves that the print edition was transcribed from the Istanbul University manuscript rather than from another, unknown, copy.

[110] The proper spelling—employed earlier in the account—is *ẕirāʿ*. The misspelling freely alternates with the correct spelling from this point on.

parmaḳdır. Teşrīf-i hümāyūn vuḳūʿunda aşağı ḥavlı ḳapusundan fevḳānī binek ṭaşına varınca olan ṭarīḳıñ ṭūlü otuz beş[111] arşın, ʿarżı on-beş arşın olup ve yine binek ṭaşından maḥfil-i hümāyūna girilecek ḳapuya varınca ṭūlü otuz arşın ve ʿarżı sekiz arşın, ki cemʿan terbīʿī ikiyüz ḳırḳ ẕirāʿ eder. Ve bu maḥallde ʿarżan yedi arşın ve ṭūlen on arşın muṣannaʿ-kār u matbūʿ ḥüsnü'l-inẓār bir bāb ābdest oda-ı hümāyūnu olup ve oda ḳapusu ḳurbünde ʿarżan doḳuz ve ṭūlen on-beş arşın bir ṣuffa ve bir ṣuffa[112] ittiṣālinde Dārü's-saʿāde Aġalarına maḫṣūṣ bir oda ve rikāb aġalarınıñ ṭūlānī ḳoġuşu ve yine bir oda ve başḳa iki memşā ve bu dāʾire-i hümāyūnuñ taḫtında ʿulūfe sergisi içün mütevellī odası ve başḳa ḫademe odası ve meydān-ı kenīf.

Ve'l-ḥāṣıl cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i **{21}** vālā-münifiñ mesāḥası ve heyʾet-i cāmūsu bu maḥalle gelince minvāl-i meşrūḥ üzere olup ḳaldı ki ṣarf olunan mühimmāt-ı maḫṣūṣa ve keyfiyyet-i maʿmūle ile vech-i rābıṭa ve tarīḳ-ı istiḥkāmı ber-vech-i **[21]** iḫtiṣār böyledir ki cāmiʿiñ mevżiʿ-i esāsı[113] tā bālā-yı ḳubbeye varınca doḳuz maḥallde bināyı ḳuşaḳlama içün çifteleme demir cıvaṭalar[114] dāʾir mā dār vażʿ olunmaġla bend ü rabṭ olunmuşdur. İbtidā temelden yuḳarı ve ayaḳlar seçilüp ve kemerleri devr olunan şu ḫazīneleriniñ üzerlerine bir başından bir başına baġlatma içün, ikinci otuz üç ʿaded ṭoplu demir pençereleriniñ[115] kemerleri üzerlerine, üçüncü maḥfiller ve ṭabaḳātda vāḳiʿ mermer direkleriniñ üzerlerine ve gerek biri birinden baġlamalarına, dördüncü kebīr yay

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[111] Curiously, the print edition transcribes this numer in digits, whereas in all other cases it follows the manuscript in spelling out numerals.

[112] The phrasing here is somewhat confusing, implying as it does that the existence of two separate *ṣuffa*s, even though no measurements are given for what would be the second. Perhaps the second *bir ṣuffa* (a gallery) was supposed to be have been written *bu ṣuffa* (this gallery). Also see n. 309 below.

[113] *Esās* in the print edition.

[114] *Cıvaṭa* is here spelled جوه طه; its more usual spelling is جواطه.

[115] *Pencere–* in the print edition.

kemerleriniñ üzengi ṭabanına, beşinci ḳalḳanda vāḳiʿ cām ṭabanları üzerine, altıncı cām pençereleriniñ üst kemerlerine, yedinci ḳubbeniñ üzengi devrine, sekizinci ḳubbede olan dīvār cāmlarınıñ üst kemerlerine, doḳuzuncu ḳubbe devr olunduḳda ḳuşaḳlama içün ṭuġla/nıñ miyān-ı devrine.

Bu ẕikr olunan doḳuz mevāżiʿe meẕkūr cıvaṭa çiftelemesi[116] bināñıñ bir ucundan bir ucuna varınca dāʾir mā dār ḳuşaḳlanup bütün binā gūyā cism-i vāḥid menzilesinde ve rabṭ-ı istiḥkām olunmuşdur. Ve ḳonulan cıvaṭanıñ her biriniñ uzunluġu maḥalline göre dört arşından on-dört arşına değin uzun olup cismen ḳalıñlıġı balıḳ ṣırṭı taʿyīn olunmaġla ṭūlüne ḳıyās[117] heyʾet-i cismi daḫi ehline maʿlūmdur. Bunlar bir kemerden bir kemere, yaḫūd bir sütūndan bir sütūna merbūṭ olup ve bunuñ eks̱eri ve ziyāde cesīm olanı derūn-ı dīvār ve cevf-i bināda mestūr olmaġla ancaḳ baʿżıları ẓāhirde olmaġın irāʾet olunandan daḫi ḳuṣūrlarınıñ ṭūlen ve gerek cismi maʿlūm olur.

Ve bināʾı[118] gereği gibi bend ü rabṭ eden mücerred cıvaṭa ile demir kened ve ẓıvanadır.[119] Meẕkūr cıvaṭalar ber-vech-i taʿrīf kemerden kemere ve köşeden köşeye **{22}** vażʿ olunduḳca **[22]** ḳanca eğrisi gibi olan başları biri birinden tefrīḳ olmayup ve biri birini ṣalıvermemek içün cıvaṭa başlarınıñ cemʿ olduġu maḥallerde simid taʿbīr olunur büyük ve cesīm demir ḫalḳa ḳonulup cıvaṭa derūn-i ḫalḳada merbūṭ u müstaḥkem olmaḳ içün her bir simide ber-vech-i taḥmīn ḳırḳdan yetmiş seksen vuḳıyyeye[120] değin ḳurşun

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[116] *Çiftlemesi* in the print edition.

[117] *Ḳıyāsı* in the print edition.

[118] *Bināyı* in the print edition.

[119] كناد و ظوه نه. These words are usually spelled *kenet* (كنت) and *zıvana* (زوانه).

[120] Mistranscribed *ve ḳubbeye* in the print edition.

işāġa olunup ve temeller rıḫtım olunaraḳ yer yüzüne çıḳmaġa dört arşın ḳala köprülük[121] od ṭaşı ferşine şürūʿ olunup zirve-i bālāya çıḳdığı muḳaddemā taḥrīr olunmuşidi. Maḥall-i merḳūmdan ṭaş ferş olunaraḳ yer yüzüne çıḳup dāʾir mā dāʾir [*sic*][122] iki arşın ḳalıñlıġı olan dīvārlar ve bunca devr olunan kemerler mermer olsun kemeriñ [misspelling for gerek?] küfeki gerek od ṭaşı tā ḳubbeye ṣuʿūd edince ḳonulan aḥcār-ı mütenevviʿanıñ her bir ḳıṭʿasına iḳtiżāsına göre her bir ṭaşa üç, baʿżısına dört, baʿżı ṭaşa beş (ḥaṣılı üçden aşağı ḳoduḳları yoḳdur) demir kened[123] vażʿ olunup ṭaş ṭaşa rabṭ olunur ve her bir kenedin vezni beş altı vuḳıyyeden bir buçuḳ oḳıyye[124] değin olup bunuñ daḫi istiḥkāmı içün her bir kenede on-iki oḳḳadan dört vuḳıyyeye değin ḳurşun dökülür. Bundan başḳa ẓıvana taʿbīr olunur ḳalınca bir çivi demiri vard[ır],[125] bir ʿadedi bir vuḳıyye daḫi eksik daḫi ziyāde/ce olur. Bu daḫi mecmūʿī aḥcārın yaṣṣılıġına ḫuṣūṣen cümle kemerlerin her bir devir[126] ṭaşına birḳaç maḥallden ḳonulup istīfā mertebe deliğine ḳurşun aḳıdılır.

Eğerçi bu keyfiyyet-ı tavṣīf-i cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ bināsı ḥaḳḳında taṣrīḥ ü beyān olunup lākin yalıñız buña maḫṣūṣ ve ancaḳ cāmiʿ bināsına muḫtaṣ olmayup ʿimāret ve medrese ve kütübḫāne ve ḫademe-i vaḳf odaları ve sebīlḫāne ve çeşme ve ġayrihi mecmūʿu bu taḳviyyet aḥkāmına dahil **[23]** olmaġla ancaḳ cāmiʿ-i şerīf ebniyye-i ʿaẓīme ve umūr-ı

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[121] There is water damage to the words *ḳurşun işāġa olunup* and *arşın ḳala köprülük*, rendering some of them almost illegible. I have relied in these instances on the print edition.

[122] *Dāʾiren mā dār* in the print edition.

[123] Mistranscribed *kenār* in the print edition.

[124] *Vuḳıyye* is the learned Arabic form of the measure of weight more usually called *oḳḳa* in Turkish, with *oḳıyye* being an intermediate spelling. All three forms are used by Ahmed Efendi within a few words of each other.

[125] The final letter of *–dır* has been accidentally omitted; it is restored in the print edition.

[126] The unorthodox phoneticized spelling دویر has been used.

çesīme [*sic*][127] olmaġın ifhām içün bundan baḥs̱ **{23}** olunup beyān ve icmālen şerḥ-i ʿāyān olunmuşdur.

Pādişāh-ı kerīmü'l-vücūd maġfūrun-leh Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ḫān ḥażretleri ekser biniş[128] günlerinde bināyı irāʾet ḳasdiyle cāmiʿ-i şerīf memerrinden sarāy-ı maʿmūreye ḫaṭṭ-ı riḥāl ʿizz ü iclāl buyurduḳça gāh be-gāh şādırvān ḳapusundan girüb cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ derūn [u] bīrūn ve zīr [ü] bālāsına [i]ṭāre[129]-i nigāh-ı temāşā buyurduḳdan ṣoñra ṣarıḳcılar cānibinde[130] olan ḥavlı ḳapusından çıḳup ṣavb-ı vālā-yı mülūkānelerine ʿaṭf-ı ʿinān-ı pür-meymenet buyururlar idi.

Cāmiʿ-i şerīf bināsı taḥmīnen ḳandīl ṭabaḳası menziline ṣuʿūd etdikde bir gün maḫṣūṣ gidüp "Bināda eğlenirim" deyü irāde-i ʿaliyye-i hümāyūnları olmaġın mubāyaʿa olunan menāzilden Maḥmūd Paşa'nıñ çörekciler ḳapusuna gidecek ṭarīḳ-ı ʿāmm üzerinde vāḳiʿ bināya nāẓır bir ḫāne taḫṣīṣ ü taʿmīr olunup niẓām verildikden ṣoñra biñ yüz altmış [*sic*] senesi māh-ı [lacuna] günü[131] tārīḫinde dāʾire-i hümāyūnuñ ber-muʿtād-ı ḳadīm biniş ṭaḳımı ile bā-şevket ü iclāl vaḳt-i ḍuḥāda teşrīf ve vaḳt-i ʿaṣra değin teʾḫīr ü tevḳīf ve neẓāret-i ʿaliyye-i kemyā[b][132]-es̱erleriyle cümleye meserret-baḫş eyledikden ṣoñra ḥareket-i bereketlerinde ʿināyet-i mülūkānelerinden Dervīş Efendi ḥażretlerine maḫṣūṣ

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[127] A simple misspelling of *cesīme*, which is the form used in the print edition.

[128] Mistranscribed *ḳış* in the print edition.

[129] The *elif* at the start of the word has been accidentally omitted. The print edition restores it.

[130] *Cānibinden* in the print edition.

[131] Though there is no space after the year to indicate a lacuna, it is, like the rest of the date, incomplete, for 1160 corresponds to 1747, which is before work had begun on the mosque. The following section tells us that a visit was made on the subsequent day by the grand vizier Divitdar Mehmed Pasha, whose tenure—January 9, 1750 to 1 July, 1752—thus provides us with a *terminus post* and *ante quem* for the date.

[132] The *be*, without which the word makes no sense, has been omitted in both the manuscript and print edition. The misspelling may reflect the fact that the word *kīmyāʾ* (chemistry) has colloquially the same meaning as *kemyāb* (rare).

iḫtirāʿları olan zer-i meskūk-i kebīrden yiğirmi ʿaded altın ve binā emīni ʿAli Aġa'ya daḫi beş ʿaded altın ʿināyet ü iḥsān ve ʿamele-i ebniyye ve ḫademe-i sāʾire içün daḫi beş biñ ġuruş ʿaṭiyye-i firāvān iḥsān-ı hümāyūn buyurulmaġla ḫiẕmet-i bināda olanların mecmūʿuna sergi düşünüb ber-mūcib-i defter ʿalā ḥaddihim tevzīʿ ü iḳtisām olunduḳda daʿvāt-i ḫayri peyveste-i güngüre-i āsmān eylediler.

Yevm-i merḳūmuñ ferdāsı Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam Müşīr-i efḫam Dīvātdār [*sic*][133] Meḥmed Paşa ḥażretleri **[24]** daḫi ke-ẕālik biniş ṭaḳımıyla teşrīf edüp ḫāne-i meẕkūruñ ṭaraf-ı āḫirinde beyne'ṣ-ṣalāteyne değin ḳuʿūd u nüzūl ve ḥīn-i ḥareket-i ḳufūlde kerem-i āṣafāne/lerinden üç biñ ġuruş iḥsān-ı ḫıdīvīleri olmaġla meblaġ-ı mezbūr **{24}** daḫi ber-mūcib-i uslūb-ı ʿādī sergi olunup bi-esriʾhim [*sic*][134] tevzīʿ olunduḳda cümlesi şādī vü ḥiṣṣe-mend-i kerem-i vāfī olup maẓhar-ı maġānim-i birr[135] ü nevāl oldular.

Pādişāh-ı ḥuceste-ḫiṣāl [*sic*][136] ḥażretleri teşrīf buyurduḳları yevm-i mezbūrda binā olunacaḳ ʿimāret-i ʿāmire ve medrese-i laṭīfiñ reʾy-i rezīn-i iṣābet-ārāları üzere maḥallerini taṣḥīḥ ve inşāsını emr ü fermān buyurmaları ile[137] Sūḳ-ı Mākiyān'ıñ[138] ṭarīḳ-ı ʿāmm hiẕāsıyla muṣammem medreseniñ eñse dīvārından yine ṭarīḳ-ı cāddeye ve andan ḥālā mevcūd cebeciler ḳulluġuna ḳarşı cāmiʿiñ ḥavlı ḳapusına gelince bir iki maḥalle ve ẓarfında vāḳiʿ büyūt ve ṭarīḳ-ı ʿāmm üzerinde ṭarafeyn bi'l-cümle dekākīn ve ḫorasancı

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[133] The word, which should be written *devātdār*, has been misspelled on the basis of the popular Turkish pronunciation of *devāt* as *divit*.

[134] باسرئهم. The proper spelling—and that employed for the print edition—is باسرهم.

[135] Spelled with a *pe* in the manuscript, but this can only be a slip of the pen. The print edition uses the correct spelling.

[136] The first part of the compound is properly written *ḫuceste*, which is the spelling found in the print edition.

[137] *Buyurmalarıyla* in the print edition.

[138] A grandiloquent calque of *Ṭavuḳ Pazarı*.

kārḫānesi ve erāzil-i esāfil memlū kebīr bir bekārlar ḫanı ve yine nekebāt [ve] eşḫāṣ-ı āteş-zebān ile meşḥūn Ḳıbleli-zāde Ḫanı üslūb-ı sābıḳ üzere keşf ü mesāḥa ve maʿrifet-i şerʿile fīʾāt[139]-ı maʿrūfe üzere ke-mā kān aṣḥābınıñ ḥüsn-i rıżā ve ṭayyib-i ḫāṭırlarıyla mubāyaʿa ve hedm olunup arāżīsine[140] ʿimāret ve medrese inşā olunduḳda ilā mā şā[ʾ] Allahü teʿālā devām-ı beḳāsıyla bunca ḫademe-i vaḳf fuḳarāsı ve ṭalebe-i ʿulūm duʿācısı ʿimāret meʾkel-ḫānesinde ve meskenlerinde ṣofra-ı simāt-i inʿām ṣāhibü'l-ḫayrāt[141] şevketlü kerāmetlü Şehinşāh-ı muʿaẓẓam Efendimiz ḥażretleriniñ niʿam-ı mebzūle-i vaḳfiyyelerinden rūzmerre taġaddī[-i][142] mevāʾid eyledikce ne mertebe maẓhar-ı ḫayr-ı cezīl-i dāreyn olurlar[143] ise mezḳūr bekārlar ḫanı ve Ḳıbleli-zāde Ḫānı alınup derūnunda her terāküm-i ziḫām [*sic*][144] iḳāme eden nekebāt ve eşḫāṣ-ı pür-nihāddan [*sic*][145] taṭhīr ü taḫliye olunduġu **[25]** belki reʾsen başḳa bir evḳāf-ı ʿaẓīm iḥdāṯ u iḥyā olunmaḳ mertebesinde müsāvāt-ı ḫayr olduġu aẓhar mine'ş-şemsdir. Zīrā bekārlar ḫanında eşḫāṣ-ı muḫtelife ve Ḳıbleli-zāde Ḫānı'nda esīrci nāmında bir alay süfehāʾ-i bed-nihād olup esārā getirmek bahānesiyle gece ve gündüzlerde odalarında ve peykelerinde fuḥş-ı ḳabiḥiyyāt[146] müstezād ve yevmen fe-yevmen nāʾire-i şeḳāvetleri iştidād **{25}** bulup

[139] فيئات. The print edition uses the alternative spelling فيأت.

[140] The print edition accidentally omits the *–sine*.

[141] The scribe has accidentally dotted the *ḥā* of *ṣāḥib* in the manner of a *cīm*. The print edition does not repeat the mistake.

[142] The *hemze* that one would expect as a marker of the *iżāfet* is not written. *Taġaddī* (breakfasting or lunching) is a common corruption of what should be *taġaẕẕī* (a being or becoming fed).

[143] *Olur* in the print edition.

[144] Properly spelled *ziḥām*.

[145] *Pür-nihād* is nonsensical as a compound, and the version given in the print edition—*ber-nihād*—is no better. It is likely that the scribe meant to write *bed-nihād*, particularly as the term occurs a few lines below.

[146] A nonexistent word based on *ḳabīḥ*, "ugly, unseemly." The print edition mistranscribes it قبحيات.

eṭrāf-ı ḥavālīsinde demsāz nāle vü āh eden[147] ehl-i ʿarż-ı muvaḥḥidīn żābiṭānı īḳāẓ eyledikce eks̱eri esīrci olduḳlarından "Odalarımızda olan ġılmān u cevārī esīrimizdir" deyü ʿöẕr-i setr īrādiyle żābiṭān daḫi müdāfaʿada maʿfū vu ʿāciz olmuşlar idi.

Bu ṭarīḳ ile ol-maḳūle erāzil-i merdūd u esāfil-i melʿanet-nümūd meskenlerinden iḫrāc ve ṭard-ı nābūd olmalarıyla fażāḥatlarından ve gerek āteş ḥavfından pister-i rāḥatda ġunūde olan ümmet-i Muḥammed'iñ şebānrūz[148] duʿā-yı ḫayr/ları peyveste-i āsmān olup bir cāmiʿ-i şerīf ḫayriyyesi ḳadar cerīde-i aʿmāl-i ḥasenāt-ı Şehriyār-ı merḥamet-şiʿār ḥażretlerine ān be-ān ücūr-ı vefīr s̱ebt etmekle melāʾik-i kirām ḥażretleriniñ iştiġālde olduḳları ẓāhir ü nümā/yāndır.

Bālāda ẕikr olunduğu üzere mübāyaʿa olunan bi'l-külliyye emlāk hedm ü taḫliye olunup biñ yüz altmış [lacuna] senesi mah-ı [lacuna] günü tārīḫinde duʿā vu s̱enā olunaraḳ ḳurbānlar ẕebḥ olunup bir mübārek sāʿatde ʿimāret-i ʿāmire ile medrese-i münīfeniñ esāsı[149] ḥafrına mübāderet olunup müddet-i yesīrde ʿarżan yiğirmi bir ẕirāʿ ve ṭūlen ḳırḳ bir buçuḳ zirāʿ—ki terbīʿī sekiz yüz yetmiş bir buçuḳ arşın eder—ʿimāret-i ʿāmire ve meʾkel-ḫāne ve foḍla[150] furunları ve ʿimāret ḳapusu dāḫilinde ʿimāret ketḫüdāsı ve fodla kātibi efendi içün odalar binā olunmuşdur. Ve yine ḳurb-i ittiṣalinde ʿarżan **[26]** otuz altı ẕirāʿ ve ṭūlen daḫi otuz altı ẕirāʿ ki terbīʿī biñ ikiyüz doḳsan altı arşin eder oniki bāb ṭalebe-i ʿulūm odasıyla bir dersḫāne ve meydān ortasına seng mermerden yekpāre ābdest içün sekiz lüleli vāsiʿ bir kebīr ṭaş tekne ve başḳa dāʾirede üç ʿaded memşā ve yine

[147] An erroneous *medde* is placed over the *elif* in the manuscript, but not in the print edition.

[148] Misspelled *–zūz* in the print edition.

[149] *Esās* in the print edition.

[150] Written فضله, as in *fażla*, an Arabic-derived word meaning a remnant or remainder. The practice of distributing surplus (*fażla*) bread to the poor led to the Turkish corruption *fodla*/*fodula*, a term used of bread given out at public kitchens. The same word is spelled فدله at the end of the same line. The dictionary spellings are فودلا and فودوله.

müfrez maḥallde cāmeşūy[151]-ḫāneyi muḥtevī çam[152] çārşı bir medrese-i vālā binā olunup cebeciler ḳulluġu ḳarşısında vākiʿ cāmiʿiñ ḥavlı ḳapusu hiẕāsında odaların ḳapuları cāmiʿ ḥavlısına meftūḥ olmaḳ üzere ḳayyımān ve müʾeẕẕinā[n] odaların ḳapuları [*sic*][153] ve geldikce imām **{26}** efendiler sākin olmaḳ içün vāsiʿ ve maṭbūʿ rūşen odalar inşāʾ,[154] cāmiʿiñ ḥavlı ḳapusı üzerinde başḳa ḳapulı muvaḳḳit efendi[155] içün ṭūlānī bir oda ve zībā [*sic*][156] binā olup ve bunlardan mā-ʿadā ṣarıḳcılar cānibine olan ḥavlı ḳapusı ṭaşra/sında bir ṭarafdan[157] sebīlḫāne-i muʿallā ve bir ṭarafdan daḫi çeşme-i vālā ve Maḥmūd Paşa Cāmiʿi'niñ çörekci ḳapusuna nāẓır köşe başında olup cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ ḥavlısı derūnunda istiʿmāl ü istifāde-i ʿulūm olunur bir bī-naẓīr kütübḫāne-i bī-hemtā inşā ve envāʿ-ı kütüb-i nefīse ile zümre-i ṭālibīni iḥyā ve yine cāmiʿiñ ḥavlısı ortasında zīri çār lüleli ve bālāsı fısḳiyye nev-vādī musannāʿ-kār ve nādīde bir çeşme-sār iḥdās̱ ve yine cebeciler ḳulluġuna ḳarşı bir muḫtaṣarī [*sic*][158] saġīr çeşme ile ʿaṭşānı isḳā ve bu ṣūret ile ḫitām-nümā müyesser şüd.

Camiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz ve ʿimāret ü medrese-i naẓīf temellerinden taḫmīnen dört beş maṣura māʾ-i ṭahūr birḳaç maḥallden tefeccür ve maḫlūṭ olmaḳ ḥasebiyle şürbe ṣāliḥ-i

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[151] Spelled جامشوى; the proper spelling is جامه شوى.

[152] Mistranscribed *cāme* in the print edition.

[153] The scribe has neglected to write the final *nūn* of *müʾeẕẕinān* (which is properly spelled in the print edition) and seems accidentally to have repeated the words *odaların ḳapuları*.

[154] *İnşā* in the print edition.

[155] Mistranscribed *aḫẕı* in the print edition.

[156] Evidentaly a misspelling for *oda-ı zībā*, which is what we find written in the print edition.

[157] *Ṭarafından* in the print edition.

[158] A nonexistent form created by adding the adjectival *–ī* suffix to what is already an adjective.

elezzü’t-tāmm [?][159] olmadığından kürkcülerin aşağı başında yüksek baḳḳal dükkānı taḫtında iki ṭaş tekneli bir çeşme yapılup **[27]** üç ʿaded lüleden ṣalma cārī olan māʾ-i ḥayāt ḥavāyic-i nevʿ-i benī Ādem’den ġayri mürūr u ʿubūr eden ḥayvānāt saḳa olunmaġla bāʿis̱-i tez̠kīr-i ḫayr-ı kes̱īr olduġu bedīdārdır.

Bi-tevfīḳi’llāh ve ṭaleben li-merżāti’llāhi teʿālā binā olunan cāmiʿ ve ʿimāret ve medrese ve sebīlḫāne ve birḳaç çeşme bunca ḫayrāt-ı ʿaẓīme olunup bu ḳadar dāʾire-i vesīʿeyi muḥīṭ ü idāre eder ḳadar istīfā ṣuyuñ tedārik ü ḥuṣūl-pezīr olması cümleden ehemm ü aḳdem belki vücūb mertebesi lā-büdd ü elzem olmaġın “Bu ḫuṣūṣuñ ʿuhdesinden gelir ise ancaḳ ol gelir” deyü merciʿ-i erbāb-ı ṣanʿat[160] ve nāmdār-ı meydān-ı mahāret olan ḥālā ḫāṣṣa ṣu nāẓırı ʿAlī Aġa her işinde ṣadīḳ-ı maḳāl ve her ḥālde kārdān-ı sütūde-fiʿāl olup fenn-i ābda ḫabīr ve her vechile mālik-i ḥüsn-i tedbīr olmaġla ḳadr-i istīfā **{27}** muḳtażā olan ṣuyuñ vücūd-pezīr olması mūmā-ileyhiñ gerden-i saʿy-i himmetine taʿlīḳ ve beher-ḥāl ḥuṣūle getirmesi dest-i iḳtidārına taḥmīl ü terfīḳ olunup lākin be-şarṭ-ı ānki tedārik edeceği ṣuyuñ kimesneye raḫnesi ve aḫẕ-i icrāsında bir vechile żarar-ı taṭarruḳu olmayup müsellem-i cārī olmaḳ üzere maṭlūb olunduġunu kendisine teʾkīd ü tefhīm-i tavṣiyye olunmaġla mūmā-ileyh daḫi kendiniñ bunca eyyām bā-ḫuṣūṣ bundan esbaḳ Ḫalḳalı ṣu yollarınıñ ḫiẕmetinde kār-/azmūde ḥareket ve istiḳāmeti meşhūd-i Şehriyār-ı enām ve ḫāṣṣ u ʿāmm olmaḳdan nāşī bālā-yı dūş-ı istiḥḳaḳına ḫilʿat ilbās olunup ḫāṣṣa neẓāreti iḥsān ve çirāġ-ı tāmm olunmaḳ ḥasebiyle bende-i āsitān-ı iḫtıṣāṣī olduġunu bu bābda daḫi iẓhār u iʿlān içün tekrār dāmen-i ġayreti miyān-ı

[159] Seemingly written الزّ التام, but it is not clear what the scribe meant. If the first word is indeed the superlative of delicious, it should be written الذّ, which is what we find in the print edition.

[160] Mistranscribed *ṣıfat* in the print edition.

ḥamiyyete bend edüp beş altı ay ḳadar kemāl-i tetebbuʿ u tafaḥḥuṣ[161] ve ümīd etdikleri maḥalleri **[28]** dāʾir ü sāyir[162] olaraḳ ḥālā emlāk-i hümāyūndan olup vechen mine'l-vücūh ferd-i vāḥidiñ medḫali ve ecānibden kimesneniñ ẕerre vü şemme ʿalaḳa/sı olmayan Litroz[163] ḳaryesi ḳurbunda vāḳiʿ Ferhād Paşa Çiftliği dimekle ʿarīf çiftliğiñ menbaʿından tefeccür eden ṣuyuñ[164] ḳadr-i istīfāsına ve kemiyyet-i miḳdārına ḳulūb iṭmīnān[165] ve devr-i inḳılāb-ı zamān ile żarūret ṭārī olmaḳdan meʾmūn ü sālim olmaḳ[166] içün ṣuların kemāl-i vaḳt-i ḳılleti olan Aġustos evāsıṭında vezn-i ʿiyār olunduḳda tāmmen ve kāmilen on beş maṣura āb-tāb-ı leṭāfet-niṣāb mevcūd u cārī olduğu lede'l-cumhūr muʿāyene vü müşāhede olunduġundan başḳa yollarda daḫi ḥafr olunan ābār-ı luġūmdan[167] ʿ ināyet-i Bārī ile ṣu ẓuhūr edeceği meʾmūl olmaġın iḳtiżā eden mühimmāt [u] malzeme ve ḫiyām ve müteʿaddide [*sic*][168] ve bir maṭbaḫ çergesi[169] tehīʾ[170] ü āmāde ve yedi sekiz mütebaṣṣır[171] muʿtemedān ve bir nefer ḥaṣekī ve birḳaç ḫarbeciyān ve yedi sekiz ḳaṭār

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[161] The *ṣād* is accidentally dotted in the manuscript, as if it were a *żād*. The print edition does not repeat the mistake.

[162] The proper spelling is *sāʾir*. The print edition gives *dāyir ü sāyir*.

[163] The more usual name of this place—a village near Eyüp Sultan—is *Litros*. The scribe has accidentally dotted the first *re* as if it were a *zā* (لتزوز), and the mistake—a simple slip of the pen—is preserved and added to in the print edition, which gives the nonexistent لتزوز.

[164] For reasons that I cannot determine, the print edition inserts the word *żarūr* between *ṣuyuñ* and *ḳadr*.

[165] The proper spelling is *iṭmiʾnān*.

[166] The word is accidentally omitted from the print edition.

[167] *Luġūm* is a pseudo-plural of *laġım*.

[168] The adjective *müteʿaddide* (numerous, several) is probably meant to qualify *ḫiyām* (tents), with the *ve* between the two words having been written in error. Alternatively, the scribe may have accidentally omitted an additional noun that was supposed to be written after the *ve*.

[169] *Cergesi* in the print edition.

[170] See n. 97 above. The print edition omits the *hemze*.

[171] The *ṣād* appears to be mistakenly dotted in the manuscript.

esterān ve ḫiẕmetde olanlara rüʾyet ve işlerine müsāraʿāt içün bir ṣaḳallı adam **{28}** ve muḥarrir kātib taʿyīn ü taḫṣīṣ ve bālāda evṣāfı şerḥ olunduğu üzere icrā-yı ḥaḳḳ u ṣadāḳatde cesūr ve her meʾmūr olduğu işlerde muḳaddem ve ġayūr olan nāẓır-ı mūmā-ileyh cümleniñ üzerine emānet ü neẓāret edüp ve sāʾirleri bi-esrihim mūmā-ileyhiñ rıżā-cūy-ı havādārı olmaḳ üzere her birine teʾkīd ve ḫuṣūṣuñ küllīsi ber-dāşte-i dūş-ı vedīʿati olduḳdan ṣoñra "Göreyim seni vācibe-i ġayret-i ḥamiyyet muḳtażāsı üzere ne vechile saʿy ü ihtimām edersin" deyü[172] biñ yüz altmış altı senesi māh-ı Cemāẕi[ye'l-]evveliniñ[173] on dördüncü is̱neyn günü sāʿat-i eymende bed[ʾ][174] ve ṣu yolcular ketḫüdāsı ve bölükbaşılar ve ṣu yolcu ustaları ve laġımcı Arnabudları **[29]** ve rençperān neferātı ve cümle mübāşeretiyle ṣuyu menbaʿından aḫẕ ve ḥafr-ı ābāra mübāderet olunup Edirne Ḳapusu'nda ḥiṣāriceye[175] gelince ḥafr-i luġūm u ḳanavāt-ı maḫṣūṣasından başḳa taʿyīn olunan Müslim ve bir nefer ẕimmī ṭaşcı maʿrifetleriyle iʿmāl olunmaḳ üzere yüz neferden mütecāviz seng-trāşān ustaları ḥasbe'l-iḳtiżā üç maḥallde küfeki ṭaşından yekpāre ṣom muṣannaʿ-kār ve āḫar maḥallde mis̱li nādire ṣu terāzūları inşā ve yine ḥiṣāriceden derūn-ı İstanbul'da maḥallāt-ı ʿadīdeye daḫi vaṣf olunduğu üzere altı ʿaded ṣu terāzūları ki biri Ḳara-gümrük'de ve biri Sulṭān Meḥmed Ḫān Cāmiʿ-i şerīfiniñ Deve-ḫānı ṭarafında olan ḥavlı ḳapusunuñ nerdübān ayağı dibinde, biri daḫi Ḳızṭaşı Ḥammāmı'nıñ öte ṭarafında vāḳiʿ Dülger-oğlu Cāmiʿi ḳurbünde, biri daḫi alt Serrāc-ḫāne ḳulluğunuñ dört yol aġzında, biri daḫi ʿAcem-oğlanı Meydānı'nıñ dörtyol miyānında, biri daḫi ṣarıḳcılar içinde.

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[172] Mistranscribed *ve bu* in the print edition.

[173] The *el* that is meant to precede *evvel* has been omitted.

[174] The scribe has failed to write the *hemze*, which has been added in the print edition.

[175] *Ḥiṣāriçe* appears to refer to a small fortified structure near the Edirne Gate.

Bu ẕikr olunan maḥallerde altı ʿaded küfeki ṭaşından kārgīr-i ṣom bī-mis̱l ṣu terāzūları inşa olunup bu[176] mezkūr terāzūların el-betde [*sic*][177] ibnāsı muḳtażā olduġuna göre ednā bahāne ve sehl teklīf ile belki lā-şey maḳūlesinden ʿadd olunmaḳ ile maṭlūb olunan **{29}** maḥaller meccānen żabṭ ve ibnā olunmaḳ mümkin iken çūnki bu vaḳte gelince ḫayrāt-ı ʿaliyyeye müteʿalliḳ gerek icārāt ve gerek mühimmāt ve gerek sāʾir muʿāmelātda kāʾinen men kāʾin [*sic*][178] ferd-i vāḥidiñ mis̱ḳāl-i zerre ḥayāt-ı dünyada değil yevm-i cezāda daḫi iddiʿā vu ṭalebkār olacaḳ māddeleri olmadıġından bunda daḫi istiḥlālī olup ṭaraf-ı ḫayrātda kimesneniñ ʿalāḳası olmasın içün her maḥallde iḳtiżāsına göre vaḳf ʿarṣa ise mütevellīsi bulunup bedel-i ferāġ-ı meblaġ-ı vāfiye ile irżā veyā temessük-i **[30]** temlīk, eğer vaḳf olmayup biriniñ żabṭ u taṣarrufunda ise anı daḫi ṣāḥibinden ṭayyib-i ḫāṭır u memnūniyyet ile iştirā olunup minvāl-i muḥarrer üzere terāzūlar ṣūret-dāde Ṣedefciler'de ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Paşa Cāmiʿi'niñ nerdübān ayağı dibinde muḳaddemā ṣu gelmezden evvel maḫṣūṣ bir ḫan-ı kebīr ʿarṣası iştirā ve ʿarīż [u] ʿamīḳ vāsiʿ ṣu ḫazīnesi binā olunup tehīʾ olunmuşidi. Ḳanavāt-ı maḫṣūṣa ile ṣu gelüp ḫazīne-i merḳūme cereyān etdirildikden-ṣoñra ḫazīneden daḫi ber-mūcib-i taḳsīm gidecek yolları ḥafr ve kārgīr yapılup ḳurşun boruları ferş ve baʿde'l-itmām cāmiʿ-i şerīf ābdest-ḫānelerine ve sebīle ve medrese ve ʿimāret ve üç ʿaded çeşmeler ile sāʾir iḳtiżā eden maḥallere tefrīḳ u taḳsīmen icrā etdirilmişdir.

Aḥvāli ẕikr ü tafṣīl olunan māʾ-i merḳūm mādde-i cesīm ve reʾsen aḫẕ ve icrā etdirilmekle maṣārif-i küllī olup ḫayrāt-ı celīleniñ devām u istimrār-ı niẓāmı ve ʿāmme-i

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[176] The word is omitted from the print edition.

[177] The scribe has misconstrued the word—which should be *el-bette* (البته)—as the synomymous *el-bett* with the Turkish locative suffix added to it.

[178] The phrase should be *kāʾinen men kān[e]*.

nāsıñ bāʿiṡ-i ḥayāt ve defʿ-i ʿutāşı ancaḳ icrā etdirilen şu dest-i teṭāvülden maṣūn ve daḫl-i taʿddiyyātdan [*sic*][179] sālim olmaġa muḥtāc olmaġın her ne ḳadar saʿy-i tāmm ve beḳā-yı icrāsına diḳḳat ü ihtimām olunsa iḥtimā vu ṣıyānetine mürā/ʿāt edenler nāʾil-i ḫayr-ı keṡīr-i dünyevī ve maẓhar-ı cezīl-i uḫrevī[180] olduġundan Aġustos evāsıṭında muvāzene vü ʿiyār olunduḳda on beş maṣura māʾ-i lezīziñ mevcūd-ı cārī olduğu muḳaddem maʿrūż-ı rikāb-ı müsteṭāb olduġundan başḳa ṣuyuñ **{30}** ḫitām-ı mecrāsında cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ḥavlısında ʿāriyeten iḥdāṡ olunan havż üzerine mermer tekne ḳonulup vażʿ olunan lülelerden ol-miḳdār belki ziyāde cārī olduğu teşrīf buyurulmaġla maḥallinde daḫi manẓūr-ı mülūkāne olup reʾyü'l-ʿayn müşāhede-i cihānbānī buyurulmuşidi.

Lākin bu āb-tāb-ı mānend-sükker-ı leṭāfet- **[31]** nıṣāb ḫāṣṣaten meʾḫūz ve reʾsen sālimen mecrā olup ilā mā şā[ʾ] Allahü teʿālā cārī olduḳça luġūmuna ve gerek ṭuruḳ-ı maḫṣūṣasına āḫardan vechen mine'l-vücūh ve ecānibden sebeben mine'l-esbāb ne şu idḫāl ve ne bir ṭarīḳile ifrāz olup menbaʿından tā maḥall-i maṣrūfasına gelince reʾsen ve maḥfūẓ sālimen icrā olunmaḳ bā-ḫaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn düstūrü'l-ʿamel olduġundan ʿuhūd-ı şürūṭu maṣūn ve baʿde zamān ḳīl ḳālden meʾmūn olmaḳ içün aʿlem-i ʿulemāʾü'l-kirām ve müfettişān-ı ẕevi'l-iḥtirām ve ricāl-i Ḥaremeynü'ş-Şerīfeyn ve baʿż-ı ḫ^vācegān-ı Dīvān maḳsem maḥallinde bi-ecmaʿihim mevcūd olup cümleniñ reʾyü'l-ʿayn manẓūr u meşhūdü olduḳda lede'ş-şerʿ ṡübūt u ḳuyūdu merbūṭ olması emr-i hümāyūn olmaġın bināʾen ʿalā ẕālik ḥālā Ṣadr-ı Anadolu fażīletlü Veliyyü'd-dīn Efendi ḥażretleri ve Ḫāṣṣlar ḳaḍısı semāḥatlu efendi ve maḥkeme baş kātibi Meḥmed Efendi ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām ve Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ve Haremeynü'ş-Şerīfeyn ve bostāniyān müfettişi efendiler ve kātibān efendiler

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[179] The word appears to be a hybrid of *taʿddī* (trangressing, being unjust) and the plural of *taʿdiyye* (a making or letting pass from one to another); it is clearly with reference to the meanings of the former that Ahmed Efendi has coined the term.

[180] Misspelled اوخروى. The correct spelling—and that employed in the print edition—is اخروى.

ḥażerātı ve āmedci ḳarındaşı Yūsuf Efendi ḥażretleri ve sābıḳā Aġa kitābetinden munfaṣıl Dīvān ḫvācegānından ʿOs̱mān Efendi ve ʿAbdu'llāh Efendi ve Ṭobḫāneli[181] Meḥmed Efendi ve ġayrihi ve Ḥaremeyn evḳāfı mütevellīleri ve evḳāf-ı selāṭīn kātibleri ve rūznāmcileri ve Ḥaremeyn ḳalemi ḫulefāsı ve kīse-dārı ve Ḥāremeyn muḳāṭaʿa/cısı efendi ve ḫāṣṣa ṣu nāẓırı aġa ve ṣu yolcular ketḫüdāsı ve evḳāf-ı selāṭīn bölükbaşıları ve ṣu yolcu ustaları ve ol-ḥavālīde olan ḥadāyiḳ-i ḫāṣṣa ustaları ve bölükbaşıları cemm-i ġafīr ve cemʿ-i kes̱īr cemʿiyyetinden mā-ʿadā binā olunan Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī Cāmiʿ-i şerīfiniñ cevānib-i erbaʿasında **{31}** dükkān u tezgāh[182] aṣḥābı olan bi'l-cümle ṣunūf-i ṣanāyiʿ ve ehl-i ḥirfetden **[32]** yüz elliden mütecāviz ṣarıḳcı ve dülbendci ve serrāc ve mūytāb ve ḥaffāf[183] ve ʿaṭṭār ve manav[184] ve sāʾir māʿlūm u mechūl tevābiʿ ü levāḥiḳ ile biñden mütecāviz olup mez̲kūr Ferhād Paşa Çiftliği civārında birḳaç maḥallde ḳurulan ḫiyām-ı müteʿaddideden başḳa efendiler ḥażerātı içün on iki ḫazīneli ḥayme[185]-i kebīrde żabṭ-ı zamān u cilve-gāh-ı ḫiyām olunduḳdan ṣoñra Dervīş Efendi ṭaraflarından ʿumūm içün tertīb olunan pilāv u zerde ile uṣūl-i erbaʿa olan ṭaʿām ve ḫuṣūṣ içün tehīʾ olunan aṭʿime-i nefīse baʿde't-tenāvül cumhūr-ı cemāʿat ile nehżat-ı ḳıyām ve ṣuyuñ menbaʿından tā Edirne Ḳapusu'na ḳarīb maḥalle gelince maḳsem be-maḳsem ʿale'l-infirād irāʾet ü neẓāret ve her bir maḳsemiñ üzerine nüzūl ve derūnuna duḫūl olunup mevcūd ṣuyunu

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[181] *Ṭopḫāneli* in the print edition.

[182] See n. 50 above.

[183] Properly spelled *ḫaffāf*. The word is omitted from the list in the print edition.

[184] There is an erroneous *şedde* over the *nūn* in the manuscript, as if the word followed the same pattern as those preceding it.

[185] Properly spelled *ḫayme*, which is what we find in the print edition.

s̱ebt ü ḳayd ederek icmāl olunduḳdan[186] ṣoñra muḳaddemā rikāb-ı kāmyāba ʿarż u iʿlām olunan ṣudan mütezāyid Ferhād Paşa'dan lağım-ı kebīre gelince ḳatmalardan sekiz maṣura māʾ-i lezīz [*sic*][187] daḫi ḥāṣıl olup aṣlına żamm u ilḥāḳ ile mecmūʿu yiğirmi üç maṣura māʾ-i laṭīf müctemiʿ olduğu ve eyyām-ı ṣayf-ı şiddet ve vaḳt-i ḳılletde bundan aşağı noḳṣān olmaya/cağı lede'ş-şerʿ ve ʿinde'l-cumhūr ẓāhir ve cümle muvācehesinde bāhir ü mübeyyen olduḳdan ṣoñra mecmūʿunuñ reʾy-i neẓāret ve işhād-ı irāyetleri mūcibince Ḫāṣṣlar nāʾibi efendiniñ ʿarż u iʿlāmına müfettiş efendiler ḥażerātı imżā edüp memhūr u mümżā iʿlām tekrār manẓūr-ı hümāyūn olduḳdan-ṣoñra ḥīn-i iḳtiżāda ibrāz u iḥticāc içün Ḥaremeynü'ş-Şerīfeyn ḳalemi ḳuyūdātı cerāyidinde nigāşte-i sicill-i ṣakk u ḳayd ile resīde-i ḥüsn-i ḫitām ve ṣuyuñ keyfiyyet ḫulāṣası **[33]** bu maḥallde müntehī-i kelām olmuşdur.

Bu māddeniñ Ḥaremeyn'e s̱ebt ü ḳayd olunduğu gibi ebniyye-i ḫayriyyeniñ mübāşeretind[en][188] ḫitāmına değin ber-vech-i muḥarrer mubāyaʿa olunan emlāk ve bi'l-cümle arāżī Maḥmūd Paşa ve Aya Ṣofya-i Kebīr **{32}** ve Fāṭıma Ḫātūn ve ʿAbdü's-selām ve ʿAraḳıyyeci ve Şīr-merd ve sāʾir evḳāf-ı müteferriḳadan olup mubāyaʿa olunduḳdan-ṣoñra işbu Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī Cāmiʿ-i Hümāyūn evḳāfına taṣḥīḥ olunduḳda alınan evḳāf-ı meẕkūrunuñ müşāhere[189] īrādına ve gerek ferağ ve intiḳāl ve maḥlūl ṭayyārātına vechen mine'l-vücūh żarar[190] terettüb ve żaʿf ṭārī olmamaḳ içün evḳāf-ı hümāyūna taṣḥīḥ olunan

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[186] Misspelled اولندن in the print edition.

[187] The proper spelling—and that employed in the print edition—is *leẕīẕ*.

[188] The scribe has neglected to write the final *nūn*, which is restored in the print edition.

[189] Misspelled *müşāhede* in the print edition.

[190] There is an erroneous *şedde* over the first *re* in the manuscript.

arāżīden evfer ü eşref Ṭuyġun [?][191] Sarāyı ve Emīne Sulṭān Sarāyı ve sāʾir maḥallerde olan arāżī ile bā-ḫaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn veyā fermān-ı ʿālī vech-i şerʿī üzere istibdāl olunup evḳāf-ı meẕkūrun mütevellīlerine defʿ ü teslīm ve vaḳıflarına taḫṣīṣ ve mecmūʿu ḥucec-i şerʿiyye olunduḳdan ṣoñra ol-daḫi Ḥaremeyn-i Muḥteremeyn sicillātına tescīl ve ḥīn-ı iḳtiżāda naẓar u mürācaʿāt olunmaḳ içün başḳa cerīdeye s̱ebt ü ḳayd etdirilüp müfettiş-i evḳāf-ı Ḥaremeyn olanlar ṭarafında ḥıfẓ olunmuşdur.

Cāmiʿ-i şerīf mülḥaḳātı olan ebniyyeniñ keyfiyyet-i mesāḥasıyla ṭarīḳ-ı istiḥkāmı ber-vech-i iḫtiṣār bālāda taṣrīḥ olunmuşidi. Mühimmāt-ı lāzime/siniñ ne maḥallden tedārik olunduğu ve ne vechile ihtimām olunup ḥuṣūl-pezīr olunduğu tafṣīl olunmaz ise daḫi her māddesinden birer nebze taḥrīr olunmaḳ münāsib-i fehm olunmaġla tasṭīre şürūʿ olundu.

Ebniyye-i merḳūmuñ aʿzam-i levāzimesinden olan aḥcār-ı mermer cezīre-i Marmara'dan ve küfeki Maḳriḫora[192] ve Dāvud Paşa Ṣaḥrāsı'nda **[34]** olan ocaḳlardan ve od ṭaşı Ḳara-mürsel nām ḳaṣaba ḥavālīsi ve civār każāların muʿunundan [?][193] ḳaṭʿ u iḫrāc ile ḥāṣıl olup Marmara'da kebīr ve vasaṭ on ʿaded miḳdārı ṭaş naḳline maḫṣūṣ ḳayıḳları olmaġla sefāyin-i meẕkūr öteden beri ancaḳ mermer aḥcār taḥmīl ü naḳl ede geldiklerinden cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn nbināsı daḫi ẓuhūr etdikde ʿale'd-devām aḥcār naḳl edüp lākin işiñ taʿcīli ve ʿamele/niñ kes̱reti sebebiyle[194] ṭaş yetişdiremediklerinden żarūretden nāşī Āsitāne'de olan sefāyin daḫi taʿyīn olunup gönderile/ceği **{33}** bu ṭarafda olan

[191] The word appears as if written طويغون (طويفون in the print edition), though I have not been able to identify a palace by this name.

[192] Mistranscribed *Maḳriḫoda* in the print edition.

[193] Tentative as it is, this seems the likeliest reading of the word, which is rather crudely written. The print edition transcribes it nonsensically as معنتدن.

[194] Curiously, the world is written سبه بيله in the manuscript, an inexplicable departure from the expected سببيله, which is the spelling employed in the print edition.

sefāyin reʾīsleriniñ maʿlūmları olduḳda baʿż-ı mülāḥaẓaları sebebiyle[195] ibtidāʾ-i emirde ḥuşūnet-ṣuvarın [*sic*][196] iẓhār muʿāmelesinde olmuşlar idi. Her ne ḥāl ise bir defʿa gidenler bir günde varup henūz kendine niẓām vermeden bi-lā taʿab ve sefīne ḫuddāmı bī-meşaḳḳat aḥcār taḥmīl ve ertesi gün gelüp pāk ü cedīd zoloṭa nevl-i sefīnesi verildiğini gördükde ġayr-i[197] nevbete baḳmayup gitmeğe kendileri ṭālib ü rāġıb olurlar idi. Zīrā cezīre-i merḳūm Āsitāne'ye ḳarīb olup bu ṭarafdan sefīne vardığı sāʿat voyvodasınıñ meʾmūr ve mübāşeretinden başḳa binā ṭarafından maḫṣūṣ bir ṭaşcı ḳalfası taʿyīn olunup mesfūruñ işi ancaḳ giden sefīneʾi[198] eğlendirmeyüp vardığı gibi taḥammülüne göre aḥcārı vażʿ u taḥmīl ve evvel be-evvel bādbān-ı küşā-yı ʿazīmet etdirmek idi. Giden sefīne reʾīslerini ve gerek ṭāyifesini ḥācet olmadığından ḳaṭʿā işe yapışdırmayup ṭaraf-ı binādan cümle ālāt ve iḳtiżā eden maḳara ve mühimmāt **[35]** ḥāżır u müheyyā olmaġla ṭaş[ç]ı[199] ḳalfası istīcār eylediği adalı kefere/siyle sefāyin vuṣūl bulduġu[200] gibi bir iki sāʿatin ẓarfında aḥcār-ı mevcūdü taʿcīlen taḥmīl ü tekmīl olduḳda ecnās taʿdādını müşʿir yedine ʿilm [ü] ḫaber verüp müsāʿid-i eyyām ü havā ile bir yelken küşādı müddetinde Āsitāne'ye vürūd ve bu ṭarafda daḫi ḫarbeci[201] mübāşeretiyle iḫrācına müsāraʿat olunup beher

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[195] See the preceding note.

[196] The first word of the compound is properly written *ḫuşūnet*. While employing this correct spelling, the print edition omits the second word of the compound.

[197] *Ġayri* in the print edition.

[198] *Sefīneyi* in the print edition.

[199] The scribe has neglected to write the *cīm*, which is restored in the print edition.

[200] The scribe has neglected to dot the *ġayn*, which is dotted as it should be in the print edition.

[201] Properly spelled *ḥarbeci*.

zirāʿına birer rubʿ ücret-i navlunu bi-lā nizāʿin ve lā muʿārıża[202] cedīd ġuruş reʾīsleri yedlerine teslīm olunmaġla böyle münāsib pazarlıġıñ lezzeti [*sic*][203] damaġına iẕāḳa olunduḳda “Hemān şimdi yine gideyim-mi?” deyü biri birlerini taḳaddüme ricā ve zehābına h^{v}āhiş-kār[204] olurlar idi.

Eʿācīb-i umūrdandır ki sekiz senede umūr-ı ebniyye içün aḥcār-ı mütenevviʿa ve kerāste ve ḫorasan ve ṭuġla ve bunca ḳurşun ve ḫām demir ve sāʾir mühimmāt-ı muḳtażā içün Üsküdar āteş ḳayıḳları ve iskelelerin maʿunaları[205] **{34}** ve Ḳara-mürsel ve Cezīre-i Marmara’nıñ kebīr ve vasaṭ ḳayıḳları ve İzmir sefīneleri ve bā-ḫuṣūṣ Ḳara-/deñiz’den ālāt-ı ḫām ve kendir ve kerāste naḳliyçün taʿyīn olunan çekeleve sefīneleri sāl-i māhiyyede lā-yenḳaṭiʿ iyāb [ü] ẕehāb edüp[206] ber-muḳtażā-yı havā hezār kere şedīd furtunalara teṣā/düf edüp sāʾir ġarḳ olan sefāyin gibi bunların daḫi keşti-i vücūdleri bād-i muḫālif ile fütāde-i girdāb-i riḥlet ve ġavṭa-ḫ^{v}or-ı lücce-i ḥasret olmaḳ mertebesine varup reʿīsleri daḫi murtabıṭ-ı ḥayātdan ḳaṭʿ-ı peyvend-i emel etmek üzere iken ḫayrāt-ı celīleniñ ās̱ār-ı ḫiẕmet-i ḫayriyyesi ḥürmetine bir kürekli **[36]** ḳayıġıñ daḫi telef ve żayiʿ olduġu vāḳiʿ olmamışdır.

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[202] The print edition includes the mark of nunnation at the end of both *nizāʿ* and *muʿārıża*, whereas the manunscript does so only for the former word. Since the final word in the Arabic phrase would be read in the pausal form, the second nunnation is unnecessary.

[203] The proper spelling—and that employed in the print edition—is *leẕẕeti*.

[204] The print edition uses the more standard form *h^{v}āhişger*.

[205] معونه. The more usual spelling, reflecting the word’s common Turkish pronunciation, is *mavuna* (ماونه).

[206] The print edition diverts significantly from the manuscript at this point, transcribing the text nonsensically as: *māhiyyededir yenqaṭiʿ iyāb ẕehābin* ايداوﷲ. Though the text in the manuscript makes more sense, *sāl-i māhiyye* is a curious and, as far as I can tell, unattested phrase, perhaps meaning “lunar year.”

Ḥattā kerāsteci tüccārlarından Tiryākī[207] Ḥācı Meḥmed derler bir kimesne var idi. Bir sefīnesi ġāyet köhne ve ʿamel-mānde olup bu bahāne ile tecdīd etdirmek dāʿiyyesine [*sic*][208] düşüp reʾīsi ile maʿhūdāne tenbīh eder ki "Bu sefīneden ġayri ḫayır yokdur. Marmara'dan ṭaş taḥmīl ve deryāya çıḳdıḳda gelir iken el-betde[209] açılup ġarḳ olacaġı ẓāhirdir. Hemān sen ve ṭāʾife ṣandala atılup ṭaşra çıḳ. Sefīne ġarḳ olduḳda bundan aʿlā fırṣat olmaz. Tecdīdini iddiʿā edüp merḥameten beş altı kīse aḳçe iḥsān ve bu ṭarīḳ ile cedīdine mālik oluruz" deyü sefīne-i meẕkūru gönderüb her vaḳt ü beher ḥāl ṣu eder iken bi-emri'llāhi teʿālā ol seferde ṣu daḫi etmeyüp maṣḥūben[210] bi's-selāme geldikde baʿdehu āḫar kendi ḫuṣūṣiyçün İznikmid körfezine[211] gönderüp henüz Māl-tebe'ye varmadan ġarīḳ-ı baḥr olmaġla bu aḥvāli istiġrāben baʿde'l-vuḳūʿ kendi inṣāf edüp geldikde ḫaber verdi.

Yine ṣadedimize gelelim. Bu vechile ʿale'd-devām aḥcār-ı mermer naḳl etdirilir iken ve Maḳriḫora ṭaşcılarına daḫi ṭaşıñ ḳaṭʿ u iḫrācında tehāvün etmemeleriyçün maṭlūblarından ziyāde peşin aḳçeleri verilüp ve birḳaç defʿa istidʿāları üzere her Arnabudluḳ vilāyetinden **{35}** maṭlūbları olan ṭaşcı ustaları ve rencper ʿamelesi iḥżār ve neferātı iḳsār ve bundan başḳa ḥayvānāt almaḳ içün ve arāżī alup müceddeden ṭaş ocaḳları küşāde eylemek içün sermāye ve her vechile iʿānet-i külliyye olunmaḳ ḥasebiyle yedi sekiz **[37]** seneniñ ẓarfında berren her gün ḳırḳ elli māh ʿarabası ve baḥren Üsküdar'ıñ at[eş?] ḳayıḳları ve iskelelerin kerāste maʿunalarıyla aḥcār-ı küfeki naḳl

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[207] Spelled تيرياكى; the more correct spelling is ترياكى.

[208] The *ye* of *dāʿiye* is erroneously doubled by means of a *şedde*.

[209] See n. 177 above.

[210] Nonsensically transcribed *maṣmūben* in the print edition.

[211] The scribe has forgotten to add the dot of the *zā*, which is correctly dotted in the print edition.

etdirilmişiken ke-ẕālik Ḳara-mürsel ṭaşcılarına daḫi sibāḳ-ı meşrūḥ üzere envāʿ-i ihtimām-ı tāmm olunup anların daḫi maḫṣūṣ on ṭaş ḳayıḳları istīcār olunan sefāyin ile müdām od ṭaşı naḳl ederler iken bu üç maḥallden mā-ʿadā baʿżı metrūk ü na-tamām ebniyyeden fürūḫt olunduḳca bahāsıyla iştirā olunan ecnās-ı aḥcār daḫi ḳatı vāfirce olur.

Bunlar/dan mārrü'ẕ-ẕikr üç maḥalden sefāyin-i müteʿaddide leylen ve nehāran ʿale't-tevālī gelir iken yine binā ʿamelesine ṭaş yetişdirmeğe ʿacz muḳarrer idi. Ḥattā rūzmerre sefāyin ve ʿarabalar ve iskelelerden ṣırıḳ ve ḳızaḳlar ile ḥammālānıñ getirdikleri aḥcār henūz bināya duḫūl etdiği sāʿat ṭaşcı ustaları ve neferātı "Sen alırsın, yoḳ ben alırım" deyü münāzaʿa/ları ḍurūb [u] şütūma müʾeddī olup beynleri tefrīḳ u tevfīḳ olunduğu çoḳ vāḳiʿ olmaġla gayri ne mertebe aḥcār ṣarf olunup ve ʿameleniñ ne mertebe kes̱retde olduğu bu maḳaleden min vechi maʿlūm olur.

Mühimme-i lāzıme-i müstaʿceleden biri daḫi demir-i ḫām ve ḳurşūn olup bināmıñ ḥīn-i mübāşeretinde ḫām demiriñ ḳıyyesi on bir buçuḳ, on iki, on üç aḳçeye olup ve ḳurşunuñ ḳanṭārı daḫi sekiz ve doḳuz ġuruşa tüccārı beyninde beyʿ ü şerā olunur iken mecmūʿu tüccārı żabṭında mevcūd u müdaḫḫar olanı ve bir ṭarafdan sefāyin ile gelüp gümrükden çıḳan demiri żabṭ u iştirā olunduḳça Āsitāne'de bir vechile bulunmadığından vücūdü iʿtibār ile ʿizzet sārī ve tedārikine ʿusret ü ṣuʿūbet ṭārī olmaġla ʿāḳıbetü **{36}** 'l-emr Ṣamaḳov ve Ḳavala **[38]** ve sāʾir demir ḥāṣıl olan maḥallerden rāyic fi'l-vaḳt īcāb eden bahāsı ʿan[212] naḳdin aṣḥābına verilmek üzere Dervīş Efendi ṭarafından muʿtemedün-ʿaleyh ṣadāḳat-pīş ve ḫayret-endīş olan adamlara taḥrīrāt-ı ekīde ile ḥavāle eylediklerinden ġayri kemāl-i iḥtiyāṭ ve bu ṭarīḳ ile bir kimesneye ʿunf u cebr ve rencīde vü remīde olunmaḳdan ṣıyānet ü emniyet içün Ḳavala dizdārı ve ol-ḥavālīniñ

[212] Mistranscribed *ʿahd* in the print edition.

żābiṭānına[213] ḫiṭāben fermān u mekātib ile tavṣiyye olunup ve yine Āsitāne'den bulduḳca peyder-pey alındığından başḳa Ḳavala cānibinden daḫi birḳaç defʿa yüz biñ vuḳıyye demir-i ḫām mubāyaʿa olunaraḳ ḫitām-ı umūra değin ve'l-ḥāṣıl mubāyaʿasından keff-i yed olunmayup ṣuʿūbet ve gerek sühūlet ʿavn-i ʿināyet-i Ḥaḳḳ ile ḥuṣūlüne imkān ve resīde-i ḫitāmına luṭf-i kerem-i Mennān revā-daşte-i bende-i iṣ[y]ān[214] oldu.

Lākin ḳurşun buña ḳıyās olmayup ancaḳ bilād-ı Efrenc'den gelmeğile Frenk ṭāʾifesi ise keyfiyyetleri maʿlūm bir ḫaşīn ḳavimdir. Kendilerine maḫṣūṣ bir metāʿ olduğu ecilden istedikleri bahāya inṣāfına verüp "Bu ġabn-i fāḥiş bahāʾı[215] niçün istersin?" deyü cebr ü ḳahr daḫi olunmayup āḫar maḥallden tedārikine daḫi dest-res mümkin olmamaġla yine hezār uslūb-i müstaḥsene ile Āsitāne'ye gelenleri simsār dellālları maʿrifetiyle beher ḳanṭārı on bir, on iki ve bu defʿa on iki buçuḳ ġuruşa değin ve İzmir'e gelenleri daḫi voyvodası ve aʿyān-ı belde maʿriftiyle ne ḥāl ise mubāyaʿa ve żıʿf-ı bahāları murād etdikleri aḳçeden ber-vech-i peşin verilüp ve nevl-i sefīne/leri ṭaraf-ı binādan başḳaca edā olunup mütevekkilen ʿala'llāh ceste ceste[216] sefāyine taḥmīl etmeğe sefīne reʾīsleri "Mīrī māldır yolda[217] maʿāẕa'llāh bir ḳażāya uġrar ise mutażarrır oluruz" deyü ictināb ve ḳurşun **[39]** irsāl edenler daḫi bu maḥzūru taḥrīren işrāb etmeleriyle mūmā-ileyh Dervīş Efendi "A benim ʿināyet ü kerem-i Ḥaḳḳ'a her vechile iʿtimādım olup hafaẓa'llāh bir ḳaẓā **{37}** olmaḳ lāzım gelir ise Şehriyār-ı bülend-iʿtiḳād ḥażretleri anda daḫi meʾcūr

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[213] The scribe has mistakenly placed the dot of the first *nūn* under rather than over the letter, an error not repeated in the print edition.

[214] The apparently missing *ye* is restored in the print edition.

[215] *Bahāyı* in the print edition.

[216] The scribe has failed to dot the *cīm* of the first *ceste*, which is correctly spelled in the print edition.

[217] *Yolda* is mistakenly written twice in the print edition.

olurlar. Māniʿ değil, her ḥālde selāmet ü ġarāmet maḳbūldür" deyü istīmān[218] buyurmalarıyla ceste ceste cümlesi gelüp teslīm ve minvāl-i meşrūḥ üzere bu ḳurşun ḫuṣūṣu daḫi ḥuṣūl-pezīr olmuşdur.

Ve cümle-i mühimmātdan biri daḫi ecnās-ı kerāste olup ibtidā binānıñ temeli yiğirmi dört arşın ḳaʿr-ı zemīnden vech-i arża çıḳınca iʿmāl olunan ʿameleʾi ṭopraḳ başdı[r]mamaḳ[219] içün cevānib-i erbaʿası bütün ve verdinār-ı kebīr ve kerāste-i girān ve çapa sütūn ile sedd-i bend olunup rıḫtım olduḳça kerāste-i meẕkūr derūn-i esāsda metrūk baʿdehu binā yer yüzüne çıḳup her üçer arşın bālāya ṣuʿūd etdikce dāʾir[en] mā-dār[220] iskeleler ḳurulup ve ḳurulan iskelelerin dikilen direkleri cümle verdinār-ı kebīrden ve taḫta yerine döşemesi çifte ṭobac[221] ve İstefan[222] omurġa/sindan olup ʿarżan beşer altışar arşın ʿarīż iskeleler binānıñ içerisinden ve ṭaşrasından bütün bināʾı[223] idāre ve istīʿāb etmekle zemīnden bālāya varınca elli dört buçuḳ arşın ḳaddi olan binānıñ her üçer arşın menzilinde derūnen ü bīrūnen[224] başḳa başḳa on sekiz ṭabaḳa olmaḳ üzere iki ḳat iskele ḳurulup ve bundan mā-ʿadā cevānib-i erbaʿasınıñ her cānibinde yine ṭarafeyn olmaḳ üzere yedi sekiz maḥallinde iskele nerdübānları inşā olunmaġla ve'l-ḥāṣıl cāmiʿ-i şerīf kerāste içinde mestūr ve pinhān olduğu ol vaḳt manẓūru olanlara ḫafī değildir.

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[218] Ahmed Efendi seems to have used the wrong form of the Arabic root, since *istīmān* (*istiʾmān* in Arabic) means to seek protection, whereas Derviş Efendi is offering his reassurances, for which the appropriate form is *teʾmīn*.

[219] The scribe has neglected to write the *re*, which the print edition restores.

[220] This is the only occurrence of the expression in which the print edition does not add the grammatically correct accusative marker to *dāʾir*.

[221] More usually spelled *ṭopaç*.

[222] See n. 343 below.

[223] *Bināyı* in the print edition.

[224] درونًا و بيرونًا. A pseudo-Arabic adverbialization of the Persian-derived *derūn u bīrūn*.

Bundan mā-ʿadā kütübḫāne ve ʿimāret ve medrese ve sāʾir ʿilāve[225] mülḥaḳātı **[40]** olan ebniyye daḫi bu taṣrīḥātda dāḫil olup buña ḳıyās olunmaġın miḳyās-ı ʿaleyhiñ tekrārı mūcib-i ıṭnāb olduġundan ġayri tafṣīle ḥācet ḳalmayup ve ẕikr olunan iskele ve nerdübānların her biri iḳtiżā-yı ḥāle göre ḳurulup bozulduḳça şikeste ve ḳaṭʿ-ı iżāʿat olunan verdinār-ı kebīr ve omurġa-i İstefan ve[226] kemerler ḳalıblarıyçun **{38}** ve ʿameleʾi nüzūl-i emṭārdan li-ecli'l-muḥāfaẓa ṣundurma içün ve bunlar hedm ü tecdīd olduḳça maʿrūf olan ecnās-ı kerāste bā-ḫuṣūṣ mesāmīr-i mütenevviʿanıñ ḥaddi haṣrı endāze-i taʿdād u evzāndan bīrūn olduġu vāreste-i ẓāhirdir.

Ve cāmiʿ-i şerīf temelden ḳurtulup ṭaş ferşine ve aḥcār hemvārına mübāşeret olunduġu tārīḫden—ki biñ yüz altmış bir senesi māh-ı Şevvāl'inden dört ay ṣoñradır—ol dört ay ẓarfında yalıñız ḥafr-i esās içün biñ nefer miḳdarı rençper ve laġımcı ve birḳaç nefer neccār ve dīvārcı işler idi. Ġayri itmāmına değin Müslümān ṭaşī [*sic*][227] başısı ve kārḫānecisi ve Müslim[228] ṭaşcı neferātından mā-ʿadā kefere ṭaşī başısı ve beş nefer kārḫānecileri ve ẕimmī seng-trāşān neferātı sekiz yüz doḳuz yüz nefer iken yevmen fe-yevmen mütezāyid olduḳça sāʾir ṣunūf-ı ʿameleden başḳa yalıñız ṭaşcı gürūhu biñ üç-yüz elli nefere bālīġ [*sic*][229] olup ḥattā kemāl-i ihtimām-ı diḳḳat ve işiñ ḫitāmına müsāraʿat içün Anadolu'da Āẕerbeycān ve Ḳayṣeriyye ve Ḳasṭamonu ve İznikmid ve ḥavālīlerinden iḥżār olunandan başḳa Rodos ve Saḳız ve İzmir ve Midilli cezīrelerinden eli arşınlı

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[225] *ʿİlāve-i* in the print edition.

[226] There appears to be an omitted word or phrase here.

[227] Though it is tempting to accuse the scribe of having neglected to write the *cīm* that would turn the word into *ṭaşcı*, the same *cīm*-less spelling occurs only a few words later in relation to the Christian master stonemason. The scribe has either repeated the mistake twice or added a Persianate *–ī* suffix instead of the Turkish *–cı*. The print edition confuses matters further by mistranscribing the word as *ṭaş* in both instances.

[228] See n. 37 above.

[229] The correct spelling—and that employed in the print edition—is *bāliġ*.

ḳalfalar ile neferātını iḥżār ve firārlarından muḥāfaẓa içün mesfūrunuñ kefīller ve cizye kāğıdları aḫẕ ve maḫṣūṣ ḫanlara iskān etdirilüp neferāt iks̱ār u iʿmāl **[41]** etdirilmişdir.

Yalıñız taşçı ʿamelesi bu mertebede olduğu ḥālde sāʾir dīvārcı ve ḥamamcı ve neccār ve doğramacı ve ṣıvācı ve cāmcı ve iki nefer ṣırıḳ ḥammāl başısı, yüz seksenden mütecāviz ḥammāl neferātı ve üç nefer rençper başı ile biñden mütecāviz neferātı ḥāṣılı kār-ı bināya müteʿalliḳ eṣnāf-ı ʿameleden bu cāmiʿ-i vālā nev-bünyād-ı muʿallā bināsında iʿmāl ü istiḫdām olunmadıḳ bir ṣınıf ḳalmayup tüfekci ve çilingir ve dīvātcıya[230] varınca ḥasbe'l-iḳtiżā iʿmāl olunmağla ʿamelāt-ı meẕkūrundan başḳa muḥāsebe ve işbu cerīde muḥarriri olan kātib-i **{39}** binā ve ʿamele ve mühimmāt içün beş nefer kātibān ve üç nefer ḫaṣṣa ḥaṣekīleri ve yiğirmi nefer ḫarbeci ve üzerlerine Ḳapu ṭarafından meʾmūr kātib-ı miyān-ı yeñiçeriyān[231] ve muʿtemed başı ile yetmiş sekiz nefer muʿtemedān ve ḫarbende oda başısı ile on nefer ḫarbende-gān[232] ve binā ḳapularını muḥāfıẓ üç bevvāb bu neferāt-ı meẕkūrunuñ beher haftada yevmiyye icārāt sergisi yedi biñ beş-yüz, baʿżan sekiz biñ daḫi ziyāde, ḫulāṣa yedi biñ beş-yüz ġuruşdan eksik, sekiz biñ beşyüz ġuruşdan ziyāde olmayup bu ḥisāb üzere sāʾir maṣārifāt u mubāyaʿāt-ı mühimmātdan ġayri sekiz seneniñ ẓarfında yalıñız ʿamele icārātı içün beher reʾs-i haftada verilen aḳçeden mā-ʿadāsınıñ buña muḳāyese ve ẓarf-ı ẕihn [*sic*][233] ile nevʿamā miḳdārına ḳurbiyyet-i ḳarīne ḥāṣıl olması ẕevi'l-ʿuḳūl ʿindinde mümkündür.

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[230] See n. 133 above. The word is mistranscribed dīvāncıya in the print edition.

[231] Mistranscribed *kātibān-ı yeniçeriyān* in the print edition. *Kātib-ı miyān* is a literary synonym of *orta yazıcısı*, and it occurs also in Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 17.

[232] خربنده كان. The correct spelling is خربندكان.

[233] The scribe has made a basic spelling mistake: he should have written *ṣarf-ı ẕihn*, which is what we find in the print edition.

Bu maḥalle gelince taḥrīr ü tasṭīr olunduġu üzere binā vu inşaʾ iḥyāsına bez̲l-i mā-melek-i himmet-i şehinşāhī buyurulan cāmiʿ-i vālā-yi refīʿü'l-menārıñ bināʾ-ı raʿnāsı bi-cemīʿi mülḥaḳātihi ʿavn-i ʿināyet-i Rabbānī ve luṭf-ı kerem-i Yezdānī birle ber-vech-i muḥarrer merām-resīde[234] ḥüsn-i ḫitām olmaġla haḳḳu'l-inṣāf ve kelām-ı ṣıdḳ-ı ittiṣāf **[42]** budur ki yekpāre ṣom mermerden böyle maṭbūʿ bināʾ-i zībā ve maʿbed-ḫāne-i dilküşā Āsitāne'de değil belki memālik-i İslāmiyyede daḫi naẓīri ṣūret-nümā olmayup em̲s̲āli nāyāb olduġu ehl-i taḥḳīḳa ḫafī vü pūşīde değildir.

Ṭarafeynde vāḳiʿ muḫrec-i ṭabaḳāt dilnişīn ve teyemmünen Sūre-i Fetḥ-i Şerīf bi-tamāmihi miyānında kemer-bende ziynet-baḫşā-yı ʿibādetgāh-ı Müslimīn ve bālā-yı revzenelerinde vāḳiʿ kimmī [?][235] beyżalar üzerine Esmāʾü'l-Ḥüsnā ve yine beyninde Esmāʾü'n-Nebī ki her birinde niçe fevāʾid[236] ü ḫaṣāyiṣ olmaġın naẓarıyla müstesʿad olunup böyle es̲er-i ḫayriyyeyi müstecmiʿ her vādīsi bir ṭarz-ı laṭīf ʿibādetḫāne-i dilnişīn-i naẓīf ḫuṣūṣā Cenāb-ı Şehriyār-ı cihāngīr—ʿammerehu'l-Melikü'l-Ḳadīr—ḥażretleriniñ mücellā-yı ilhām mirʾāt-i ʿālemnümā-yı ḳalb-i ṣafvet-nişānlarından ṭulūʿ ve emr-i[237] fermānları üzere bālā-yı **{40}** miḥrāb ṭarafeynine İsm-i Celāl-i vācibü'l-iclāl ile Naṣṣ-ı Kerīm'de mübeyyen ism-i pāk-i Muḥammed sertāc olup ve yine miḥrāb ṣuffası ṭarafeynine ḳarşu be-ḳarşu beyżalara s̲ebt ü keşīde olunan ṭuġra-yı ġarrā-yı cihān ve

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[234] *Resīde-i* in the print edition.

[235] كمّى. I have interpreted the word as the Arabic-derived *kimmī*, which Redhouse's Lexicon defines as "Pertaining to a floral envelope, calyx or spathe," but it may also be *kümī*, defined in the same dictionary as "Tapering, conical."

[236] *Fevāyid* in the print edition.

[237] *Ve emr-i* is badly mistranscribed as *vāfir* in the print edition, probably because the *ve* as it stands in the manuscript appears superfluous.

birḳaç sene muḳaddem maḫṣūṣ emr ü sipārīş [*sic*][238] olunup ber-mūcib-i nümūne ve s̱emen-i maʿrūfe ile işlendirilüp Beç ṭarafından getirilen nev-ẓuhūr püskül billūr āvīze-hā-yı günā-gūn ve dört beş maḥallde ṭob ve sāʾiri daḫi mecmūʿī billūr ḳanādīl-i bī-muʿādīl [*sic*][239] ile tezyīn ü tenvīr olunup derūn-ı feraḥ-meşḥūnunda envār-ı lemeʿān u tābān olmaġla haḳḳā ki Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī tesmiyyesiyle müsemmā olmaġla her vechile şāyān u sezāvārdır.

Ḫulāṣa cāmiʿ-i şerīf ve mülḥaḳātı olan ebniyye-i laṭīfiñ cümle icrā olunan taṣannuʿāt-ı üstāẕ-kārī ve[240] mevādd-i vāḳiʿi ve keyfiyyet-i daḳāyiḳı yegān yegān taʿrīf **[43]** ve ke-mā hüve ḥaḳḳahu tavṣīf olunmaḳ ḥadd-i imkānda olmamaġla hemān baʿż-ı cesīm ve ẓāhir-i fehm olanlar mehmā-emken taḥrīr ü tasṭīr olunup bu mertebede iḳtiṣār u iḫtiṣār ile iktifā olundu.

Ve tertīb ü taḫṣīṣ olunan vaẓāyifātı[241] eşref-i ḫademe olan eʾimme-i s̱elās̱e ve ḫaṭīb ve kātib-i vaḳf ve rūznāmci efendilerden mā-ʿadā baḳiyye-i sāʾire ḳayyım ve müʾeẕẕin ve ferrāş ve bevvāb ve ʿimārete müteʿalliḳ ḫademe-i maḫṣūṣa her ne ise ber-mūcib-i defter tertīb, Ḥaremeyn ḳaleminden teẕākīri [*sic*][242] taḥrīr ü temhīr olunduḳdan ṣoñra Dervīş Efendi geldikde her ḫuṣūṣda īḳāʿ u iẓhār olan ʿadāletlerin ve ḥaḳḳā niyyetlerin bu bābda daḫi īfā[243] vu icrā içün cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ bidāyetinden nihāyetine değin ḫiẕmet-i ebniyyede dāʿimen ve müstemirren beẕl-i maḳdūr eden muʿtemedān ve

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[238] The proper spelling—employed in the print edition—is *sipāriş*.

[239] The word should be spelled *muʿādil*.

[240] The word is omitted in the print edition.

[241] A pseudo-pluralization of what is already a plural.

[242] The word should be spelled *teẕākiri*.

[243] The scribe has clumsily rendered the *fā* as a *żād*, as if writing the word *ayżen* (ایضا). It is clear, however, that the intended word is *īfā* (ایفا), which is what we find in the print edition.

ḫarbeciyān ve Müslim ṭaşcı başı ve kārḫānecisi ve baʿż-ı neferātı ve ḫarbende başı ve ʿamele ve mühimmāt kātibleri, bā-ḫuṣūṣ bevvābān ve sāʾir derdmendān cümlesi istiḥḳāḳ u liyāḳatlerine göre ḳarīḫa-ı pür-menīḫalarından her birine birer cihet taṣmīm[244] etmeğile henūz kendileriniñ ḫaberleri yoġiken ve belki ümīd daḫi etmezler iken birer birer çaġırup **{41}** cihet teẕkirelerin yedlerine iʿṭā ve cümlesin ʿalā ḥaddihi mesrūr ve iḥyā buyurdular.

Ez-cümle muʿtemed başı olan Ṭobḫāneli demekle ʿarīf Meḥmed nām sadāḳat benām kemāl-i istiḳāmet ile bunca eyyām şiddet-i şitā ve ṣayf-ı ḥārrada beẕl-i vücūd edüp her vechile çirāġ olmaḳ-lıġla[245] şāyeste olmaġın ʿiyāl ü evlādına kifāyet edecek mertebe taʿyīnāt u vaẓāʾif teẕkirelerin ve saḳalını ṣalıverdirüp çirāġ etmekle mümtāz ve cāmiʿ-i hümāyūnuñ bütün umūrunu dūş-i istiḳāmetine iḥāle **[44]** ile maʿrūf benām ve ferīḥan faḫūr geçinüp evḳātını ḫayr duʿāya ṣarf ile ihtimām ve ḫiẕmet-i meʾmūresinde ḳıyām-ı tāmm üzere olup biri daḫi binā ḳapucusu Seyyid Aḥmed ki ṣāf-dil ve ṣıdḳ-ı ḥareket istiḳa/metde yine Ṭobḫāneli Meḥmed'e hem-muʿādil[246] olup ol daḫi merḥamete şāyeste adam olmaġla ḥasret-keş olduġu ḳayyım başılıḳ ve baʿż-ı vaẓāʾif-i muʿayyene ʿilāvesiyle maʿāşına istīfā mertebesi iḥsān ve anı daḫi tamām-ı çirāġ buyurup meʾmūr olduġu ḫidemātı ber-vefḳ-ı mesʾūl iẓhār ile rūzmerre mesāʿī ve ḫayr duʿā eylemek bir vaẓīfe/si daḫi olduġu bedīhīdir.

Ve ḳıs ʿalā sāʾirihi ḫiẕmet-i bināda olanların saġīr ü kebīri aʿlā vu ednāsı ḫarbeciye ve ḫarbendeye varınca her biri bunlara ḳıyās vaẓāʾif-i evḳāfdan birer nān-pāre ile cümlesi muṭayyeb ü mesrūr olup birisi ḫāʾib-i ḫāsır ḳalmamaġla ber-vech-i merām

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[244] Mistranscribed *taʿmīm* in the print edition.

[245] Written as a separate suffix in the manuscript, the *–lıġla* is joined to the rest of the word in the print edition.

[246] The scribe has placed an unnecessary *şedde* over the *mīm* of *hem*.

tetmīm-i çirāġ-ı tāmm olduḳdan ṣoñra sāʾir devr ü ʿaṣr-hᵛān ve Y[ā]s[īn][247] ü tebāreke vü Fetḥ- hᵛān ve bu maḳūle olan vaẓāʾif beher ḥāl "Li-külli maḳāmin maḳālün ve li-külli ʿamelin ricālün" fehvāsınca her cihet yine münāsibi vech üzere ricāline verilmek ol daḫi ʿadālet-i ṣarīḥadan olmaġın her biri kemāl-i tetebbuʿ u tafaḫḫuṣ u imtiḥāna ḥavāle ile taṣḥīḥ ü temyīz ü müstaḥaḳḳ olduġu mübeyyen olduḳdan ṣoñra erbābına verilüp cümlesi ḫiẕmet-i meʾmūre/lerinde ṣarf-ı ezmān ve daʿvāt-ı ḫayrda yekzebān olup ḥattā müşārün-ileyh Dervīş Efendi dāʾire-i ʿaliyyelerinde—**{42}** Ḥaḳḳ teʿālā cümlesin behre-mend ve berḫᵛordār eylesin—bunca emekdār ve her işe liyāḳatleri ẓāhir ve kereme[248] sezāvār ḳulları olup bā-ḫuṣūṣ eks̱er cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ ḫiẕmetinde Efendi ile maʿan bulunmuşlar idi. Çūnki ʿāmme-i nāsı dünyāda **[45]** ḥiṣṣe-mend-i feyż-i ḫayr eylemek dāʾire-i imkāndan ḫāricdir. Ve bu cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ sekiz seneden beri inşā olunduġu şarḳan ve ġarben āfāḳa intişār ve her biri gerek müstaḥaḳ ve gerek nā- müstaḥaḳ birer şeyʾe nāʾil olmaġa dīde-/dūz-ı intiẓār olduġu vāreste-i āşikār. Keyfiyyet böyle iken "Baḳ Dervīş Efendi cihetleri kendi tevābiʿ ü levāḥıḳına verüp bize vermedi" deyü her biri güft-i şenīʿ edecekleri bedīdār olmaġın ol-maḳūle bī-inṣāf u bī-ʿār[249] u bī-ḥayā olanların elsinesinden ẕāt-ı ḥamīde/lerin hıfẓ u estār buyurup emekdār ḳullarına "Ben anları āḫar ḫuṣūṣda mükāfat ederim" īhāmını iẓhār, anlar daḫi bu aḥvāli teferrüs ü münfehim[250] olduḳlarından "Efendimiz ṣaġ olsun" deyü lisāna daḫi getirmemeġile rıżā-yı veliyyü'n-nuʿmāya teslīm o ġayr ez ḫāṭır ʿālīlerinden mücānebetde ḳalb-i selīm olduḳları maẓhar-ı pesendīde-i ḫāṣṣ

[247] يس. As is conventional, the word is represented by the letters after which it is named rather than spelled out.

[248] Mistranscribed كرد in the print edition.

[249] The word and its prefix are omitted in the print edition.

[250] The scribe has written an unnecessary *şedde* over *münfehim*; the erroneous mark does not appear in the print edition.

[u] ʿāmm olmaġın Ḥaḳḳ—ʿazze şānehü ḥażretleri Ḥabīb-i ekremi ve Resūl-i muḥteremi ḥürmetine maḥż-ı ḫayr-ı ʿāmm—ẕāt-i sütūde cemīlelerin āfāt-ı dehr bu ḳalemūndan meʾmūn u maḥfūẓ edüp evlād-ı kirām ve ʿiyāl-i ẕevi'l-iḥtirām ve dāʾire-i eṭbāʿ-ı aḥbāb-ı bā-ṣafālarıyla müstedām-ı devlet ü iḳbāl ve istizāde-i ʿömr ü iclāl ile mesned-nişīn ʿāfiyet-i ber-kemāl eyleye. Āmīn be-ḥaḳḳ-ı Ṭ[ā]ḥ[ā] vu Y[ā]s[īn].[251]

İşbu Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī Cāmiʿ-i Hümāyūnu bālādan beri taʿrīf ü tavṣīf olunduġu üzere tetmīm ve ṣalāt-ı mektūbe edāsına bed[ʾ][252] olunacaḳ rütbe tekmīli ʿavn-i Ḥaḳḳ ile rūnümā ve āvīze-hāʾ [*sic*][253] ile tezyīn ü ārāste ve muḳaddemā ʿUşşāḳ ḳażāsında maḫṣūṣ nesc etdirilen şır miḥrāblı münaḳḳaş ibrişim ḳālīçeleri ferş ve bi'l-cümle mürtezīḳaları tertīb ve ḫademesi muʿayyen olduḳdan ṣoñra teşrīf-i hümāyūn muṣammem olmaġın **[46]** bundan aḳdem şehinşāhān-ı pīşīn-zamān-ı pür-emānlarında böyle **{43}** binā olunan cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn üzerlerine meʾmūr olanlara ve gerek ḫademe-i evḳāfa ne vechile ikrām ve ne vechile ḫilʿat ilbāsıyla iḥtirām olunduġu teşrīfāta mürācaʿat olunduḳda tertīb ḫulāṣa/sı tebyīż ve maʿrūż-ı rikāb-ı müsteṭāb olunup ṭaraf-ı binādan daḫi ʿale'l-esāmī defteri ṭaleb olunmaġla ibtidā binā nāẓırı olan muḥāsebe-i Ḥaremeyni'ş-Şerīfeyn Dervīş Muṣṭafā Efendi ve binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa, muḥāsebe kātibi Meḥmed Efendi, binā kātibi bu ḥaḳir Aḥmed Efendi, ʿamele kātibi ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān Efendi ve üç nefer mühimmāt kātibleri, orta yazıcısı olan Molla[254] Yazıcı, ḫāṣṣa ṣu nāẓırı ʿAlī Aġa ve muḳaddemā sütūnların üzerlerine meʾmūr olup ḥālā Tersāne-i ʿĀmire'niñ liman reʾīsi olan Meḥmed

[251] As with the case discussed in n. 247 above, the words are represented by the letters after which they are named rather than spelled out. The scribe has added a series of indistinct marks over the letters, presumably to hint at their vocalization.

[252] The scribe has not written the *hemze*. The mark is included in the print edition, but wrongly written over an *elif* rather than on its own.

[253] The *hemze* is erroneous; it is retained in the print edition.

[254] Written منلا, the conventional spelling of the word, which is ultimately a corruption of the Arabic *mawlā*.

Reʾīs ve cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ yazılarını kitābet eden Enderūn-ı Hümāyūn'dan çıḳma ḫaṭṭāṭ Müẕehhib ʿAlī Efendi ve kirecci başı ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān Aġa ve şu yolcular ketḫüdāsı Ḥasan Çelebi ve aḥcār naḳli ḫiẕmetinde olan İstanbul'uñ baş ketḫüdā vekīli bayraḳdār ve muʿtemed başı Ṭobḫāneli Meḥmed Aġa ve üç nefer ḫāṣṣa ḥaṣekīleri ve Maḳriḫora[255] ṭaşcılarınıñ ketḫüdāsı Ḥācı Murād ve ser-naḳḳāşān ʿĀşıḳ Ġarīb ve naḳḳāşlar kārḫānecisi ve cāmcı başı ve kārḫāne/cisi ve ḳurşuncu başı Ḥasan Aġa ve yetmiş sekiz nefer muʿtemedān ve yiğirmi üç nefer ḫarbeciyān ve Müslümān ṭaşcılarınıñ başı Meḥmed Çelebi ve ṭaşcılar kārḫānecisi Eyyūblu Ḥācı Muṣṭafā ve ḫarbende-gān[256] başı ve binānıñ naʿlbūr başısı Aḥmed Çelebi, binā ḳalfa[sı] Simyon Ḳalfa, ẕimmī ṭaşcıyānınıñ baş kārḫānecisi Ḳozma Ḳalfa, binā ḳalfasınıñ kārḫānecisi Usta Sefer ve dört nefer ẕimmī ṭaşcılar ve kārḫānecileri ve ḥammāmcı **[47]** ḳalfası Artin Ḳalfa ve kārḫānecisi ve dīvārcı ḳalfası olan Oras Ẕimmī ve iki nefer şırıḳ ḥammālān başıları pehlivān ve üç nefer rençper başıları bu maḥalle gelince ʿale'l-esāmī ṣūret-i mezbūr üzere defter taḥrīr ve gelen teşrīfātcı ḳalfasına verilüp biñ yüz altmış doḳuz **{44}** senesi māh-ı Rebīʿü'l-evvel'iniñ ġurresi Cumʿa günü Pādişāh-ı Dārā-ḫaşem [*sic*][257] ḥażretleri debdebe[258]-i ḫāḳānī ve kevkebe-i cihān-bānī üzere bā-şevket ü iclāl sarāy-ı ʿālīlerinden teşrīf buyurup ṣalāt-i Cumʿa'yı edā buyurmaḳ ḳarārdāde olmaġla ol leyle-i Cumʿa'da Dervīş Efendi ve binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa ve kātibān u ḫademe-i binā ve mürtezīḳadan iḳtiżā eden baʿżılar mecmūʿu cāmiʿ-i hümāyūnda beytūtet edüp bā-ḫuṣūṣ Pādişāh-ı ḥuceste-ḥiṣāl[259] ḥażretleri baʿde't-

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[255] As before, the word is mistranscribed *Maḳriḫoda* in the print edition.

[256] Written خربنده كان. The correct spelling is خربندكان.

[257] The correct spelling is *ḥaşem*.

[258] Spelled دبده به in the manuscript. The correct spelling—employed in the print edition—is دبدبه.

[259] The first word of the compound should be—and in the print edition is—written *ḫuceste*.

teşrīf ābdest odasında taḫt-nişīn ve namāz ḳılmaḳ içün ḥareket buyurduḳlarında ābdest odasından maḥfil-i hümāyūn ḳapusuna varınca zer-ender-zer dība-yı ḳıymet-gerān pāy-endāz ve muḳaddem-i şevket ḳavāʾimlerine[260] ferş-i ihtizāz olunmuşdur.

Buña göre sāʾir levāzımāt daḫi cümle müheyyā ve cāmiʿ-i şerīf ḥavlısı taṭhīr ü temyīz [*sic*][261] ve ḳapular ḥıfẓ u ḥirāset ile niẓām-pezīr olduḳda ṣabāhısı ʿale's-seher ol vaḳt ketḫüdā-yı Ṣadr-ı ʿālī bulunup ṣoñra Selānik sancağı ile kām-revā olan vezīr-i mükerrem Aḥmed Paşa ḥażretleri cümleden aḳdem cāmiʿ-i hümāyūna teşrīf ve mütevellī odasına nüzūl ve bir miḳdār istirāḥatdan ṣoñra "Vezīr-i aʿẓam Saʿīd Meḥmed Paşa ḥażretleri bi'l-cümle gelen ʿulemā-yı ʿiẓām ve vükelā-yı ẕevi'l-iḥtirām ve erbāb-ı menāṣıb-ı lāzımü'l-ikrām ve kāffe-i ḫᵛāce-gān-ı Dīvān efendilere ber-mūcib-i teşrīfāt **[48]** post-ı semmūr u ḳaḳum ve ferāce ve ḫilʿat ilbās olunacaḳ maḥall neresi münāsibdir?" deyü Dervīş Efendi ile müẕākere[262] vü istişāre eylediklerinde "Ḥālā maḥfil-i hümāyūn taḥtında Vezīr Ḳapusu taʿbīr olunan cāmiʿ-i şerīf ḳapusunuñ köşesinden yuḳarı maḥfil-i hümāyūna ve ābdest odası pīşgāhına çıḳılır bir nerdübān vardır. Şevketlü Efendimiz namāz ḳıldıḳdan ṣoñra ābdest odasını teşrīf buyurup ḥużūr-i hümāyūnlarında Şeyḫü'l-İslām efendi ḥażretlerine ve Ṣadreyn ve Naḳībü'l-Eşrāf ve ṣudūr-ı ʿulemā ve mevālī-i ʿiẓām ḥażerātına ʿalā merātibihim kürkler ve ferāceler iktisā olunduḳdan ṣoñra **{45}** Ṣāḥib-i Devlet efendimiz aşağı inüp ẕikr olunan Vezīr Ḳapusu nerdübān ṣaḥnı başında—ki fevḳānīde ābdest odasından birer birer neẓāret-i hümāyūndadır—Ṣāḥib-i Devlet efendimiz bu maḥallde ḳıyāmen durup defterdār efendi daḫi yanlarında teşrīfāt defterini

[260] *Ḳavāʾim*, which should be spelled قوائم, is written قواعم in the manuscript. The print edition mistrancribes it *tevāʾim* (though with the *hemze* correctly placed).

[261] The intended word is *temīz*, which is what we find written in the print edition.

[262] The scribe must initially have forgotten to include the *elif*, which is written in miniature just above the *ẕāl*.

okuduḳça ne ise ḫilʿatler ilbās ve her biri zemīn-pūs edüp giderler"[263] deyü teẕkīr ve münāsib görmeleriyle ġayri teşrīf-i hümāyūna muntaẓır oldular.

Ṣalā vaḳti olduḳda cāmiʿ-i şerīfiñ müntaḫab ve bülend-āvāz-ı ṣavt müʾeẕẕinleri mināreteyne çıḳup ṣalā-yı muʿtādeyi ḫoş elḥān ile edā baʿdehu cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn meşāyiḫi ile cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ber-ṭarīḳ-ı ḳāʿide Cumʿa vāʿiẓi olan meşāyiḫ-i Ḥalvetiyye'den ʿAbdü'ş-Şekūr Efendi ḥażerātı gelüp sāʾir eyyām-ı Cumʿa muʿtād olan selāmlıḳdan ṣad-efzūn oda başılar ve Bektāşiyān neferātı bi-ecmaʿihim żābiṭān ile muḳaddemā sefer vuḳūʿunda ḫünkār alaylarında ne vechile ṭarafeyn ṣāf-beste[-i] mevḳıf-i selām olurlar ise bi-ʿaynihi öylece ḥudūd sınırlarından tā cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ḳapusuna **[49]** gelince dest-bend-i mevḳıf-i selām olup Sarāy-ı Cedīd-i ʿĀmire'den daḫi ḥudūdlarına gelince cebeci neferātı ke-ẕālik ṣāf-beste[-i] mevḳıf-ı selām oldular.

Cumʿa eẕānından taḥmīnen iki sāʿat muḳaddem Sarāy-ı Cedīd-i ʿĀlī'lerinden şeref-mend-maḳdem-i pür-meymenet içün mevcūd u muntaẓır olan Vezīr-i aʿẓam Saʿīd Meḥmed Paşa ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām feżāʾil-irtisām Dāmād-zāde Efendi ḥażerātı ve Naḳībü'l-Eşrāf ve Ṣadreyn-i muḥteremeyn ve mevālī-i ʿiẓām ve müderrisīn-i kirām, Dīvān ṭaḳımı ile ricāl-i devlet ve bostancı başı ve mīrāḫor-i evvel ü s̱ānī ve kethüdā-yı bevvābīn-i şehriyārī ve defterdār efendi ve reʾīsü'l-küttāb ve tevḳīʿī ve Yeñiçeri Aġası ve cebeci başı ve ṭobcu başı ve ṭob ʿarabacı başısı ve ser-mehterān-ı ḫayme-i ḫāṣṣa ve sipāh ve silaḥdār ve bölükāt-ı erbaʿa aġaları bi'l-cümle ocaḳ ẓābıṭānlarıyla ve mecmūʿī ḫᵛācegān-ı Dīvān-ı Hümāyūn ve sāʾir erbāb-ı menāṣıb-ı ẕevi'l-iḥtirām ve ser-bevvābīn-i dergāh-ı **{46}** muʿallā ve zuʿamā ve ça/vuşān, ve'l-ḥāṣıl müretteb [ü] müzeyyen alay-ı ẕevi'l-iḥtişām ile ber-mūcib-i teşrīfāt tertībe dizilüp ḳafālarından Sulṭān-ı çār-cihet-i āfāḳ olan ṣāḥibü'l-

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[263] Though presented as direct speech, Derviş Efendi's recommendation is really a paraphrase, since the later-developed name of the Vizier Gate cannot have yet been known.

ḫayrāt ve'l-ḥasenāt Pādişāh-ı ferḫunde-baḫt Şehinşāh-i müzerkeş-dīhim[264] [u] muʿallā-taḫt şevketlü, mehābetlü, ʿazametlü Sulṭān ʿOs̱man Ḫān—ḫallede'llāhu ḫilāfetehu ve mülkehu ve sulṭānehu ve efāża ʿale'l-ʿālemīn birrehu ve iḥsānehu—ḥażretleri müşerref-i āfitāb-ı cāh u celāl ve maṭlaʿ-ı ḫurşīd-i şevket ü iḳbāl ile kāffe-i ʿibād-ı müʾminīne pertev-endāz-ı reʾfet olaraḳ bā-yümn ü ikbāl teşrīf, yollarda dest-bend-i mevḳıf-ı selām olan gürūh-ı Bektāşiyān u cebeciyān ʿale'l-ḫuṣūṣ cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ḥavlısında ṭaşra miḫrāb muḳabilinde naṣb-ı dīde-i intiẓār olan cevāmiʿ-i selāṭīn meşāyih-i kirāmı selām-ı müştemilü'l-ikrām ile talṭīf buyurup ketḫüdā beğ ile Dervīş Efendi **[50]** buḫūrdān çekerek aşağı ḥavlı ḳapusuna yaḳın olduḳda Ṣāhib-i Devlet ve Yeñiçeri Aġası muḳaddemçe[265] atdan nüzūl ve māşiyen istiḳbāl ve fevḳānī binek ṭaşı üstüne ṣuʿūd ve ḥīn-i nüzūlde Şeyhü'l-İslām ve Naḳībü'l-Eşrāf ve Ṣadreyn-i muḥteremeyn ḥażerātı taḥiyye merāsimini edādan ṣoñra kevkebe-i ḫusrevāne ile ābdest odasında ṣadr-nişīn-i bālā oldular.

Bir miḳdār tevaḳḳuf u ārāmdan ṣoñra Dervīş Efendi'niñ evlād-ı nücebāları ve ciğer-köşe-i muḥteremeleri olan üç nefer ferzend-i ercümend çaġırdup[266] ḥużūr-ı hümāyūna nāṣiye-sāy olduḳlarında kemāl-i tevāżuʿ-ı şāhānelerinden iẓhār-ı ṣūret-i mülāṭafat ile yanlarına iclās, talaṭṭufāne [vü] kerīmāne ile muʿāmele-i istīnās ve nevāziş-i bende-nevāz ve ol es̱nāda Ṣaḥib-i Devlet ḥażretleri ve Şeyḫü'l-İslām Efendi ḥażretleri ʿarża girmekle dāmenbūs-ı şerefin iḥrāz buyurulup vaḳt-i ṣalāt daḫi duḫūl etmeğin ʿāmme-i müʾminīne ṣalā-yı daʿvet-i ṣalāt nidā ve biñ yüz altmış doḳuz senesi māh-ı

[264] The print edition omits the word *dīhim*.

[265] *Muḳaddemce* in the print edition.

[266] The scribe has written the *çīm* with a single dot in the manner of a *cīm*. The letter is properly dotted in the print edition.

Rebīʿü'l-evvel'iñ ġurresi Cumʿa namāzı ile ol cāmiʿ-i refīʿü'l-ʿimādda edāʾ-i ṣalāt-ı mektūbeye **{47}** ibtidā olunmaḳ fe-li'llāhi'l-ḥamdü müyesser oldu.

Baʿdehu namāzdan çıḳdıḳdan ṣoñra Cenāb-ı Pādişāh-ı şevket-medār[267] ḥażretleriyle Şeyḫü'l-İslām ḥażretlerine, baʿdehu Naḳībü'l-Eşrāf ve Ṣadreyn ḥażerātından İstanbul ḳaḍılarına çuḳaya ḳaplı semmūr-ı fāḫir ʿani's-sürūr bālā-yı dūş-ı iftiḫārlarına iktisā ve Mekke [vü] Medīne'den bilād-ı erbaʿaya gelince mevālī-i ʿiẓām ḥażerātına ḳaḳum kürk ve Ṣaḫn [*sic*][268] müderrisine gelince ṣof-ı leṭāfet-mevṣūf ilbās ve bu ẕeylde Dervīş Efendi'ye yeşil çuḳaya ḳaplı semmūr kürk ilbās ile ikrām ve bi'l-cümle ṣudūr-ı ʿulemā ve mevālī-i ʿiẓām ve müdderisīn-i kirām ʿalā merātibihim semmūr ve ḳaḳum kürkler ve ferāceler ilbās ve merāsim itmāmından ṣoñra Ṣāḥib-i Devlet ḥażretleri **[51]** bālāda taḥrīr olunduğu üzere aşağı ṣaḥn-ı nerdübāna inüp ḳallāvī ve ilbās olunan serāsere ḳaplı kürk ile nerdübān başında ḳāʾim ve cānib-i yesārında defterdār efendi durup ibtidā ketḫüdā beğ ḥażretlerine çuḳaya ḳaplı semmūr kürk ve baʿdehu defterdār efendiye ḫilʿat-i fāḫire ilbās olunduḳdan ṣoñra ricāl-i devlet ve erbāb-ı menāṣıb mecmūʿu rütbesine göre mütevellī odasınıñ öñünde, ābdest-i hümāyūn odası ḳarşısında nerdübāna varınca birer birer dizilüp tertīb olunduḳda yedinde olan teşrīfāt defterini ʿale'l-esāmī defterdār efendi oḳuduḳça ḥażret-i Ṣadr-ı aʿẓamı öñünde ḫilʿati ilbās ve dönüp zemīn-pūs edüp maḥallerine ʿaṭf-ı ʿinān ederler idi.

Devlet-i ʿAliyye'de her ne ḳadar ricāl-i devlet ve erbab-ı menāṣıb var ise yedi gīr terk olunmayup ber-mūcib-i teşrīfāt ḫilʿatleri ilbās olunduḳdan ṣoñra cāmiʿ-i hümāyūnuñ müderrisi efendiye ve vāʿiẓi ʿAbdü'ş-Şekūr Efendi'ye ve imām-ı evveline ve ḫaṭīb

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[267] The scribe has evidently forgotten to mention the grand vizier at this point, probably because he accidentally merged the sultan's *ḥażretleri* with the vizier's *ḥażretleriyle*.

[268] The proper spelling—employed in the print edition—is *ṣaḥn*.

efendiye çuḳaya ḳaplı semmūr kürkler, ikinci ve üçüncü imāmına çuḳaya ḳaplı sincāb kürkler, binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa muḳaddem semmūr kürk giymiş iken sehven şimdi ḫāṭıra geldikde bu maḥallde teʾḫīr ve taḥrīr olundu. Ḳayyum başı ve müʾez̠z̠in başı[ya][269] **{48}** sāde çuḳa ferāceler ilbās olunmuşdur.

Bunlar tekmīl olunduḳdan ṣoñra cāmiʿ-i hümāyūnuñ ebniyye ḫademesi deyü çaġrıldıḳda muḳaddemā defter olunup ʿale'l-esāmī defteri teşrīfātcı ḫalīfesine verildiği ber-vech-i müfredāt bālāda taṣrīḥ olunmuşidi. Yine ol vechile müretteb dizilüp cümlesine birer birer ḫilʿatler ilbās ve cāmiʿ ebniyyesi ḫademe/siyle tetmīm ü iḫtitām-ı ikrām ile maẓhar-ı ʿāṭıfet oldular.

Bundan ṣoñra iş ḳalmamaġla şehriyār-ı Dārā-ḫadem ḥażretleri daḫi ābdest odasından **[52]** devlet ü iclāl ile nehżat-ı ḳıyām ve dāʾire-i hümāyūn ṭaḳımı ile sarāy-ı ʿālīlerine ʿaṭf-ı zimām iḫtiyār buyurdular.

Ol gün cāmiʿ-i şerīfin ḥavlısı derūnen ü bīrūnen[270] terākūm-i ziḫām-i [*sic*][271] enām ile rūz-ı maḥşerden nümūdār olmuşidi.

Kürkler ve ḫilʿatler ilbās olunduġu gün ʿamele vü ḫademe-i ebniyye içün dört biñ ġuruş ʿaṭiyye-i hümāyūn gelüp tevzīʿ olunmaḳ üzere iken meşġale-i kes̠īreden nāşī imḥāl ve bir iki günden ṣoñra mütevellī odasında ber-üslūb-i muʿtād-ı ḳadīm sergi döşenüp mecmūʿu kātibāndan z̠eyle varınca ʿalā merātibihim tevzīʿ ü iḳtisām olunup cümlesi ḥiṣṣe-mend-i vāye-dār oldular.

[269] The scribe has neglected to add the necessary dative suffix, which is included in the print edition.

[270] See n. 224 above.

[271] The word is properly spelled *ziḥām*. The scribe's mispelling may also be construed as *z̠iḫām*, which is, indeed, how the word is transcribed in the print edition.

Öteden-beri bu maḳūle binā olunan ḫayrāt-ı ʿaẓīmeniñ ḫiẕmet-i muʿayyenesinde müstaḫdem ü emekdār olanlar iḥtiyācdan müstaġni olacaḳ nān-pāre ile yaḫūd istiʿdādına göre bir rütbe-i müfāḫare ile ḳayırılup çirāġ olmaḳ deʾb-i s̱eniyye-i şāhāneden olmaġın Dervīş Efendi'niñ—Ḥaḳḳ teʿālā ʿömr-i devletlerini efzūn eylesin—himem-i vālā-nehmetleri inżımāmıyla bu ḫuṣūṣu istidʿā-yı niyāz ve Ṣaḥib-Devlet [*sic*][272] ḥażretleri inhā eyledikler inde binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa rütbe-i vālā-yı ser-bevvābīn-i Dergāh-ı ʿĀlī'ye pānihāde ve binā kātibi bu ḥaḳīr daḫi bölükāt-ı erbaʿa kitābetinden ʿulūfeciyān-ı yemīn kitābetiyle ḫᵛācegān-ı Dīvān zümresine idḫāl ve[273] orta yazıcısı Molla Yazıcı daḫi aṣl ser-ṭurnaʾī[274] rütbe/siyle ve ṭurnacı başı neferātı żabṭı ile serḥadd-i manṣūrdan baş serḥadd olan Vidin **{49}** aġalıġı rütbesine iʿtilā ve ḫāṣṣa ḥaṣekīlerinden Ḥüseyin Ḥaṣekī daḫi her vechile ṭalāḳate mālik ve istiʿdādi olmaġla Yeñiçeri Aġası ḳara-ḳulaḳ-lıġı[275] ḫiẕmetine[276] istiḫdām ile ocaġı miyānında **[53]** ser-efrāz ve ber-vech-i muḥarrer taṣmīm olunup lākin ḳara-ḳulaḳlıḳ telḫīṣ ve emr-i hümāyūn ile ṣūret bulacaḳ mevāddan olmamaġla hemān namāz ḳılındıġınıñ ertesi günü bostancı başı aġa ṭarafından dāmenpūs emriyle Ḳapu'ya irsāl ve ḫiẕmet-i merḳūmeye taʿyīn olunup merāmı ile kāmyāb oldu.

Bāḳī ẕikr ve mevʿūd olunan ḳapucu başılıḳ ve ḫᵛācelik ve aġalıḳ māddesi telḫīṣ olunduḳda ḫaṭṭ-ı hümāyūn keşīde ve ʿināyet buyurulmaġla mūmā-ileyh Molla Yazıcı Ḳapu'ya çaġrılup vaḳt-i muʿayyenesinde żabṭ eylemek üzere Vidin aġalıġı tevcīh ve dūş-ı istiḥḳāḳına ḫilʿat ilbās ve ḥaḳīriñ kitābeti daḫi māh-ı Sevvāl'de vāḳiʿ olan tevcīhātda żabṭ

[272] Written as a closed compound in the manuscript. The print edition has the more usual *Ṣaḥib-i Devlet*.

[273] The conjunction is omitted in the print edition.

[274] سرطورنائی.

[275] While written separately from *ḳulaḳ* in the manuscript, the suffix *–lıġı* is joined to it in the print edition.

[276] *Ḫiẕmetinde* in the print edition.

olunmaḳ üzere rüʾüsü ve binā emīni ʿAlī Aġa'nıñ ḳapucu başılıḳ rüʾüs-i hümāyūnu birḳaç günden ṣoñra müşārün-ileyh Dervīş Efendi'ye geldikde yedlerimize iʿṭā eylediğinden başḳa keyfiyyet-i ḥāl-i bende ki maʿlūm-ı devletleri olmaġla yeşil ṣofa ḳaplı aʿlā Sibir sincāb kürkü iḥsān ve ıṣṭabl-i maʿmūrelerinden kendilerine maḫṣūṣ olan güzīde vü tuvānā birer reʾs bārgīri sīm çapḳun raḫt-ı bisāṭıyla tezyīn ve ġalebe-i merḥametlerinden ʿināyet ve yanıma bir çuḳadār ḳullarını taʿyīn buyurup Ḳapu'ya irsāl buyurmalarıyla vardıḳda hāẓır olan ḥarisānī[277] destārı reʾīsü'l-küttāb olan Ḥamza Efendi ḥażretleri pīş-i zānūlarında yed-i müʾeyyedleriyle ser-i mübāhātime rāst ve bir miḳdār tebşīrāt ile ḳaṭʿ-ı merātibe himmet-i ʿālīlerini inṣırāf ve baʿdehu ḳalḳup Ṣadr-ı aʿẓam ḥażretlerine getirüp dāmenpūs-ı şerefin iḥrāz etdirdikden ṣoñra "Benden efendi ḳarındaşımıza selām [ve] duʿālar edüp ḫāṭırların suʾāl ederiz" deyü iʿāde ve gelüp ḥarisānī ile **[54]** müşārün-ileyh efendimiziñ mübārek **{50}** hāk-pāy-i devletlerine rūy-māl ve duʿā-yı ḫayrların isticlāb etdikden ṣoñra mesrūren ve maḥbūren inşāṭ-ı fuʾād ile iḥsān buyurduḳları donanmış bārgīre süvār u ʿiyāl ü evlādımızdan daḫi ṭaraf-ı devletlerine duʿā-yı ḫayr etdirmek içün faḳīrḫāneye ʿavdet edüp vaḳt-i maʿlūmede żabṭ-ı kitābet içün ḥulūl-i vaḳte nigerān ve żamīme-i duʿā-yı devām-ı ʿömr [ü] devlet-i pādişāhī taḥrīk-i zebān-ı serīʿü'l-beyān olunmuşidi.

"El-eyyāmu yemürrü merre's-seḥāb" manṭūḳunca kitābet-i merḳūmuñ tevcīh vaḳti gelüp yevm-i tevcīhātda ḫilʿat ilbās olunmaḳ içün teẕkire geldikde kemāl-i luṭf-ı keremlerinden yine bir ṣof-ı leṭāfet-mevṣūf ferāce inʿām ve baʿdehu Dīvān-ı hümāyūn iḳtiżā etdikde yine bir üst-i post-ı semmūr iḥsān ve baʿdehu yine bir pek aʿlā cild-i ḳafā iḥsān-ı firāvān buyurup baḥr-i keremlerine müstaġraḳ olup her ne ḳadar ẕākirü'l-himem ve şākirü'n-niʿamları olsam biñde birin teẕkīre ve taʿdādına ʿadem-i liyāḳatim ẓāhir ü

[277] According to Redhouse's *Lexicon*, an erroneous spelling for *Ḫorāsānī*.

hüveydā olmaġla hemān mübārek ser-i devletlerini taṣdīʿ etmemek içün ḥaḳḳlarında ḫayr duʿāʾı iki kelāma ḥaṣr u ḳaṣr eyledim. Ḥaḳḳ ʿazze şānehu ḥażretleri ẕāt-ı muḥteremleriyle evlād u ʿiyāllerini dünyāda ve āḫiretde ḫavfinden emīn ü sālim ve her ne merāmları ise vuṣūl-i ḥuṣūliyle mesned-şāẕ-ı ḥurremīde ḳāʾim eyleye. Āmin yā Mücībe'ʾs-sāʾilīn.

Cāmiʿ-i vālānıñ tetmīm ve namāza ibtidā olunması ile Ḥaḳḳ teʿālā cümleʾi[278] feraḥ-yāb eyledi. Ḳaldı-ki[279] ʿimāret ve ṭabḫ-ı fodula[280] anların daḫi levāzımātı **[55]** tekmīl ve aṭʿime teẕākīri[281] tetmīm ü temhīr olunduḳdan ṣoñra biñ yüz altmış doḳuz senesi māh-ı Rebīʿü'l-evvel'iñ on beşinci Cumʿa gününde ʿimāret-i ʿāmire küşāde olunup şeyḫi olan efendi ḥażretleri simāt-i ṣofra-i inʿām, ṣāhibü'l-ḫayr, şevketlü, ʿaẓametlü, penāhetlü Efendimiziñ niʿam-i mebzūle-i ḫayriyye-i vaḳfiyyelerinde taġaddī-[i] mevāʾid eyleyen ṭalebe-i ʿulūm dāʿiyānı ve mürtezīḳa-i vaḳf ṡenāḫ^vānı ile duʿā-yı firāvān edüp ṭabḫ olunan taʿām **{51}** u nān-ı ʿazīz yevmen fe-yevmen ilā mā şā[ʾ] Allahü teʿālā mevcūd bulunan ile erbāb-ı aṣḥābı tenāvül etmeleriyle defʿ-i mecāʿa eylediklerinde ferāde ve ferāde daʿvāt-i ḫayriyyelerini peyveste-i āsmān u icābet-ḫāne-i Yezdān edecekleri maʿlūm-i ʿālemiyān olmaġla Cenāb-i feyż-i Ḥaḳḳ şevketlü, kerāmetlü Pādişāh-ı ʿālempenāh efendimiz ḥażretleriniñ mübārek vücūd-i hümāyūn-ı merḥamet-maḳrūnların serīr-i şevket-maṣīrlerinde ber-devām-ı devlet ü iclāl eyleyüb ḫaṭā vu ḫaṭarātdan maʿṣūn u meʾmūn eyleye.

Āmīn bi-cāhi Seyyidi'l-Mürselīn.

Temmetü'l-ḥurūf bi-ʿavni'llāhi Meliki'l-Muʿīn.

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[278] *Cümleyi* in the print edition.

[279] *Ki* is spelled كى, and not كه as is conventional.

[280] Here spelled فدوله; see n. 150 above.

[281] See n. 242 above.

Amīn.

[Te]mm[e].[282]

Translation of the Text

[1]{3} History of the Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye

Following limitless praise to God Almighty—may He be glorified!—and endless prayers to their highnesses the most noble Prophet and [his] esteemed family and companions comes the subject of this truthful text: That in the Threshold of Felicity [Istanbul], opposite the turban-makers [*ṣarıḳcılar*] near the Grand Bazaar, on the left-hand side of the thoroughfare that passes the armorers' guardhouse [*cebeciler ḳulluġu*], there once stood a noble masjid that was the great foundation of a certain lady named Fatma, the happy-fated daughter of Hoca Saʿadeddin Efendi, one of the eminent men of his age who has journeyed to paradise. And because the passage of time and the occurrence of earthquakes had brought it to the brink of collapse, such that it was no longer fit for performing the prescribed prayers, and since its endowment had become ineffectual for its rebuilding, the people of the district in former times entreated for [the mosque's] renovation by presenting a petition to the imperial person of His Majesty Sultan Ahmed Khan [III]—the mercy and pardon of God be upon him!—whereat he ordered by royal

[282] Abbreviated in the conventional manner as a single *mīm*. The print edition includes neither the letter nor the word for which is stands, instead ending the text with the less grandiloquent *ṣoñ*.

decree the investigation [of the matter], and it was found that to restore [the mosque] to its old form would require forty purses of aspers [*aḳçe*]; but after the report was presented to His Serene Majesty, time passed with [the matter] forgotten and unchanged. **[2]**

Thereafter, the people of the district several times petitioned and implored the late and sanctified Emperor, His Majesty Ghazi Sultan Mahmud Khan; and upon their petitioning a fifth time, [the matter] was referred to the munificent Derviş Efendi, then secretary to the chief black eunuch [*Dārü's-saʿāde Aġası kātibi*]; and with the royal command to investigate the situation, he [Derviş Efendi] appointed the Chief Black Eunuch's collector of pious revenues [*Aġa cābīsi*], Hacı Salih, who went to the district in the night, produced the imam of the noble mosque from his house, **{4}** and questioned him as to who possessed the endowment [waqf] of the aforementioned mosque and how close [the building] was to collapse, and he learned that [the renovation] had previously been estimated at forty purses of aspers before being abandoned, and that [the endowment] was [now] under the charge of the Grand Mufti; and he [Hacı Salih] made his report and immediately went to submit it.

And after the state of affairs had—by the means just described—come to the cognizance of the world-adorning Emperor, he personally ordered that an investigation be carried out by His Most Reverend Eminence the Grand Mufti, who [then] explained in conversation with His Most Magnanimous Majesty the Emperor that the endowment [of the mosque] was weak and unproductive, and that it was unable to provide for the [building's] reconstruction, and he also issued a holy fatwa allowing the transfer of the endowment deed so that rebuilding could occur, upon which the renewal [of the mosque] was ordered by benevolent imperial decree.

With this, Ali Agha—son-in-law to the former minister of finance [*defterdār*], the late Atif Efendi—was appointed building supervisor [*binā emīni*], and to his hardworking hands were entrusted the reigns of control in matters of construction, for not only had he long been known to Derviş Efendi for having been skillful in all his earlier work, and in every way upright and sincere, and in every matter of proven character, but his propriety and integrity had further come to light, and his zeal and service been fittingly demonstrated, when he had formerly been charged with renovating and personally putting into order the aqueducts known as Halkalı. **[3]** He in turn assigned as master builder [*ḳalfa*] the dhimmi named Skillful Simeon [*Kār-āzmūde Simyon*], who was one of the master carpenters and had perfect proficiency in art.

Afterwards, at a propitious hour on Monday the fourteenth of the noble month of Shawwal in the year 1161 [October 7, 1748], work was begun on digging the foundations, and the aforementioned mosque was pulled down and demolished and the [resultant] plot measured, yielding 563 square cubits [*ẕirāʿ*] and nine square fingers [*parmaḳ*] and—from the three houses granted in mortmain to the imam, muezzin, and caretaker of the mosque—255 and one half [square] cubits, all of which together was an area of land measuring 828 and one half [square] cubits and nine [square] fingers.[283] Since that land was a highly distinguished and esteemed area among the districts of Istanbul, **{5}** as well as in the proximity of the craftsmen and artisans, it occurred to the exalted and benevolent imperial mind that [the site] would not accommodate the

[283] The Ottoman cubit (*arşın* or *ẕirāʿ*) seems to have varied in length from period to period; in the eighteenth century, it measured slightly over 0.75 m. There were twenty-four fingers (*parmaḳ*s) to each cubit, making each finger a little more than 3 cm in length. Ahmed Efendi's measurements do not always accurately reflect the real dimensions of the building, though this discrepancy requires further investigation. For the Ottoman cubit, see Caʿfer Efendi, *Risāle*, 76–78; and Alpay Özdural, "Sinan's *Arşın*: A Survey of Ottoman Architectural Metrology," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 101–15. For the cubit as it was used in measuring the Nurusomaniye, see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 50–53; Kuban, "Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century," 281–82; and Kuban, "Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî," 137.

congregation of Muslims and assembly of worshippers during the five prayer times, nor perhaps at any time, and that it would [therefore] be well to construct a great place of worship in the manner of the sultanic mosques; and because of the consideration given to this thought, the building supervisor zealously immersed himself in his duties so that the foundations might be extended, during which time His Praiseworthy Majesty the Emperor, under the pretext of riding to the beloved Old Palace, went to and looked about the building site.

It then so happened that an old man was standing at a street corner upon [the sultan's] magnificent and glorious route, and he prayed for the Emperor of Emperors, His Majesty the King, immediately after which the royal swordbearer [*silaḥdār aġa*] sent men from the Old Palace to seek out Derviş Efendi. They went with haste and said [to him], "Our Majestic Lord wants you," whereat he, having not beforehand stood in the imperial presence, **[4]** wondered why he was being so extemporaneously summoned; and upon his inquiring on the matter, the swordbearer answered, "I do not know exactly what the case is, but while coming here, a blessed sage was standing at the corner of the street, and when our Majestic Lord came before him, [the sage] lifted his hand and, crying, prayed most movingly, saying, 'My Lord Emperor, may God Almighty render your royal being immaculate, and because you have brought your princely succor to bear on the noble mosque and thereby given all the people of the district—your poor slaves—joy and new life, may God Almighty likewise grant prosperity and life to the blessed heart of my Majestic Sovereign.' It must be for this reason that it [Derviş Efendi's coming] is required."

Thus informed, [Derviş] Efendi went before the light-filled kingly presence and was ordered by imperial command to draw the mosque and bring [the plan] with all haste, whereat he immediately that day had a drawing made of the [building's] four walls and brought it. But since the humble prayer and supplication of the aforementioned sage had so completely moved His Majesty the Emperor, haven of piety, it was understood that what was to be built was a great mosque indeed, such as had in any case been from the start in [the sultan's] illuminated thoughts. **{6}** With the desire for splendor and the will to commence redoubled by royal urging, a three-dimensional design [*mücessem tersīm*] was immediately commissioned, and upon His Majesty's approval, a great design showing the mosque's entire form, outside and in, exactly as it is today—with its single dome devoid of the bulk of columns beneath, and with its [various] levels and galleries—took shape on a large panel and was submitted before the gracious royal presence; and when the design of the [building's] form and the explication thereof met with His Exalted Majesty's royal approval, it was decided to construct [the mosque] according to this design.

But because the available land was too limited for such a design, to expand it meant one way or another purchasing [the surrounding] buildings. **[5]** The area extending in width to the Drapers' Khan [*Çuḳacılar Ḫanı*] and in length to the armorers' guardhouse was, in the manner of an island, a separate district, containing several blind alleys and quarters, some of them within janissary barracks, with many houses, shops, and storehouses, as well as several dyers' shops; and because all of these belonged to different endowments, repeated meetings were held at the building site and attended by the endowment administrators; the chief of the imperial architects; the architects'

secretary and assistants [*ḫulefā*];[284] and the inspectors [*müfettiş*] of the endowments of the Two Holy Cities [Mecca and Medina], of the Grand Mufti, of the Grand Vizier, and of the corps of gardener-guards [*bostaniyān*]. And the owners of the required properties were also there on those days the meetings were held, and in their presence, the properties that were to be purchased were measured, investigated, and documented by the chief architect, in accordance with sacred law, and [the findings] were submitted to the Sultan's royal person; and once the world-compelling order was given to buy [the properties], the price of each building was calculated in proper accordance with its value, such that for each property, the price per cubit of land was set at between five and seven piasters [*ġuruş*], and up to ten in the case of real estate and stone-built storerooms; and for wooden buildings of two or three stories skillfully fashioned with modern ornament, the price per cubit was set at between seven and ten piasters, and for stone-built khans and storehouses, up to twelve and a half; and the owners accepted as required the sums given to them in the presence of all.

{7} Those who, out of greed, rejected what was well and fair and refused to take their money, thereby behaving foolishly and basely, were one way or another intractable and unyielding, whereas they should have prayed for His Most Bounteous Majesty the Emperor so that more good deeds might be done. Since the imperial desire was solely to bring about more prayer, the values that had been agreed upon were increased as appropriate, and being now contented, with their hearts' desire satisfied and their good cheer increased, **[6]** [the owners] had the administrators [of their endowments] transfer [their properties] to the imperial party, the transfer taxes being also paid. In addition,

[284] *Ḫulefā* is the plural of *ḫalīfe*, synonymous with *ḳalfa*. We can assume, then, that the assistants in question were the master builders who worked under and with the imperial corps.

most of [the owners] requested that the materials from the destroyed buildings be turned over to them, and so they were rendered entirely pleased and indisputably happy, coquettishly cheerful and joyous, and having congratulated themselves, they hastened back to whence they had come with their stingy purses overbrimming with gold.

The properties purchased in the described manner were demolished, and the plot of land [for the complex] was [thus] expanded, and within four months of the date on which work was begun on the foundations—which measured close to 2,500 [square] cubits [*arşın*][285] for the noble mosque and 1,370 [square] cubits for the courtyard—over a thousand laborers [*rencper*], over three-hundred excavators [*laġımcı*], and two hundred wall-builders [*dīvārcı*] had been brought together, as well as over fifty carpenters [*neccār*] to demolish the purchased properties. Then began the careful digging of the foundations, and so that the foundation-stone might be laid propitiously before the start of the good month of Safar, a pilot shaft [*ḳulaġuz*] resembling a garden well was dug in the center of excavation site;[286] and once word was given that the lowermost level had been reached and the ground readied, an auspicious hour was deduced and selected, and it was at this time—half past the hour of six on Saturday the twenty-ninth of the sacred month of Muharram in the year 1162 [January 19, 1749]—that the foundation-stone was ordered to be laid.

Before anyone else, it was Derviş Mustafa Efendi, secretary to the Chief Black Eunuch, whose presence graced the building [site], and once the necessary matters had

[285] Having earlier used the word *ẕirā‘*, Ahmed Efendi here writes *arşın* to denote the same measurement, and he freely switches between the two terms throughout the work. The interchangeable use of these words is encountered in other sources also, and there appears to be no difference in meaning between them. See Özdural, "Sinan's *Arşın*," esp. 112n22.

[286] I have been guided in my translation by the modern Turkish rendering of the passage in Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*, 1:50.

been put in order, **{8}** there came all of the following: His Excellency Firari-zade Abdullah Pasha, ornament to the office of grand vizier; His Most Virtuous Eminence the Grand Mufti, Esʿad Efendi; the inspector of the [endowments of the] Two Holy Cities, Niʿmetullah Efendi; the preacher [*vāʿiẓ*] of the Mosque of Ayasofya, Hızır-zade Hasan Efendi, who remains in that post today; the preacher of the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed Khan, Emir Efendi; [various] gentlemen [connected to the endowments] of the Two Holy Cities who were department chiefs of the imperial chancery [*Dīvān ḫᵛācegānı*] unconnected with the Chief Black Eunuch's office; **[7]** the chief architect [*miʿmār aġa*]; the minister for water [*ṣu nāẓırı*]; and others. All present, they went before the auspicious hour to the spot where the foundation-stone would be laid, and with the clocks all properly set, they waited diligently for the auspicious hour's arrival; and when there remained a quarter of an hour, as an act of reverence, first His Eminence the Grand Mufti and then Their Excellencies the Honorable Two Sheikhs [Hızır-zade Hasan Efendi and Emir Efendi] opened their hands in supplication and began to pray, submitting their worthy petitions to God's favor-bestowing realm, and the others unanimously uttered amen and, at the end, recited the Fatiha. Immediately thereafter, the foundation-stone was laid, and the Grand Vizier demonstrated his gladness and scattered several handfuls of gold into the foundation pit, and he then conferred robes of honor on the building supervisor, Ali Agha, on the chief architect, and on the master builder [Simeon]; and on the sheikhs he bestowed purses of money, and to the remaining workmen he gave pleasing gifts, such that all, through his kindness, became sharers in this bounty of gifts and presents. Then came the sacrificing of animals in thanksgiving, wherewith the ceremony was completed, and [those attendant] left and headed for the Sublime Porte.

After this assembly had reached an end in the manner described, work continued apace on digging the ground as before, with twenty to thirty trains of mules and forty to fifty trains of donkeys and baggage horses being required each day to carry the excavated earth, which was taken to and disposed of in the sea or, from time to time, in the Palace of Fazlı Pasha and Cinci Square.[287] When a distance of twenty-two cubits below the ground was reached, water sprang, and after a further two cubits was dug below this water, pump-men's cutters [*ṭulumbacı miḳrāṣları*] were installed in several places;[288] and piles measuring three and a half cubits in height were cut from great bulky [wooden] pillars and driven into the ground, the spaces between them measuring two fingers. **{9}** Reinforced with iron, these piles filled the whole area—whose extent was several thousand square cubits—in the manner of paving stones; and over them was built a foundation plinth [*rıḫtım*] comprising two layers of lime [*kireç*] and one layer of pure brick-dust mortar [*ḫorasan*] and white-stone rubble [*beyāż senk moloz*].[289] **[8]** The plinth rose several cubits and was made level, and in order to secure [further] strength and stability for the building, uprights were chosen [, erected on the plinth,] and braced with arches, producing cistern-like water chambers; and when there remained four cubits to

[287] The Palace of Fazlı Pasha is better known as the Palace of İbrahim Pasha, which still stands on the Hippodrome and today houses the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. The earth brought there was presumably disposed of in the palace's courtyard. Cinci Square (Cinci Meydanı) remains a large open field in Kadırga.

[288] The term "pump-men's cutters" is difficult to understand, and it is unclear whether Ahmed Efendi is referring to an instrument for the cutting of wood or to some other device related to the water at the bottom of the pit. Kuban ("Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century," 277; and "Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî," 130) takes these "cutters" to be pumps by which to expel the excess water, but Hocchut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 40) finds this interpretation speculative and suggests that there is a lacuna in the text.

[289] The use of such iron-tipped wooden piles to reinforce foundations is an old Mediterranean technique known from Roman times: see Kuban, "Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century," 227; Kuban, "Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî," 130–31; and Robert B. Ulrich, "Woodworking," in *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, ed. John Peter Oleson (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 454.

ground-level, work was begun on laying down coarse sandstone such as is used for bridges [*köprülük od ṭaşı*].

And at this time—which was the thirteenth day of the month of Shaʿban in the year 1162 [July 29, 1749]—the Chief Black Eunuch called into the imperial presence his secretary, Derviş Efendi, who—being in word and in deed a true dervish—acted by God and for God in all his services, demonstrating rectitude, integrity, and devotion; and who—being of purest virtue—was a person of propitious merits well-known for his good deeds, such that a sea of royal favor had surged for him and elevated him to the rank of accountant [*muḥāsib*] for the Two Holy Cities, whereby his dignity had been raised and he had become exalted among his peers; and while undertaking important duties in the provinces and therewith displaying great diligence, signs of [his] righteousness and circumspect intelligence accumulated about his person and were sighted by the well-informed eye of the Emperor, which is why he had [Derviş Efendi] summoned to him. After [Derviş Efendi] placed his forehead on the threshold of might and glory in honorable supplication, His Gracious Majesty, so as to relieve the sense of awe he inspired in his audience, did great favor by condescending to treat [Derviş Efendi] with familiarity, and with all his kingly humility said to him, "What are you doing [these days], Derviş Efendi? Does it occupy you, and are you enjoying it?" The sultan having deigned to show such courtesy to his servant, [Derviş Efendi] kissed the ground and demonstrated his obedience, replying, "I pray for the prolongation of the noble life of my august and majestic liege, may God Almighty render his imperial being immaculate, and may he withhold his merciful protection from none among his servants, including this lowly slave."

"See, at this time," said the sultan, "no work is more important or necessary in our royal eyes than the service towards the building of the noble mosque, **{10}** and because you have heretofore traveled the righteous path, with God's favorable guidance being evident in your actions, and because you have shown benevolence to the people **[9]** and are lauded for your good works, our kingly mind knew that in this matter, too, you would exert yourself with the utmost devotion, integrity, and sincerity, and so we have appointed you over the mosque's construction and made you the sole administrator [*nāẓır*]. I desire of you to work with the most perfect zeal and utmost effort, striving in all regards for progress so as not to lose a moment from start to finish, and whatever happens in the course of this assigned task, to which you are bound by the neck of your zeal, whatever happens, whether good or bad, I shall attribute to you. Let me see how you do, and how well you and superintend, and how much effort you expend. For this matter cannot be compared to others; it is a duty to God, a most glorious pious foundation. Ensure with all care that the workmen and laborers do not suffer injustice or oppression, that their fees be given in full, in accordance with customs heretofore and hereafter, and that the dues of the craftsmen be remunerated in keeping with accepted practice; and do your utmost to preserve them from harm and injury; and see to it that all are contented and given their proper rights as servants; and being as they are weak [in power], keep those who toil—Muslims as well as unbelievers—from being [unduly] compelled and scolded with the excuse of hastening their work. Act in accordance with our royal kindness and clemency, and endeavor to the fullest to secure their good prayers for our most merciful person; God Almighty willing, you too will pray for my wellbeing. And as expressed by the aphorism *Quod severis metes* [As you sow, so shall you reap],[290] it is a

[290] The Arabic aphorism quoted by Ahmed Efendi more literally translates as "Each soul shall be rewarded

matter of certainty that however the case turns out in the end, you shall be requited accordingly."

After [the sultan] had made his most potent decree and given his profoundest recommendation, the lieutenant colonel of the royal halberdiers [*balṭacılar ketḫüdāsı*] was sent to His Excellency the Grand Vizier to obtain from him a peremptory firman containing the imperial command; **[10]** and when the matter was made known to the minister in the manner described, that Asaph-like vizier—**{11}** having had the royal decree and recommendation related to him—supported the superintendence [of Derviş Efendi], honoring him with the gift of a woolen cloak for his happy shoulders, and undertaking to help him in his duties as necessary.

In sum and in truth, His Excellency the aforementioned Effendi [Derviş], in [overseeing] the construction that had been placed as a responsibility on his shoulders, girded his zealous person with a belt of diligence; and with the doors of respite and repose closed off to him, from the beginning of his assignment to its auspicious conclusion, he showed no sign of flagging in his endeavors. Acting in according with the imperial will and being not in the least neglectful or deficient, he would come to the building [site] every day following morning prayer, arriving before anyone else, and in the evening when the workmen were signed off, he would return to his house later than anyone else. And when fires repeatedly occurred [in the vicinity of the foundation]—God Almighty forbid such calamities!—he would stay at the building [site] for two or three nights each time, remaining vigilant all through the night until morning, ready to preserve [the site from damage]; and even when, as happened on several occasions, he was informed that a great and inescapable conflagration raged but next door to his own

according to what it has done."

dwelling [there], he held fast to his conviction that all, good or bad, was by Divine Will, and, standing firm in his Sufi convictions and remaining under all circumstances faithful and true, he would not take even one step away from the building [site], all of which left everyone amazed and dumbfounded [with admiration].

It was in this manner that he stayed continuously [at the building site], and particularly during the harsh days of winter when it was bitterly cold, he would roam around with staff in hand several times a day, perhaps even every hour. So doing, he would go up and down the building from top to bottom, managing affairs by his command and going up to the master workmen and workshop masters [*ayaḳ ve tezgāh ustaları*][291] who were located all around the four piers,[292] and in order to encourage [their] skillful labor and urge [them] to speedy exertion, he would, every one or two days, give to the masters—foremen, ordinary workers, and expert stonemasons [*ṭaşcı*] alike—**[11]** three, five, or two pieces of gold each, according to the measure of their capability and aptitude. And with this pleasing kindness and gracious inducement, they all came to partake of [Derviş Efendi's] benevolence, such that he inspired them to pray from the bottom of their hearts for the good of His Praiseworthy Majesty the Emperor, **{12}** all of which was witnessed by everyone and is still the talk of the workers' tongues as well as the topic of their thoughts.

For instance, in order for the pole-carrying porters to be able to lift the large and bulky marble side-pieces [*mermer-i pehlū*], marble columns [*mermer-i sütūn*], and floor

[291] It is not clear what Ahmed Efendi means by *ayaḳ ustaları* (literally "master footworker"), but he seems to be using the term in contrast to *tezgāh ustaları* (workshop masters). As suggested by Kuban ("Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century," 282), the first term probably refers to masters who were "on foot" in the sense of working on the building itself rather than in the various workshops set up around it.

[292] Ahmed Efendi is here departing from the chronological sequence of his account, since the raising of the piers has yet to occur.

stones [*ṭaban aḥcārı*]—each a burdensome load in its own right—to the upper levels, eighteen, twenty-four, thirty-two, or even more porters would be assigned to each [piece], raising and lowering [it] as required; and whenever [Derviş Efendi] observed that they were fatigued or exhausted, he would on most days make them forget their troubles by extending one benevolent hand to the chief porters and another to the ordinary porters, such that those who had partaken of his benevolence would compete with each other in making haste to carry the stones.

Likewise, to the masters of the stonemasons' workshops [*taşcı kārḫānecileri*]; to the sergeants-at-arms [*ḥaṣekiyān*], site supervisors [*muʿtemedān*], guardsmen [*ḫarbeciyān*], and others; to those quick to act in their work, exerting themselves with all speed to the greatest degree; and to those who, appointed to a task, would approach it with the aim of completing it to perfection—to all these persons did he present an abundance of gifts in accordance with their merits, thereby procuring the prayer of many individuals, they in turn finding salvation from poverty. And the truth is this: that with the sweetness of his tongue and his munificence in giving gifts, he was as a confirmation of the marvelous hadith "Seek goodness from those of beautiful countenance," and young and old alike were enamored of his gift-giving benevolence, and all were captivated by his manifest diligence, repeatedly saying prayers day and night—perhaps every moment—for the good of His August Majesty the Emperor.

Furthermore, whenever a complaint was made that one of the sergeants-at-arms, site supervisors, or guardsmen had unjustifiably struck and abused one of the workers with the intention of aggravating and threatening [him], [Derviş Efendi] would in some manner appease those stricken and offended before having those who had struck and

abused [them] brought into his presence, **[12]** and quite apart from actually punishing them, he would hinder and prevent them from doing the like again in the future. And when, owing to human weakness, someone committed an improper or ugly act and was accused for it, he would still be given a fine defense, provided for Muslims by an appointed battalion clerk [*orta yazıcısı*] and for dhimmis by one of their own leaders, **{13}** and if it was deemed necessary to punish and admonish [the defendant], [Derviş Efendi] would still treat him with kindness so as to preserve goodwill.

To summarize the gist, in the space of eight years, not one individual out of more than four-thousand—whether workmen and laborers, craftsmen and artisans, or officers [*żābıṭān*]—was in any way offended or grieved; [on the contrary,] each of them came to share in [Derviş Efendi's] benevolence and generosity, according to the measure of his individual capability and aptitude. And till the end, [Derviş Efendi] was in every matter intelligent and judicious, mild in deliberation, and generous in giving fine gifts, rendering all grateful and pleased; and because whatever praiseworthy virtues there exist are all inherent in him, the hearts of high and low alike were drawn to his Hatim-like renown,[293] that is to say a renown for beneficence; and it hardly need be said that since that time, they continue to acknowledge with thanks their duty to pray night and day for the good of His Most Munificent Majesty the Emperor, busying their tongues and minds with prayers for the continuation of his life and rule.

Now let us [re]turn to describing and explicating the construction of the mosque that is the subject of our discourse. It has already been explained and elucidated above that when four cubits remained to ground-level from the foundation-plinth, work was

[293] Ḥātim b. ʿAbd Allah b. Saʿd al-Ṭāʾī, a sixth-century poet of the Arabian Tayy tribe who was (and remains) renowned in the Islamic world for his generosity. Ottoman sources often misspell his name as *Ḫātem*.

begun on laying down coarse sandstone such as is used for bridges. Once this stone was laid and the ground-level reached, the mosque's four walls were established in plan, but because there was uncertainty as to how elevated the prayer-floor should be, **[13]** permission was sought for a consultation [on the matter]; and upon its being ordered, a meeting of consultation was held between Ali Efendi, former secretary to the Chief Black Eunuch and at that time chief clerk of government finances [*rūznāmçe-i evvel*]; His Honor Yusuf Efendi, the city prefect [*şehr emīni*] and brother to the Grand Vizier's receiver-general of provincial correspondence [*āmedci*]; Niʿmetullah Efendi, inspector of the [endowments of the] Two Holy Cities; the chief of the imperial architects; and the minister for water. Following discussion, the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed Han was selected [as a model], and on this basis, the [Nuruosmaniye's] precinct [*ḥavlı* , though here meaning the mosque's basement] was elevated three cubits from ground-level and constructed all the way around **{14}** of solid marble, with thirty-three windows containing burnished and knobbed iron grilles [*eğeden çıḳma muṣayḳal ṭoblu demir*].[294]

And between its prayer-floor and the springing-level of its [baldachin] arches [*üzengi ṭabanı*] is solid marble rising fifteen cubits in height, and between this springing-level and the dome is limestone [*küfeki ṭaş*] rising twenty-eight cubits and a half in height. And the thickness of the [shell of] the dome is one cubit and a half along its base, diminishing to one cubit and six fingers as it rises; and the dome's base is a hundred cubits and one half in circumference. In sum, from the prayer-floor all the way to the finial of the dome stand—in the manner described—fifteen cubits of solid marble,

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[294] The mosque's fenestrated basement rises above the streets that border the precinct on its northern and western sides. As is typical in Ottoman architecture, the window grilles comprise gridded iron bars whose intersections are each marked by a rounded knob.

twenty-eight cubits and a half of limestone, and a brick dome eleven cubits in height, such that altogether, the mosque's stature is equivalent to fifty-four cubits and a half.

And as the size of the dome was being here and there discussed, the conclusion reported by the men of science and learning was that of the largest domes to be found within the Abode of Prosperity [Istanbul], the foremost was that of the great Ayasofya, the second, that of the Süleymaniye Mosque, the third, that of [the Mosque of] the Conqueror, and the fourth, the dome of this Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye; and it is agreed that all the other sultanic mosques are inferior to these.

Now let us turn to the interior measurements of this noble mosque of graceful new style [*cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz-ı laṭīf*]. In width, including the lateral galleries and the thickness of the walls at each end, it is altogether forty-eight cubits and a half; and in length, again including the thickness of the walls at each end, it is forty-eight cubits, so that the mosque's interior **[14]** equals 2,346 square cubits in area. This leaves the courtyard [*şādırvān*], which, with its porticoes [*ṣuffalar*] and walls, is thirty-two and a half cubits and three fingers in length, and, again including the thickness of the walls at each end, forty-two cubits in width, which calculations yield an area of 1,370 square cubits and six square fingers; but because its corners are round, some of this area is lost. The columns of so-called sparrow's-eye marble [*serce gözü taʿbīr olunur mermer*][295] erected as part of its porticoes are twelve in number, each one being seven cubits in height **{15}** and twenty-two fingers in diameter, and all of them are monoliths brought from the place called Pergamon.

[295] A red stone somewhat like granite, possibly speckled pink Aswan granite: see Caʿfer Efendi, *Risāle*, 72; and Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*, 1:336.

Although it is obvious that a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding these columns would result in verbosity and prolixity, in order that this matter can be known about when necessary sometime in the future, and so as to act according to the witticism “All that is not put down on paper vanishes into oblivion,” I shall venture to explain [the matter] with a swift pen rather than abstain from writing [about it altogether].[296] Before the aforementioned mosque had yet come into being, it was wondered whence the marble columns for the porticoes would be obtained, with all being immersed in a pool of ideas [on the matter]; and the concern for how [the columns] would be procured and brought at the necessary time weighed most heavily on the minds of those appointed [to the project]. Indeed, according to what was written at the time of the late Mimar Sinan—that skillful master famed among mankind—much hardship and difficulty were endured in obtaining the marble columns for the building of the Mosque of Süleyman, and finally, with God’s help, some were procured at and brought from Alexandria, in the well-protected [land of] Egypt, and each of the rest, from a [different] far-off land and place.

As for these columns [of the Nuruosmaniye], they stood fully intact and abandoned at the wall of a ruined church in the town of Pergamon, and they were owned by no one, which [information] was known to the vaivode [of Pergamon]. **[15]** Once it was reported that all of them were, as imperial luck would have it, monoliths of sparrow’s eye [*serçe gözü*] marble, a man was sent to confirm [this], following whose return was sent a master builder assigned to the imperial mosque [*cāmiʿ-i hümāyūn ḳalfa*].[297] And he

[296] Whatever he may claim regarding his “swift pen,” I cannot help pointing out that this sentence introduces the longest section of Ahmed Efendi’s whole account!

[297] It is unclear if by this is meant Simeon Kalfa or another *ḳalfa* working on the mosque.

brought out the columns one by one and had each of them placed on a specially commissioned carriage [*ḳızaḳ*] fitted with iron wheels and iron ties and fastenings; and each column was transported by road by thirty-five pairs of water buffalo over hills and mountains to the seacoast, a distance of some five hours and a half.

But because this stretch of seacoast was not inhabited or developed, the aforementioned master builder, upon his arrival, said that in order for the columns to be lifted onto ships, it was necessary to build a solid and extensive wharf [*iskele*] and a shear-legs [*dār aġacı*] such as is found at the Imperial Dockyard [*Tersāne-i ʿĀmire*], **{16}** and he explained and communicated how this was to be done. What was already to hand of the required timber was [brought] from the capital, and what was not to hand was felled and brought from the mountains of that region, even with all the expense entailed thereby; and the necessary requisites and workers were sent from this side [Istanbul], and the aforementioned wharf was built strong and sturdy [with its] shear-legs.

Because the aforesaid road [passed through] oak groves, making the transportation of the columns difficult, it was necessary to facilitate [the route] by clearing it, and in order rid this road—which was five-and-a-half hours' distance on horseback from Pergamon[298]—of rocky debris, trees were felled and bridges set up over the wetlands, mud, and rivers along it.

After it was reported that the road had been made easier by the means just explained, [there arose the question of how] to carry and transport [the columns] to the capital, with some [wishing] to commission galleons [*ḳalyon*] from the [Imperial] Dockyard, and others, to hire triple-masted sailing vessels [*üç direkli sefāyin*]. With each

[298] Elsewhere, Ahmed Efendi states that this was the length of time taken by the water buffalo in transporting the columns to the shore. A man on horseback would presumably have been able to cover the same distance far more quickly.

person decided on his own mind, a decision was ultimately not reached, for if galleons were commissioned, at least two or three would be needed, a disagreeable expense for the state, and if triple-masted vessels proved necessary, they would be able to bear only two columns each, and special chests would have to be set up inside the ships in order to provide beds for the columns; **[16]** and besides this expense was the freight charge, for which [initially] eight purses of aspers per vessel was sought, and five purses eventually settled for, necessitating thirty purses of aspers to hire six ships for twelve columns.

But such a number of ships was in any case not to be found anchored in the capital's ports at that time, and so worry grew within each of them [those debating the matter], and they again discussed how they might alleviate their concern; and it was not obvious to any of them, and nor did it occur to their minds, that *dil* caiques[299] would in every way be cheaper and easier, though Derviş Efendi knew as much. And when they comprehended this fact from his shrewd mind and superior intellect, all of those considering the essence of the matter wisely understood from the aforementioned effendi's munificent and fertile mind **{17}** that *dil* caiques were invariably hardy [?][300] and swift of movement, and they approved [the caiques'] procurement and were convinced of their facility of use. Furthermore—and as proved to be the case—the estimated freight charge and oarsmen's fee for all twelve caiques—one per column—was [in total] comparable not only to [the cost of] one galleon, but also to [the cost of] one triple-masted vessel, being less than the expense of either one of these [other vessels].

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[299] It is not at all clear what Ahmed Efendi means by the term *dil ḳayıḳları*. As *dil* (lit. "tongue") can denote the sheave of a pulley, a *dil* caique may be one equipped with a pulley. Barkan (*Süleymaniye Cami*, 1:344) speculates that a *dil* caique was a large boat capable of ferrying animals and caravans across the Gulf of Izmit.

[300] See n. 87 above.

And with this it was clear that the tireless and diligent efforts of the aforementioned effendi—who was in all matters, and certainly in this one, matchless and most estimable in his sound and considered judgment—had [in this regard] been fulfilled.

With each of the columns to be transported weighing more than a hundred hundredweights [*ḳanṭār*],[301] a crane would be needed for them, the provision of which would be the responsibility of the captains [*reʾīsler*] of the Imperial Dockyard; and when a request was made, Captain Mehmed—a man of perfect learning and complete proficiency—was selected from among them and appointed by exalted decree, and he provided the various tools, double-sheaved bronze pulley(s), and other requisites that were necessary.

It remains to say that not one individual from among the people of those parts, whether free or tax-paying [i.e., Muslim or Christian], was done wrong under this pretext [of transporting the columns], **[17]** just as no disturbance or harassment was suffered by those coming and going in connection with the laborers who had been hired and the animals that had been put to work. On the contrary, they were maintained and protected, and the rents to be given for the duration of their stay, together with the [cost of other] necessary requisites, in particular food expenses, were fully covered by the construction [funds], and the workers were lawfully requited.[302] And in order to provide the workers with customary justice, the noble Derviş Efendi, with imperial approval, appointed a bearded [i.e., sage] agha named Ahmed Agha together with five or six experienced footmen [*çuḳadār*]. Watching over and helping one another, they worked with great care

[301] An Ottoman hundredweight was equivalent to about 56.4 kg: see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 53.

[302] Such appears to be what is meant by the rather mysterious phrase *redd-i ḥuḳūḳiyyet*, though it must be admitted that the "reimbursement" sense of the Arabic word *radd* is not usual in Ottoman.

and diligence while the said matter [of the columns] advanced to its conclusion, and repeated warnings were issued to prevent enmity and undesirable actions from arising among them [the workers more generally], to the extent that no one was burdened with trouble while at his post [*maḥallinde*], and when away from it, so that he would not have to suffer privation, he would be stocked with a full skin of purified butter and a basket of Egyptian rice, together with a comparable quantity of various [additional] provisions, and for the purpose of resting and passing the night on the road, **{18}** divers tents and shelters were supplied. In sum, after all the required necessaries had been assembled without deficiency, they [Ahmed Agha and the footmen] loaded everything onto the *dil* caiques and set sail [from Istanbul] in the trust of the Veiler [of Sins, God].[303]

By the Grace of the Almighty, they arrived, and upon the initiation of the voivode of Pergamon, Hacı Mehmed Aga, who acted in accordance with the most illustrious and honorable decree [of the sultan], and with the aid of Ahmed Agha, who was appointed at this end, and under the charge of the aforesaid footmen, the laborers were then hired and the water buffalo prepared; and the columns were lifted onto the previously readied carriages fitted with iron wheels and iron ties and fastenings, and over the following hours, with loud and cheerful clamor, they were steadily transported by more than five or six hundred individuals who included carriage-pullers and drivers, the corps of workers and laborers, and all the officers. After a period of five hours and a half, with the gracious aid of God and under the lucky auspices of His Majesty the Emperor, **[18]** the columns were brought down safe and sound, each being placed onto a caique. And once the matter was completed, the daily wages and proper fees for the workmen and animals, together

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[303] Ahmed Efendi confuses matters somewhat by going back to the point where Ahmed Agha and the footmen set sail to the Aegean coast, even though he has already described the functions they fulfilled once there.

with the additional requisite baksheeshes, were paid out in accordance with what had been ordered and recommended. Having all been pleased in this lawful manner, the people of those parts gave praise and thanks, and returned to their native lands, while those who had gone from this side came back to the capital upon the completion of their duties.

The ships, meanwhile, set sail in fair weather, and four or five days after their departure, with God's assistance, they anchored successively and safely before the Shore Kiosk [*Yalı Köşkü*, at the Topkapı Palace]; and when tidings of this happy event were announced, Derviş Efendi came immediately to the kiosk, as did, from the Imperial Dockyard, the harbormaster [*liman reʿīsī*], the lieutenant pasha [*ketḫüdā paşa*],[304] and the dockyard captains, together with slaves of the state. And while His Majesty the Emperor, that most benevolent and condescending of kings, was at his exalted Shore Kiosk, they adroitly unloaded the columns under his kind gaze, whereupon His Majesty the Emperor—that Wonder of the World—dipped his nurturing hand into the royal pocket and, out of his complete joy and happiness, **{19}** granted from it abundant gifts to the dockyard captains who had come, thus rendering them all partakers of his benevolence.

The aforementioned columns were taken to the imperial garden, and after a few days' passage, special carriages were brought from the Dockyard, and, again as before, a dockyard crew, the chief porter of the capital, and the harbor masters, together with the corps of porters, all took the columns from the imperial garden and transported them—one per day—by road to the construction [site] of the imperial mosque. And towards the end of the task, the freight and daily wages of everyone were paid without deficiency: to those who were present from before and after, to those who had come from beyond, and

[304] Probably the *Tersāne ketḫüdāsı*, who acted as the deputy of the grand admiral of the fleet.

to the captains and crews of the vessels; **[19]** besides which gifts were handed to each of them one by them according to their individual ranks, such that all of them were rewarded a hundredfold what they had hoped for.

Moreover, so helpful had the voivode of Pergamon, Hacı Mehmed Agha, been in the matter of transporting the columns that he ascended by exalted royal favor to the elevated rank of chief doorkeeper [*ser-bevvābīn*] of the imperial court. Now, it was long witnessed by everyone in the world that all those who, having distinguished themselves through years of manifold service to the Sublime State and its religion, became chief doorkeepers would themselves procure their daily wages and livelihood from escheats [*maḥlūl*]. As for the aforementioned [Mehmed Agha], owing to the completeness of kingly benignity and the preponderance of royal kindness [felt for him], his appointment to the post of chief doorkeeper came with a daily wage of 150 aspers, conferred to him by imperial decree. Without need of a pretext [?],[305] he [thus] fulfilled his hope for the exalted position he had long desired, being freely gratified with complete advancement and the granting of his requests, such that he came to enjoy the happiness for which he had longed and to reap the favors for which he had wished.

Furthermore, Derviş Efendi gave 250 piastres from his own purse to the halberdier [*teberdār*] who had been sent by the Chief Black Eunuch to deliver the imperial commission [to Mehmed Agha], and solely for the purpose of protecting Hacı Mehmed Agha from having some of his money taken by men of the Porte or of the Agha [the commander-in-chief of the janissaries], the aforementioned [Derviş Efendi] **{20}** sent the imperial commission with his slave Ahmed Efendi, the building secretary [*binā*

[305] *Ednā bahāne ile*, more literally "with/under the most trifling of pretexts." What is meant is clearly not supposed to be negative, and I have struggled to understand and translate it correctly.

kātibi] for the noble mosque and the author of this present account. And so [Mehmed Agha] returned the aforesaid [Ahmed Efendi] to the most excellent effendi [Derviş] with nothing more than a letter of thanks;[306] and he [Ahmed Efendi] went and came in the space of thirteen days, in accordance with his then secretarial duties.[307]

Likewise, Captain Mehmed of the [Imperial] Dockyard, who had also been commissioned in the matter of moving the columns, was in every way worthy of captainship and distinguished in his profession, **[20]** and being therefore deserving of reward, he was honored with the post of harbormaster. Having thus risen to the upper echelon of his profession, he continues to this day to pray for the life and rule of the Emperor, and thereby remains high in rank.

And so the tale of the circumstances surrounding the matter of the columns, explained and elucidated starting above, here comes to an end, the explication having reached its final word in the manner desired; and before this, when the account of the noble mosque had arrived at the description of the courtyard, the pen was reined in with the promise that it would continue again after a digression.

The two minarets, which are among its [the mosque's] necessary complements, are in total seventy-five cubits and a half in height from the threshold of their doors to their finials, and three cubits and a half and six fingers each in circumference. The route used at the time of imperial visits measures, from the lower precinct gate to the upper horseblock [*binek ṭaşı*], thirty-five cubits in length and fifteen in width, and, from this

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[306] That is to say, Mehmed Agha was not obliged to part with any of the money that had been sent to him, as may have been the case had someone other than Ahmed Efendi delivered it.

[307] It seems from this that Mehmed Agha received his commission and reward while he was still in Pergamon, with Ahmed Efendi actually traveling there to ensure the safe delivery of the money. This adds a certain documentary value to Ahmed Efendi's earlier descriptions of the landscape and circumstances of that region.

same horseblock to the door of the imperial prayer loge [*maḥfil-i hümāyūn*], thirty cubits in length and eight cubits in width, which [latter] measurements give altogether an area of 240 square cubits.[308] And within this area is a skillfully made and estimably charming imperial ablution room [*ābdest oda-ı hümāyūn*], being seven cubits in width and ten in length, and near the door of this room is a gallery [*ṣuffa*] nine cubits in width and fifteen in length, and contiguous with a[nother?] gallery is a room reserved for the Chief Black Eunuchs, a large, long room for the royal equerries [*rikāb aġaları*], and another room still, and also two privies.[309] And under this imperial apartment is an administrator's room for the payment of wages [*ʿulūfe sergisi içün mütevellī odası*], another service room, and an area with privies [*meydān-ı kenīf*].

In sum, **{21}** the measurements and mighty form [?][310] of the most exalted noble mosque are as described up to this part, which leaves to discuss how [the building] was fastened and stabilized, together with the special requisites used [in this regard] and the manner by which [this reinforcement] was wrought. **[21]** To speak briefly, there are nine areas from the foundation of the mosque to the height of its dome where reinforcing iron

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[308] What Ahmed Efendi refers to as the "lower precinct gate" is identified in the Nuruosmaniye's inauguration protocol as the gate near the *Şofcular Ḫanı* (today the Sofçu Hanı), which is to say the gate opposite the Grand Bazaar: see Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 5, 8. Given that this is the side he calls "lower," Ahmed Efendi must be specifying an area near to the east gate (and thus the pavilion entrance) when he talks of the "upper horseblock," as again corroborated by the protocol register. The second leg of the route—from the horseblock to the loge—obviously refers to the L of the pavilion itself, and indeed, it is only for this enclosed section that Ahmed Efendi gives a square area.

[309] Despite the abundance of information he gives, Ahmed Efendi is not always explicit in his descriptions, and his measurement, as converted into meters by Hocchut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 52) do not readily correspond to those of the structure as it stands. The ablution room is almost certainly the main chamber at the corner of the pavilion (but see n. 354 below), while the room-lined gallery seems to be the ramp, which does indeed border rooms corresponding to what Ahmed Efendi describes. But it is not clear whether this gallery is the same as the one for which Ahmed Efendi provides measurements; the fact that no other measurements are given suggests that it is, but the original Turkish is phrased in such a way as to treat them as two separate galleries. If Ahmed Efendi is indeed referring to two galleries rather than one, the first must be that constituting the pavilion's second arm. Also see n. 112 above.

[310] Literally "buffalo form," a curious turn of phrase, and not unlikely a mistake in the original text.

tie rods [*çifteleme demir cıvaṭalar*][311] have been placed all round in order to brace the building. Firstly, to tie together the tops of the water chambers that are built over the foundations and which comprise uprights braced with arches; secondly, over the arches of the thirty-three knobbed ironwork windows [of the basement]; thirdly, over and between the marble columns of the galleries and upper stories; fourthly, at the springing-level of the baldachin arches; fifthly, along the sills [? *cām ṭabanları üzerine*] of the glass windows piercing the [baldachin] tympana [*ḳalḳan*];[312] sixthly, across the crowning arches of the glass windows; seventhly, at the dome's springing-point; eighthly, over the crowning arches of the windows piercing the dome; and ninthly, within the brickwork of the dome, to brace it as it was being built.

With the said tie rods being placed all round the building from top to bottom in the nine areas mentioned, the whole building became as a monolith, solidly fastened. And the length of each of the placed tie rods measures from four to fourteen cubits, depending on its location, while the relative thickness of the piece, designated [by the term] fish-spine [*balıḳ ṣırṭı*], is known to those who make the ties.[313] These are tied from arch to

[311] Strictly speaking, *cıvaṭa* is a bolt, the usual Ottoman term for a tie rod being *kiriş*. Kuban ("Notes on Building Technology of the 18th. Century," 279; and "Tarih-i Cami-i Şerif-i Nur-u Osmanî,"133–34) misconstrues the meaning of *çifteleme*, positing that each tie rod is formed of two combined pieces (though he admits that none of the visible examples suggest this). Kuban's misunderstanding is based on the verb *çiftlemek*, "to pair," rather than the correct *çiftelemek*, "to cast a second anchor," a nautical term that Ahmed Efendi is borrowing to describe the reinforcement of the mosque using iron (it is notable that the Turkish word for iron and anchor is the same, *demir*). Though she does not refer to this term, Hochhut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 47–48) correctly rejects Kuban's interpretation and argues that *çifteleme* describes the rods' ability to bring together different areas of wall.

[312] It is unclear what Ahmed Efendi is referring to by his use here of *ṭaban*, which can mean anything from base to girder. Hochhut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 48, 133n174) takes the *ṭaban* to be a specific (and single) level running through the middle of the tympana, but there is nothing in the text to suggest such a specific meaning. For *ṭaban* and its various significations, see İlknur Aktuğ Kolay, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Yer Alan Bazı Ahşap Yapı Malzemesi Üzerine Düşünceler," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 10 (2006): 41–43.

[313] Why the thickness of the ties is termed *balıḳ ṣırṭı* is not at all clear. Hochhut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 47), who takes the term to mean "herringbone," suggest that it relates to the way the ties connect to one another, but Ahmed Efendi implies nothing of the sort.

arch or column to column, with most of them, and particularly the larger ones, being concealed within the walls and fabric of the building, such that only some [of the rods] are visible; and from those that do show, the length and form of the rest can be understood.

And the only things tying and fastening the building together as necessary are the tie rods together with iron clamps [*kened*] and tenons [*ẓıvana*]. Once the said tie rods were placed from arch to arch and corner to corner in the manner described, **[22] {22}** in order to keep their ends, which are like curved hooks, from separating and coming apart from one another, great iron rings known as *simid*s[314] were placed where the rods' ends met; and so that the rods would be bound and fixed within the rings, an estimated forty to seventy or eighty okes [*vuḳıyye*][315] of lead were poured into each ring.

It was written above that once the foundations were provided with a plinth and there remained four cubits to ground-level, work was begun on laying down coarse bridge-sandstone before the top of the [building's] summit was reached. After the stone was laid in the said area and the ground-level reached, walls of two cubits' thickness [were built] all around together with so many arches of marble, limestone, or sandstone, reaching all the way to the dome. And to every one of the various laid stones were fixed, as required, three, sometimes four, sometimes five iron clamps—in short, never fewer than three; and the stones were thereby tied to one another; and the weight of each clamp measures from five or six okes down to one oke and a half, and in order to strengthen them, the clamps were each poured with lead weighing from twelve okes down to four. In

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[314] *Simit* in modern Turkish: a type of ring-shaped bread, still popular as a snack. For hypothetical visualizations of how the concealed *simid*s of the Nuruosmaniye may work, see Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 47.

[315] A weight of measure equal to about 1.2818 kg: see Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 53.

addition, there is a thickish kind of iron peg known as a tenon, being more or less one oke in weight. These were driven into all the stones—and in particular each of the voussoirs [*devir ṭaşı*] of the arches—at various points on their surfaces, the holes then being poured to capacity with lead.[316]

Although these particulars have been elucidated and related [specifically] with regard to the building of the noble mosque, they are not, however, peculiar or limited to the mosque building, for the imaret, the madrasa, the library, the rooms for the servants of the foundation [*ḫademe-i vaḳf*], the sebil building, the drinking fountain, and other structures besides are all governed by these rules of reinforcement. **[23]** But because the noble mosque is a mighty construction and great matter [in itself], it [alone] has been referred to **{23}** for the purposes of description and concise explication.

In order to inspect the building, the late and noble Emperor, His Majesty Sultan Mahmud Khan, would on most days of excursion [*biniş*] grace the path connecting the noble mosque to the imperial palace, and he would sometimes enter by the gate of the courtyard and cast his glances within and without and up and down the noble mosque, after which he would leave by the precinct gate that faces the turban-makers and turn his auspicious reins towards his exalted royal abode.

When the construction of the noble mosque had reached approximately as high as the level of the lights [*ḳandīl ṭabaḳası menziline*], he went one day with the specific intention of staying awhile at the building, and upon the giving of the exalted imperial command, one of the properties that had been [earlier] purchased—a house overlooking the construction and located on the thoroughfare leading to the *çörek*-bakers' gate

[316] The stones have been laid in such a way that the clamps and tenons are invisible.

[*çörekciler ḳapusu*][317] of Mahmud Pasha—was assigned and renovated [for use by the sultan]. Once it had been put into order, he rode to [this] imperial apartment with pomp and majesty on the morning of the [lacuna] day of the month of [lacuna] in the year 116– [January 1750–June 1752],[318] with his horse accoutered according to ancient practice; and he stayed till mid-afternoon, gladdening all with his rare and exalted supervision. Afterwards, out of his kindness of his magnanimity, he gave to His Excellency Derviş Efendi twenty large gold coins of a type of his own invention [*zer-i meskūk-i kebīrden yiğirmi ʿaded altın*], and to the building supervisor Ali Agha he granted five gold coins, and to the construction workers and other servants [of the project] he made an abundant imperial gift of 5,000 piasters, whereby the payment of all those working in the service of the building was attended to and distributed in accordance with their dues and the requirements of the payrolls; and with this done, they prayed till their appeals reached the pinnacle of the heavens.

On the following day, the Grand Vizier and Illustrious Minister, His Excellency Divitdar Mehmed Pasha, **[24]** likewise rode in state to another part of the aforesaid house, and stayed and reposed there till the time between the two prayers [i.e., late afternoon];[319] and during his return, out of his vizierial munificence, he made a princely grant of 3,000 piasters, the said sum **{24}** being paid out in accordance with customary practice and

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[317] *Çörek* is a kind of brioche-like bread. The only *çörekciler ḳapusu* I have encountered in other sources is that near the Fatih Mosque, but Ahmed Efendi is speaking of a different gate by the same name that belonged to the Mahmud Pasha Mosque. This becomes clearer below when the gate is referred to again.

[318] See n. 131 above.

[319] The phrase *beyne'ṣ-ṣalāteyn* refers to the period between the afternoon and evening prayers: see Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *Journey to the Sublime Porte: The Arabic Memoir of a Sharifian Agent's Diplomatic Mission to the Ottoman Imperial Court in the Era of Suleyman the Magnificent*, trans. and ed. Richard Blackburn (Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2005), 116n309.

distributed to everyone fairly. And with this, all were gladdened and rendered partakers of [his] abundant benevolence, being the object of bounteous gifts and presents.

As for the day on which His Auspicious Majesty the Emperor had visited, it was then that he exercised his sound and insightful judgment to confirm the locations of the flourishing imaret and fine madrasa that were to be built; and upon his ordering and decreeing their construction, the necessary locations were, in the same manner as before, investigated and surveyed before being purchased for the prices approved by canonical law. These were one or two areas extending from the intended madrasa's rear wall—which was aligned with the thoroughfare of the Poultry Market—to that same thoroughfare,[320] and from there to the mosque's precinct gate opposite the still-extant armorers' guardhouse [i.e., the east gate]. Within these boundaries were houses and—on either side of the thoroughfare—shops, a mortar workshop, a large bachelors' inn [*bekārlar ḫanı*] hosting the basest of the base,[321] and the Kıbleli-zade Khan, again filled with scandals and cajoling persons.

These properties having been bought to the satisfaction and with the goodwill of their then owners, they were demolished, and the imaret and madrasa were constructed on the land; and by the continuance [of these institutions] until only God Almighty knows when, the dining tables of so many poor servants of the foundation and pious students of knowledge will be generously stocked, at the refectory of the imaret and in their dwellings, and they will daily be fed a full meal out of the abundantly charitable

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[320] The implication is that the back wall of the madrasa was parallel to, but not contiguous with, the road of the Poultry Market (Tavuk Pazarı), and indeed, there is today an open area located between the back of the madrasa and the street known as Tavuk Pazarı Sokak.

[321] Such buildings were normally lived in my migrant workers from the provinces.

foundation of that performer of most excellent deeds, our great lord, His Noble and Gracious Majesty the Emperor.

But however worthy this act of bountiful goodness—meritorious in this world as well as the next—may be, it is as plain as day that the appropriation of the aforesaid bachelors' inn and Kıbleli-zade Khan and the clearing of the multiple scandals and throngs of wicked persons that had accumulated within them is in itself an act of goodness perhaps as laudable as the establishment of another great foundation. **[25]** For the various persons at the bachelors' inn and the large number of undesirable reprobates calling themselves slave-traders at the Kıbleli-zade Khan had, under the pretext of bringing in slaves, been day and night promoting the offence of prostitution in their rooms and on their benches, the flames of their villainy growing daily fiercer. **{25}** And when the neighboring army of believers, crying out in unison, would bring the matter to the attention of the constables [*żābıṭān*], they [those staying at the khans] were able to disguise their conduct owing to the fact that they were mostly slave-travers, and they would make the excuse that the boys and maidens in their rooms were their slaves, so that the constables were powerless to oppose them.

When, in this manner [i.e., through purchasing the buildings], these sorts of base outcasts and abominable villains were expelled from their dwellings and driven away to oblivion, the community of the faithful could sleep in their beds unencumbered by their wickedness and without fear of fire,[322] and the good prayers they offered night and day reached the heavens; and it is evident and manifest that the most noble angels are busy every moment noting down the plentiful remunerations due to His Worthy Majesty the

[322] By this may be meant not only the flames of immorality, but also the real conflagrations that were at risk of breaking out in the disorderly and crowded khans.

Emperor in the register of his good deeds, in which is included so great a beneficence as a noble mosque.

After all of the properties had been emptied and demolished as described above, on the [lacuna] day of the month of [lacuna] in the year 116[lacuna], prayers were said and sacrifices slaughtered, and at a propitious hour, the digging of the foundations of the prosperous imaret and exalted college was set about with speed. And within a short time were constructed the flourishing imaret, the refectory, the bread [*foḍla*] ovens, and—outside the imaret door—rooms for the imaret steward [*ʿimāret ketḫüdāsı*] and the bread clerk [*fodla kātibi*], [the whole institution] being twenty-one cubits in width and forty-one cubits and a half in length, yielding an area of 871 and a half square cubits. And next to it **[26]** was constructed an exalted quadrangular [*çam çārşı*] madrasa thirty-six cubits in width and thirty-six cubits in length also, yielding an area of 296 square cubits, composing which are twelve cells for students of knowledge, a classroom, and, in the center of the courtyard, a large and wide eight-spouted stone basin made from a single piece of solid marble and used for ablutions,[323] as well as three privies in a separate section and a laundry similarly detached.

In alignment with the precinct gate that faces the armorers' guardhouse [i.e., the east gate] were built rooms for the caretakers [*ḳayyımān*] and muezzins—their doors opening onto the precinct—**{26}** and also expansive and splendidly pleasing rooms for the habitation of the reverend imams during their stays; and above [this same] precinct gate was constructed a long and beautiful timekeeper's room with its own door. In addition, a sublime sebil building and an exalted drinking fountain were built on either side of the exterior of the precinct gate facing the turban-makers [i.e., the west gate]. And

[323] This basin remains in situ and can be seen in fig. 126 of this dissertation.

within the mosque's precinct, at the corner overlooking the *çörek*-bakers' gate of the Mosque of Mahmud Pasha, was constructed a matchless and unequalled library for the use and benefit of the sciences, its assortment of excellent books giving new vigor to the community of students. And again in the middle of the mosque's precinct was introduced an unparalleled fountain skillfully made in the new manner [*nev-vādī musannāʿ-kār ve nādīde bir çeşme-sār*], with four spouts at its lower part and a jet at its top. And again opposite the armorers' guardhouse, a small and simple fountain from which the thirsty might drink.[324] And in this manner was [the foundation] auspiciously completed.

From the foundations of the noble mosque of new style [*camiʿ-i şerīf-i nev-ṭarz*] and the well-maintained imaret and madrasa flowed approximately four or five *maṣura*s[325] of pure water, welling forth from several places. Because it became adulterated and thus not entirely palatable for drinking, a fountain with two stone basins was installed under the high grocer's shop that is just below the furriers [*kürkcülerin aşağı başında yüksek baḳḳal dükkānı taḫtında*]; and the life-giving water that gushes and flows from its three spouts serves not only the needs of the children of Adam, but also the animals that pass to and fro; and it is manifest that [such a beneficence] is cause for much commemoration.

The mosque, imaret, madrasa, sebil, and several fountains that had been built with the assistance and approval of God Almighty constituted a great pious foundation indeed, and to procure and attain enough water to supply in full so many extensive elements was more important and pressing than anything else, and perhaps as necessary and requisite as a religious obligation. And the only person considered capable of carrying out the matter

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[324] This gate is in fact flanked by two fountains in the form of shallow niches, both now without spigots.

[325] A *maṣura* is equivalent to 4.5 liters of water a minute.

was that recourse of men of craft and that toast of the arena of skill, Ali Agha, who is still the imperial minister for water, and who had in all his tasks been true to his word and in all instances proficient in performing laudable acts, and who was knowledgeable in the art of waterworks and in every way an exemplar of circumspection. **{27}** The task of attaining enough water to supply [the foundation] was therefore suspended around his zealous neck, and its accomplishment by any means necessary conferred and entrusted to his capable hands, but on the condition that no one would be left lacking or ill-treated by his procurement of the water, and that he was to act according to universally accepted practice, which [condition] was explained and reiterated to him.

Since it had been observed by the Emperor of Humanity and by everyone high and low that the aforementioned had long acted with expertise and integrity, particularly in his earlier work on the Halkalı Channel, a robe of honor had been placed over his worthy shoulders, and he had been conferred the imperial ministry and promoted most supremely. And in order to demonstrate and make known that he was an expert slave of the court in this regard also, he once again tied a skirt of endeavor around his zealous waist, spending five or six months most admirably studying and investigating [the matter] and traveling the areas that seemed most promising to him. **[28]**

[Among these was] the farm close to the village of Litros[326] that is known as the Farm of Ferhad Pasha [*Ferhād Paşa Çiftliği*], which remains among the properties owned by the Emperor and which has nothing whatsoever to do with any [other] individual or outsider. In order to make sure that the water flowing from the farm's spring was sufficient enough in quantity to set the mind at ease and to last over the ages, it was measured in the middle of August, the time when the waters are at their absolute lowest,

[326] A village outside the city walls near Eyüp Sultan.

and a full fifteen *maṣura*s of glistening water—the requisite amount—was carefully observed by a crowd of people to be present and flowing. Furthermore, it was hoped that water would, with the help of the Creator, appear also from wells dug along the route [of the water conduits].

And so the necessary requisites and supplies, together with numerous [sleeping] tents and a kitchen tent [*maṭbaḫ çergesi*], were prepared and organized; and seven or eight vigilant supervisors, one sergeant-at-arms, several guardsmen, and seven or eight trains of mules were assigned; and, in order to supervise those working and speed them along, a bearded gentleman **{28}** and the secretary who is the author [*muḥarrir kātib*, Ahmed Efendi himself] were appointed. And the aforementioned minister [Ali Agha]—who, as described above, was unflinchingly righteous and loyal in his actions, as well as expeditious and indefatigable in every task to which he was appointed—was entrusted with and oversaw all, while everyone else was exhorted to exert himself amiably to please the aforementioned [Ali Agha], on whose shoulders of responsibility the entire matter was placed.

It then remained to see how well he would endeavor and strive to meet the needs of such a laborious and demanding duty, and [work] began at an auspicious hour on Monday, the fourteenth of the month of Jumada I in the year 1166 [March 19, 1753)]. The overseer and foremen of the aqueduct builders [*ṣu yolcular ketḫüdāsı ve bölükbaşılar*],[327] the master aqueduct builders [*ṣu yolcu ustaları*], the Albanian excavators [*laġimcı Arnabudları*], **[29]** and the laborers all set about the task, wherewith the water was extracted from its spring and the digging of the wells speedily undertaken.

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[327] I am using "aqueduct" in its general sense to mean any water conduit, rather than a water bridge in particular.

Special wells and conduits were dug up to the small fort [*ḥiṣārice*] at the Edirne Gate, besides which skillfully made monolithic water towers of solid limestone—the like of which is rarely encountered elsewhere—were constructed as required in three places by more than a hundred master stonecutters working under the charge of an appointed Muslim and an appointed zhimmi mason. And between this small fort and the center of Istanbul, six [more] water towers of the type described [were constructed] at various locations, these being: first, in Karagümrük; second, at the foot of the stairs of the precinct entrance that is on the Devahanı side of the Noble Mosque of Sultan Mehmed Khan; third, near the Dülgeroğlu Mosque, which stands on the other side of the Kıztaşı Bathhouse; fourth, at the crossroads of the lower Saraçhane guardhouse; fifth, in the middle of the crossroads of the Acemoğlanı Square; and sixth, in the turban-makers' [quarter].

Since the matchless water gauges of solid limestone that were constructed in these mentioned locations were certainly necessary, the desired locations could have been freely acquired and built upon under the smallest of pretexts and with the easiest of offers, as if a matter of no account. **{29}** However, not one person, whoever he may be, had had cause up to this time—either in this life or on the Day of Judgment—to claim or ask for the least thing in connection with the exalted pious foundation, whether rents, requisites, or any other transactions; and so this matter too was to be legitimated such that no one should have any claims relating to the pious foundation. Thus in the case of those locations that were endowment properties, the endowment administrator was found and contented with a sum of money more than equivalent in value to the property, or else granted land in freehold [*temessük-i temlīk*]; **[30]** while in the case of those locations that

were not endowed but instead in someone's possession, they were purchased with the goodwill and happiness [of their owners]; and the gauges were [subsequently] formed in the manner described.

Earlier, before the water had arrived, the site of a large khan located near the foot of the staircase of the Atik Ali Pasha Mosque in Sedefçiler had been specifically purchased, and an expansive cistern [*ṣu ḫazīnesi*]—wide and deep—built there; and after the water had come by means of special conduits and flowed into the aforesaid cistern, the conduits needed for its distribution thence were also dug and constructed of masonry laid with lead pipes, and upon [the work's] completion, the water, being proportionately distributed, was made to flow to the noble mosque's ablution facilities [*ābdest-ḫānelerine*], the sebil, the college, the imaret, the three fountains, and to other necessary places.

This water, the circumstances of which have been stated and explained, was a matter of great importance, its procurement and transportation alone being an immense expense, and by it the illustrious foundation was preserved in order, and the populace vivified and quenched of its thirst. And because the channeled water needed to be kept from the hand of oppression and from the effects of injustice, those who had regard for its defense and protection would attain abundant favor in this world and the next, equal in extent to the care and attention that had been given to the [task's] zealous execution. The fifteen *maṣura*s of delicious water had been found to be flowing when it was measured in the middle of August had previously been reported to the gracious royal person, and when [the water] **{30}** reached the end of its course in a pool topped with a marble basin that had been temporarily installed in the imperial mosque's precinct, such a quantity—

perhaps more—flowed from the spouts that had been placed [over the basin], as was observed by the Emperor of the World himself when he visited the spot.

[31] And it was ruled by imperial decree that for as long as this lovely sweet and glistening water—specially obtained and safely channeled intact—would flow till only God Almighty knows when, it was not to be added to or sundered in any way whatsoever by outside interference in its underground conduits and special aqueducts, and that it was to flow all the way to its intended location intact and safely protected. In order to maintain these stipulations and preserve them over time from hearsay, it was commanded by the Sultan that the most learned of the noble ulema, the honorable inspectors [of pious endowments], the high officials of [the endowments of] the Two Holy Cities, and certain department chiefs of the imperial chancery should assemble all together at the [water's] distribution points [*maḳsem maḥallinde*], and that [the quantity of water there] should be ascertained and recorded before the eyes of them all. And so convened the following: the current Chief Military Judge of Anatolia [*Ṣadr-ı Anadolu*], His Honor Veliyyüddin Efendi; the munificent cadi of Haslar [the district centered on Eyüp]; the chief clerk of the court of justice [*maḥkeme baş kātibi*], Mehmed Efendi; their excellencies the inspectors and secretaries [of the endowments] of the Grand Mufti, the Grand Vizier, the Two Holy Cities, and the corps of gardener-guards; His Excellency Yusuf Efendi, brother to the Grand Vizier's receiver-general of provincial correspondence; various department chiefs of the imperial chancery, namely Osman Efendi, who had formerly belonged to the secretariat of the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries,[328] Abdullah Efendi, Tophaneli Mehmed Efendi, and others; the administrators of the pious endowments of the Two Holy

[328] The grammar of the original Ottoman would allow this description to apply to all of the department chiefs named, but it is logical to assume that only Osman Efendi is meant.

Cities; the secretaries and bookkeepers [*rūznāmciler*] of the imperial pious endowments; the clerks and treasurers of the office of the Two Holy Cities [*Ḥaremeyn ḳalemi ḫulefāsı ve kīse-dārı*]; the tax-farmer [*muḳāṭaʿacı*] of the Two Holy Cities; the imperial minister for water; the overseer of the aqueduct-builders; the foremen of the imperial pious endowments; the master aqueduct-builders; and the masters and foremen of the imperial gardens of those parts [*ol-ḥavālīde olan ḥadāyiḳ-i ḫāṣṣa ustaları ve bölükbaşıları*]. And adding to this great and multitudinous gathering were all the men of craft and industry from the shops and workshops surrounding the Noble Mosque of Nurosmaniye, **{31} [32]** these being more than one hundred and fifty turban-makers, saddlers, ropers, shoemakers, perfumers, and fruiterers.

With the addition of various others both known and unknown, the assembly numbered over a thousand. And numerous tents, together with a grand twelve-chambered tent [*on iki ḫazīneli ḫayme-i kebīrde*] for their excellencies the effendis, were erected in several places around the aforementioned Ferhad Pasha Farm. After some time was spent in these beautiful tents, a feast was given by Derviş Efendi: a meal of the four fundamental foods [*uṣūl-i erbaʿa olan ṭaʿām*]—including pilaf and sweetened rice—for the generality,[329] and edibles most exquisite for the nobility.

Having eaten, they arose en mass and set out, inspecting every distribution point one-by-one, all the way from the water's source to the vicinity of the Edirne Gate; and they stopped at each point and descended within, ascertaining and recording the amount of water there present and adding the quantities together. It was thereupon found that the

[329] The *uṣūl-i erba*, "four fundamentals," was a term used of feasts served among the middle classes and consisting of four parts: soup, meat, halva, and rice (including both types of rice, *pilāv* and *zerde*, mentioned by Ahmed Efendi). See Hülya Taş, *Bursa Folkloru: Bursa İli Gelenek ve Görenekleri üzerine Karşılaştırmalı bir Araştırma* (Bursa: Gaye, 2002), 164.

water coming from Ferhad Pasha to the large [main?] conduit exceeded what had earlier been reported to the auspicious Royal Person, with eight more *maṣura*s of delicious water being present than [initially] calculated. And it was evident in the sight of holy law and the people, as well as manifest and declared before all, that with the addition of this to the original [measurement], there were in total twenty-three *maṣura*s of delicious water, and that there would not be less than this during even the hottest days of summer and times of scarcity.

Thereafter, a report [*ʿarż u iʿlām*] by the substitute judge [*nāʾib*] of Haslar—[written] in accordance with what everyone had seen and witnessed—was signed by their excellencies the inspectors, and the signed and sealed report was, as before, perused by the Emperor, after which it was written and recorded in the legal registers of the office of the Two Holy Cities, in order that it may be presented and given as proof when necessary. And so [the matter] reached its full conclusion, and here comes to an end the summary of the circumstances surrounding the water. **[33]**

Just as this [last] matter was set down and recorded in [the registers of the office of] the Two Holy Cities, so too was the following. The properties and lands that had been purchased in the manner described from the start of the construction of the pious foundation to its end—belonging as they did to the endowments of Mahmud Pasha, Ayasofya, **{32}** Fatma Hatun, Abdüsselam, Arakiyeci, Şirmerd, and others—had, after being bought, been reassigned to the endowment of this Imperial Mosque of Nuruosmaniye; and in order that no harm or impairment whatsoever should befall either the monthly revenues of the appropriated endowments or their windfall gains from cessions, transfers, and escheats, the most extensive and eminent of the lands reassigned

to the imperial endowment were lawfully exchanged by imperial decree and royal edict for lands at the Palace of Tuygun [?],[330] the Palace of Emine Sultan, and other locations. After [the lands given in exchange] were renounced and transferred to the administrators of the aforementioned endowments, and after it was all legalized with [the necessary] title-deeds, this [matter] too was recorded in the registers of the Two Venerable Holy Cities, and so that it could be seen and referred to when necessary, [the matter] was set down and recorded also in another register, preserved by the inspectors of the endowments of the Two Holy Cities.

The measurements and the consolidation of the buildings that are the noble mosque's elements have already been briefly elucidated above. Though it is not possible to explain in detail whence their necessary requisites were acquired, nor the way in which they were, with great effort, put to final use, it would be well for the sake of elucidation to write a modicum on each of the materials, and so I embark on doing so.

Among the greatest requisites for the aforementioned buildings were marble stones, which were cut and exported from the Island of Marmara; limestone, cut and exported from the quarries of Makrihora and the plain of Davutpaşa; **[34]** and coarse sandstone, from the coastal areas and districts surrounding the town called Karamürsel.[331] At Marmara were ten caiques of large and medium sizes specifically for the purpose of transporting stone, and they had been carrying and transporting nothing but marble since time immemorial, and they did so likewise without interruption when the construction of

[330] See n. 191 above.

[331] The Island of Marmara is ancient Proconnesus, long a source of marble for the Mediterranean. Makrihora is the modern-day town of Bakırköy, on the Marmara coast of the European side of Istanbul. The Plain of Davutpaşa (Davutpaşa Sahrası), later the site of the Davutpaşa Barracks and today a campus of Yıdız Technical University, is located inland on the same peninsula, a little outside the city walls. Karamürsel is a town on the southern coast of Gulf of Izmit.

the noble mosque began. But in view of the urgency of the matter and the greatness of the [mosque's] workforce, they were not able to bring enough stone, and so vessels docked in the capital also needed to be assigned and sent; **{33}** and when the sea captains on this side [i.e., in Istanbul] found out as much, they initially exhibited rudeness in their reactions, owing to certain concerns. Even so, when those who went once saw that they arrived in one day, swiftly enough that they had time neither to settle nor tire, that the crew were able to carry the stones without difficulty, and that, upon returning the next day, they received a pure and new *zoloṭa* coin[332] as freight, they began to ignore other jobs and wished to go [to Marmara] of their own accord. For the aforementioned island was close to the capital, and in addition to the duties rendered by the voivode there upon the vessels' arrival, a master stonemason [*ṭaşcı ḳalfası*] from the construction was appointed, and his sole duties were to ensure that the vessels did not tarry, that they were loaded with stone according to their capacity, and that they set sail back [to Istanbul] without delay. Since there was no need for them to do so, neither the sea captains nor the crew who went there had to labor much: all the tools and the necessary pulley(s) and requisites were there and ready, having been provided by the construction project; **[35]** and unbelievers native to the island who had been hired by the master stonemason would load the stone within one or two hours of the vessels' arrival; and once this was done, a certificate recording the various pieces [of loaded stone] would be handed [to the captains]. Winds and weather permitting, they would arrive back in the capital in the time it took to unfurl a sail, whereupon guardsmen at this end would set about speedily unloading [the stone], and the captains, without quarrel or contention, would be handed new piasters as freight, a quarter-piaster per cubit [of marble]. And once they got a taste

[332] A kind of large silver coin.

for such a favorable deal, they begged for precedence over each other and were anxious to depart [again], each of them saying, “Shall I go back immediately?”

It is a thing to be wondered that in eight lunar years,[333] not one of the vessels used in constantly transporting the various stones, timber, mortar, bricks, lead, pig iron [*ḫām demir*], and other things required for the construction was lost or destroyed, whether the [large] fire caiques [*āteş ḳayıḳları*][334] of Üsküdar, the wharf lighters [*maʿunalar*], **{34}** the large and medium caiques of Karamürsel and the Island of Marmara, the vessels of Izmir, or indeed the double-masted sailboats [*çekeleve sefīneleri*] assigned to transport raw materials [? *ālāt-ı ḫām*], hemp, and timber from the Black Sea. And this was in spite of the fact that these vessels chanced a thousand times on storms caused by the weather, with hostile winds bringing them—like so many other sunken ships—to the brink of the whirlpool of death and to the verge of the depths of affliction; but even as their captains were losing all hope of their lives, not so much as a rowing boat perished, such was the sacredness of the good work being done for the great foundation.

[36] Indeed, there was someone from among the timber merchants called Tiryaki Hacı Mehmed who had a vessel that was extremely worn out and almost unserviceable. Intent on using this as a pretext for having the vessel replaced, he conspired with its captain, instructing him as follows: “This ship is no good anymore. It is clear that after it has been loaded with stone from Marmara and gone out to sea, it will doubtless fall apart and sink. Get you and the crew immediately into the rowboat and move out. There will be no better opportunity than once the ship is sunk. I shall claim for its replacement and be

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[333] See n. 206 above.

[334] So called because they would be used to transport firemen when the need arose. Their normal function was to carry passengers across the Bosphorus. The Redhouse dictionary translates the term as “large rowing boat” without explaining the reference to fire.

given five or six purses of aspers out of kindness, and in this way shall we come into possession of a new ship." So saying, he sent the aforementioned ship out, but though it had at all times and in every case [beforehand] made water,[335] during this journey, by the command of God Almighty, it made none and arrived safely. He later sent it out to the Gulf of Izmit for his own business, but it sank before yet reaching Maltepe, and, wondering at this situation, he afterwards saw that it was fair, and he gave news of it upon his arrival.

Let us return to our topic. While the marble stones were being continually transported in this manner, the stonemasons of Makrihora too held the [tasks of] cutting and quarrying the stone in no small regard, and so they received even more aspers than they had asked for. And several times at their request, master stonemasons [*ṭaşcı ustaları*] and laborers for whom they had asked were brought from the province of Albania, **{35}** increasing the workforce, besides which great sums were expended on acquiring animals and land in which to open new quarries And in order to facilitate matters completely, every day over the course of seven or eight years, **[37]** there were forty to fifty month-carriages [*māh ʿarabası*][336] to transport the limestone by land, as well as Üsküdar horse caiques [*at ḳayıḳları*][337] and wooden wharf lighters to do so by sea. The stonemasons of Karamürsel were likewise fully attended to in the same manner as described, and ten special stone-carrying caiques that belonged to them, together with hired ships, continually transported the sandstone [that they quarried].

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[335] The term is literally equivalent to the Turkish that it translates and means the same thing: for a leak to occur in a boat.

[336] This term, which I have not found attested elsewhere, probably denotes carriages that were hired on a monthly basis.

[337] A large kind of rowing boat used for the transportation of animals. It is also possible that the scribe intended to write *āteş ḳayıḳları* as he did earlier (see n. 334 above).

Besides these three locations were certain abandoned and incomplete buildings from which stones of various kinds were being sold, and these stones were bought at their [full] value, till they too became very numerous.[338]

As for the three locations mentioned beforehand, though numerous vessels came from them night and day in endless succession, even this was insufficient to supply the construction workers. Indeed, as soon as the stones—which were being daily brought by boats and carriages and by porters using poles and carts—reached the building site, the stonemason masters and workers would frequently quarrel as to who would take them, causing blows and abuse to be exchanged before they were separated and reconciled; and from this anecdote can be understood just how much stone was being used and just how numerous the workers were.

Also among the urgent and necessary requisites were pig iron and lead. For the duration of the construction, an oke of pig iron was traded among the merchants for eleven-and-a-half, twelve, or thirteen aspers, and a hundredweight of lead, for eight or nine piasters; and once all the iron that was in the merchants' possession and in storage was acquired and bought, along with some that had come by boat and been cleared by the customs house, no more at all could be found in the capital, because of which it became rare to obtain at nominal value, and difficult and troublesome to procure at all. And so finally, **{36} [38]** Derviş Efendi transferred cash funds, together with urgent letters, to certain trustworthy and well-regarded men in Samakov and Kavala and other places where iron could be obtained, with the intention that these funds be used to pay the relevant people the current value. And in order to ensure complete prudence and preserve anyone from being abused, injured, or afflicted, recommendations [to that effect] were

[338] See Chapter 3, n. 121.

made to the commander [*dizdār*] of Kavala and to the officers of that region through the addressing of decrees and letters to them. Thus besides what was still being obtained in dribs and drabs from within the capital, a hundred thousand okes of pig iron were on several occasions purchased from Kavala, such that, in short, the purchasing of iron never ceased till the end of the business, and whether under hard or easy circumstances, its achievement was made possible and its conclusion reached by the aid and assistance of God the All-Bounteous, Who deigned to favor His rebellious slave with His good grace.[339]

The lead, however, was another matter, for it could be brought only from the lands of the Franks, and as for the Frankish People, they are a boorish race whose nature is well known. Because it was a material peculiar to them, they would charge whatever price they wanted and give only half, and they would not yield or buckle when asked why they wanted to overcharge so exorbitantly, but to obtain it from elsewhere was not possible. That which came to capital was, despite everything, far preferable, being bought through the agency of brokers [*simsār dellālları*] for eleven, twelve, sometimes twelve and a half piasters per hundredweight; while that which came to Izmir was bought through the agency of the voivode and the notables of the city for whatever may have been charged, the inflated prices being paid in cash out of the aspers that they wished for,[340] further to which the shipping freight was paid out of the construction fund. Trusting in God, the lead was little by little loaded on to vessels, but the sea captains [would have] desisted, saying, "This is state property. If, God forbid, it should meet with an accident on the way,

[339] It is unclear whether this "rebellious slave" is a specific individual—in other words, Derviş Efendi—or man as a general category.

[340] The implication seems to be that the notables of Izmir requested aspers out of which they paid for the lead.

we shall ourselves suffer." Those sending the lead **[39]** insinuated this objection in writing, whereupon the aforementioned Derviş Efendi reassured them,[341] saying, "O! In all matters do I trust in the aid and goodness of the Lord, and if—God preserve us—it is necessary that an accident should occur, **{37}** His Most Pious Majesty the Emperor will be recompensed for it. It is no obstacle: security and due payment are in all cases agreed to." And with this, all of the lead arrived little by little and was handed over, such that this matter too was brought to accomplishment in the manner described.

Another of the requisites was timber of different types. At the start, when the foundation of the building was rising twenty-four cubits from the depths of the ground to the surface of the earth, the four sides [of the dug pit] were completely shored up and reinforced with large *verdinār* [fir?] columns, heavy timber [*kerāste-i girān*], and *çapa* columns,[342] in order to prevent the earth from crushing the laborers who had been put to work; and once the plinth had been made, the aforementioned timber was left in the foundations. With every three cubits that the construction rose after having reached ground-level, scaffolds were set up all around; and all of the uprights of these scaffolds were made from large *verdinār* columns, and for their floors, paired cylindrical beams from İstefan [? *çifte ṭobac ve İstefan omurġası*][343] were used instead of boards. These

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[341] See n. 218 above.

[342] The terms *verdinār* and *çapa* occur repeatedly in the sources and appear to denote distinct types of wooden column, though precisely what is meant by each is unclear. For these terms, see Aktuğ Kolay, "Osmanlı Belgelerinde Yer Alan Bazı Ahşap Yapı Malzemesi," 26 – 27, 29; Hocchut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 44–45; and J. M. Rogers "The State and the Arts in Ottoman Turkey: II. The Furniture and Decoration of Süleymaniye," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982): 295.

[343] Again, *omurġa* seems to be a technical term, this time for a kind of wooden beam, as described in Caʿfer Efendi, *Risāle*, 94, where the word appears in its archaic form *oñurġa*. Related to its function in architecture, the term is also used to denote the keel of a ship. Hocchut (*Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, 45) treats *istefan* as a technical qualifier of unknown meaning, but I think it far likelier that it is the proper name of the place where the *omurġa* wood in question was sourced. Indeed, İstefan is the former name of today's Black Sea town of Çaylıoğlu, not far from Sinop, and it is significant that records relating to the

broad scaffolds—each of them five or six cubits in width—filled and encompassed the whole of the building, from its inside to its outside, for at every three-cubit vertical interval of the building—which in height was fifty four cubits and one half from floor to summit—a two-story scaffold was set up both within and without, forming in total eighteen levels. In addition, on each of the four sides of the building, scaffold ladders in seven or eight places were erected, again outside and inside; so that in short, the noble mosque was all but lost and concealed within this wood, as is not unknown to those by whom it was then seen.

Moreover, this description is also true of the library, imaret, madrasa, and other ancillary buildings, **[40]** and since [the case of these structures] is comparable [to that of the mosque], to repeat the measurements would result in prolixity, besides which there remains no need to enter into such details.

The aforesaid scaffolds and ladders were each set up and taken down as the situation required, thereafter being broken up, and the large *verdinār* columns and the İstefan beams that were thereby dismantled and fragmented were reused for the centerings of the arches, **{38}** as well as to build open sheds to protect the workers from rainfall. And it is self-evident that with their being continually pulled down and reused, the quantities of wood employed—and indeed the various iron nails [*mesāmīr*]—are beyond calculation and estimation.

It was four months after the Month of Shawwal of the year 1161 [September 24–October 22, 1748] that the Noble Mosque emerged from its foundations and work began on the laying and leveling of the stones [over the basement]. In those four months, the

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construction of Saʿdabad list a kind of *omurġa* from Samsun (*Şamsun omurġası*), another Black Sea town: see Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 147.

digging of the foundations alone entailed the work of a thousand laborers and excavators, as well as a number of carpenters and wall-builders. The stonemasons initially numbered eight or nine hundred, including the Muslim chief stonemason [*ṭaşī başısı*], the Muslim workshop master [*kārḫāneci*], and the ordinary Muslim stoneworkers [*ṭaşcı neferātı*], as well as the chief stonemason of the unbelievers, their five workshop masters, and the ordinary dhimmi stonecutters [*seng-trāşān neferātı*]. But their numbers daily increased until the work's completion, such that the stonemasons alone—quite apart from all the other workers—grew to comprise 1,350 persons. Moreover, in order that the work be carried out with complete zeal and care and in good speed, additional qualified masters [*eli arşınlı ḳalfalar*],[344] as well as ordinary stoneworkers, were brought in not only from Anatolia—from Azerbaijan, Kayseri, Kastamonu, Izmit, and their locations—but also from the islands of Rhodes, Chios, Izmir [*sic*],[345] and Lesbos. To prevent these aforementioned from running away, sureties and poll-tax papers were taken from them [*kefīller ve cizye kāġıdları aḫẕ*], and they were put up in special inns, and so the workforce was enlarged and set to work. **[41]**

While the stonemasons alone were this many, also to be numbered were the wall-builders, the builders of watertight walls [*ḥamamcı*], the carpenters [*neccār*], the joiners [*doġramacı*], the plasterers [*ṣıvācı*], the glaziers [*cāmcı*], two chiefs of the pole-carrying porters, more than 180 porters, three foremen [*rençper başı*], and over a thousand laborers. In short, there was not one group from among the guilds connected to the

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[344] Literally "masters with yardsticks in hand." Ottoman architects and *ḳalfas* would carry yardsticks both as a practical aid to their tasks and as a mark of their authority and qualifications: see Özdural, "Sinan's *Arşın*," 106; and also fig. 28 of this dissertation.

[345] Izmir appears to have been listed together with the islands because of its proximity to them. It is also possible that Ahmed Efendi is referring to another Aegean island that was sometimes called *İzmir cezīresi*, though if this is the case, I have not succeeded in matching this name to any known location.

building trade that was not set to work on this high mosque of new and exalted construction, and all who were necessary were employed, down to gunsmiths [*tüfekci*], locksmiths [*çilingir*], and pen-case makers [*dīvātcı*]. Besides these workers were: the building secretary, who was the bookkeeper and is also the author of this present account; **{39}** five secretaries for [matters connected to] the workers and requisites; three imperial sergeants-at-arms, twenty guardsmen, and a [janissary] battalion clerk appointed over them by the Porte; a chief site supervisor and seventy to eighty regular site supervisors; a chief muleteer [*ḫarbende oda başısı*] and ten regular muleteers; and three doorkeepers to protect the building's gates. The wages of these aforesaid individuals added up each week to 7,500 piasters, and sometimes 8,000. To summarize, in addition to this figure—which was not less than 7,500 piasters and not more than 8,000—was the further expenditure for requisites, and by applying the mind and analogizing this [additional] sum to what was given solely in workers' wages at the start of each week over an eight-year period, it is possible for those endowed with reason to arrive more or less in the vicinity of the amount in question.

Constructed and brought into being—as recounted up to this point—by unfaltering imperial endeavor, the exquisite building of the exalted and high-minaretted mosque, together with all its dependencies, reached its fine conclusion in the manner described, by divine assistance and the good grace of God. And with its completion, it is fair and accurate to say **[42]** that this beautiful building and gladdening house of worship—all of solid marble and so charming—has no like or counterpart not only in the capital, but perhaps also in [all] the lands of Islam, as is not secret or unknown to men of learning.

Decorating this sanctuary of Muslims is the most pleasing and auspicious inscription of the entire noble Sura of *Fatḥ*, which protrudes from the galleries on the [interior's] two sides [*ṭarafeynde vāḳiʿ muḫrec-i ṭabaḳāt*], with an archivolt [*kemer-bende*] in its middle. And in the calyx-like [? *kimmī beyżalar*][346] ovals that run above the [lower] windows are the Most Beautiful Names [of God], with the names of the Prophet between them, and each of these [names] is of such moral value and special virtue that to look at them is to be gratified.

Such are the kinds of good works brought together in this pure and pleasing house of worship, whose every aspect is a graceful form; and particularly noteworthy—and made upon the orders issuing from that world-reflecting mirror that shines with divine inspiration, the most sincere heart of His Majesty the World-Conquering Emperor, may the Lord Almighty grant him long life![347]—are the following: **{40}** the Glorious Name of God—which is deserving of veneration—and the pure name of Muhammad—which is announced in Holy Writ—that together crown the mihrab on either side; the illustrious tughras that are drawn and inscribed within the ovals placed opposite each other on the two sides of the mihrab apse [*miḥrāb ṣuffası*]; and the various newly appeared crystal pendant chandeliers brought from Vienna [*Beç ṭarafından getirilen nev-ẓuhūr püskül billūr āvīze-hā-yı gūnā-gūn*] that were specially ordered a few years ago and made for an appropriate price on the basis of (a) model(s) [*ber-mūcib-i nümūne*]. Four or five areas are decorated and illuminated with round [*ṭob*] chandeliers, and the rest, with [other types

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[346] See n. 235 above.

[347] This suggests that the items about to be listed were ordered by Osman III, who was still alive when Ahmed Efendi wrote his account. This is certainly the case with the tughras, which bear Osman's name rather than Mahmud's.

of] peerless lamps made entirely of crystal.[348] And with so many bright and shining lights within its joy-filled interior, it is truly the case that the Nuruosmaniye—"The Light of Osman"—is in every way worthy and deserving of its name.

In short, the masterfully wrought artifacts of the noble mosque and the graceful buildings that are its dependencies are impossible to describe one by one or recount as they deserve to be in all their particulars and minutiae, **[43]** and so I have contented myself with being brief and concise by writing as thoroughly as possible about only some of the most important and readily understood examples.

Salaries [*vaẓāyifāt*] were prepared in accordance with the payrolls and assigned to the most honorable of the [foundation's] servants—namely the three imams, the preacher, the endowment secretary [*kātib-i vaḳf*], and the bookkeepers—and also to the others: the caretaker(s), the muezzin(s), the sweeper(s) [*ferrāş*], the doorkeeper(s), and the staff of the imaret.[349] And once their certificates [of payment] had been written and sealed by the office of the Two Holy Cities, Derviş Edendi came, and in order that the justice and equity that he brought about in all matters be rendered in this instance also, he decided out of the munificence and generousness of his mind to give stipends [*cihet*]—in accordance with what was merited and deserved—to all those who had exerted themselves constantly and continually in the service of the building of the noble mosque

[348] A "round" chandelier (*top kandili* in modern Turkish) is a type of large chandelier comprising numerous lamps held by a circular or globular metal frame. Examples of this type are usually to be suspended from the domes of mosque, not far above the prayer-hall floor. It is unclear from Ahmed Efendi's account whether the round chandeliers of the Nuruosmaniye are the same as those ordered from Vienna, though this seems a fair assumption, especially since the Viennese pieces are said to have been made according to an Ottoman design. Whatever form they took, none of the Nuruosmaniye's original lamps or chandeliers has survived.

[349] The functionaries that are referred to in the singular may be—and probably should be—construed as multiple individuals holding each post. We know, for example, that the mosque had more than one muezzin.

from its start to its finish: to wit, the site supervisors; the guardsmen; some of the Muslims stoneworkers, including the chief Muslim stonemason and the workshop master; the chief muleteer; the secretaries for workers and requisites; and, in particular, the doorkeeper and other unfortunates. And even as they still had no knowledge of this and were perhaps not even hoping [for such a thing], he called them one by one **{41}** and placed in the hand of each a stipend certificate, favoring and gladdening all of them in the extreme.

For instance, the chief site supervisor, a man named Mehmed who was known as Tophaneli and famed for his devotion, exerted himself with complete integrity for so many days through the bitterness of winter and the heat of summer that he was in every way deserving of being promoted, and so he [was granted] enough allowances and wages to suffice his wife and his children [as well as himself]. He let his beard grow long and acquired eminence, becoming famed for having had all of the imperial mosque's matters placed on his upright shoulders, **[44]** and, living in comfort, he diligently spent his time in virtuous prayer.

Another who perfectly fulfilled his appointed duty was the doorkeeper of the building [site], Seyyid Ahmed, who, being simple-hearted and equivalent to Tophaneli Mehmed in the sincerity of his actions, was also a man deserving of kindness, because of which he was granted the post of chief caretaker, which he longed for, together with certain other functions, thus adding to his salary. Thus fully promoted, he performed his assigned tasks in the manner that had been asked of him, striving daily in his work, and it is obvious that saying good prayers became another of his duties.

And you may imagine what applies to the rest, the young and the old and the great and the low who worked in the service of the building, each of whom, down to the guardsmen and muleteers, received comparably generous livelihoods from the payrolls of the endowment, such that all were rendered pleased and happy, with none left disappointed and frustrated, but rather fully promoted as they had desired.

Afterwards, other posts such as those of the reciters of the Koran and its portions, and the reciters of [the Suras of] *Yā-Sīn*, *Tabārak* [i.e., *Mulk*], and *Fatḥ*, were to be given to their suitable men, in each case according to the saying "There are appropriate words for every situation and fitting men for every job." And this being manifestly fair, each [candidate] was thoroughly investigated, scrutinized, and examined, and once those who were righteous, prudent, and deserving were declared as such, the posts were given to the appropriate men, and all of them [thereafter] spent their time performing their assigned duties and in unison prayed good prayers.

{42} Indeed, so many faithful servants and meritorious slaves deserving of favor and promotion belonged to the exalted circle of the aforesaid Derviş Efendi—may God Almighty render them all sharers and partakers of happiness!—that most of them came to work alongside the Effendi in the service of the noble mosque, for to render all people in the world **[45]** prosperous is outside the realm of possibility.[350] News that this noble mosque was for eight years being constructed spread far and wide both eastwards and westwards, and it is needless to say that everyone, whether deserving or not, was expectantly waiting to gain something [from it]. This being the case, it was clear that each of them would utter abominations, saying, "Look how Derviş Efendi has given the posts to his own followers and dependents and not to us"; and so he, shielding and screening

[350] A more cynical reading would consider this a way of excusing Derviş Pasha's nepotism.

his praiseworthy person from the tongues of these sorts of unreasonable and shameless individuals, made to his faithful slaves the ambiguous statement, “I shall compensate them in another matter”; and they, discerning and understanding the situation, said, “May our master be in good health.” And without giving voice to more, they submitted to the pleasure of [their] benefactor, whose possession of a true heart, quite apart from his exalted consideration, was an object of admiration among both high and low. And so may God Almighty—magnified be His glory, and pure universal praise be to the honor of His most noble Beloved and honorable Messenger [Muhammad]—keep and preserve [Derviş Efendi's] admirable and laudable person from the calamities of fate and the vicissitudes of this world, [and may He] grant him—together with his noble children, his most honorable wife, and his circle of beloved and sincere followers—perpetual prosperity and good fortune, long life and increasing honor, and high office and perfect health. By [the Suras of] *Ṭā-Ḥā* and *Yī-Sīn*, Amen.

Once this Imperial Mosque of Nuruosmaniye was, in the manner explained and described above, finished and completed with God's help to the point that the performance of the prescribed prayers could commence [therein], and once it was decorated and adorned with chandeliers as well as spread with silk rugs entirely ornamented with mihrab designs that had been specially woven in the district of Uşak,[351] and once all of its staff were organized and its servants appointed, an imperial visit was determined upon. **[46]** And so the examples of past ceremonies were consulted to see how the emperors of old had, during their peaceful reigns, **{43}** favored and bestowed robes of honor upon those appointed to their royal mosques and the servants of their

[351] No trace of these carpets has survived.

foundations, and with this done, a summary of the proceedings [to be followed] was copied and presented to the gracious royal person.

And on the part of the building, a register was requested containing the names [of those to be involved]: first, the accountant of the [endowments of the] Two Honorable Holy Cities, Derviş Mustafa Efendi, who was the building administrator; the building supervisor, Ali Agha; the accounts secretary [*muḥāsebe kātibi*], Mehmed Efendi; the building secretary, this lowly Ahmed Efendi; the workforce secretary, Abdurrahman Efendi, and the three requisites secretaries; the Mullah Scribe,[352] who was the [janissary] battalion clerk [*orta yazıcısı Molla Yazıcı*]; the imperial minister for water, Ali Agha; Captain Mehmed, who had earlier been appointed over [the matter of] the columns, and who is now harbormaster at the Imperial Dockyard; Müzehhib Ali Efendi, the calligrapher from the inner palace who inscribed the writings of the noble mosque; the chief lime burner [*kirecci başı*], Abdurrahman Aga; the supervisor of the aqueduct builders, Hasan Çelebi; the standard-bearer and chief site manager, Tophaneli Mehmed Agha, who was deputy to Istanbul's chief steward [*baş ketḫüdā vekīli*] and who served in the matter of transporting stone; three imperial sergeants-at-arms; the supervisor [*ketḫüdā*] of the Makrihora stonemasons, Hacı Murad; the chief decorator [*ser-naḳḳāşān*], Aşık Garib, and the master of the decorators' workshop [*naḳḳāşlar kārḫānecisi*]; the chief glazier and the master of the glaziers' workshop; the chief lead-worker, Hasan Aga [*ḳurşuncu başı*]; seventy to eighty site managers; twenty-three guardsmen; the chief of the Muslim stonemasons, Mehmed Çelebi, and the master of stonemasons' workshop, Eyüplü Hacı Mustafa; the chief muleteer and chief farrier

[352] Ahmed Efendi seems to treat *Molla Yazıcı* as a sort of proper name when speaking of this individual. I have not encountered the term elsewhere, which further suggests it is being used as an epithet rather than a mere professional title.

[*naʿlbūr başı*] of the building [site], Ahmed Çelebi; the building master [*binā ḳalfa*], Simeon Kalfa; the head workshop master of the dhimmi stonemasons [*ẕimmī ṭaşcıyānınıñ baş kārḫānecisi*], Kozma Kalfa; the chief of the building master's workshop [*binā ḳalfasınıñ kārḫānecisi*], Sefer Usta; four dhimmi stonemasons and workshop masters; the master of the builders of watertight walls [*ḥammāmcı ḳalfası*], **[47]** Artin Kalfa, and their workshop master; the master of the wall builders [dīvārcı ḳalfası], Oras the Dhimmi; two mighty men [*pehlivān*] who were the chief pole-carrying porters; and three laborers' foremen.

The register of names was written in the manner described above and given to an assistant of the master of ceremonies [*teşrīfātcı ḳalfası*] who came [to the building], and on Friday the first of the month of Rabiʿ I in the year 1169 [December 5, 1755], **{44}** His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor decided to come in magnificence and splendor from his exalted palace to visit [the mosque] in royal state with a kingly entourage, and [there] to perform the Friday prayer. And so Derviş Efendi, the building supervisor Ali Agha, the secretaries and servants of the building, and certain necessary individuals from among the staff all spent the eve of that Friday at the imperial mosque [putting things in order]; and in particular, costly cloths of gold-on-gold were exultantly laid down to grace the path that His Auspicious Majesty the Emperor would take to the imperial prayer loge [*maḥfil-i hümāyūn*] from his ablution room [*ābdest odası*], where he would first sit enthroned before rising to pray.

In further preparation, other requisites were all made ready, the precinct of the noble mosque was cleaned and purified, and the gates were placed under watch and guard. With matters thus put into order, His Excellency the Honorable Vizier Ahmed

Pasha—at that time chamberlain [*ketḫüdā*] of the Grand Vizier and later favored with the governorship of Salonica—arrived before anyone else at daybreak, going to the room of the endowment administrator [*mütevellī odasına*] and there resting a while; and he then consulted and discussed with Derviş Efendi as to which place would be suitable for the Grand Vizier, His Excellency Mehmed [Said] Pasha,[353] to grant the appropriate furs of sable and ermine [*post-ı semmūr u ḳaḳum*], cloaks [*ferāce*], and robes of honor [*ḫilʿat*] to all the distinguished ulema, esteemed ministers, honorable men of high office, and department chiefs of the imperial chancery who were to come. **[48]** Derviş Efendi advised him that at the corner of the gate of the honorable mosque that is beneath the imperial loge—now known as the Vizier Gate [*Vezīr Ḳapusu*, i.e., the east precint gate]—is a stairway leading up to the imperial loge and to the entrance of the ablution room. "Once our Majestic Liege," he said, "has performed the prayer and retired to the ablution room, and once Their Excellencies the Grand Mufti, the Two Chief Military Judges [of Anatolia and Rumelia], the Chief of the Prophet's Descendants [*Naḳībü'l-Eşrāf*], and the leading ulema and chief judges [*ṣudūr-ı ʿulemā ve mevālī-i ʿiẓām*] have—in the imperial presence and according to their ranks—been invested with furs and cloaks, **{45}** our lord the Grand Vizier will go down to the area at the foot of the stairway next to the aforementioned Vizier Door, which is fully visible to the imperial view from the ablution room upstairs;[354] and in that area will our lord the Grand Vizier remain standing, while next to him, the chief treasurer [*defterdār efendi*] will read from the protocol register [*teşrīfāt defteri*], and as he does so, [the grand vizier] will confer the robes of honor

[353] Son of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi.

[354] Here, it seems that the term "ablution room" is being used of the pavilion more generally, since the chamber itself does not overlook the east gate.

accordingly, and each of them [the recipients] will kiss the ground and go." Considering this suitable, they awaited the imperial visit.

When the time of ṣalā [a chant before the Friday prayer] came, the choice and mighty-voiced muezzins of the noble mosque ascended the two minarets and rendered the customary chant in a pleasing tone, after with came their excellencies the sheikhs of the sultanic mosques, and Abdüşşekur Efendi of the Khalwati sheikhs, who, in accordance with tradition, was the Friday preacher of the imperial mosque. Meanwhile, [janissary] barracks commanders [*oda başılar*] and Bektashis a hundredfold more in number than was customary for *selāmlıḳ*s on other Fridays stood altogether with the officers, ranged in file on two sides all the way from their boundaries [*ḥudūd sınırlarından*][355] up to the door of the imperial mosque with their hands fixed in salutation, in the same way that they had done on the occasion of earlier imperial processions; **[49]** and from the prosperous New Palace [i.e., the Topkapı Palace] up to their boundaries stood the armorers, likewise ranged to salute.

Approximately two hours before the call to the congregational prayer, the following were ready and waiting [at the start of the parade route] to welcome the auspicious arrival [of the sultan] from his exalted New Palace:[356] His Excellency the Grand Vizier Saʿid Mehmed Pasha and His Most Reverend Eminence the Grand Vizier Damadzade Efendi; the Chief of the Prophet's Descendants; Their Honors the Two Chief

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[355] It is clear enough that the janissaries and officers lined the route from a certain point onward, and that the earlier part of the route was lined by the armorers, but it is not clear what Ahmed Efendi is referring to when he write of "boundaries." He may mean the location of the barracks where the specified janissaries were based.

[356] It is easy to misconstrue this as meaning that the dignitaries and officials who are about to be listed were waiting for the sultan at the mosque, but we know that they all processed together with him from the palace. So long was the parade, however, that most of its participants would indeed have reached the mosque some time before the sultan.

Military Judges [of Anatolia and Rumelia]; the chief judges and noble professors [*mevālī-i ʿiẓām ve müderrisīn-i kirām*]; the high men of state, with their state riding gear [*Dīvān ṭaḳımı ile ricāl-i devlet*]; the commander of the gardener-guards [*bostancı başı*]; the first and second masters of the horse [*mīrāḫor*]; the steward of the imperial doorkeepers [*kethüdā-yı bevvābīn-i şehriyārī*]; the chief treasurer; the minister of foreign affairs [*reʾīsü'l-küttāb*]; the royal monogrammist [*tevḳīʿī*]; the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries; the chief armorer; the master-general of artillery [*ṭobcu başı*]; the master of canon-wagons [*ṭob ʿarabacı başısı*]; the chief imperial tent-pitcher [*ser-mehterān-ı ḫayme-i ḫāṣṣa*]; the captains of the cavalry, of the regular guard, and of the four [chief] regiments [of the janissaries] [*sipāh ve silaḥdār ve bölükāt-ı erbaʿa aġaları*], together with all of their corps officers; all of the department chiefs of the imperial chancery and other honorable men of rank; the chief doorkeeper of the exalted court; **{46}** the military fief-holders [*zuʿamā*]; and the halberdier bodyguard [*çavuşān*].

In short, all of them were arranged as required by protocol to grace this splendid cavalcade, and from behind them came that auspicious Sovereign of the four quarters of the horizon and performer of pious deeds and good works, the gold-crowned Emperor and high-throned King of Kings, His Most Illustrious, Awesome, and Dignified Majesty Sultan Osman Khan, may God make perpetual his caliphate, state, and reign, and may He shower down His favor and benevolence upon the two worlds! And like an exalted sun of dignity and glory, and a risen sol of might and prosperity, His Majesty shone his benign rays upon all the faithful worshippers as he made his auspicious visit; and with an honorific salutation did he gratify not only the bands of Bektashis and armorers who lined the path with their hands fixed in salutation, but also—and especially—the noble sheikhs

of the imperial mosques, who were waiting expectantly before an exterior mihrab in the precinct of the imperial mosque.[357]

[50] When the Grand Vizier and the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries neared the lower precinct gate [i.e., the west gate], where the Grand Vizier's chamberlain and Derviş Efendi were carrying censers, they dismounted their horses before going afoot to meet [the sultan], who alighted onto the upper horseblock [near the east gate]. During the [sultan's] dismount, His Eminence the Grand Mufti, His Excellency the Chief of the Prophet's Descendents, and Their Honors the Two Chief Military Judges performed the ceremony of salutation, after which [the sultan] ascended with his imperial retinue to his ablution room, where he sat in exalted honor.

Following a period of rest and repose [there], Derviş Efendi's three esteemed and noble sons—the honorable apples of his eye—were called into the imperial presence, and after they rubbed their foreheads [on the ground in obeisance], [the sultan] sat beside them and, out of perfect kingly humility, deigned to treat them with favor and generosity, as one who shows kindness to his slaves. At that moment, His Eminence the Grand Vizier and His Excellency the Grand Mufti came into audience and kissed the royal skirt. And when the time arrived for prayer, the call was proclaimed for all the faithful to come to worship, and with this congregational Friday prayer of the first of the month of Rabiʿ I in the year 1169 [December 5, 1755], the performance of the prescribed prayers in that lofty-pillared mosque **{47}** was initiated by the assistance of God, to Whom be praise.

Afterwards, having come from prayer, His Glorious Majesty the Emperor joyfully invested with sumptuous broadcloth-faced sables [*çuḳaya ḳaplı semmūr-ı fāḫir*] the proud shoulders of His Excellency [the Grand Vizier] and His Eminence the Grand Mufti, and

[357] This exterior mihrab must have been a temporary installation, as it has not survived.

then of others ranging from Their Excellencies the Chief of the Prophet's Descendants and the Two Chief Military Judges down to the cadis of Istanbul. And he invested their honors the chief judges—from those of Mecca and Medina to those of the four cities [*bilād-ı erbaʿa*, i.e., Bursa, Edirne, Damascus, and Cairo]—with furs of ermine [*ḳaḳum kürk*]. And he invested those down to the professor of the Fatih madrasa [*Ṣaḫn* (sic) *müderrisine*] with elegent woolen robes [*ṣof-ı leṭāfet-mevṣūf*]. And as a postscript to this, he invested Derviş Efendi with a green-broadcloth-faced sable fur.

Once all of the eminent ulema, chief judges, and noble professors had been ceremoniously invested according to their ranks with sable and ermine furs and with robes, His Excellency the Grand Vizier went down, **[51]** as described above, to the area at the foot of the stairway. He stood there in his ceremonial turban [*ḳallāvī*] and in the brocade-faced fur [*serāsere ḳaplı kürk*] with which he had been invested, and the chief treasurer stood to his left. He first invested his excellency the Grand Vizierial chamberlain with a broadcloth-faced sable fur, and then the chief treasurer with a sumptuous robe of honor [*ḫilʿat-i fāḫire*]. Thereafter, the men of state and the individuals of high rank all lined up one after the other according to their stations in front of the [endowment] administrator's room, all the way up to the stairway in front of the imperial ablution's room; and once they were thus arranged, the chief treasurer read out their names from the protocol register that was in his hands, and as he did so, they came in front of His Excellency the Grand Vizier to be invested with their robes of honor before turning, kissing the ground, and heading back to their places.

However many men of state and individuals of high rank there are in the Exalted State, none of them went away empty-handed, but rather invested with robes of honor in

accordance with ceremonial procedure, and afterwards, the imperial mosque's professor, its *vāʿiẓ* preacher, Abdüşşekur Efendi, its principal imam, and its ḫaṭīb preacher were invested with broadcloth-faced sable furs, and its second and third imams with broadcloth-faced squirrel furs [*çuḳaya ḳaplı sincāb kürkler*]. That the building supervisor Ali Agha had earlier been given a sable fur has inadvertently only just come to mind, and so is here belatedly mentioned.[358] The chief caretaker and the chief muezzin **{48}** were invested with plain broadcloth robes [*sāde çuḳa ferāceler*].

Once these [investitures] were completed, those who had served in the construction of the imperial mosque were called. The particulars of the register of names that had previously been made and given to the assistant of the master of ceremonies were specified above; and once again, [the relevant individuals] lined up accordingly and were one by one invested with robes of honor. The bestowing of favors thus ended and concluded with the servants of the construction, who thus became objects of benevolence.

Afterwards, with no business remaining, His Majesty the Richly Retinued Emperor departed the ablution room **[52]** in magnificence and splendor, and, together with the men of his imperial circle, turned his reins towards his exalted palace.

That day, the precinct of the noble mosque had so filled inside and out with the throng of mankind that it had become as a model of the Day of Judgment.

On the day when the furs and robes of honor were conferred, an imperial gift of 4,000 piasters arrived for the workers and servants of the construction, but just as it was about to be distributed, the matter was postponed because of all the other business. It was thus one or two days later that the money was given out in the [endowment]

[358] According to the protocol registers, Ali Agha received his robe before anyone else in this particular category: see Neftçi, "Nuruosmaniye Camii Açılış Töreni," 17. One perhaps senses a deliberate slight on Ahmed Efendi's part.

administrator's room in keeping with ancient custom, and distributed and apportioned to all—from the scribes down to the underlings—according to their ranks, such that all of them profited and took a share.

From of old, it has been an exalted imperial custom to nurture and promote those employed in and faithfully serving the construction of such great pious foundations by giving them a livelihood to satisfy all their needs, or else raising them to a proud rank according to their aptitude. And so entreaties were made in this regard through the most zealous efforts of Derviş Efendi—God Almighty extend his prosperous life!—and upon the official recommendation of His Excellency the Grand Vizier. The building supervisor Ali Agha therefore ascended to the high rank of chief doorkeeper of the exalted court; and the building secretary, this lowly creature, went from being secretary of the four [chief] regiments [of the janissaries] to being secretary of the first cavalry corps [*ʿulūfeciyān-ı yemīn*], thus joining the department chiefs of the imperial chancery. The Mullah Scribe who was the battalion clerk not only attained the post of chief crane-keeper proper [? *aṣl ser-ṭurnaʾī*], but he also became a chief crane-keeper in that he was elevated to the rank of commander of Vidin [*Vidin aġalıġı*], the foremost of the victorious frontiers.[359] **{49}** And Hüseyin Haseki, one of the imperial sergeants-at-arms, being in every way affable and quick-witted, was taken into the service of the Commander-in-Chief of the Janissaries as his privy messenger [*ḳara-ḳulaḳ*], thus becoming eminent among his battalion. **[53]** But though such was the intention, an appointment to the post

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[359] Though its general meaning is clear, this passage is somewhat confusing. Ahmed Efendi appears to be referring to the fact that the title of *ser-ṭurnaʾī/ṭurnacı başı* was used in two different ways: first, to refer to the head of the sixty-eighth battalion—the so-called crane-keepers—of the janissaries; and second, as an honorary title bestowed on other individuals, particularly the commander of the fortress of Vidin. If I understand him correctly, Ahmed Efendi is telling us that the Mollah Scribe acquired the title in both its senses. For the various uses of the title, see Marlene Kurz, *Das* Sicill *aus Skopje: kritische Edition und Kommentierung des einzigen vollständig erhaltenen Kadiamtsregisterbandes (*Sicill*) aus Üsküb (Skopje)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 199n1.

of privy messenger was not a matter that could be realized [merely] through the making of a report and the giving of an imperial decree, and so on the day following the performance of prayers, he was sent by the chief gardener-guard to the Porte with the order to make obeisance there, and it was only then that he was appointed to the aforementioned post and granted his wish.[360]

As to the rest, once the mentioned and agreed-upon matter of [promotion to] the ranks of chief doorkeeper, department chief, and commander was submitted as a report [to the sultan], an imperial edict was drawn up and graciously issued, wherewith the aforementioned Mullah Scribe was called to the Porte and conferred with the commandership of Vidin, with the understanding that he would take possession of it at an appointed time, and his deserving shoulders were invested with a robe of honor. And as for the secretaryship of this lowly creature, it was to be taken up with the appointments made in the month of Shawwal [1169: June 29–July 27, 1756], and when his commission—together with the imperial commission for the chief-doorkeepership of the building supervisor, Ali Agha—reached the aforementioned Derviş Efendi several days later, he delivered them into our hands. And knowing, furthermore, the circumstances of his servants, he graciously bestowed furs of Siberian squirrel faced with green wool [*yeşil ṣofa ḳaplı aʿlā Sibir sincāb kürkü*], and out of his supreme kindness, he favored each [of us] with one of his own choice and powerful baggage horses from his prosperous stable, decking them in silver trappings. And he sent me to the Porte, with one his footmen appointed to my side, and upon arriving there, a readied clerical turban [*ḥarisānī destārı*] was placed by the blessed hands of the minister of foreign affairs, His Excellency Hamza

[360] It is not entirely clear why an imperial decree would have been insufficient to secure Hüseyin's promotion, but he evidently needed to massage certain egos before he was allowed to take the post.

Efendi, upright on my proud head as I knelt before him, and with glad tidings, he turned his exalted attention to promoting me in rank. I then rose and was brought to His Excellency the Grand Vizier, and upon my kissing his honorable skirt, he said to me, "We send our regards to and pray for the wellbeing of our esteemed brother the effendi [Derviş], and we ask after his health," and he sent me back. Upon arriving, **[54] {50}** I rubbed my face—the clerical turban on my head—against the blessed dust under the illustrious feet of our aforementioned master [Derviş Efendi] and prayed for his wellbeing, after which I gladly and happily mounted the richly decked horse that he had cheeringly granted me, making back for my humble abode in order to have my wife and children too prayer for His Excellency's wellbeing. And expectantly awaiting the time appointed for the taking up of the secretaryship, we also made haste to move our tongues in prayer for the continuation of the life and reign of the Emperor.

In keeping with the saying that the days pass as do the clouds, the time came for the conferral of the aforementioned secretaryship. On the day of appointments, a memorandum arrived for the investiture of robes of honor, whereupon [Derviş Efendi], out of his most gracious benevolence, again bestowed [on me] an elegant woolen robe, and he later granted a double-sleeved sable [*üst-i post-ı semmūr*] as required for the Imperial Chancery, and he afterwards granted a most excellent coat of wolf's fur [*cild-i ḳafā*].[361] Thus was I submerged in his ocean of benevolence, and no matter how much I had cited his graces or given thanks for his favors, I should have been incapable of mentioning or enumerating even a thousandth part of them, and this being evident and manifest, and in order not to weary his blessed and illustrious head, I instead restricted

[361] Better known in its corrupted form *cılḳava*, *cild-i ḳafā*—literally "skin of the nape"—refers to a coat made of pieces of fur from the napes of wolves or foxes.

and limited my prayers for his wellbeing to a few words. May God Almighty—his glory be exalted—preserve and keep his honorable person, together with his children and wife, from His wrath in this world and the hereafter, and may He bring to pass whatsoever he desires and fix him in the joyful and happy office of high dignity. O Answerer of the prayers of supplicants, Amen!

With the completion of the exalted mosque and the commencement of prayers [therein], God Almighty rendered everyone glad. It remains to say that once all the requisites for the imaret and for the baking of bread **[55]** were readied, and once the orders for food were completed and sealed, the prosperous imaret was opened on Friday the fifteenth day of the month of Rabiʿ I in the year 1169 [December 19, 1755], and the most excellent gentleman who was its sheikh offered abundant prayers, as too did the praiseful students of science and the eulogizing servants of the foundation who were being fed at the generous and amply-stocked tables of the foundation of that liberal nourisher and performer of good deeds, our Majestic, Illustrious, and Nurturing Liege [the sultan]. And it is known by all mankind that those who likewise relieve their hunger by eating the glorious food **{51}** and bread daily prepared [at the imaret]—as will continue until only God Almighty knows when—will all one by one offer up their good prayers to heaven and to God's favor-bestowing realm. And so may divine favor perpetuate the blessed and honorable person of our Majestic and Munificent Liege the Emperor—the refuge of the universe—in state and magnificence upon his glorious throne, and may it preserve and keep him from sin and its consequences.

By the high rank of the Lord of the Prophets [Muhammad], Amen.

The words have come to an end with the aid of God, the Supreme Helper.

Amen.

Finis.

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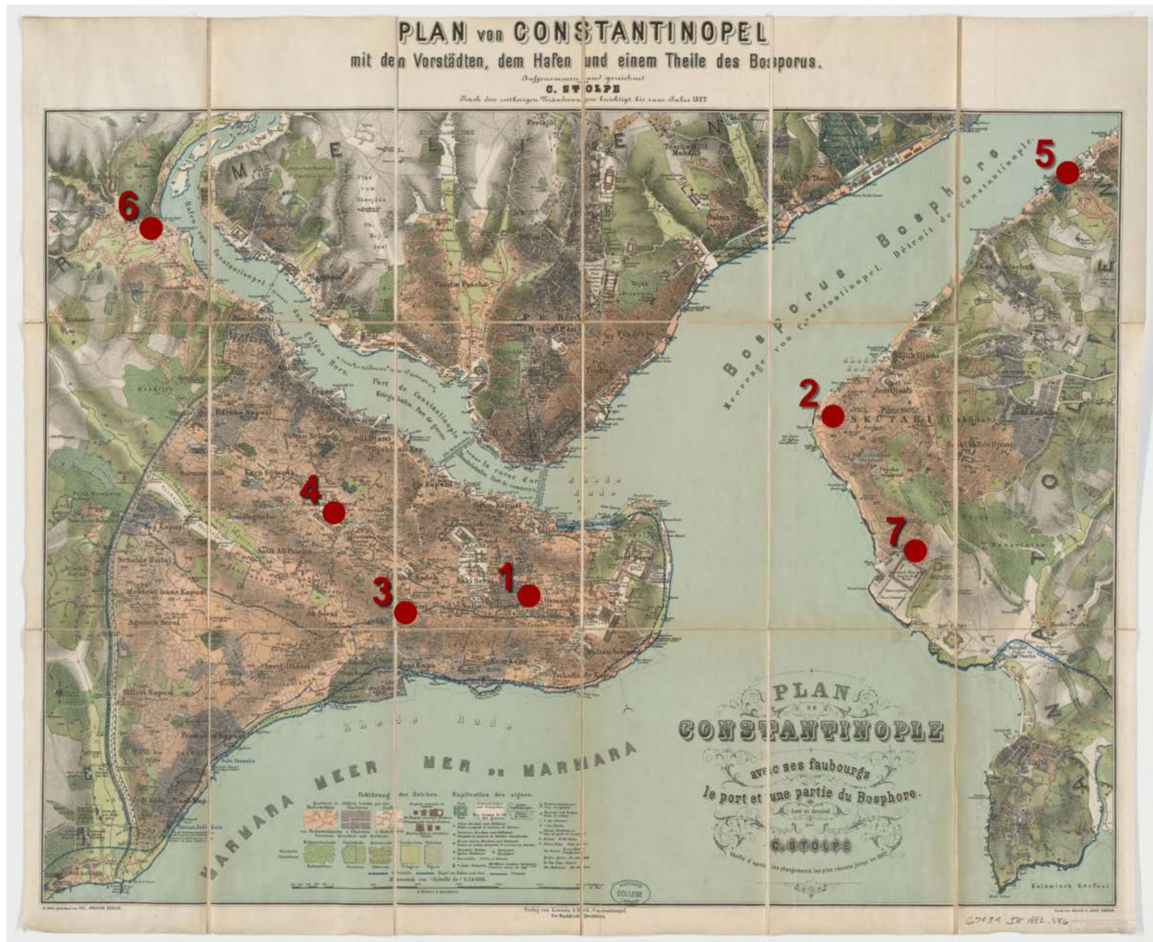


Figure 1. Map showing the principal mosques built and reconstructed in Istanbul *c*. 1740–1800: 1. Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1748–55); 2. Ayazma Mosque; 3. Laleli Mosque (1760–64); 4. Fatih Mosque (1767–71); 5. Beylerbeyi Mosque (1777–78); 6. Eyüp Sultan Mosque (1798–1800); 7. Selimiye Mosque (1801–5). C. Stolpe, *Plan von Constantinopel mit den Vorstädten, dem Hafen, und einem Theile des Bosporus*, 1882; Harvard Map Collection.

Figure 2. Map of Europe in 1740.
© UConn Libraries MAGIC.

Figure 3. Map of the Ottoman Empire, 1798–1923.

Figure 4. Engraving by Francois-Gérard Jollain showing Louis XV's reception of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, Paris, 1721. BnF, 6158908 (7854) / gallica.bnf.fr.

Figure 5. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu with her son, and attendants*, painted *c*. 1717 in Istanbul. London, National Portrait Gallery.

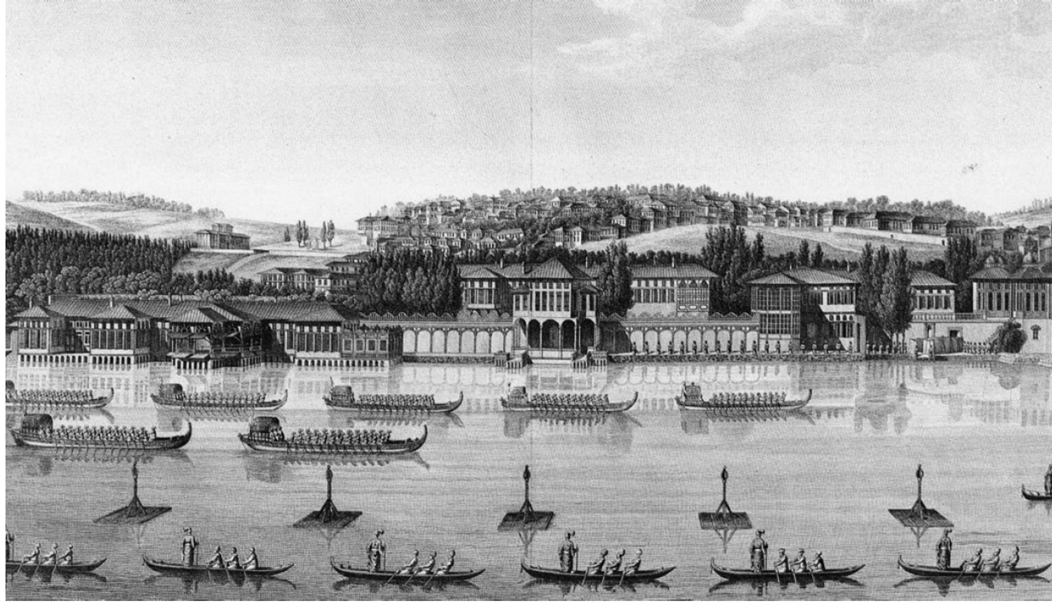


Figure 6. Engraving by l'Espinasse showing the Beşiktaş Palace, founded in the 17th century and remodeled several times in the 18th. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 3, pl. 169 (detail).

Figure 7. Double miniature painting by Levni showing festivities on the Golden Horn. The sultan watches from the Aynalıkavak Pavilion, and the grand vizier from a galleon, in front of which is a smaller boat with European spectators. From Vehbī, *Sūrnāme-i Vehbī*, Istanbul, 1727–30. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3593, fols. 92b–93a.

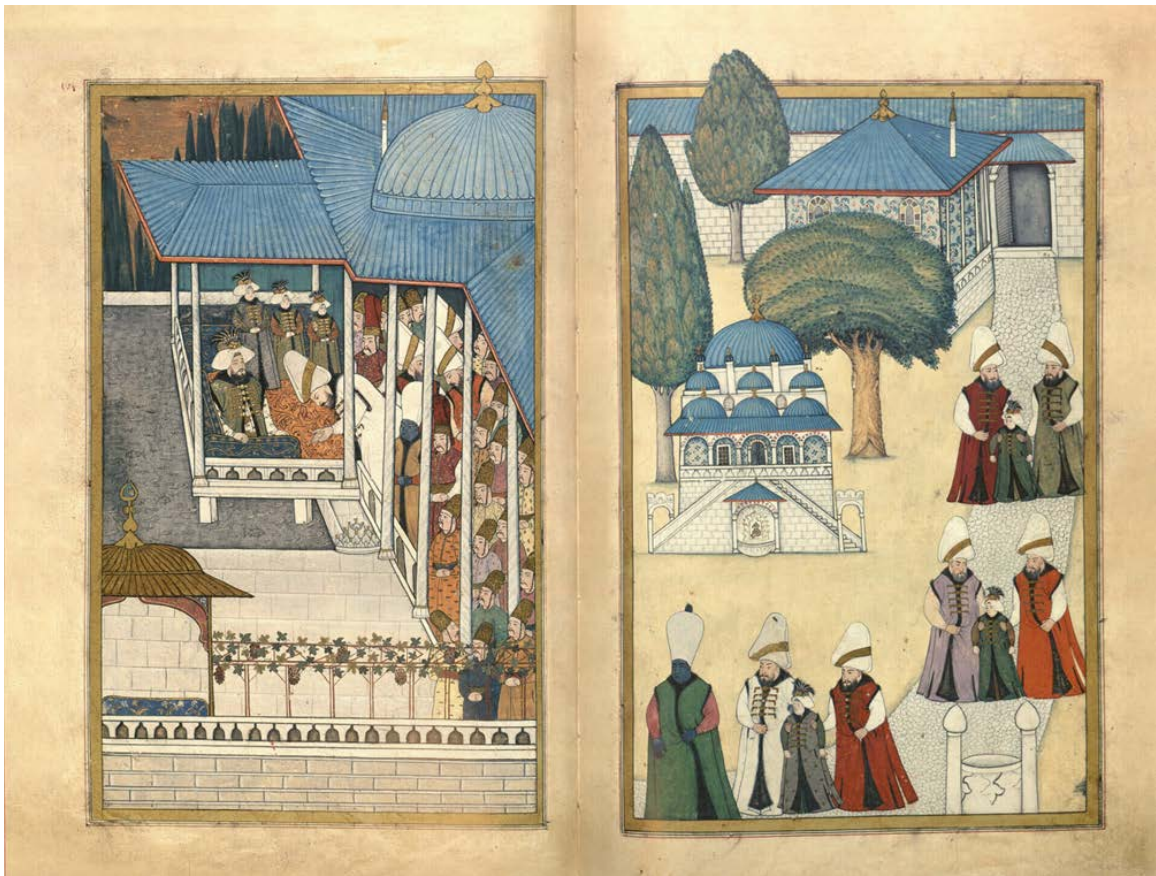
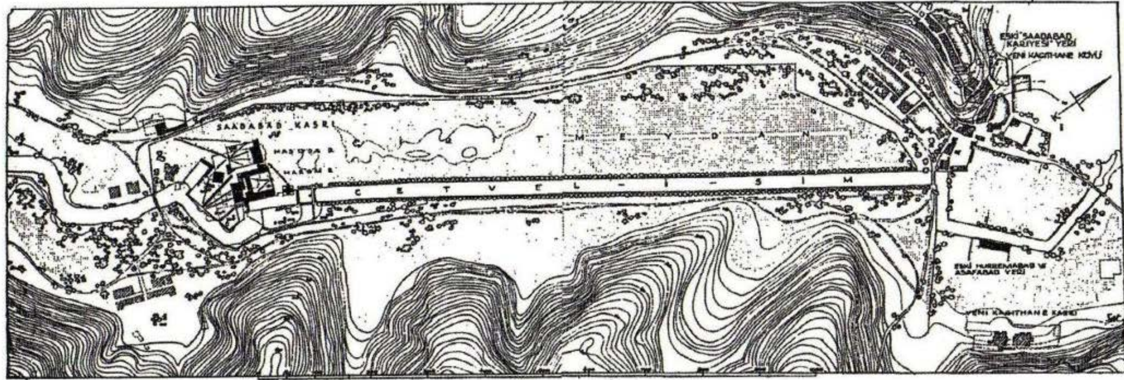


Figure 8. Double miniature painting by Levni showing the circumcised princes being escorted through the Third Court of the Topkapı Palace before being received by their father in the marble terrace behind the Privy Chamber. The image on the right includes the recently constructed Library of Ahmed III, as well as the chief black eunuch, Hacı Beşir Agha, leading the princes. From Vehbī, *Sūrnāme-i Vehbī*, Istanbul, 1727–30. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3593, fols. 173b–174a.

Figure 9. Engraving by l'Espinasse showing Saʿdabad. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 2, pl. 184 (detail).



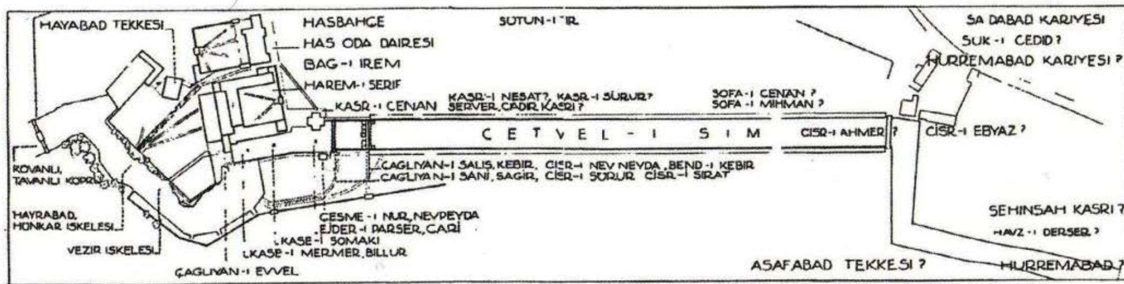


Figure 10. Seddad Hakkı Eldem’s reconstructed plans of the original Saʿdabad complex. From Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, figs. 13–14.

Figure 11. Late-18th-century Ottoman miniature painting showing women in the grounds of Saʿdabad, with the serpent-headed fountain and Kasr-ı Cinan in the center of the image. From a copy of Fazıl Enderuni’s *Zenānnāme*, Istanbul University Library, TY 5502, fol. 78.

Figure 12. Colored engraving after Pierre Menant showing the Palace of Versailles, from the series *Les Plans, Profils, et Elevations des Ville, et Château de Versailles*, Paris, *c*. 1715. The Ottoman captions reads “The view from the courtyard entrance of the Palace of Versailles” (*Versalya Sarāyı’nıñ ḥavlı ḳapusundan görünüşüdür*).
Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1967.

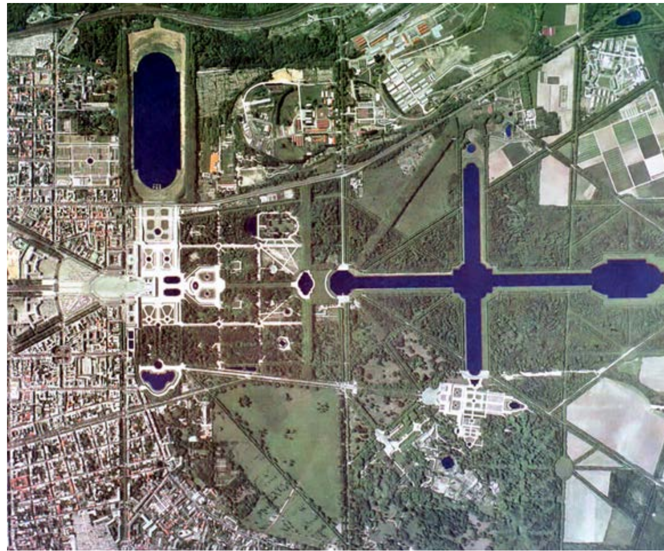


Figure 13. Aerial view of Versailles, showing the cruciform Grand Canal.

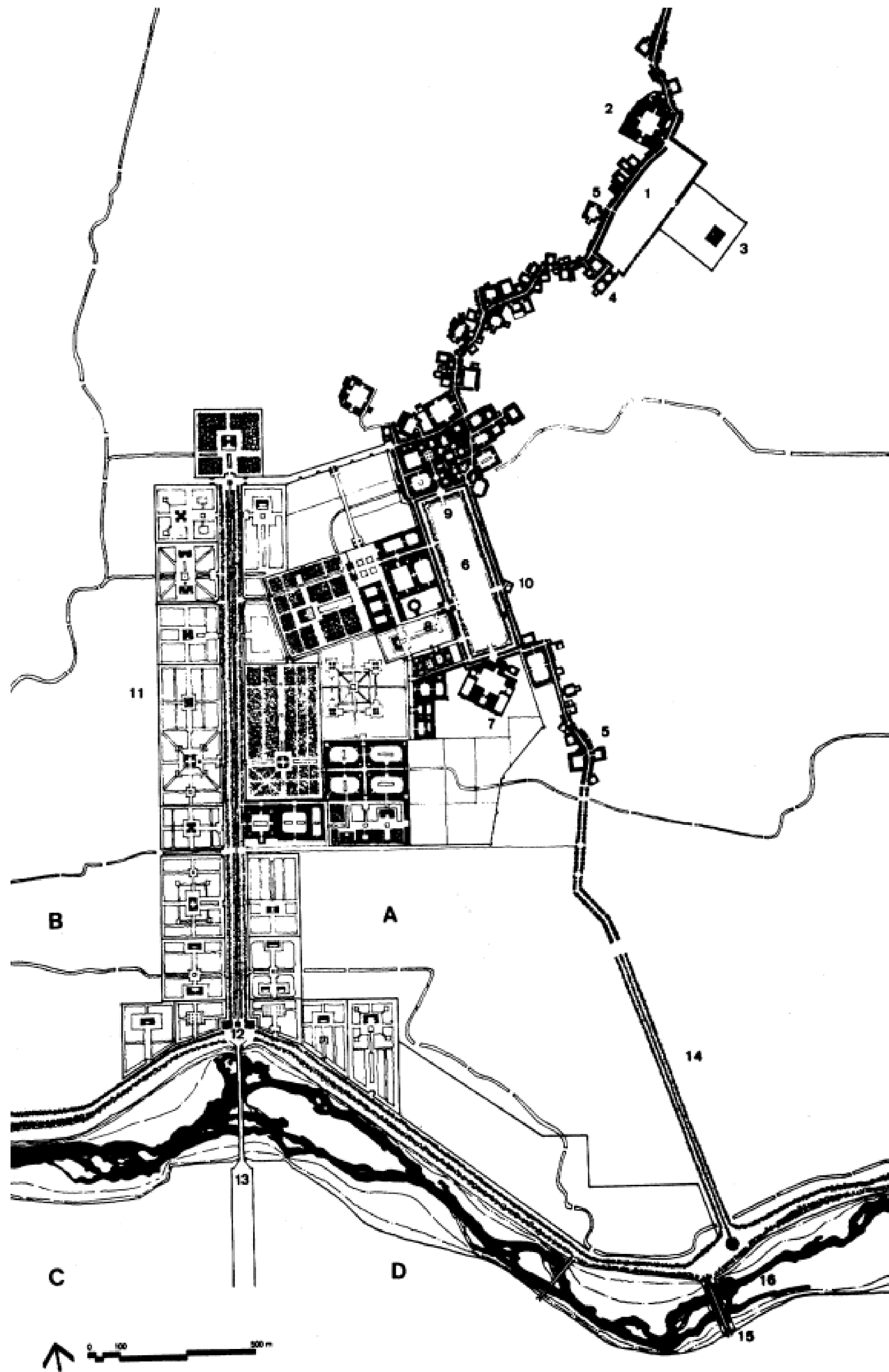


Figure 14. Map of Isfahan, showing Chaharbagh Avenue (12), the canal bisecting it (between A and B), and the Chihil Sutun Pavilion (4). From Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiyar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

Figure 15. Chihil Sutun Pavilion, Isfahan, 1647–1706. From Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader, and Minouch Yavari, *The Persian Garden: Echoes of Paradise* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1998).

Figure 16. Colored engraving by Jacques Rigaud showing the Palace of Chantilly from its orangery. British impression made in 1805 after the original French publication of 1720–38.

Figure 17. View of the hippodrome showing the Serpent Column before the removal of its heads. From the Freshfield Album, *c*. 1754. Trinity College, University of Cambridge, MS.O.17.2, fol. 20.

Figure 18. Engraving by G. Scotin after F. Delamonce showing the Latona Fountain at Versailles, Paris, 1714. The Ottoman captions reads “This is a pool at the bottom of the stairs leading down from the garden in front of the Palace of Versailles. Its jets are shaped as animals, and the gushing water resembles arches made of silver” (*Versalya Sarāyı’nıñ öñündeki bāġçeden nerdübān ile endikde bir ḥavużdur ki fevvāreleri eşkāl-i ḥayvānātdır, ve feverān eden ṣular gümüşden kemerler gibi görünür*). Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1975.

Figure 19. Privy Chamber ("Fruit Room") of Ahmed III, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, 1705.

Figure 20. Detail of floral paintwork in the Privy Chamber of Ahmed III.

Figure 21. Carved floral dado, Taj Mahal, Delhi, 1632–1653.
© Yamn / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 22. Library of Ahmed III, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, 1719.

Figure 23. Library of Ahmed III, sunburst over the entrance.

Figure 24. Fountain of Ahmed III, Istanbul, 1728.

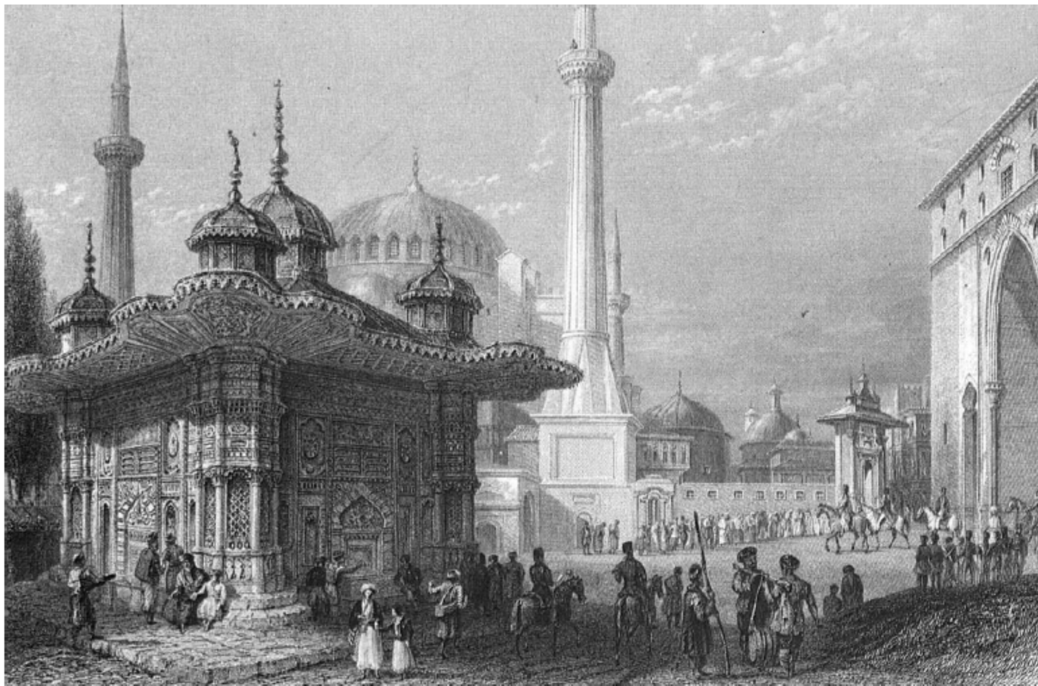


Figure 25. Engraving after William H. Bartlett showing the Fountain of Ahmed III and the square surrounding it, with the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace to the far right, and the gate of the Ayasofya imaret in the background. From Julia Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: G. Virtue, 1839), plate between pp. 62–63.

Figure 26. Fountain of Ahmed III, carved marble panel at one of the corners.

Figure 27. Detail of an embossed silver table, England, *c*. 1670.
Royal Collection © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Figure 28. Engraving after Jean-Baptiste Vanmour of an Ottoman-Armenian architect holding a yardstick. From *Recueil de cent estampes reprisentant diffirentes nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714–15), pl. 88.

Figure 29. Jean-Marc Nattier, *Mademoiselle de Clermont as a Sultana*, France, 1733. London, Wallace Collection, P456.

Figure 30. The Chinese Room, decorated by Luke Lightfoot, Claydon House, Buckinghamshire, 1760s.

Figure 31. Yalı (waterside mansion) of Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, Istanbul, 1699. © fecrisaadet / Panoramio.

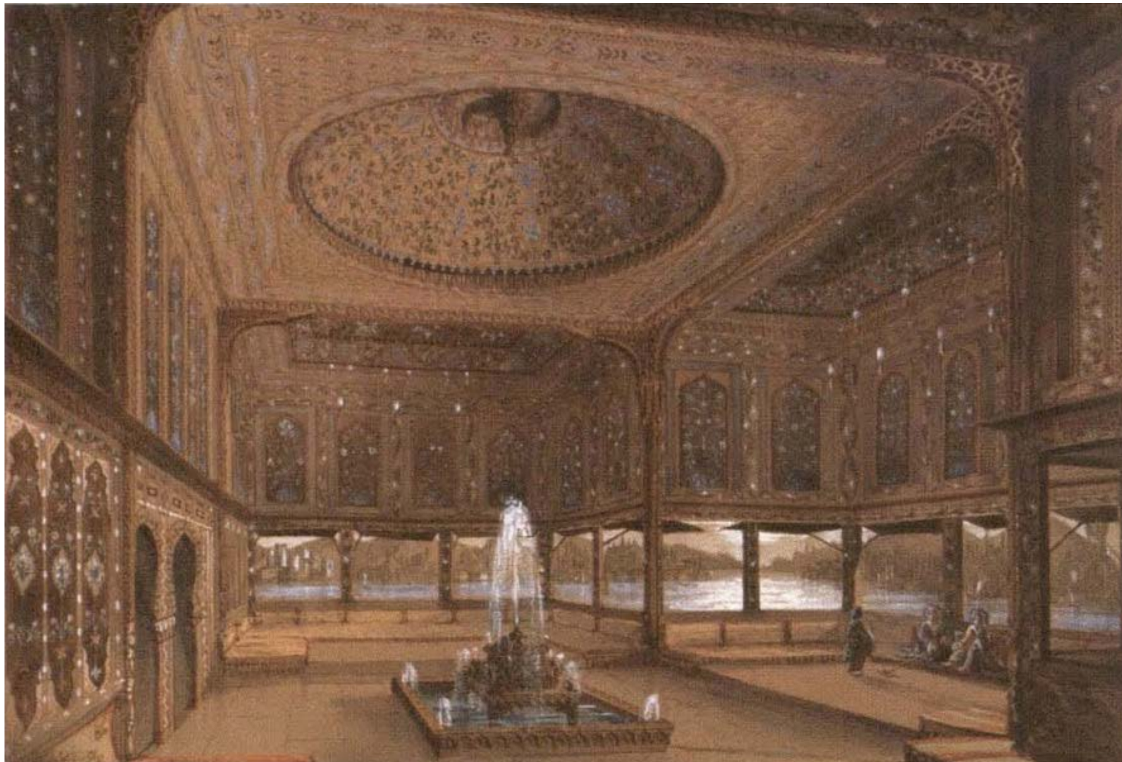


Figure 32. Colored print by H. Catenacci showing the interior of the Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha Yalı, London, 1878. Istanbul, Azize Taylan Collection.

Figure 33. Château of Chambord, France, 1519–47.
© Manfred Heyde / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 34. Ottoman incense burner, 18th century (?).
Istanbul, Turkish Construction & Art Works Museum, no. 0352.

Figure 35. English table clock made for the Ottoman market, *c*. 1765. Topkapı Palace Museum.

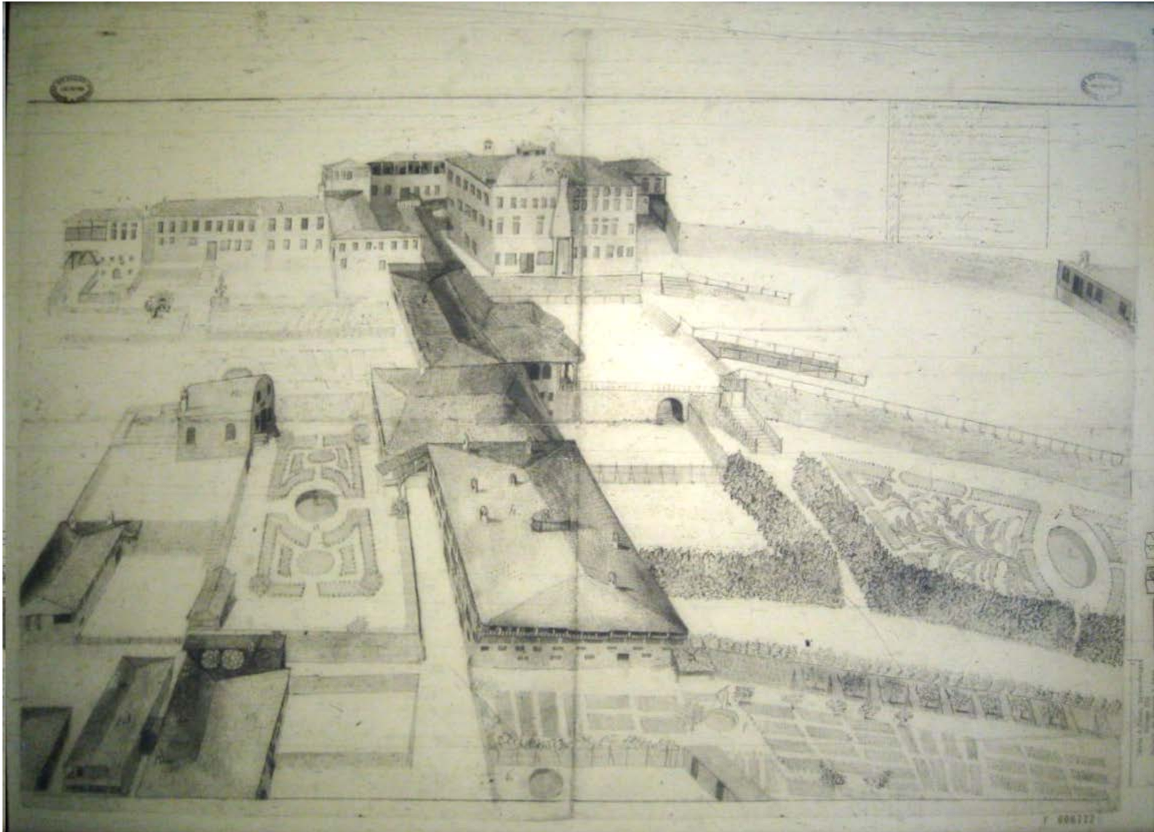


Figure 36. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, view of the Palais de France as it stood in 1722. CADN, 166PO/A/252, fol.20.

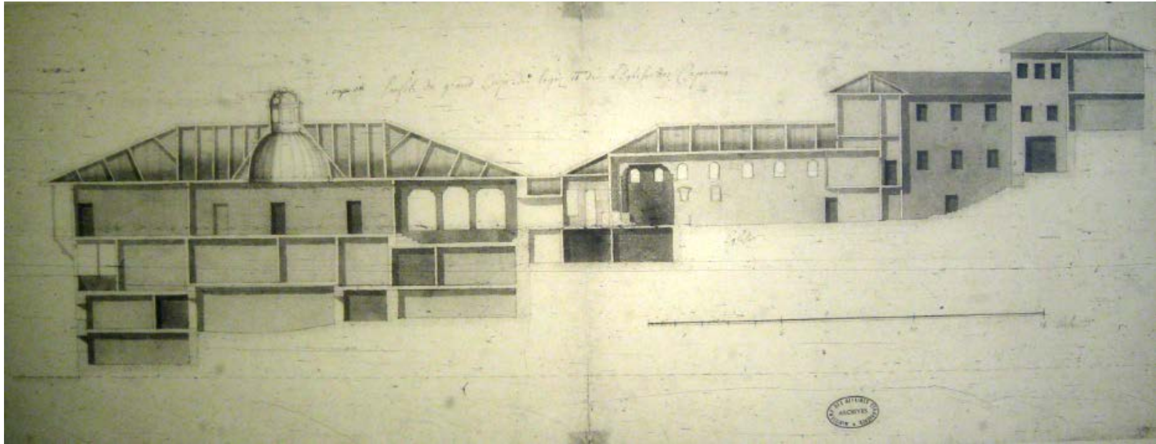


Figure 37. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, cross-section of the Palais de France as it stood in 1722. CADN, 166PO/A/252, fol. 24.

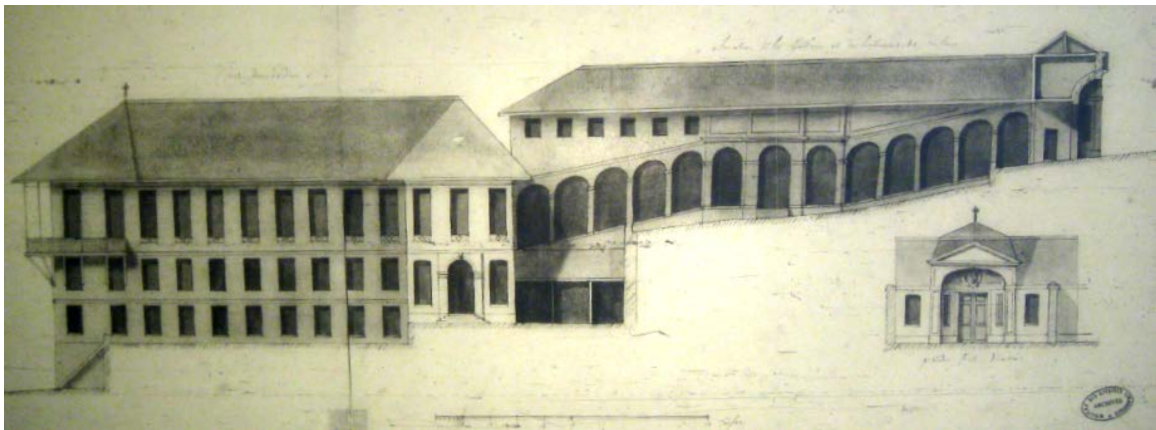


Figure 38. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, elevation of the proposed rebuilding of the Palais de France, including a cross-section and view of its principal gate, 1722.
CADN, 166PO/A/252, fol. 35.

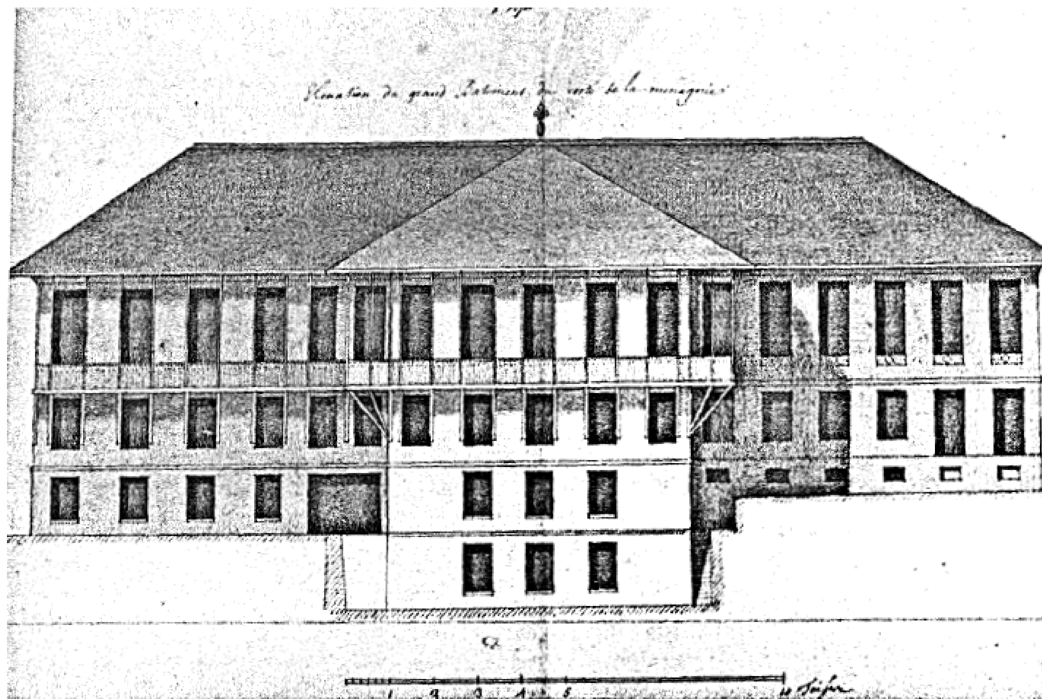


Figure 39. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, elevation of the proposed rebuilding of the Palais de France, 1722. CADN, 166PO/A/252, fol. 34.

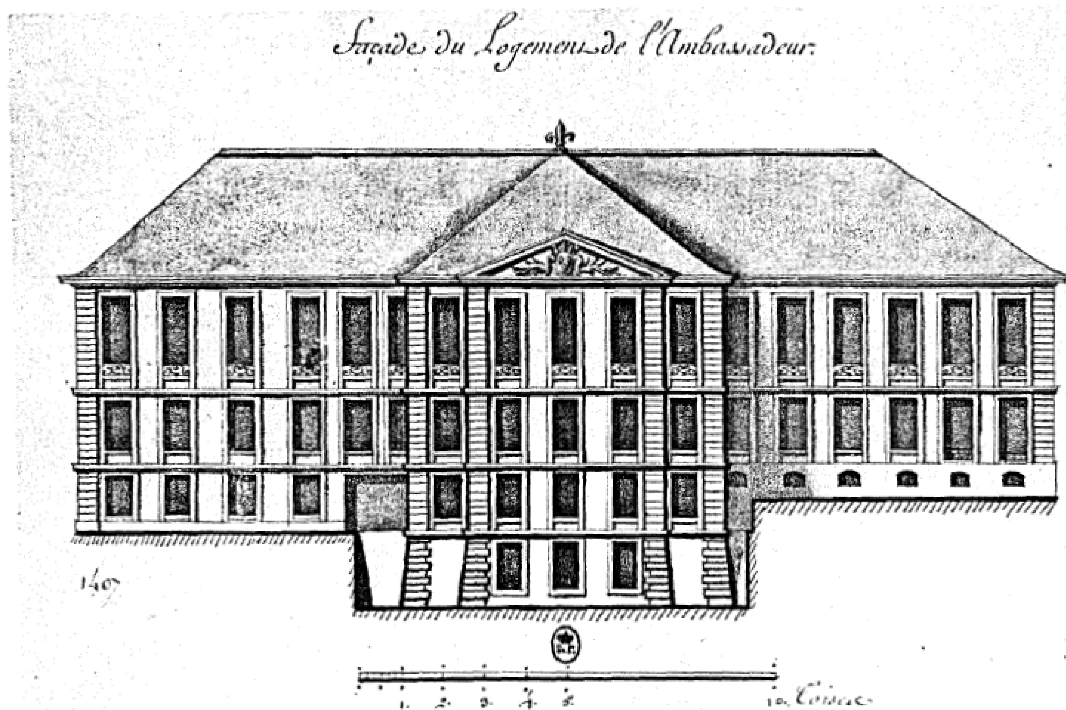


Figure 40. Pierre Vigné de Vigny, revised elevation of the proposed rebuilding of the Palais de France, *c*. 1722. BnF, Estampes, Ha. 18a. 2.95.

Figure 41. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, portrait of Mahmud I, Istanbul, *c*. 1800.

Figure 42. Jean-Étienne Liotard, portrait of Claude Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval (Humbaracı Ahmed Pasha), counterproof of an original pastel made in Istanbul in 1741. Paris, Louvre, RF 1387, Recto.

Figure 43. Fountain of Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha, Kabataş, Istanbul, 1732.

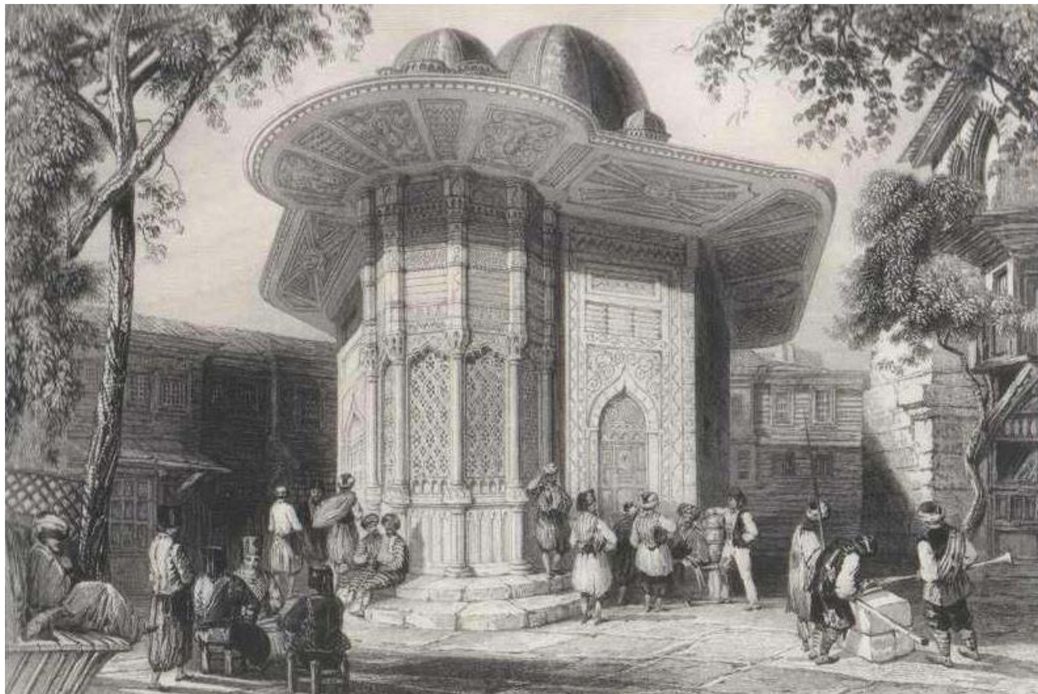


Figure 44. Engraving after William H. Bartlett showing the fountain of Saliha Valide Hatun, Azapkapı, Istanbul, 1732. From Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (London: G. Virtue, 1839), plate between pp. 36–37.

Figure 45. Fountain of Mahmud I, Tophane, Istanbul, 1732.

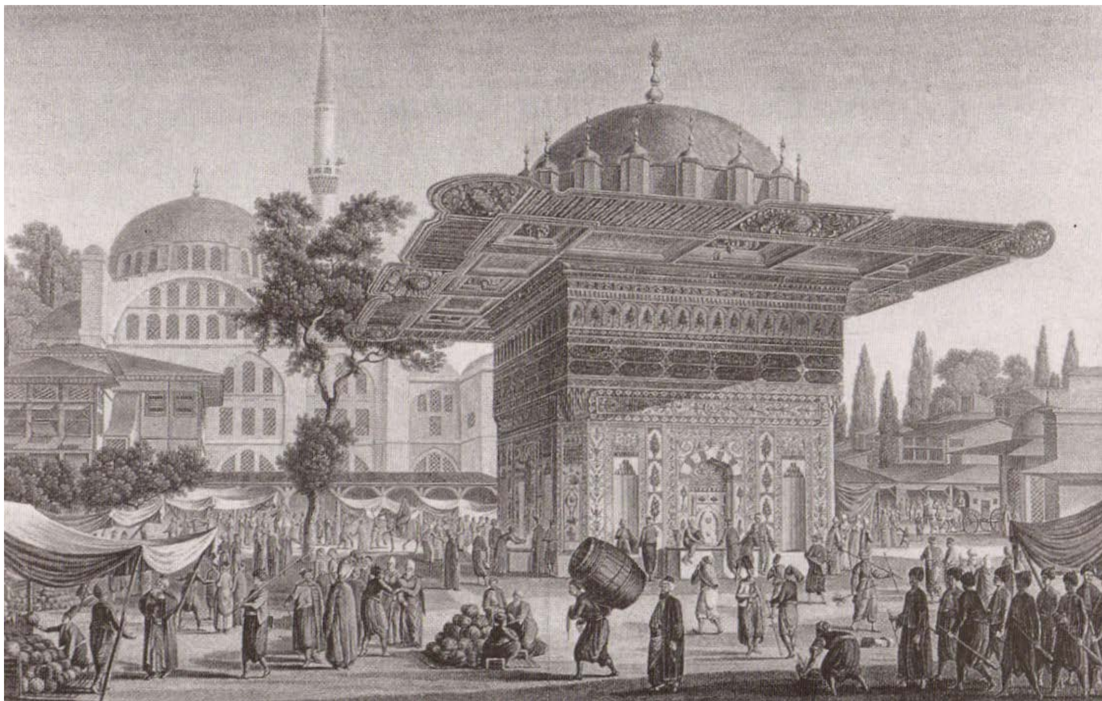


Figure 46. Engraving after Antoine-Ignace Melling showing the Fountain of Mahmud I and the market around it, with the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque behind.
From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*, pl. 22.

Figure 47. Fountain of Mahmud I, carved marble cladding.

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Figure 53. Sebil of Mehmed Emin Agha, fountain.

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Figure 56. Sebil of Saʿdeddin Efendi, Karacaahmet, Istanbul, 1741–42.

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Figure 59. Inauthentic modern restoration of the fountain of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha, southwest wall of the Fatih Complex cemetery, Istanbul.

Figure 60. Southwest Fountain of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha, fountain pediment and inscription.

Figure 61. Fountain of Mehmed Emin Agha, Fatih, Istanbul, 1741–42.

Figure 62. Cağaloğlu Baths, Istanbul, 1741–42.

Figure 63. Cağaloğlu Baths, interior of the calidarium.
© http://www.cagalogluhamami.com.tr.

Figure 64. Cağaloğlu Baths, column capital.

Figure 65. Cağaloğlu Baths, main entrance with inscription above it.

Figure 66. Ayasofya/Hagia Sophia (architects: Isidorus of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles), Istanbul, 532–37, with later Ottoman additions. © Osvaldo Gago / Wikimedia Commons.

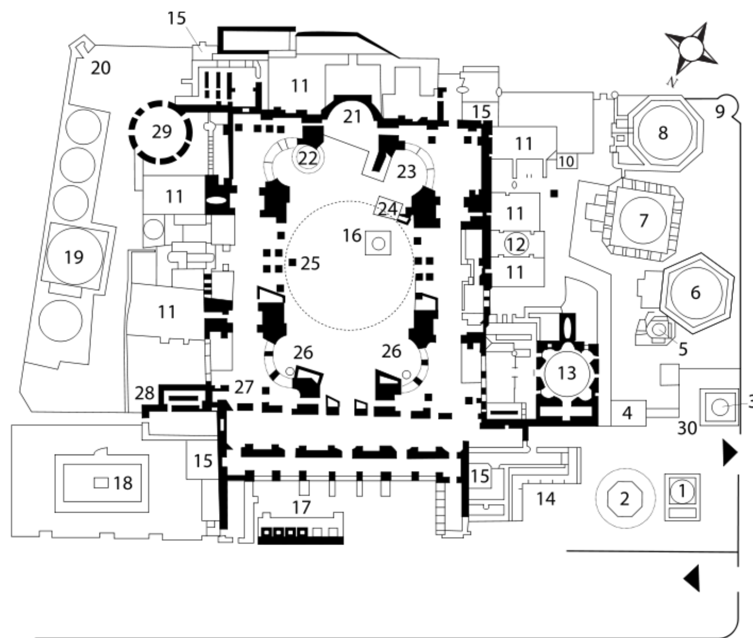

Figure 67. Plan of the Ayasofya, showing Mahmud I's library (12), primary school (1), ablution fountain (2), and imaret (19–20). The elements numbered 11 are reinforcing piers. © Gothika / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 68. Library of Mahmud I, Ayasofya, 1739–1740.

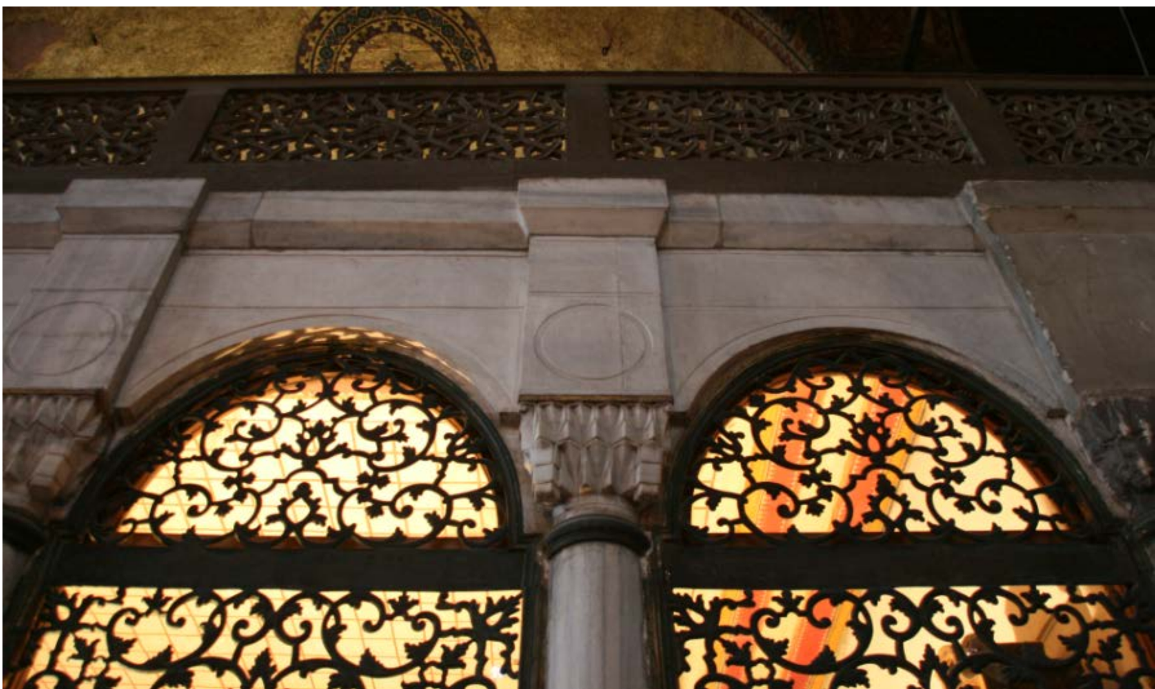

Figure 69. Library of Mahmud I, *muqarnas* capitals and round arches.

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Figure 71. Primary school of Mahmud I, Ayasofya, 1740–41.
© GÜLBEN / Panoramio.

Figure 72. Ablution fountain of Mahmud I, Ayasofya, 1740–41.

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Figure 77. Imaret of Mahmud I, upper part of the gate.

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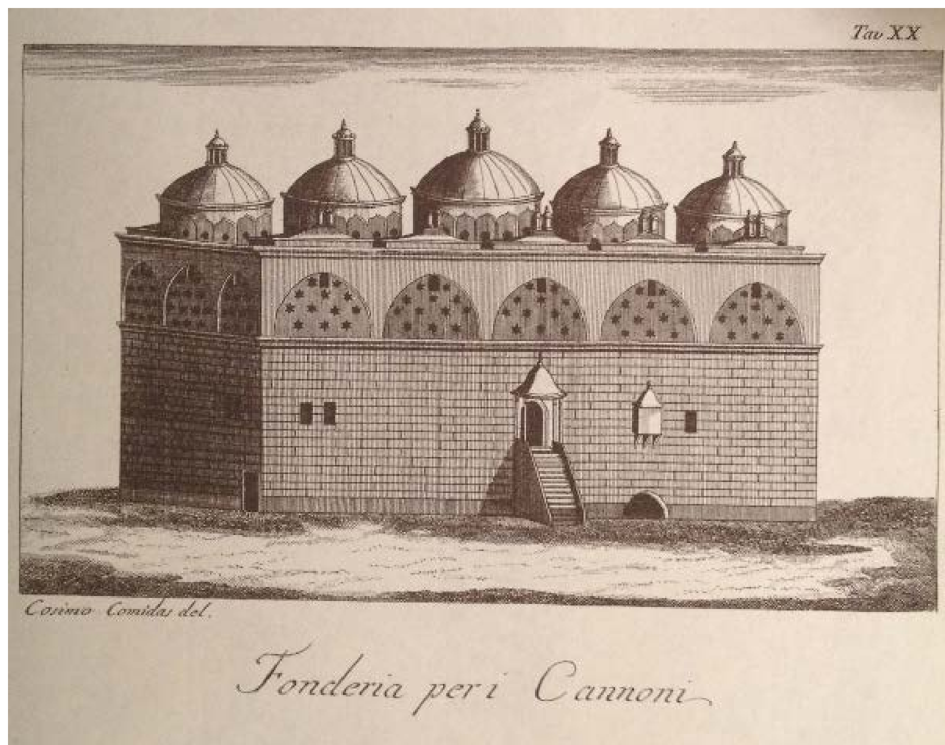

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Figure 92. Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin, interior of the royal loge.

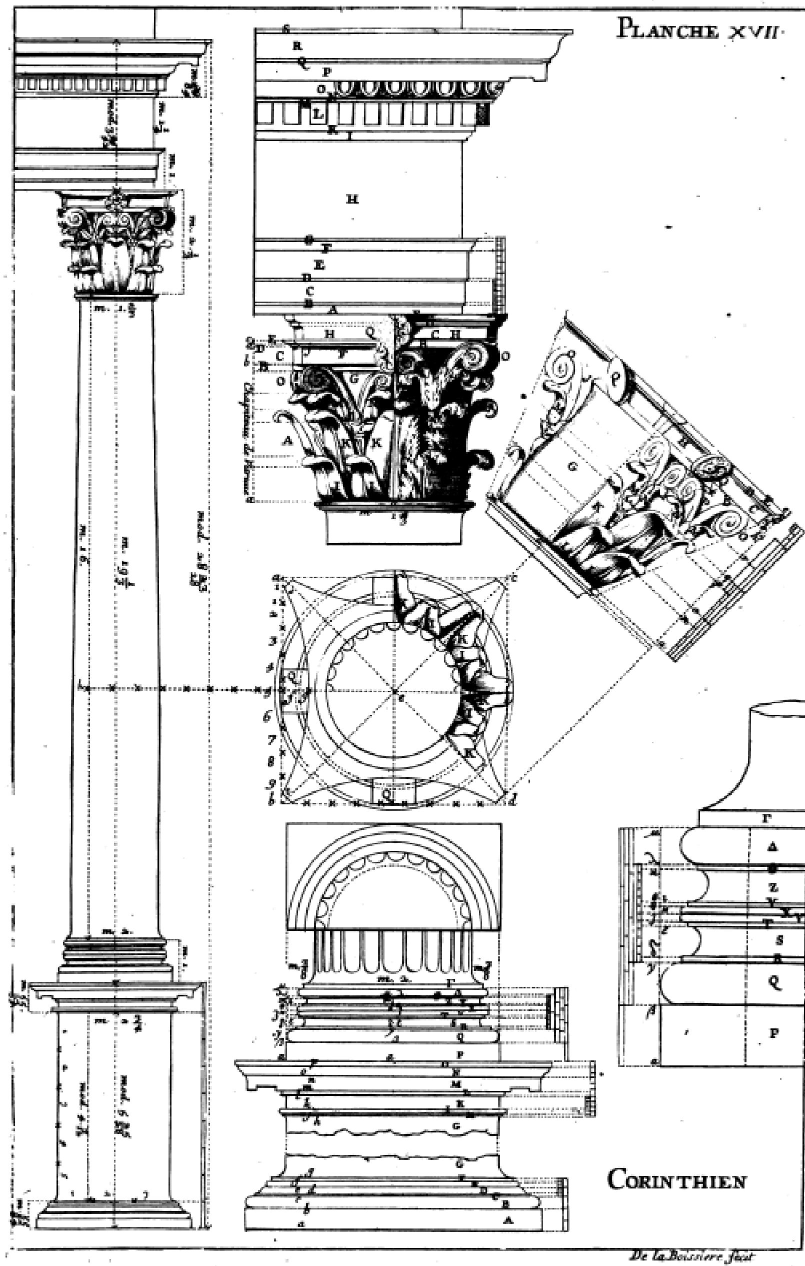

Figure 93. Plate showing the Corinthian Order, from François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture enseigné dans l'Academie royale d'architecture* (Paris, De l'imprimerie de Lambert Roulland, 1675-83), pl. 17. There is a copy of the book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2608).

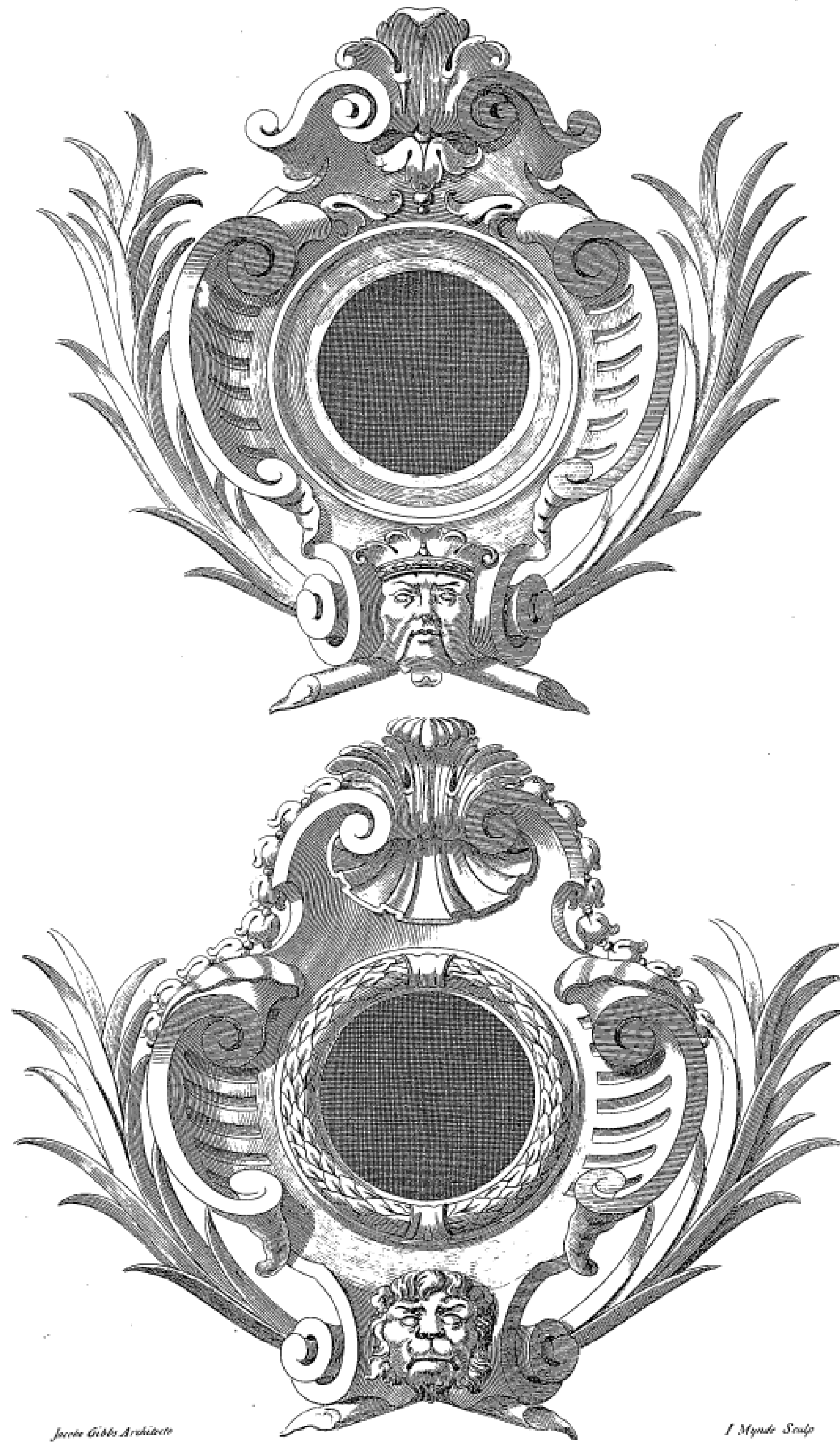

Figure 94. Designs for architectural ornaments, from Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture*, pl. 110. There is a copy of the book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2610).

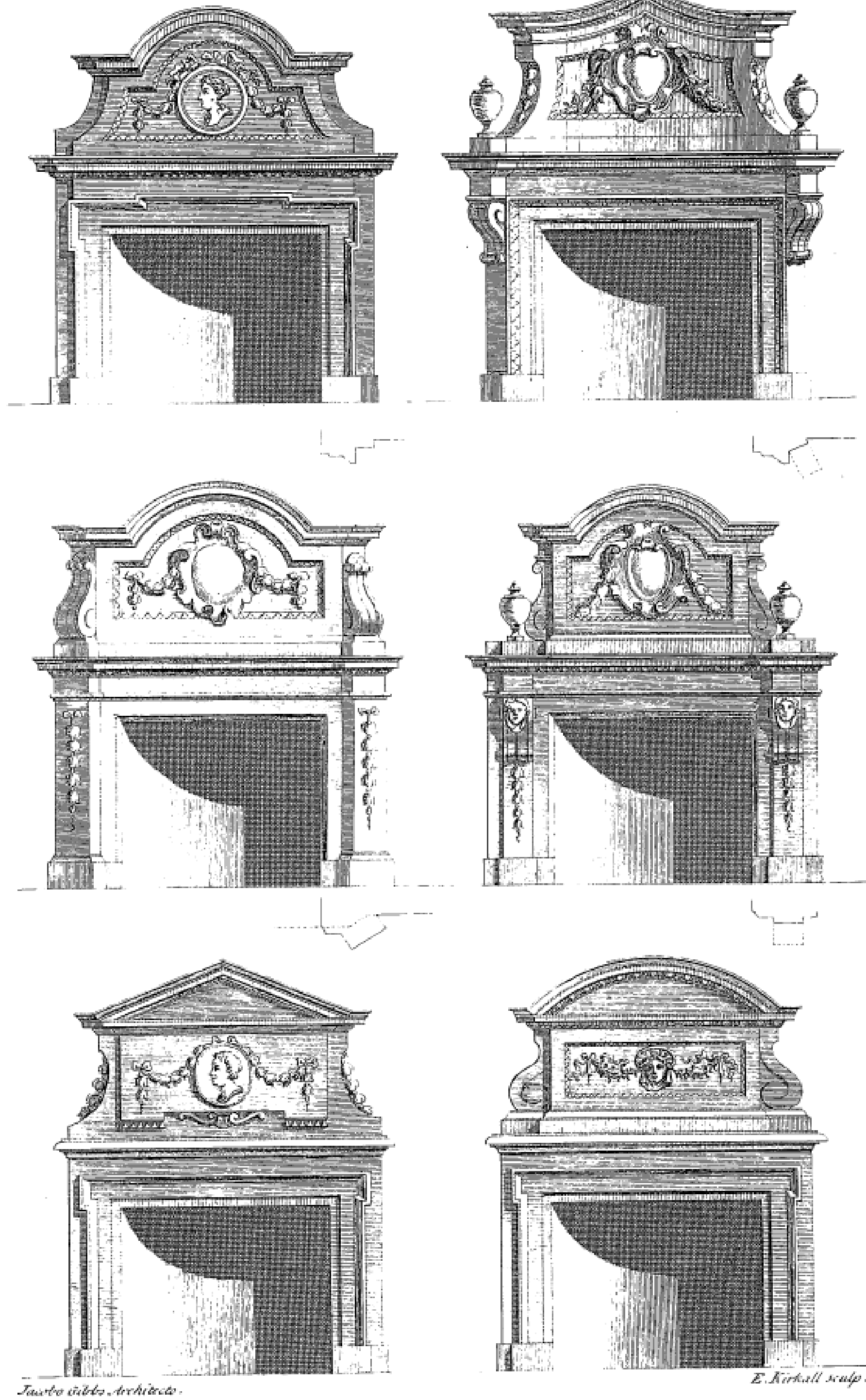

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Figure 96. Church of Santi Celso e Giuliano (architect: Carlo de Dominicis), Rome, 1733–1735. © http://spenceralley.blogspot.com.

Figure 97. Church of Santi Celso e Giuliano, facade.
© Basilwatkinsosb / http://romanchurches.wikia.com.

Figure 98. Column capitals of Santi Celso e Giuliano.
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Figure 99. Column capitals of Oratorio SS. Sarcramento (architect: Domenico Gregorini), Rome, 1727–30. © http://spenceralley.blogspot.com.

Figure 100. San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (architect: Borromini), Rome, 1638–46.
© Chris Nas / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 101. Column capital carrying the royal loge of the Mosque of Hacı Kemalettin.

Figure 102. Tombstone dated 1747 in the Armenian cemetery at Balıklı, Istanbul.

Figure 103. Tombstone dated 1750 in the Armenian cemetery at Balıklı, Istanbul.

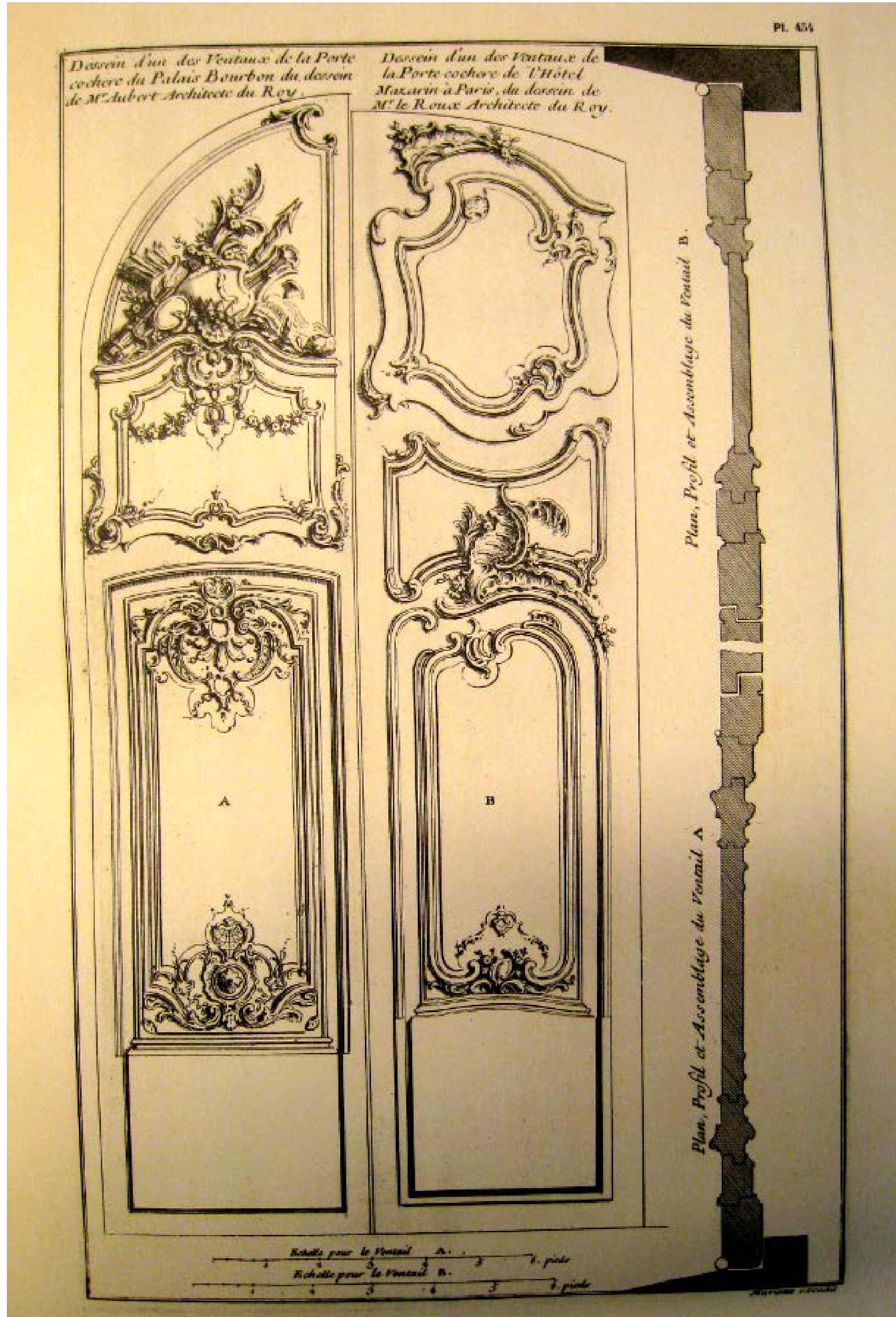


Figure 104. Engraving of Rococo door panels, from Jean Marot, *L'architecture françoise*, 4 vols. (Paris: Jean Mariette, 1727–38), pl. 454. There is a copy of the book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 2607 and H. 2613).

Figure 105. Harem bath, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, built 16th century, renovated *c*. 1744.

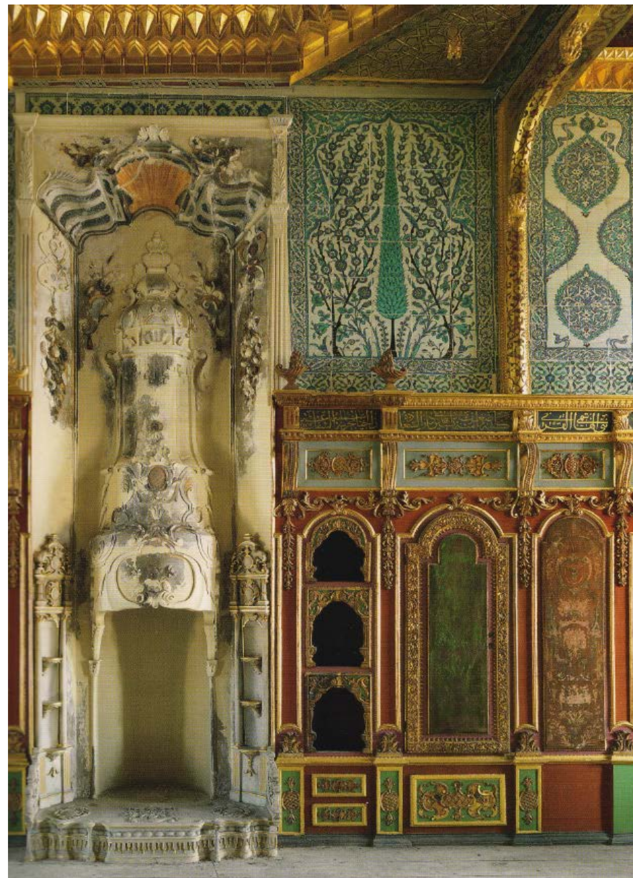


Figure 106. Princes' schoolroom, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, reconstructed after 1665, renovated early 1740s. From Atasoy, *Harem*, 35.

Figure 107. Jacques Aved, *Mehmed Saʿid Efendi, Ottoman Ambassador to France*, Paris, 1742. Versailles, Musée National du Château.

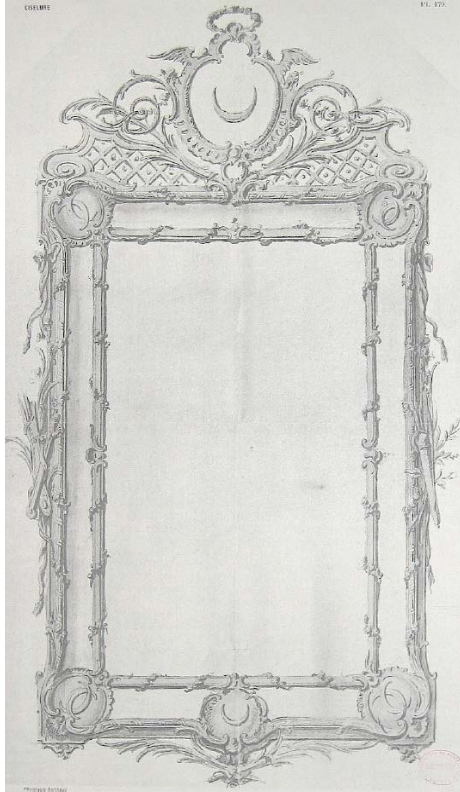


Figure 108. Design by Ange-Jacques Gabriel for a pair of gilt-bronze mirrors presented by Louis XV to Mahmud I. From Whitehead , "Royal Riches," fig. 3.

Figure 109. One of a pair of braziers made by Jean-Claude Duplessis and presented by Louis XV to Mehmed Saʿid Pasha in 1742. Now in the Sofa Kiosk, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul.

Figure 110. Sofa Kiosk, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, built 17th century, remodeled 1752.

Figure 111. Sofa Kiosk, interior.

Figure 112. Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque, Davutpaşa, Istanbul, 1734–35.

Figure 113. Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque, interior.

Figure 114. Hacı Beşir Agha Complex, Gülhane, 1744–45.

Figure 115. Hacı Beşir Agha Mosque, interior looking towards the library.

Figure 116. Hacı Beşir Agha Mosque, interior looking towards the royal prayer loge.

Figure 117. Nuruosmaniye Mosque (architect: Simeon Kalfa), Istanbul, 1748–55.
From Kuban, Ottoman Architecture, 527 (© Cemal Emden).

Figure 118. Antoine de Favray, *Sultan Osman III Receiving the Count de Vergennes, the French Ambassador*, *c*. 1755. Private collection, from Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 119. Aerial photograph of the Nuruosmaniye by Ali Rıza Bey, showing the original form of the minarets, with the Grand Bizarre in front, *c*. 1880s. Washington DC, Library of Congress, Abdul-Hamid II Collection, no. 12.

Figure 120. Aerial view of the Nuruosmaniye Complex, with the Grand Bazaar to the right. From Alioğlu and Aydemir, "Nuruosmaniye Camii," 80.

Figure 121. Satellite view showing the location of the Nuruosmaniye Complex in relation to the Divanyolu. From Google Earth.

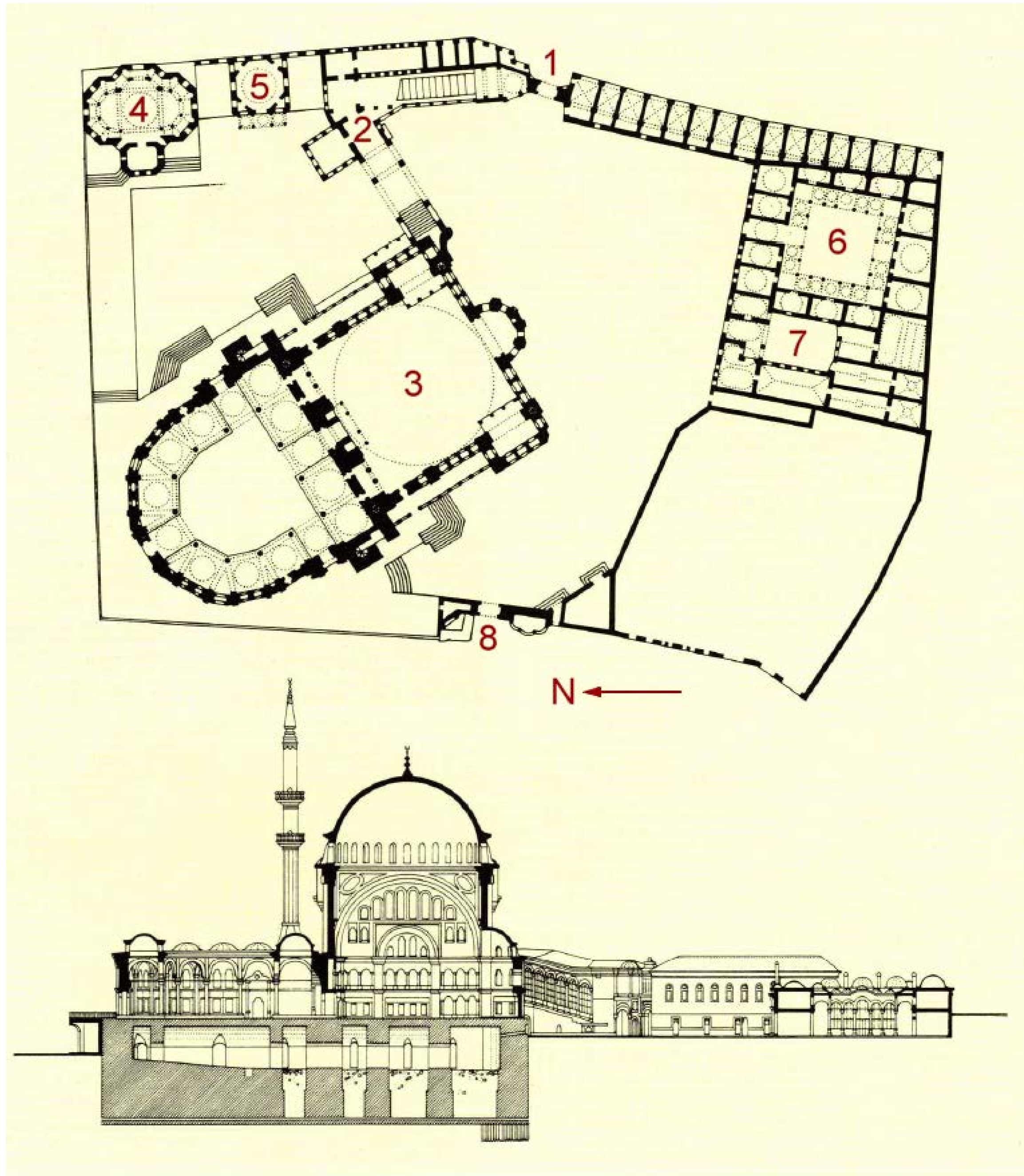


Figure 122. Plan and cross-section of the Nuruosmaniye Complex: 1. east entrance; 2. sultan’s pavilion; 3. mosque; 4. tomb; 5. library; 6. madrasa; 7. imaret; 8. west (Grand Bazaar) entrance, flanked by fountain and sebil.

Figure 123. Photograph by Abdullah Frères of the Nuruosmaniye, taken from in front of the east gate and showing the original form of the minarets, pre-1890.

Figure 124. Nuruosmaniye Complex, west (Grand Bazaar) gate, flanked by the fountain and sebil.

Figure 125. Nuruosmaniye Complex, madrasa and imaret.

Figure 126. Nuruosmaniye Complex, madrasa courtyard.

Figure 127. Nuruosmaniye Complex, imaret courtyard.

Figure 128. Nuruosmaniye Complex, library.

Figure 129. Nuruosmaniye Complex, library interior.

Figure 130. Nuruosmaniye Complex, tomb.

Figure 131. Nuruosmaniye Complex, tomb interior.

Figure 132. Sultanahmet Mosque (architect: Sedefkar Mehmed Agha), Istanbul, 1609–16. © Jorge Láscar / Wikimedia Commons.

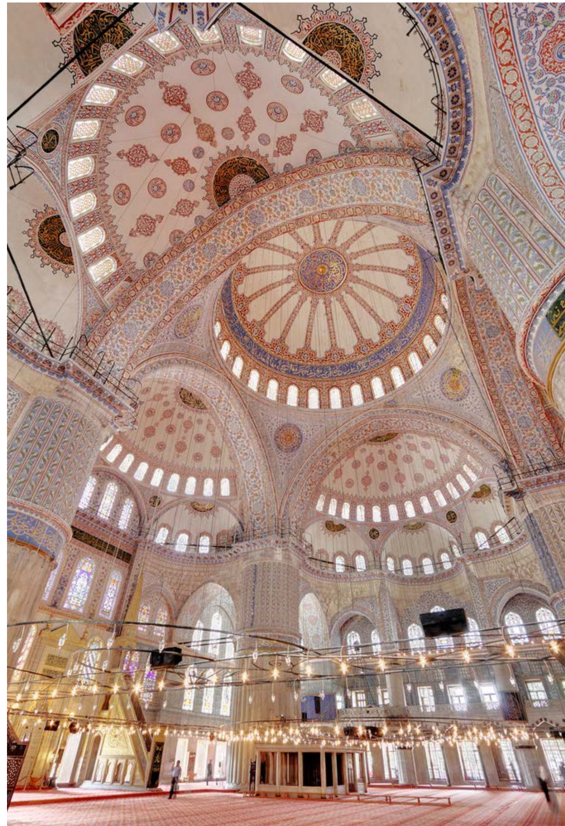


Figure 133. Sultanahmet Mosque, interior. © Benh LIEU SONG / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 134. Yeni Cami (architects: Davud Agha and Dalgıç Ahmed Agha), Eminönü, Istanbul, 1597–1665.

Figure 135. Yeni Valide Mosque, Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1708–10.
© İhsan Deniz Kılıçoğlu / Wikimedia Commons.

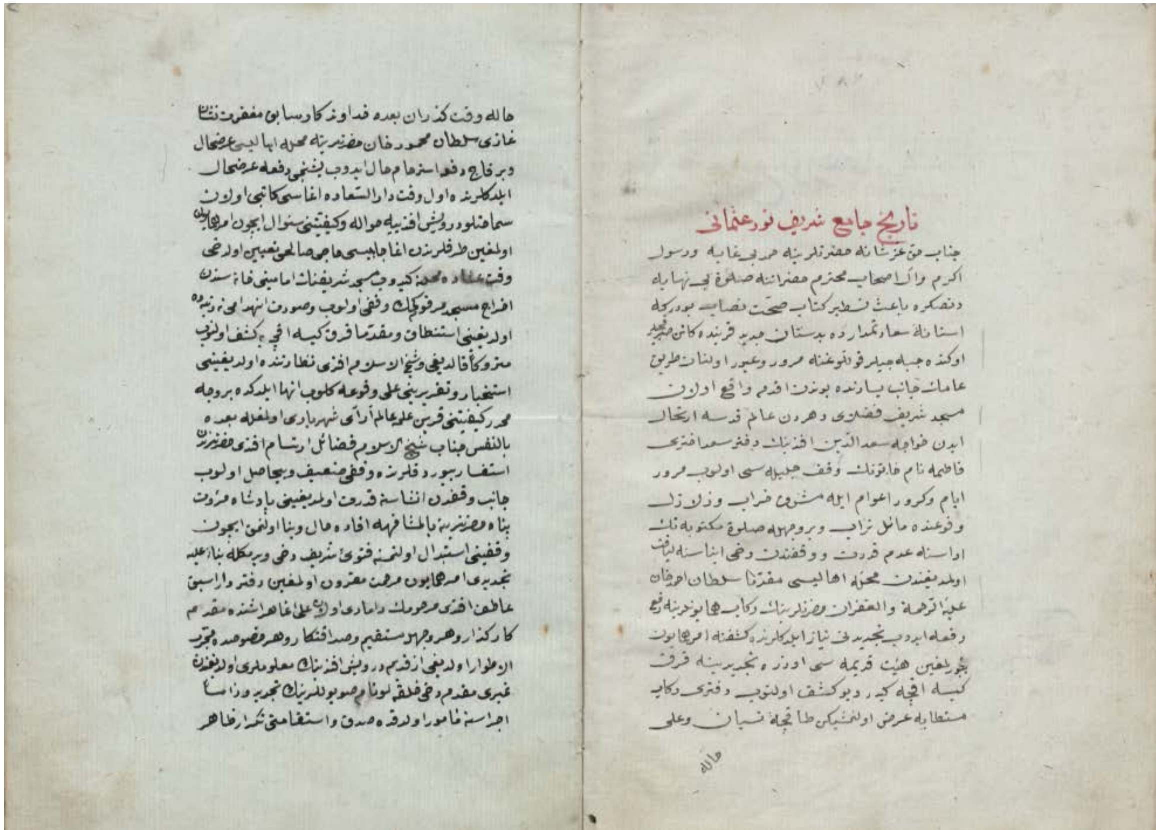


Figure 136. Ahmed Efendi, *Tārīḫ-i cāmiʿ-i şerīf-i Nūr-ı ʿOs̱mānī* (History of the Noble Mosque of Nuruosmaniye), Istanbul University Library, T. 386, 1–2.

Figure 137. Süleymaniye Mosque (architect: Sinan), Istanbul, 1550–57.
© Jorge Láscar / flickr.

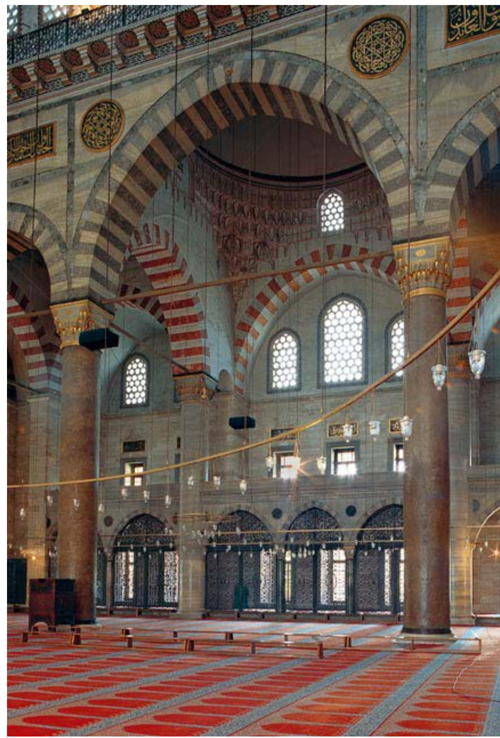


Figure 138. Süleymaniye Mosque, interior, monolithic red granite columns.
© Reha Günay / archnet.org.

Figure 139. Sultanahmet Mosque, aerial view showing the sultan's pavilion in the lower right corner. From Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion," fig. 6.

Figure 140. Sultanahmet Mosque, sultan's pavilion, entrance side. From Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*.

Figure 141. Sultanahmet Mosque, sultan’s pavilion, projecting room and loggia to the sultan’s prayer loge. From Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*.

Figure 142. Harem of the Topkapı Palace, with the Twin Kiosk (17th century) on the left and the Privy Chamber of Murad III (1578–79) on the right. From Harvard VIA.

Figure 143. Sultanahmet Mosque, royal prayer loge in the northeast corner.
© Walter B. Denny / Harvard VIA.

Figure 144. Engraving by François Denis Née after Charles-Nicolas Cochin showing the annual celebration of the Prophet's birthday at the Sultanahmet Mosque, *c*. 1787. The royal prayer loge is in the left corner. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 1, pl. 25.

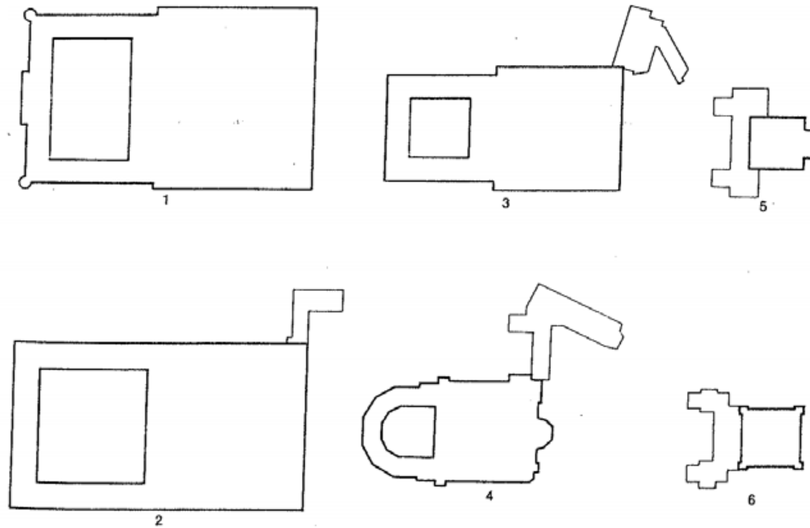


Figure 145. Diagrams from Kuran, "Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion."

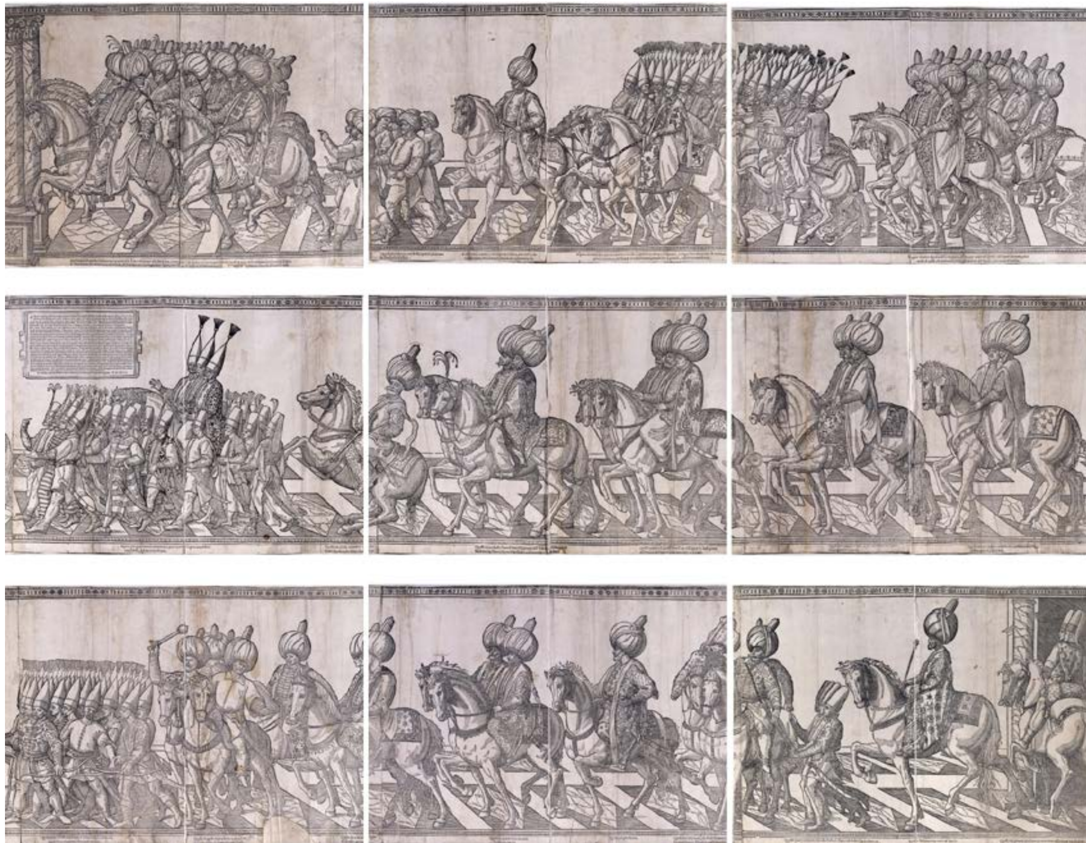


Figure 146. Series of nine woodcuts by Domenico de' Francheschi showing the Friday procession of Süleyman the Magnificent, Venice, 1563.
© Royal Academy of Arts, London.

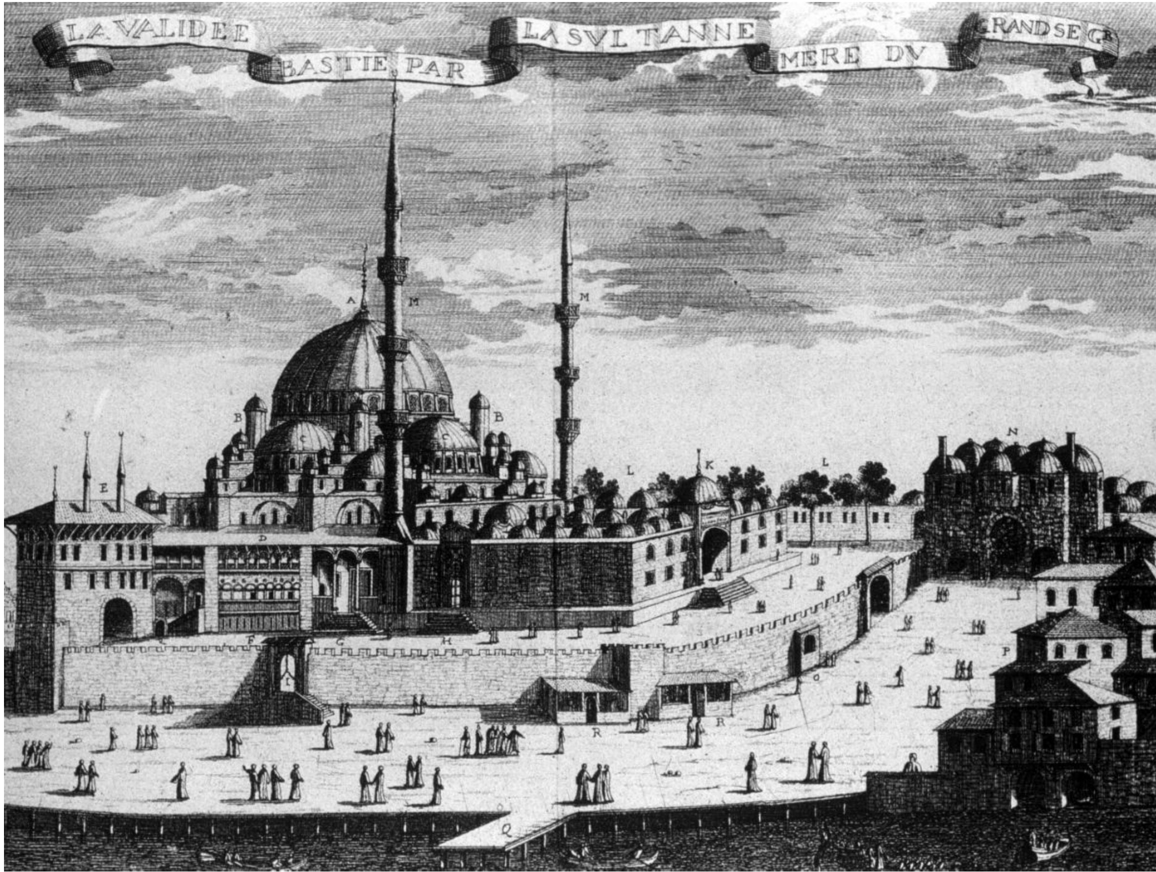


Figure 147. Engraving by G.-J. Grelot of the Yeni Cami, with the pavilion on the left.

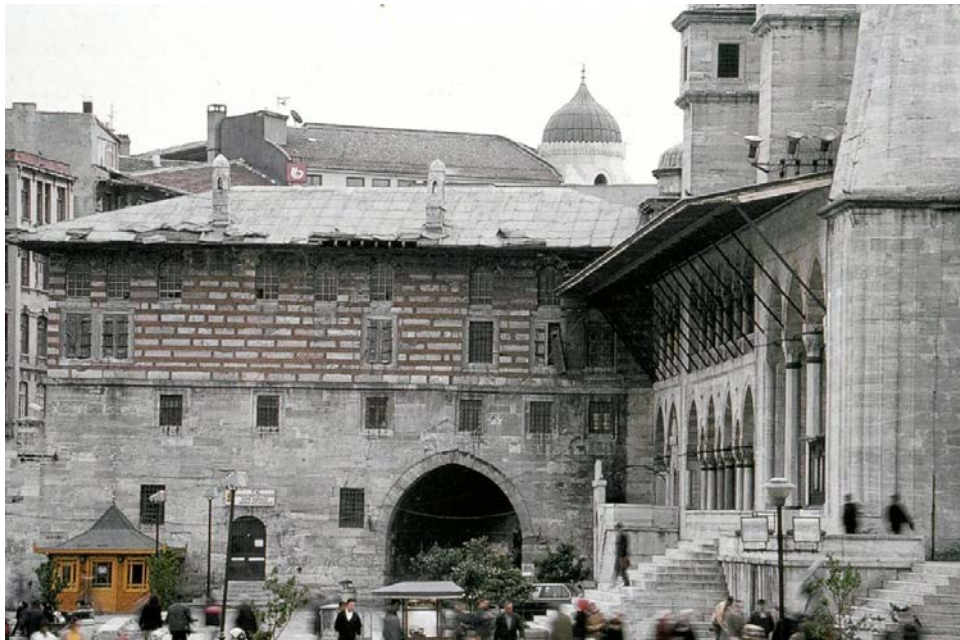


Figure 148. Pavilion of the Yeni Cami. From Harvard VIA.

Figure 149. Yeni Cami pavilion, entrance ramp.From Nayır, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet*. *Külliyesi*.

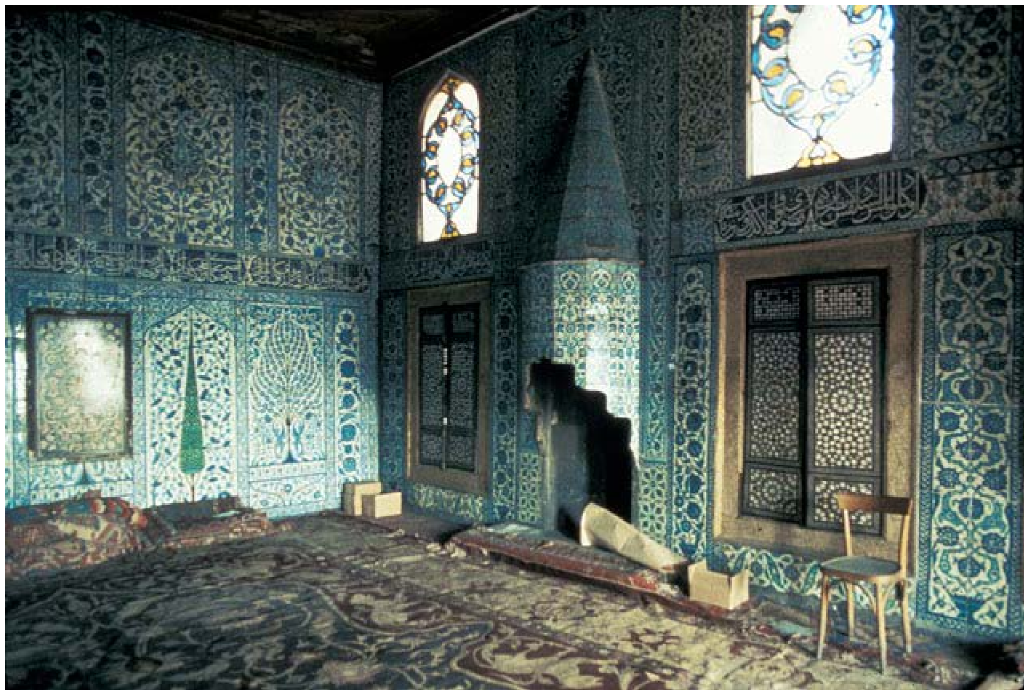


Figure 150. Yeni Cami pavilion, interior of the western room.
© Walter B. Denny / archnet.org.

Figure 151. Nuruosmaniye Complex, precinct interior, with the east gate on the right and the entrance into the sultan's pavilion on the left.

Figure 152. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan's pavilion, entrance and ramp.

Figure 153. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan's pavilion, ramp and elevated gallery. Photo courtesy of Doris Behrens-Abouseif.

Figure 154. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan's pavilion, elevated gallery adjoining the prayer hall.

Figure 155. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, projecting room at the outer corner.

Figure 156. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, elevated gallery viewed from the back.

Figure 157. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan's pavilion, interior of the ramp.

Figure 158. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan's pavilion, top of the ramp, with the entrance into the royal room on the left.

Figure 159. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, royal room.

Figure 160. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, fireplace in the royal room.

Figure 161. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, top of the ramp, with the entrance to the royal room on the right, and to the elevated gallery on the left.

Figure 162. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, interior of the elevated gallery looking towards the entrance to the royal loge.

Figure 163. Nuruosmaniye Complex, sultan’s pavilion, entrance into the royal prayer loge.

Figure 164. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, royal prayer loge, with the door to the sultan’s pavilion on the left.

Figure 165. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, royal prayer loge, interior.

Figure 166. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, royal prayer loge viewed from the prayer hall.

Figure 167. Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (?), *Procession of the Sultan to the Ayasofya*, *c*. 1730s. Private collection.

Figure 168. Engraving after Antoine-Ignace Melling showing the Eid procession of Selim III (r. 1789–1807). From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*, pl. 12.

Figure 169. Engraving of the pope's inaugural procession to St. John Lateran, Rome. From Joan Blaeu, *Nieuw vermeerderd en verbeterd groot stedeboek van geheel Italie. . . .* 4 vols. (In's Graavenhaage, R. C. Alberts, 1724), vol. 4, pl. 77. There is a copy of the book in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library under the title *Nouveau theatre d'Italie* (H. 2724 and H. 2751).

Figure 170. Miniature painting of Louis XIV at prayer in the Chapel of Versailles, with spectators in the background. From the *Heures de Louis le Grand*, 1693.
Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9477, fol. A, verso. © BnF.

Figure 171. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Reception of Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, by Louis XIV on the Ambassadors' Staircase at Versailles in 1674*, painted 1878.
Paris, musée d'Orsay © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée d'Orsay) / Hervé Lewandowski.

Figure 172. Yavuz Selim Mosque (architect: Acem Ali), Istanbul, completed 1522.
© VikiPicture / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 173. Selimiye Mosque (architect: Sinan), Edirne, 1568–74.
© Filance / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 174. Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (architect: Sinan), Edirnekapı, 1562–65. © Josep Renalias / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 175. Nuruosmaniye Mosque viewed from the direction of the Divanyolu, with the chimneys of the imaret in the foreground.

Figure 176. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, qibla wall.
Photo courtesy of Doris Behrens-Abouseif.

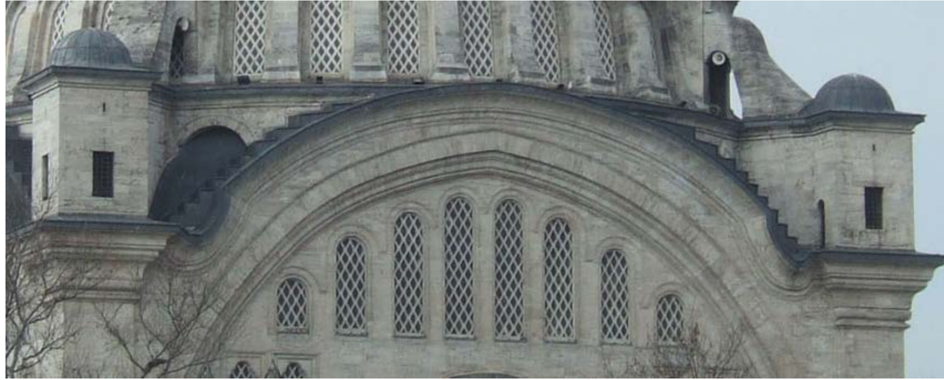


Figure 177. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, baldachin pediment.
Photo courtesy of Doris Behrens-Abouseif.

Figure 178. Carved niche of a fountain of Mahmud I, Maçka, 1748.

Figure 179. Top of an altarpiece by Pietro de Pomis, Mariahilf Church, Graz, 1611.
© Josef Lex / flickr.

Figure 180. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, lateral galleries.

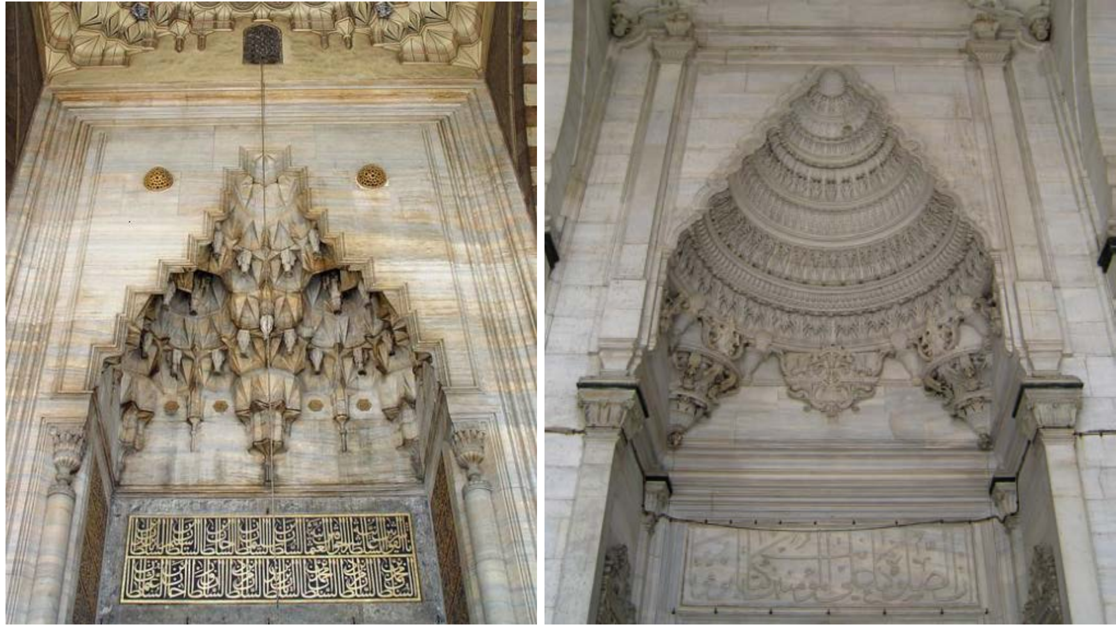
Figure 181. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, lateral galleries and courtyard.

Figure 182. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard exterior, main entrance.

Figure 183. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard exterior, semivault over lateral entrance.

Figure 184. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior.

Figure 185. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior looking towards the prayer hall.



Figures 186–187. Comparison of the semivault over the main entrance of the Süleymaniye with that of the Nuruosmaniye.Photo on left © Helen Bett / www.pbase.com.

Figure 188. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior, Semivault over the prayer-hall entrance.

Figure 189. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, courtyard interior, lateral door.

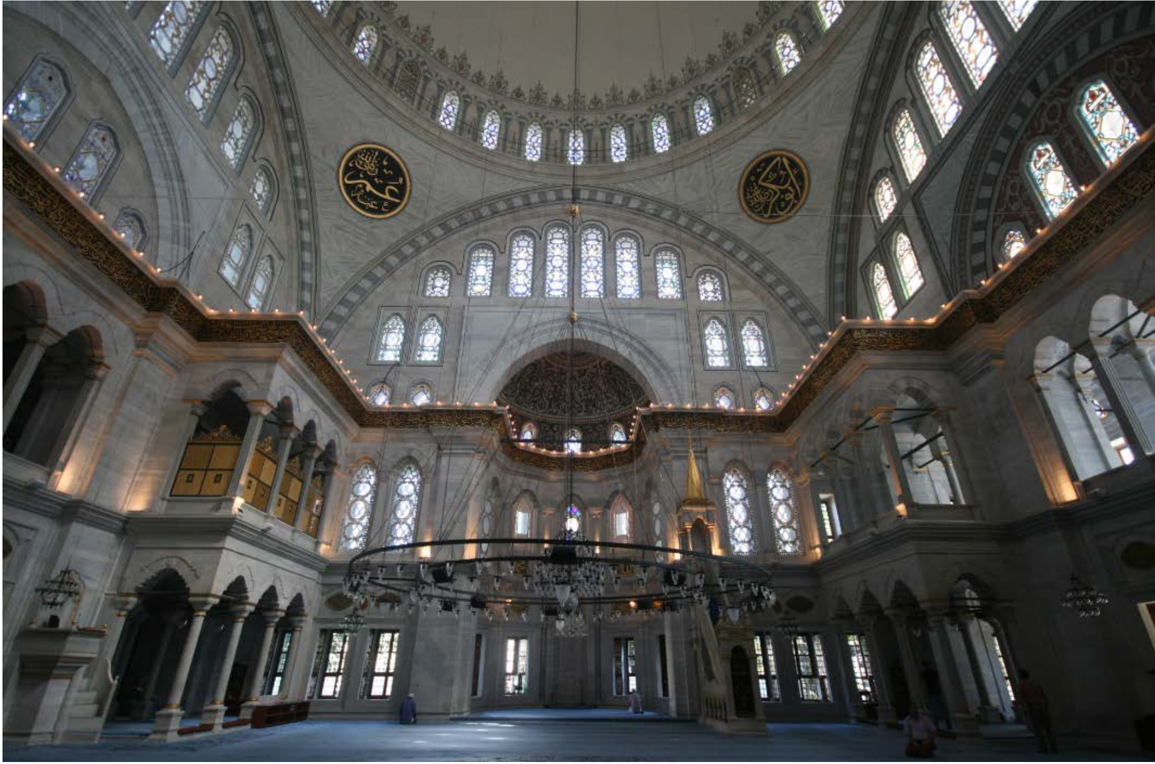


Figure 190. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall.

Figure 191. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, dome.

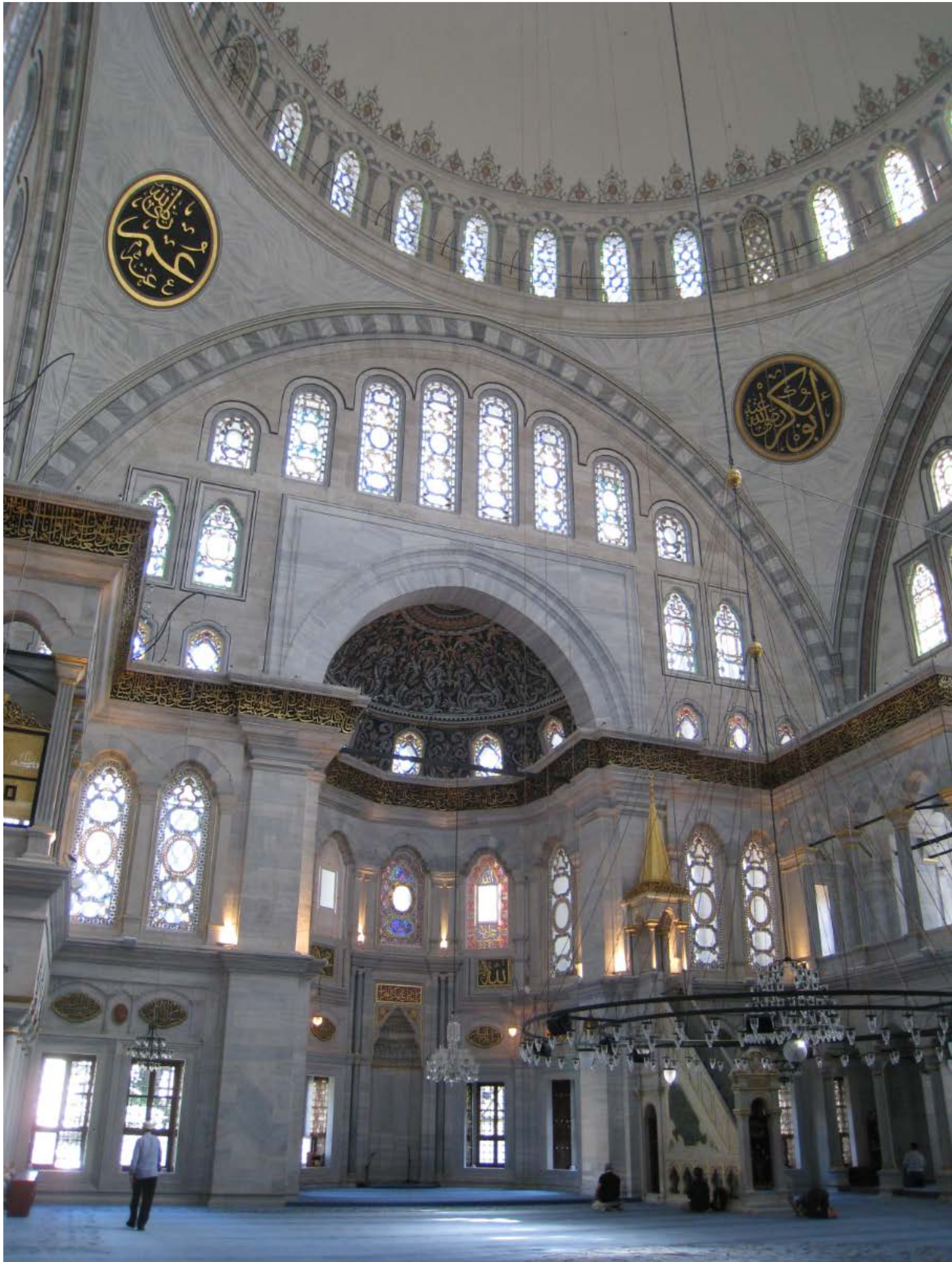


Figure 192. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall looking towards the qibla wall.

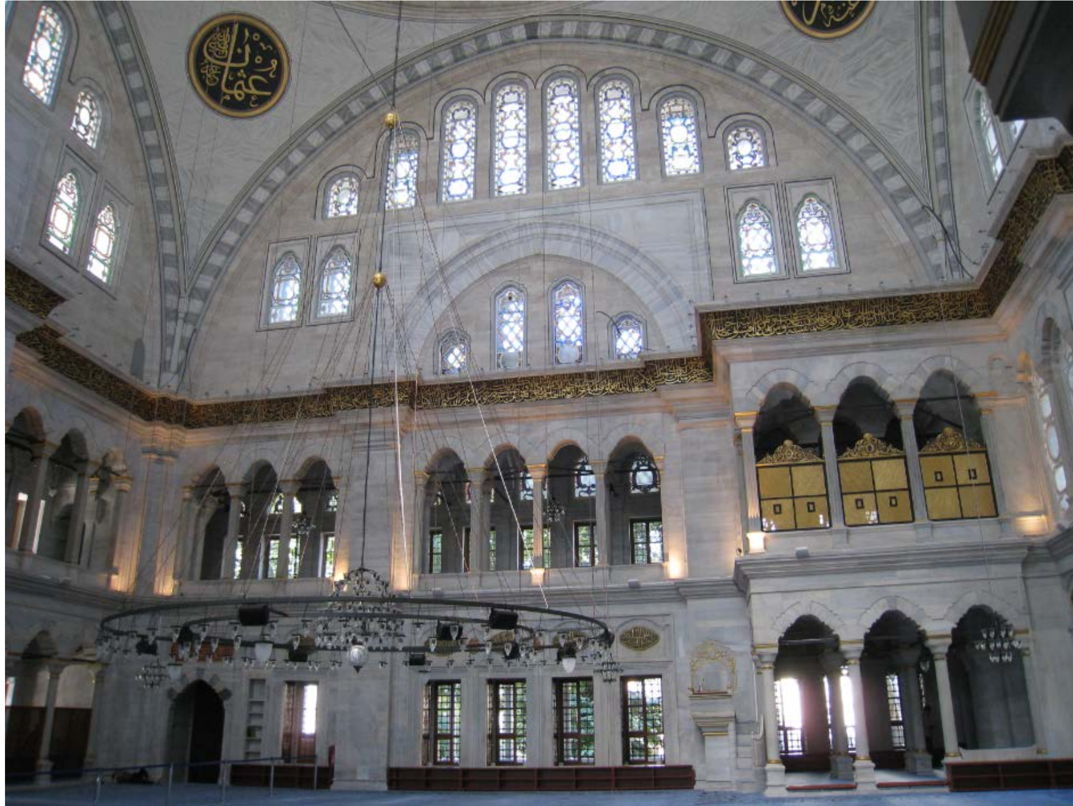


Figure 193. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall looking towards the northeast galleries, with the royal prayer loge to the right.

Figure 194. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, blind arcade framing calligraphies.

Figure 195. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, calligraphic cornice with dentil borders.

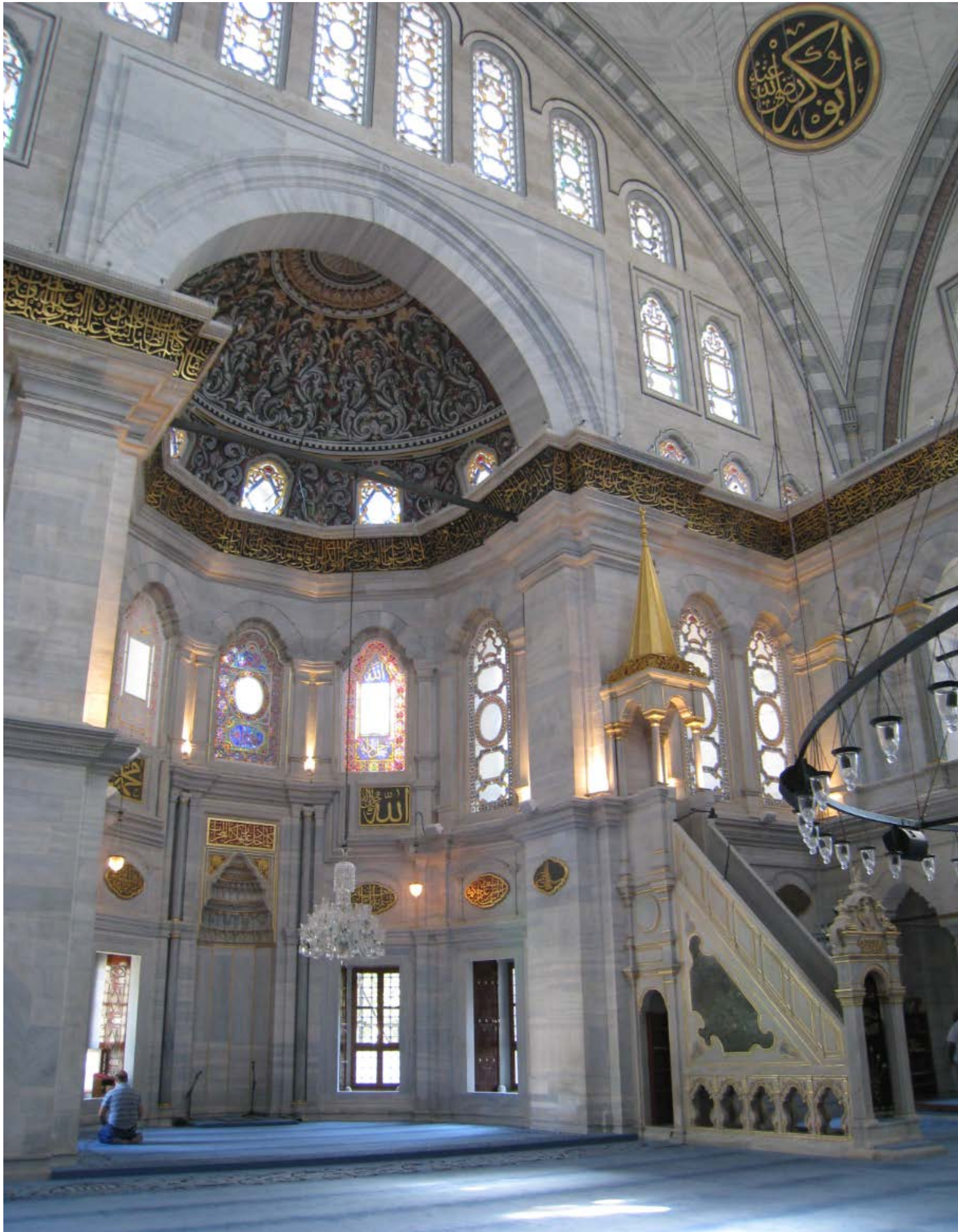


Figure 196. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall looking towards the mihrab apse and minbar.

Figure 197. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, mihrab and flanking calligraphies.

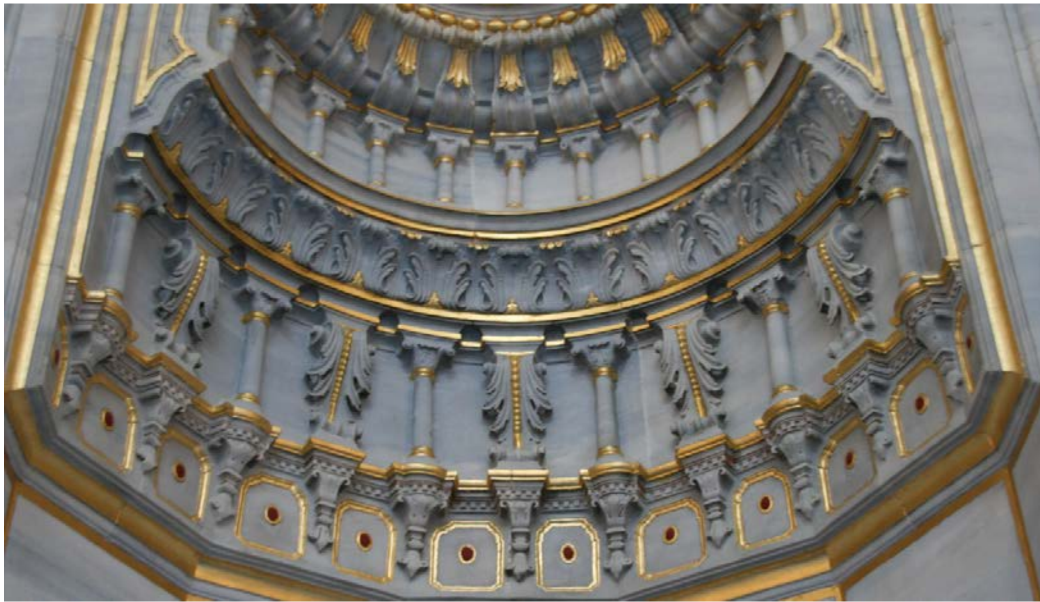


Figure 198. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, mihrab carvings.

Figure 199. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, calligraphies in the apse, including the sultan’s tughra.

Figure 200. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, prayer hall, lower part of the minbar.

Figure 201. Nuruosmaniye Complex, column capital on the courtyard exterior.

Figure 202. Nuruosmaniye Complex, column capital of the tomb portico.

Figure 203. Nuruosmaniye Complex, unfinished column capital inside the courtyard.

Figure 204. Smaller tombstone dated 1756 in the Armenian cemetery at Bağlarbaşı, Istanbul.

Figure 205. Larger tombstone dated 1756 in the Armenian cemetery at Bağlarbaşı, Istanbul.

Figure 206. Details of the larger Armenian tombstone.

Figure 207. Marble carving over one of the lateral doors inside the Nuruosmaniye courtyard.

Figure 208. Nuruosmaniye Complex, marble jetting fountain, located between the mosque and madrasa.

Figure 209. Nuruosmaniye Complex, jet and spouts of the marble fountain.

Figure 210. Engraving of St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, and its piazza, the latter built by Bernini between 1656 and 1667. From Blaeu, *Nieuw vermeerderd en verbeterd groot stedeboek van geheel Italie* (equivalent to Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2751), vol. 4, pl. 66.

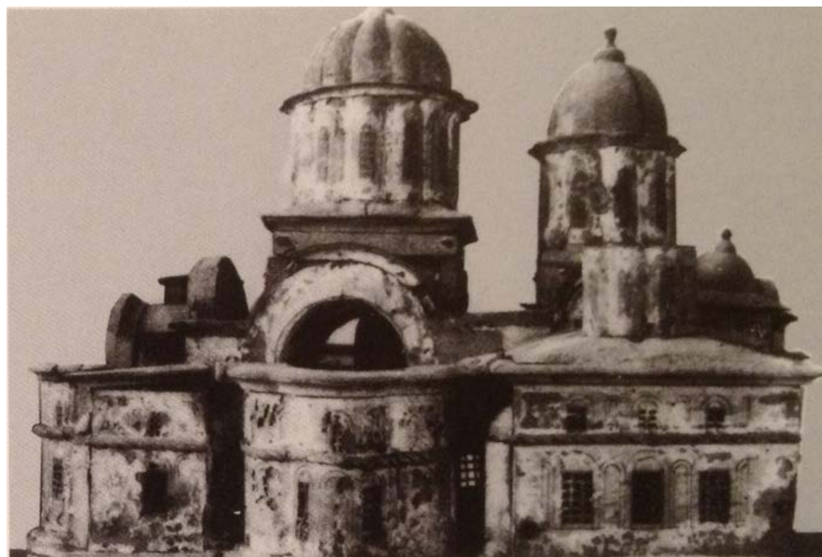


Figure 211. Wooden model for the katholikon of the Xeropotamou Monastery on Mount Athos, made by the architect Constantinos in Istanbul in 1762. Mount Athos, Xeropotamou Monastery. From Necipoğlu, "Age of Sinan," fig. 148.

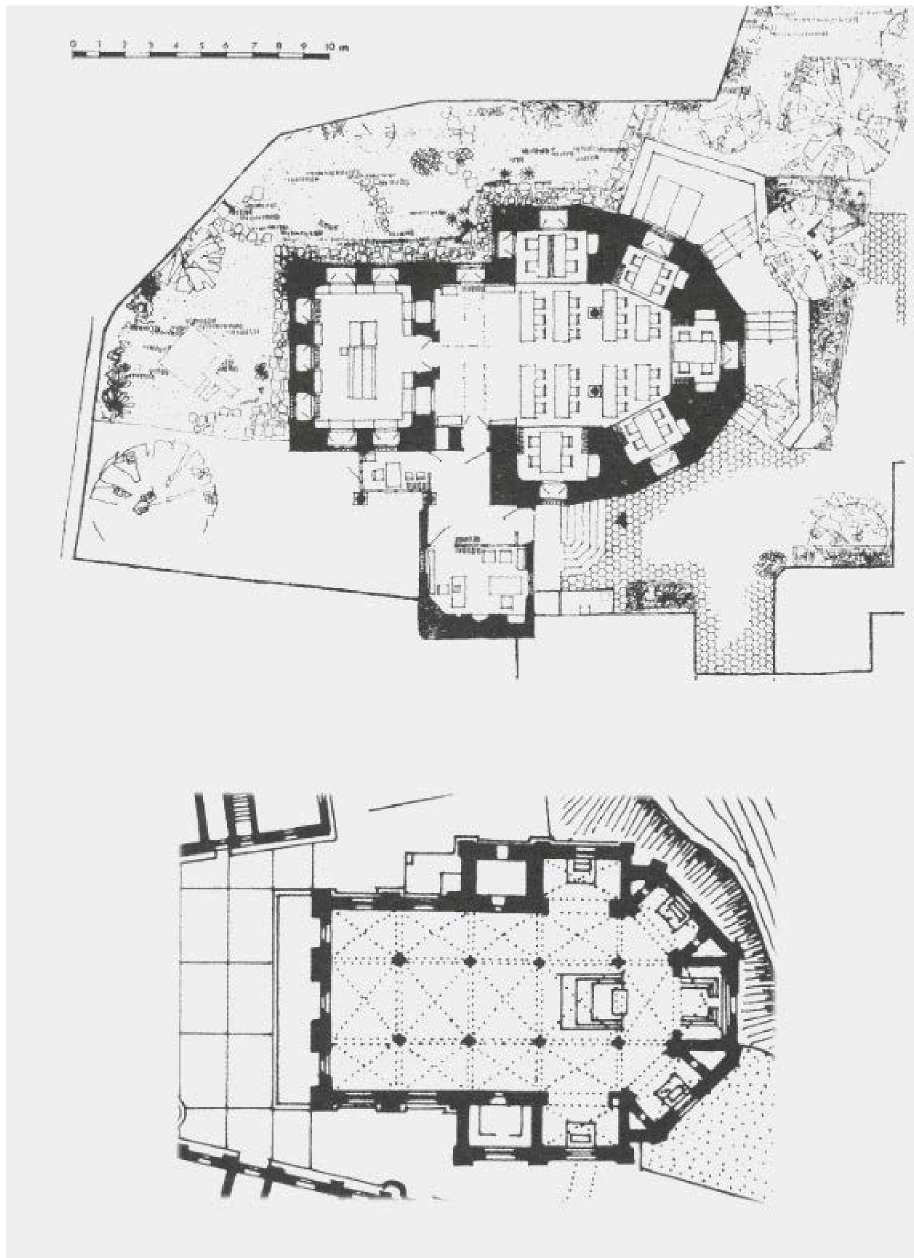


Figure 212. Comparison of the plans of the Atıf Efendi Library (Istanbul, 1741) and Pienza Cathedral (1459-62). From Saner, "Mimari Dönüştürmeler," figs. 1–2.

Figure 213. Engraving by Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli after Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano (Kozmas Gomidas Kömürciyan) showing the Nuruosmaniye Mosque. From Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, pl. 17.

Figure 214. Engraving by Marco Sebastiano Giampiccoli after Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano (Kozmas Gomidas Kömürciyan) showing the Yeni Cami. From Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica*, pl. 14.

Figure 215. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, interior space.

Figure 216. Ayasofya, interior space.

Figure 217. South facade of Hampton Court Palace (architect: Christopher Wren), Richmond, London, 1689–1700. © russavia / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 218. Metropolitan Cathedral of Mexico City, 1573–1813. © Juan Fernando Ibarra / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 219. St. Joseph’s Seminary and Church, Macau, 1728–58.
© Wai Hong / Wikipedia.

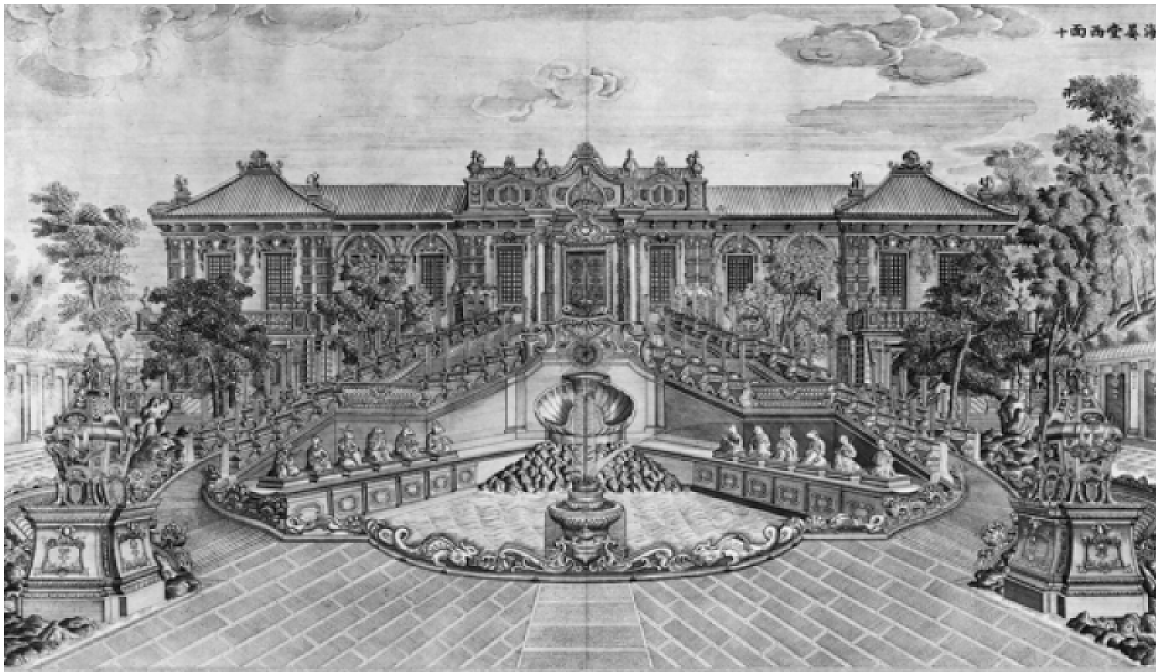


Figure 220. Engraving by Yi Lantai showing the Haiyantang Palace (architects: Giuseppe Castiglione et al.), Old Summer Palace complex, Beijing, completed *c.* 1781 (destroyed 1860). From Thomas, “Yuanming Yuan/Versailles,” fig. 10.

Figure 221. Garden folly in the form of a mosque, Schwetzingen Castle, 1779–91.
© Goutamkhandelwal / Wikimedia Commons.

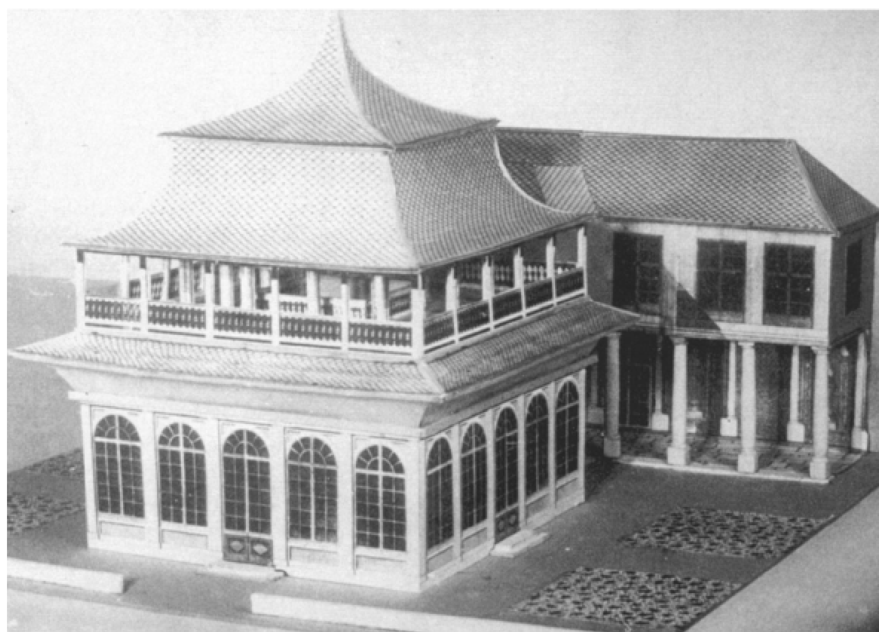


Figure 222. Model by France-Lanord of the Kiosque at the Château de Lunéville, 1737.
From Avcıoğlu, “A Palace of One’s Own,” 667.

Figure 223. Karlskirche (architects: Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach), Vienna, 1716–37.

Figure 224. Kiosk of Osman III, Harem, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, completed 1754–57. From Harvard VIA.

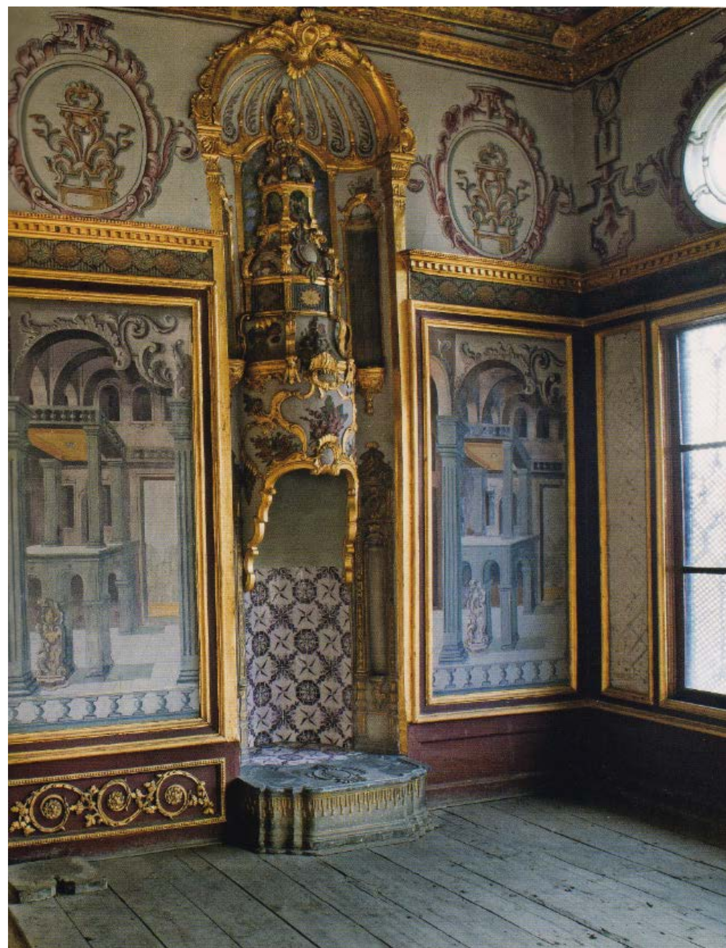


Figure 225. Kiosk of Osman III, interior of the main room. From Atasoy, *Harem*, 59.

Figure 226. Peterhof Palace (architects J. Braunstein, J. B. LeBlond, et al.), St. Petersburg, 1714–52. From Wikicommons.

Figure 227. Engraving after M. I. Makhaev showing St. Petersburg, with the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul (1712–33) rising in the distance, *c*. 1750. © G. A. Kachalov / Wikimedia Commons..

Figure 228. Cathedral of the Assumption of Our Lady (architects: Andrea Bufalini et al.), Dubrovnik, 1671–1713. © Hedwig Storch / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 229. Gate of Charles VI, Belgrade, 1736. © petar87 / Panoramio.

Figure 230. Church of St. Anne, Budapest. 1740–1805.

Figure 231. White Cross Inn, Budapest, 1770s.

Figure 232. Miniature painting of Mustafa III enthroned. From *Silsilenāme*, Istanbul, *c*. 1757. TSM, A. 3109, fol. 26a.

Figure 233. Ayazma Mosque viewed from the Bosphorus, Üsküdar, 1757–60.

Figure 234. 18th–century print showing the Ayazma Mosque with its original minaret.

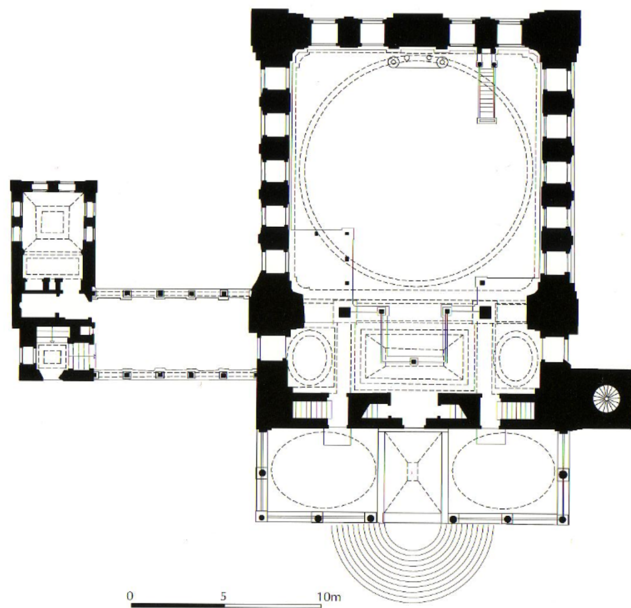


Figure 235. Ayazma Mosque, plan. From Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 543.

Figure 236. Ayazma Mosque viewed from the east, with the sultan's pavilion to the right.

Figure 237. Ayazma Mosque viewed from the north, with the sultan's pavilion to the left.

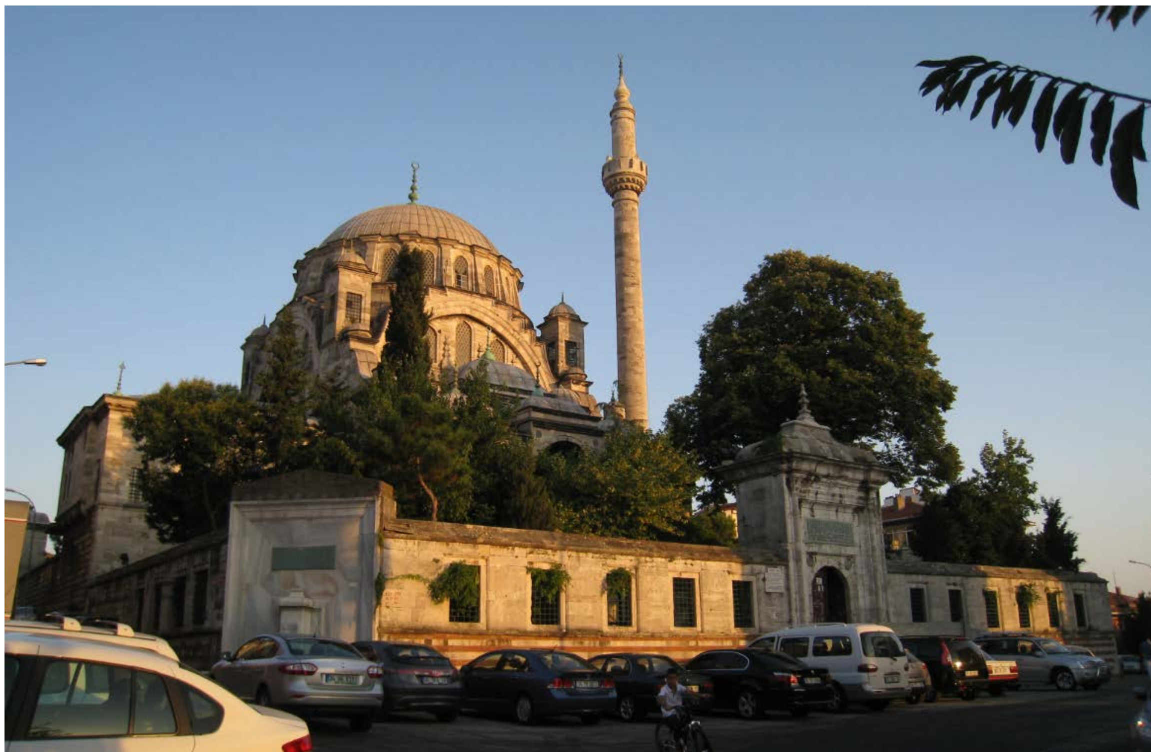


Figure 238. Ayazma Mosque, entrance side, including the fountain at the corner of the precinct wall.

Figure 239. Ayazma Mosque, entrance portico and stairway.

Figure 240. Ayazma Mosque, entrance portico.

Figure 241. Ayazma Mosque, column capital of the entrance portico.

Figure 242. Ayazma Mosque, main entrance.

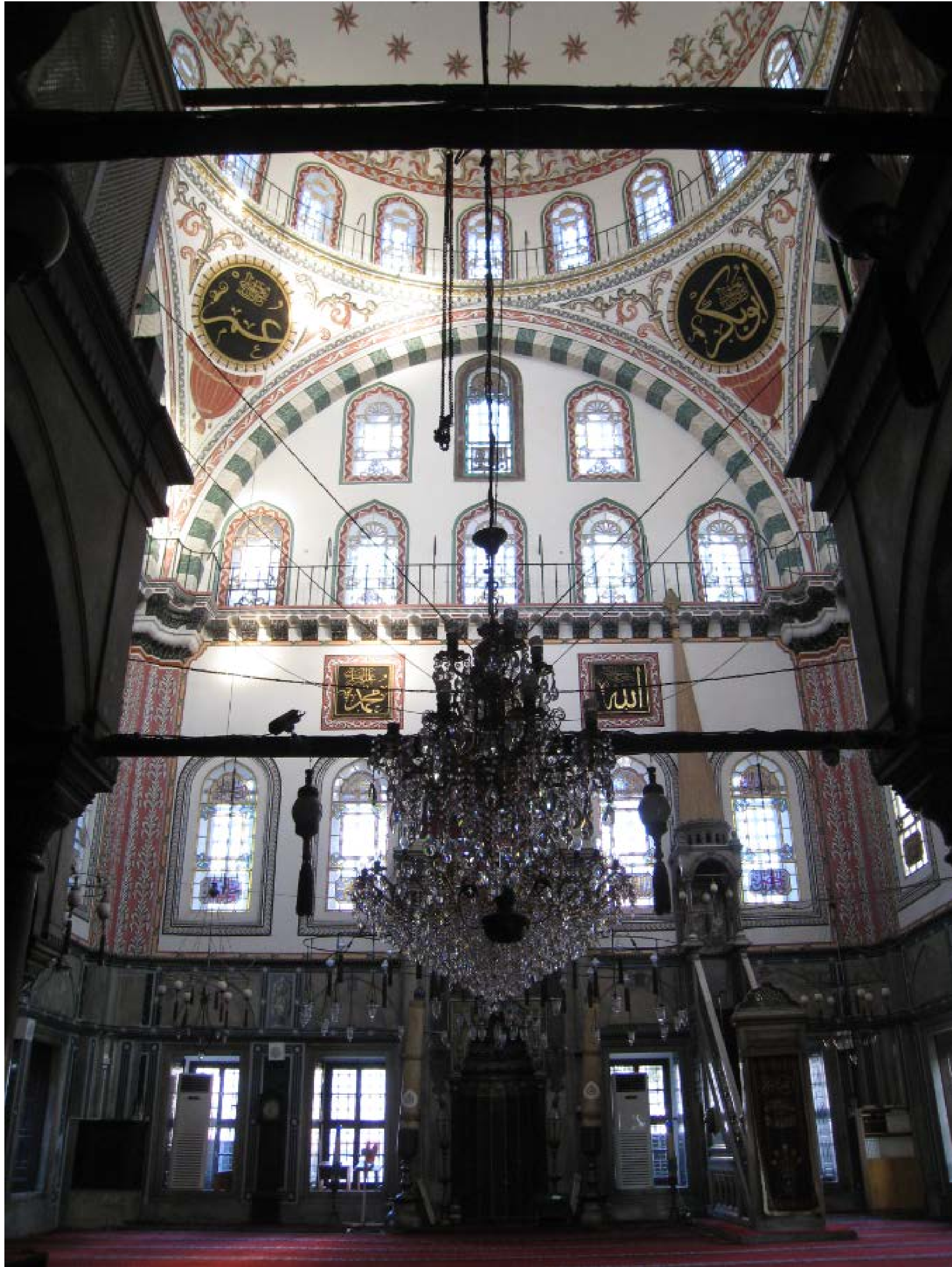


Figure 243. Ayazma Mosque, interior.

Figure 244. Ayazma Mosque, interior looking towards the qibla wall.

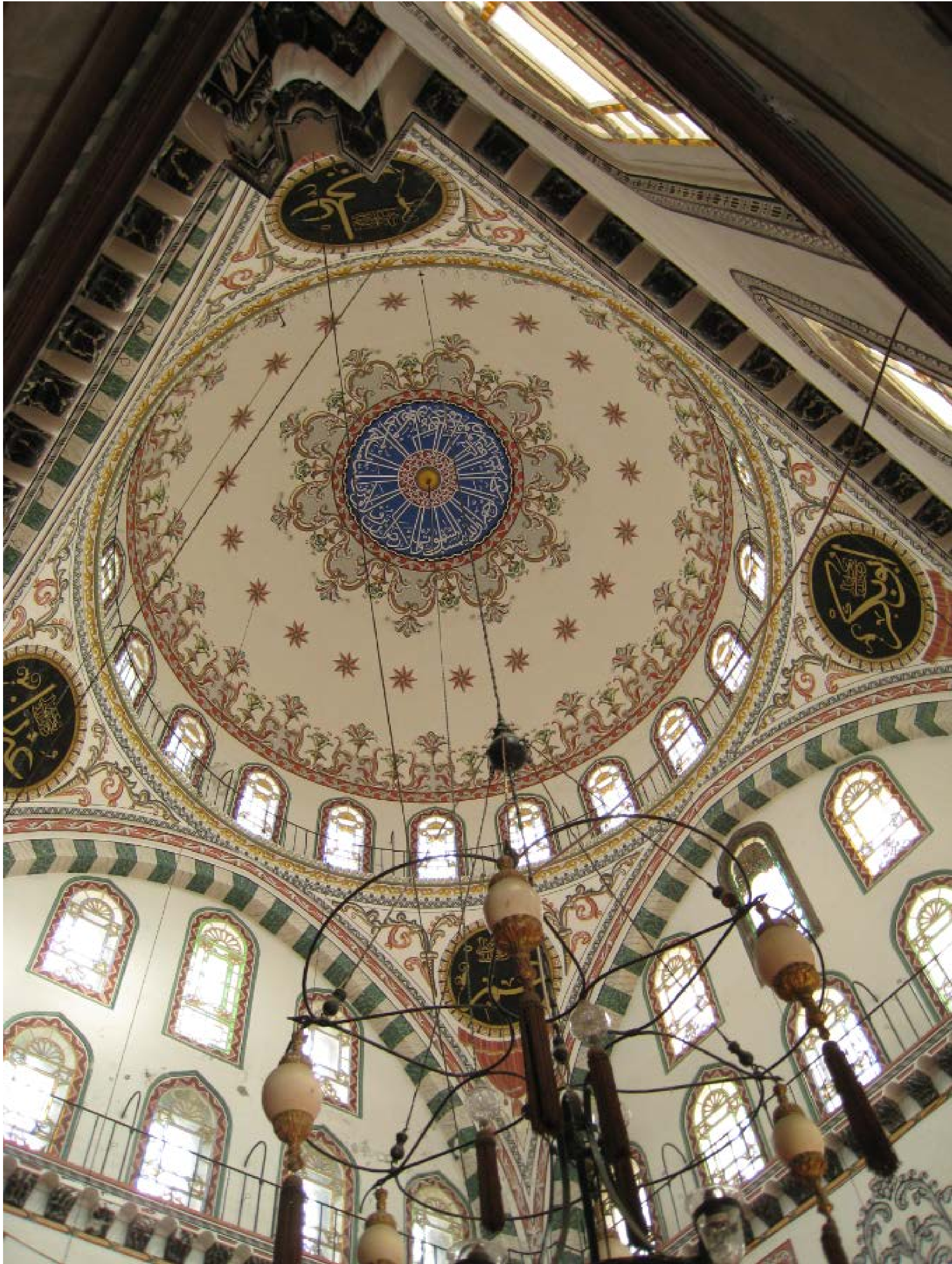


Figure 245. Ayazma Mosque, interior, dome.

Figure 246. Ayazma Mosque, interior looking towards the entrance side, with the royal prayer loge to the right.

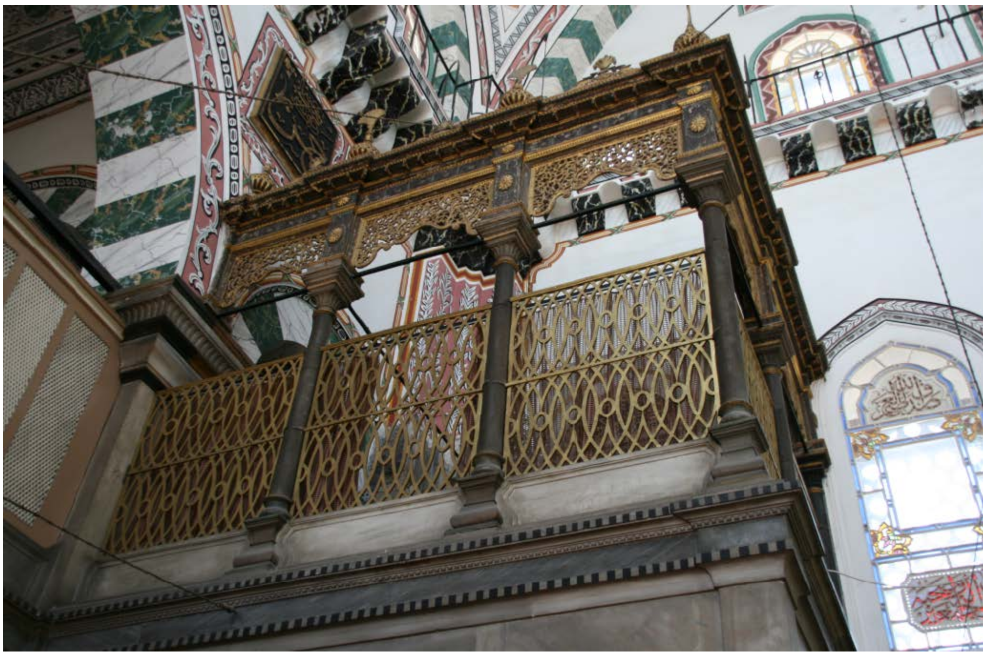


Figure 247. Ayazma Mosque, royal prayer loge.

Figure 248. Ayazma Mosque, screen of the royal prayer loge.

Figure 249. Ayazma Mosque, Chinese tiles and carved marble shelf in the royal loge.

Figure 250. Ayazma Mosque, mihrab and minbar.

Figure 251. Ayazma Mosque, hood of the mihrab.

Figure 252. Ayazma Mosque, carved parapet of the minbar.

Figure 253. Ayazma Mosque, preacher's chair, with dentils above it.

Figure 254. Ayazma Mosque, southwest facade.

Figure 255. Ayazma Mosque, relief pinnacles of one of the tympana.

Figure 256. Ayazma Mosque, inscription and pinnacles over the main entrance.

Figure 257. Süleymaniye Mosque, pinnacles and cresting of the courtyard gateway.
© Arild Vågen / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 258. Mosque of Mahmud Pasha (founded 1463), Istanbul, showing the mihrab and minbar of 1175–56.

Figures 259–260. Comparison of the blind arcade carved on the side of the Mahmud Pasha mihrab and the niches of the ablution fountains along the side of the Nuruosmaniye.

Figure 261. Cihanoğlu Mosque, Aydın, 1756. © Dick Osseman / PBase.com.

Figure 262. Cihanoğlu Mosque, carved marble tank of the ablutions fountain. © Dick Osseman / PBase.com.

Figure 263. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Mustafa III, Cairo, 1758 and 1760.
© NVICstudents / Panoramio.

Figure 264. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Mustafa III, arches supported by scroll capitals.
© rsaslan / Flickr.

Figure 265. Laleli Complex (architect: Mehmed Tahir Agha?), Istanbul, 1760–64.

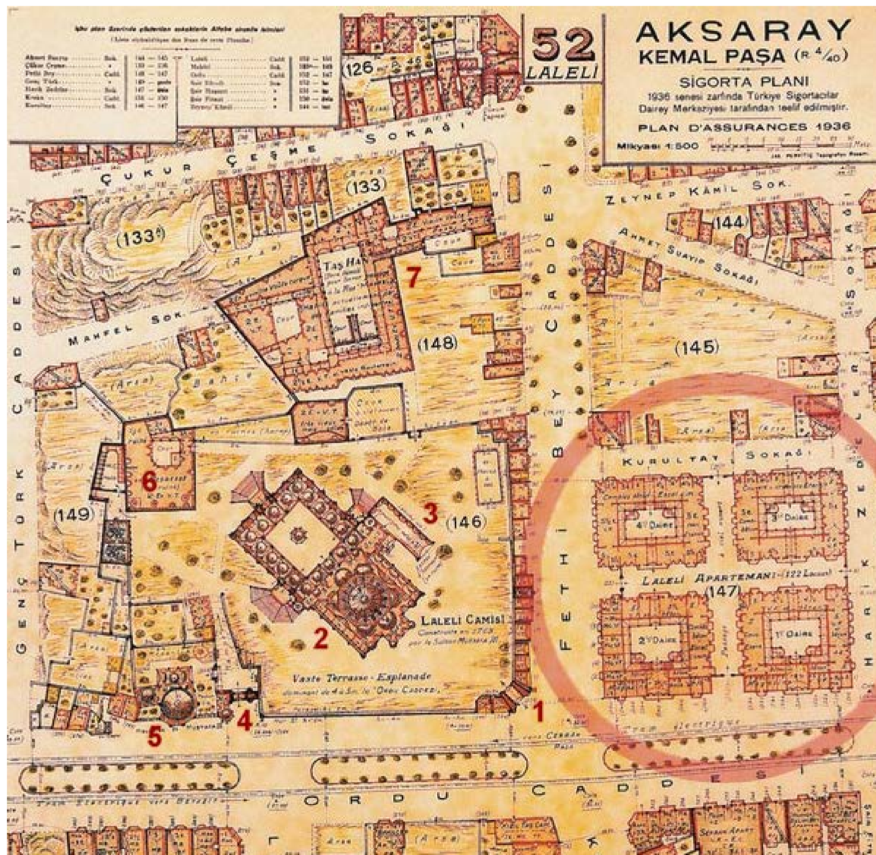


Figure 266. Map of the Laleli Complex: 1. main gate; 2. mosque; 3. sultan’s pavilion; 4. secondary gate and sebil; 5. tomb; 6. imaret; 7 Taş Han. The Divan Yolu is at the bottom labeled “Ordu Caddesi.” Map by Jacques Pervititch, 1936.

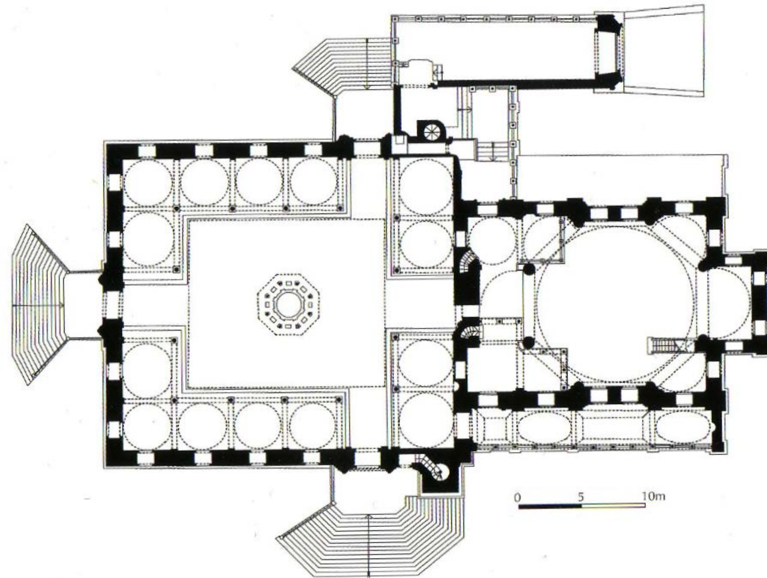


Figure 267. Laleli Mosque, plan. Adapted from Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*, 540.

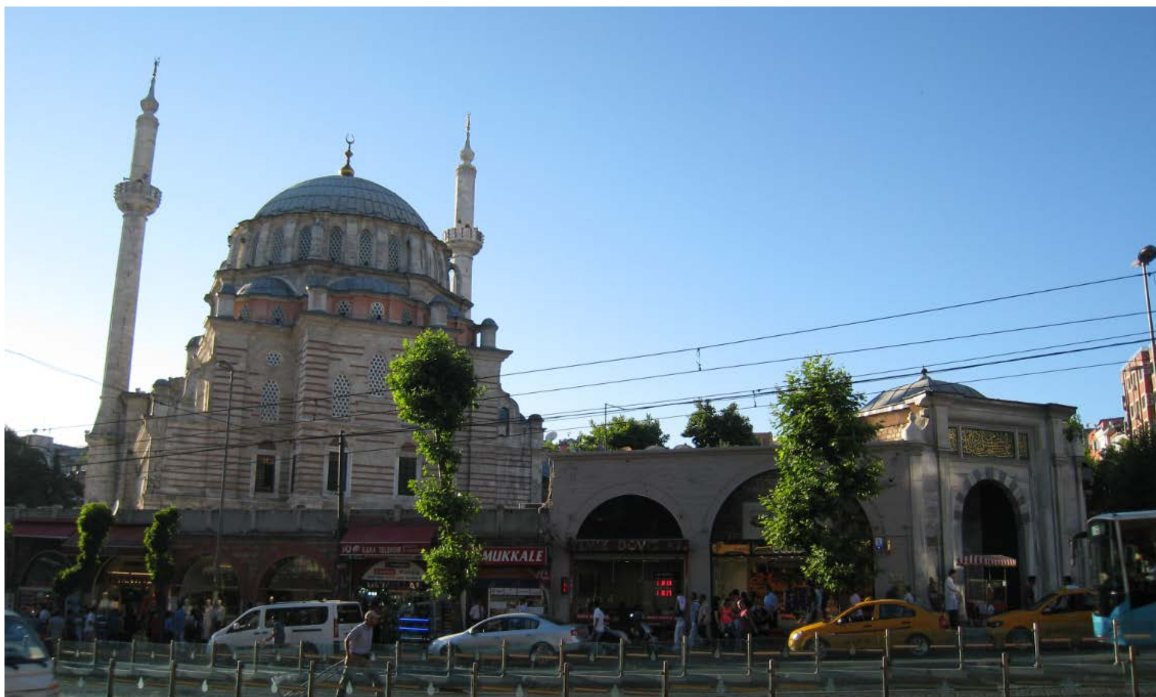


Figure 268. Laleli Complex, from the Divan Yolu, with the main gate to the right.

Figure 269. Laleli Mosque, from the south.

Figure 270. Laleli Complex, tomb and sebil.

Figure 271. Laleli Complex, sebil and the adjacent gate.

Figure 272. Laleli complex, eave of the sebil.

Figure 273. Laleli Complex, tomb, upper part of the entrance.

Figure 274. Lalei Complex, tomb interior.

Figure 275. Laleli Complex, imaret, facade.

Fi**gure 276**. Laleli Complex, imaret, courtyard interior.

Figure 277. Laleli Comlex, vaulted basement.

Figure 278. Taş Han (Sipahiler Hanı), associated with the Laleli Complex.

Figures 279–280. Comparison of the Selimiye and Laleli Mosques.
Upper photo © Turkey's Travel Photos.

Figure 281. Laleli Mosque, exterior looking towards the qibla wall.

Figure 282. Laleli Mosque, exterior, with the sultan’s pavilion to the right.

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Figure 284. Laleli Mosque, entrance to the sultan’s pavilion.

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Figure 286. Laleli Mosque, column capitals of the lateral galleries.

Figure 287. Laleli Mosque, courtyard exterior from the southwest.

Figure 288. Laleli Mosque, southwest door of the courtyard.

Figure 289. Laleli Mosque, courtyard exterior from the entrance side. (Photo taken during reconstruction of the east minaret.)

Figure 290. Laleli Mosque, courtyard exterior, pediment of the main entrance.

Figure 291. Laleli Mosque, courtyard interior.

Figure 292. Laleli Mosque, column capital in the courtyard.

Figure 293. Laleli Mosque, courtyard interior looking towards the prayer hall.

Figure 294. Laleli Mosque, inscription and pediment over the main entrance into the prayer hall.

Figure 295. Laleli Mosque, interior.

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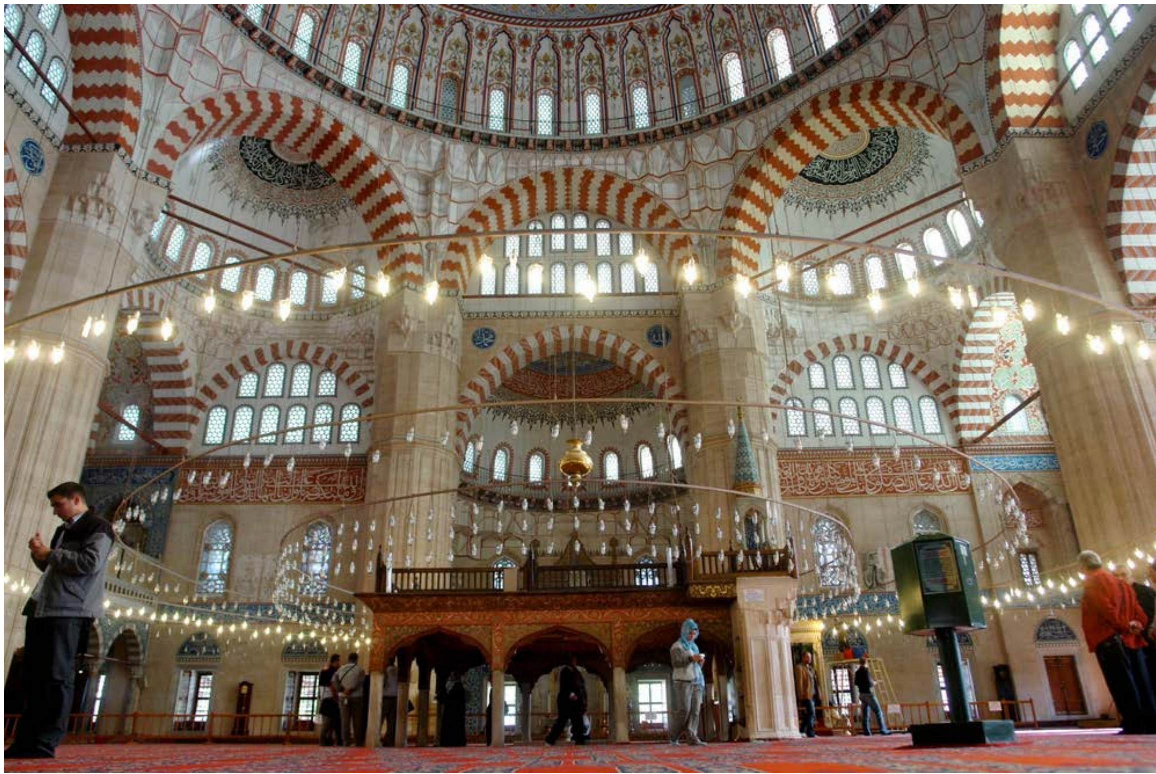

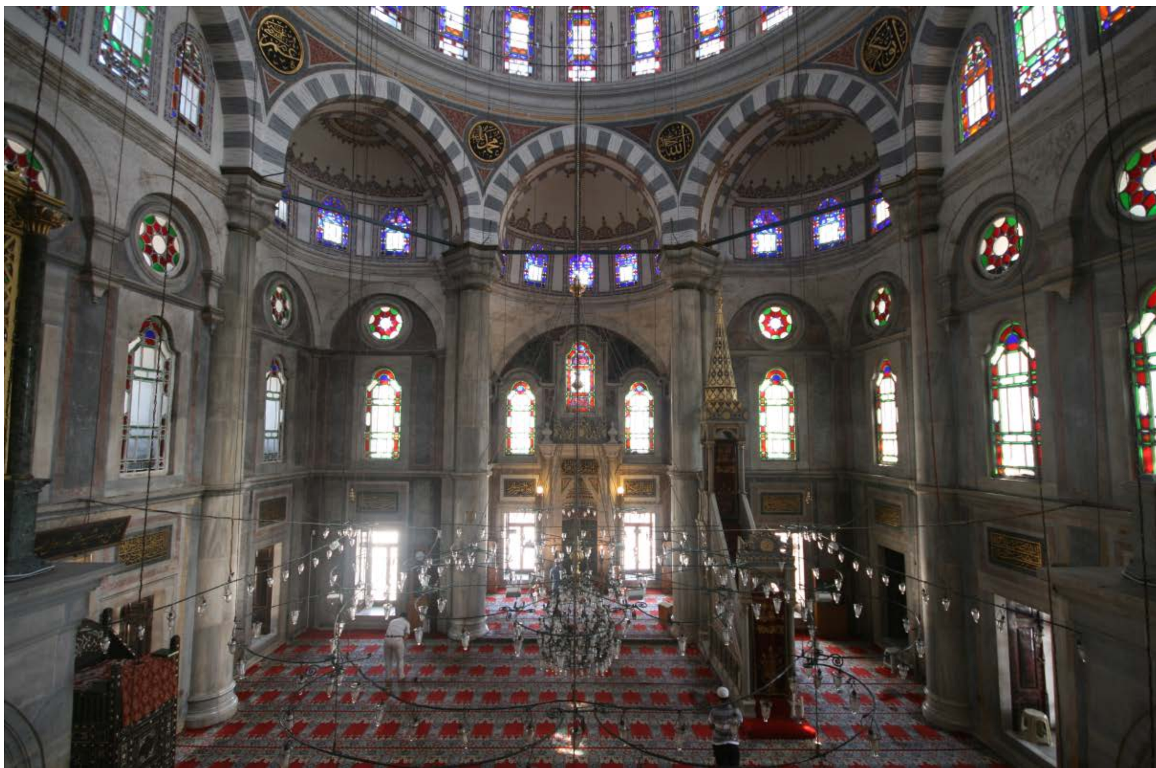

Figures 297–298. Comparison of the interior spaces of the Selimiye and Laleli Mosques. Upper photo © Charles Roffey / Fotopedia.

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Figure 308. Laleli Mosque, tughra on the side of the minbar.

Figure 309. Laleli Mosque, lower part of the minbar.

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Figure 313. Kalenderhane Mosque, interior.

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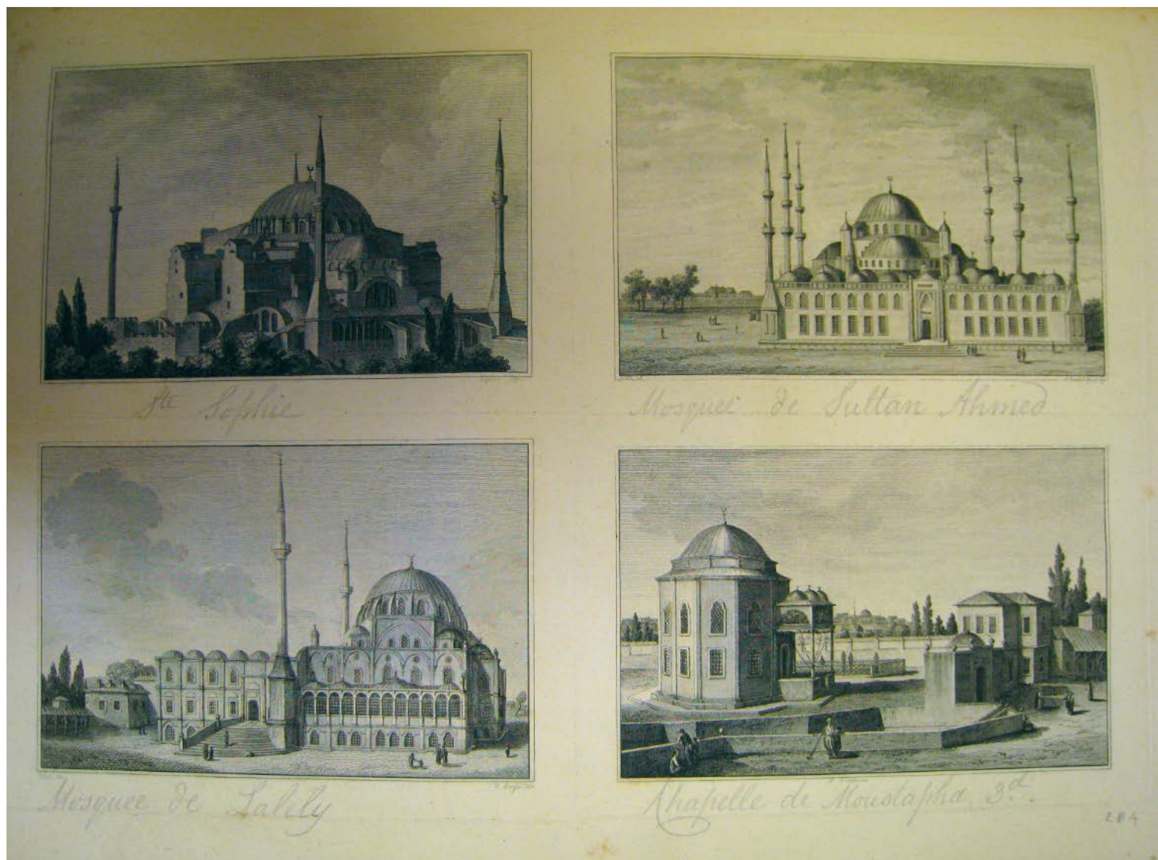

Figure 316. Engraving of the Ayasofya, Sultanahmet Mosque, Laleli Mosque, and Laleli tomb. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 1, pls. 28–31.

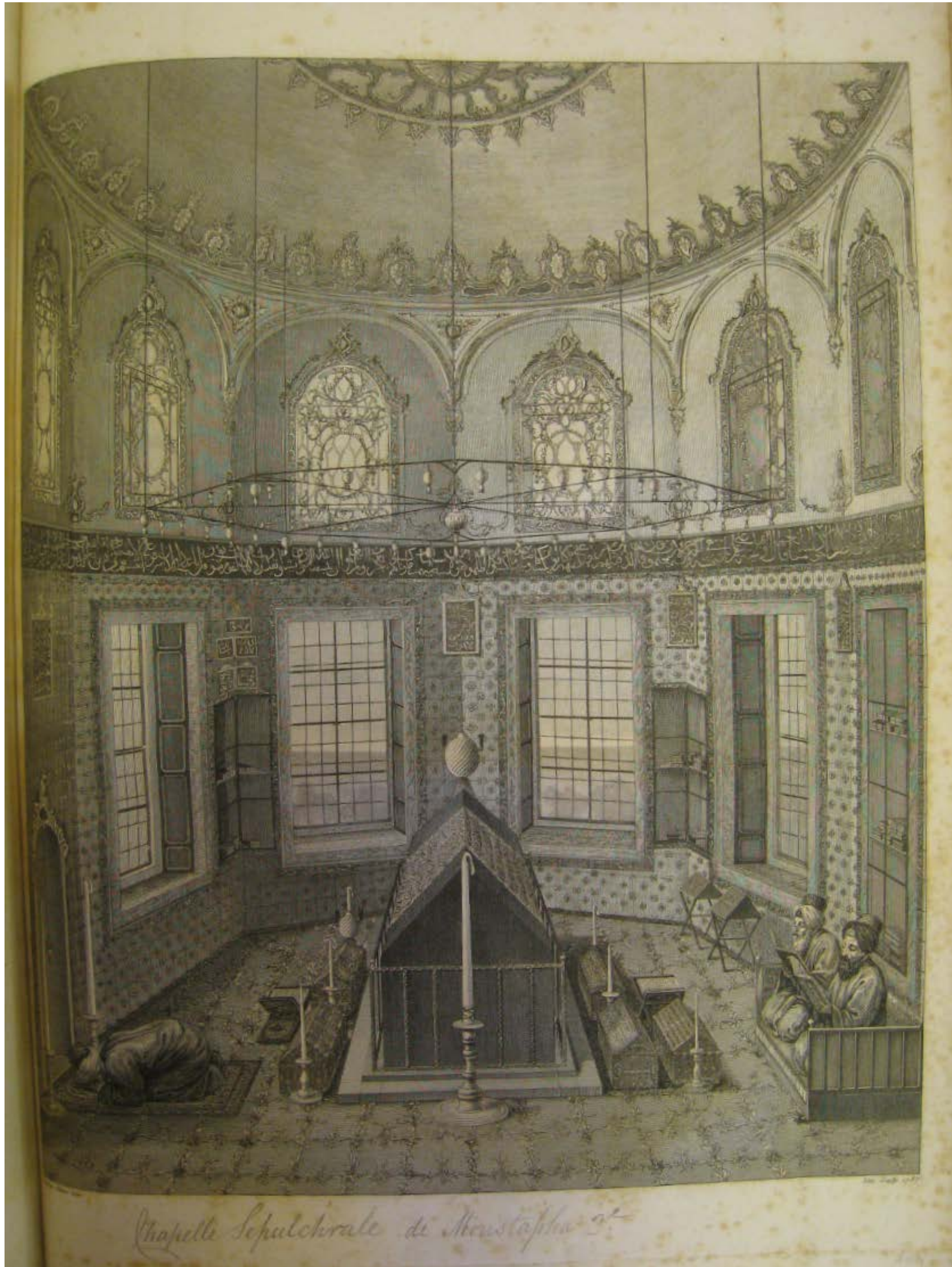

Figure 317. Engraving of the interior of the Laleli tomb. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 1, pl. 37.

Figure 318. Nuruosmaniye Mosque, double dentils of the qibla-wall windows.

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Figure 320. Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, Istanbul, 1769.

Figure 321. Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, carved panel above the precinct gate.

Figure 322. Zeyneb Sultan Mosque, arches and column capitals of the entrance portico.

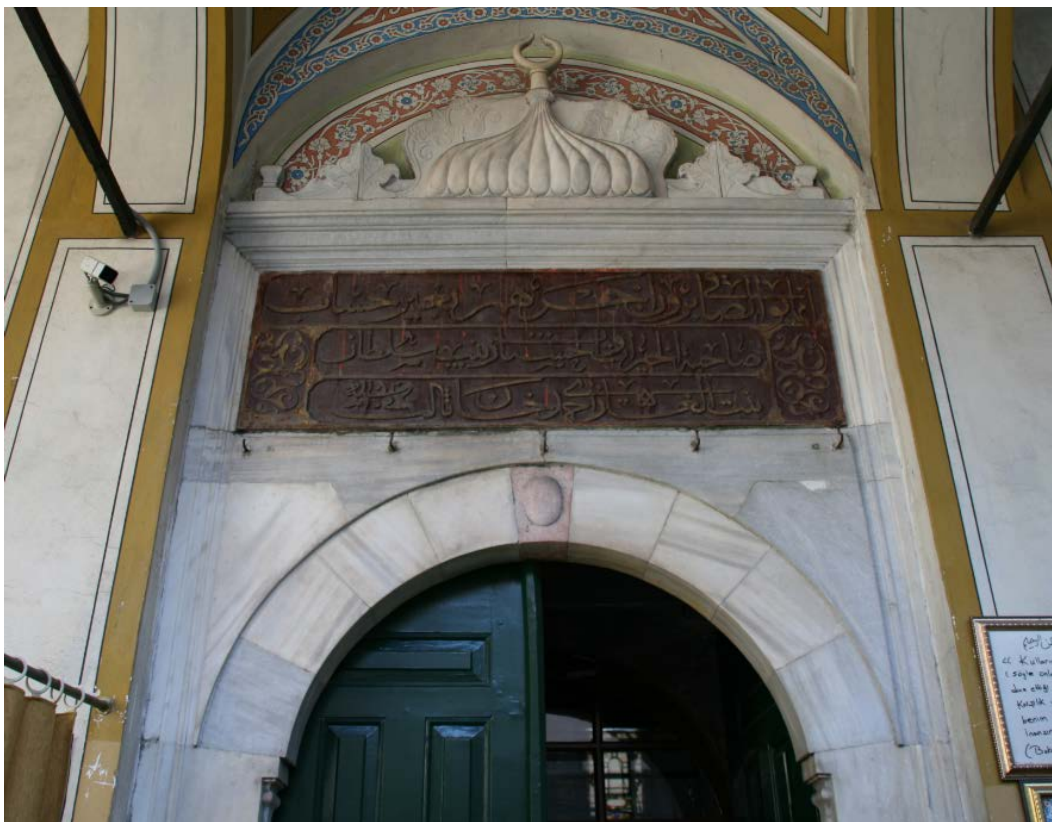

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Figure 326. Column of the Goths, Gülhane Partk, Istanbul, 3rd–4th century.
© Jamie Barras / Flickr.

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Figure 328. Etching by Daniel Chodowiecki of a Caucasian couple, illustrating Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's *Beyträge zur Naturgeschichte*, 1790.
From Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, fig. 50.

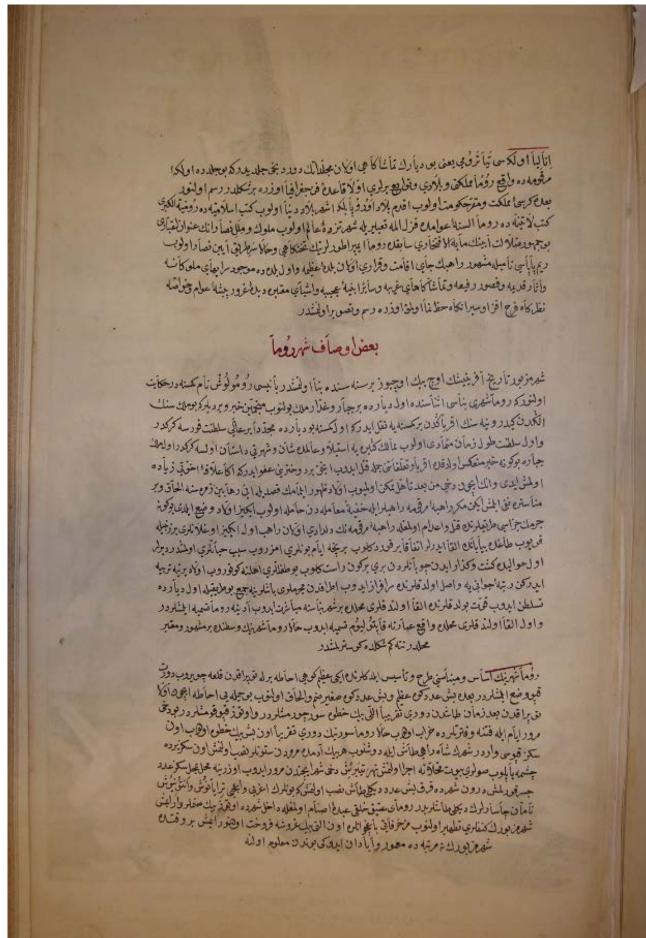


Figure 329. Explanatory text by İbrahim Müteferrika, inscribed on the reverse of the frontispiece of Joan Blaeu, *Nouveau theatre d'Italie* , vol. 4.Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2751.

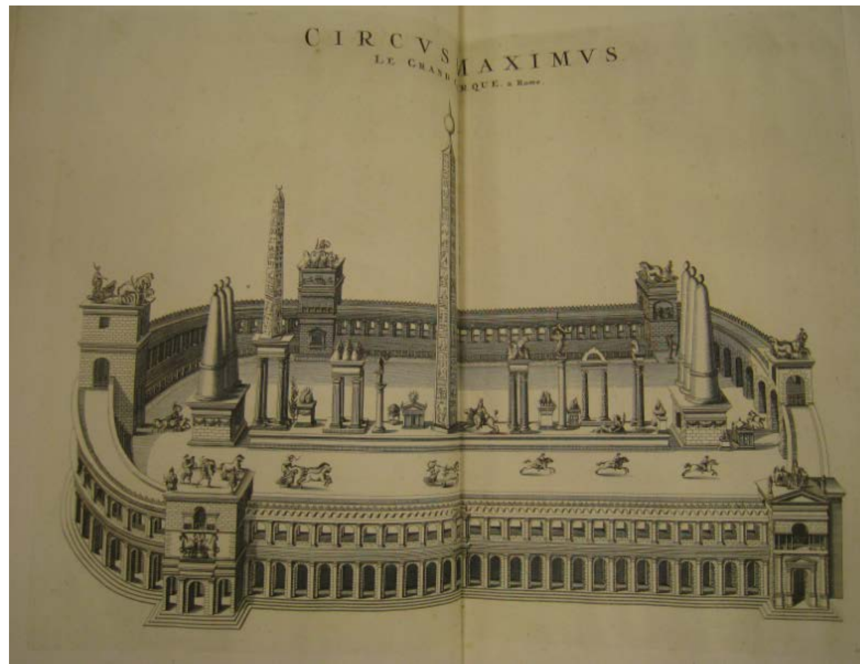


Figure 330. Reconstructed View of the Circus Maximus, Rome. From Joan Blaeu, *Nieuw vermeerderd en verbeterd groot stedeboek van geheel Italie* (equivalent to Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2751), vol. 4, pl. 12.

Figure 331. View of the Piazza del Popolo, Rome. From Joan Blaeu, *Nieuw vermeerderd en verbeterd groot stedeboek van geheel Italie* (equivalent to TSMK, H. 2751), vol. 4, pl. 60.

Figure 332. Fatih Complex, built 1463-70 (architect: Atik Sinan), prayer hall rebuilt 1767–71 (architects: Mehmed Tahir Agha and Kör Yani Kalfa).
From http://www.fatih.gov.tr.

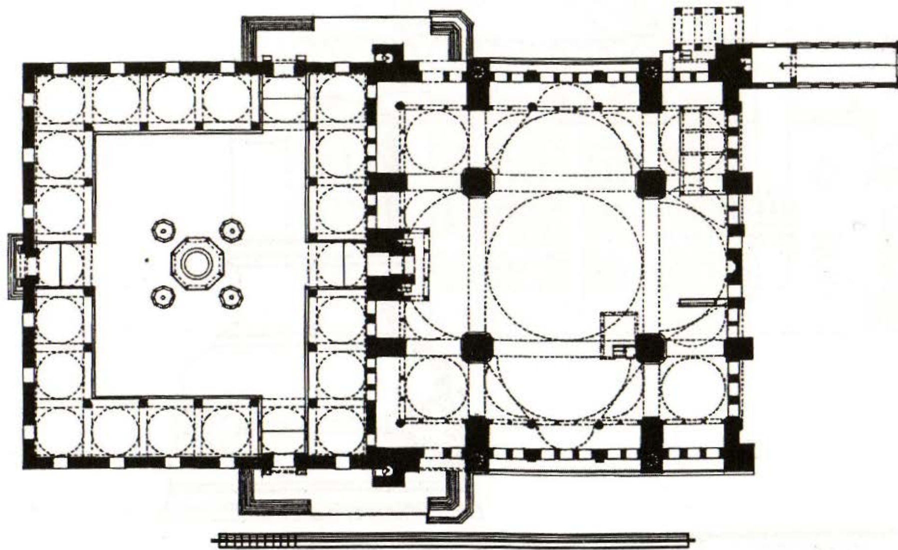


Figure 333. Fatih Mosque, plan. From Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 117.

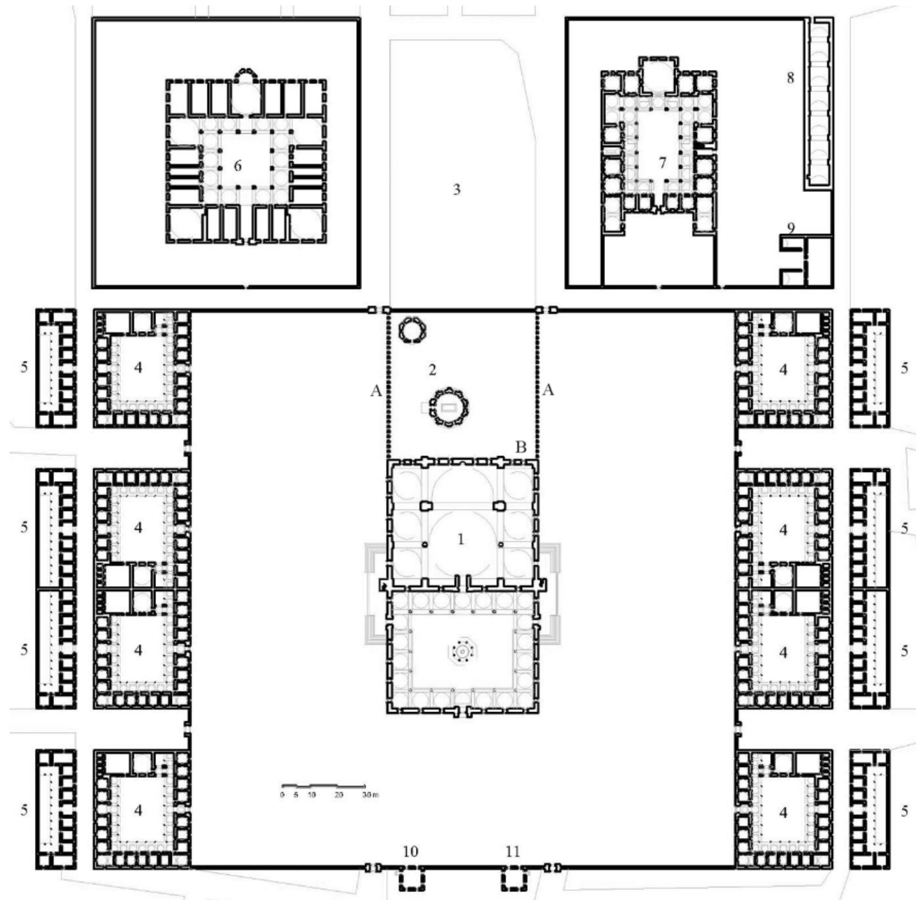


Figure 334. Reconstructed plan of the original Fatih Complex: 1. mosque; 2. tomb; A. wall fountains of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha; B. Library of Mahmud I. From Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, fig. 59.

Figure 335. Selimiye Mosque, modeled after the original Fatih Mosque, Konya, 1558–70. © Gilles MAIRET / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 336. Fatih Mosque, looking towards the original courtyard.

Figure 337. Fatih Mosque, with the Library of Mahmud I and one of the wall fountains of Nişancı Ahmed Pasha in front.

Figure 338. Fatih Mosque, with the sultan's pavilion to the right.

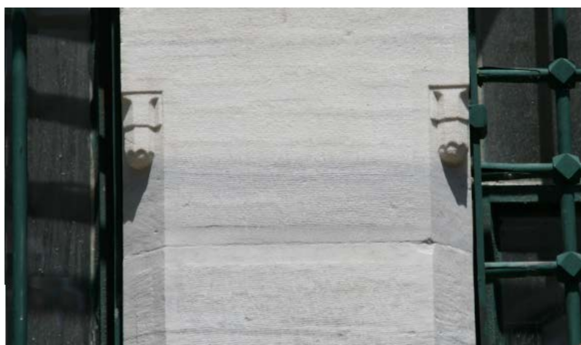
Figure 339. Fatih Mosque, exterior vaulting.

Figure 340. Fatih Mosque, courtyard.

Figure 341. Fatih Mosque, 15th-century main entrance.

Figure 342. Fatih Mosque, sultan’s pavilion, ramp.

Figure 343. Fatih Mosque, sultan’s pavilion, projecting suite of rooms.



Figures 344–346. Fatih Mosque, sultan’s pavilion, columns of the ramp

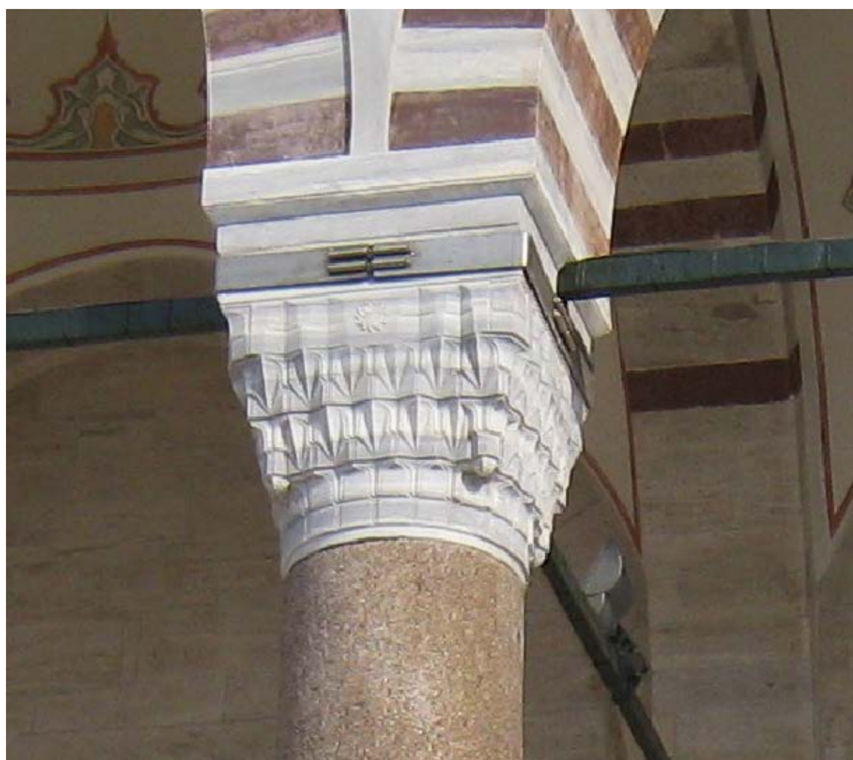


Figure 347. Fatih Mosque, fifteenth-century column capital in the courtyard.

Figure 348. Fatih Mosque, tomb, rebuilt 1767–71 and renovated 1784–85.

Figure 349. Fatih Mosque, portico of the tomb,

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Figure 351. Fatih Mosque, interior vaulting.

Figure 352. Fatih Mosque, interior looking towards the mihrab and minbar.

Figure 353. Fatih Mosque, minbar,

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Figure 355. Fatih Mosque, royal prayer loge.

Figure 356. Fatih Mosque, column capital of the royal loge.

Figure 357. Fatih Mosque, royal prayer loge interior.

Figure 358. Fatih Mosque, royal prayer loge, top of the sultan's mihrab.

Figure 359. Fatih Complex, Library of Mahmud I, 1742–43.

Figure 360. Fatih Complex, Library of Mahmud I, column capital.

Figure 361. Portrait of Abdülhamid I, colored engraving after an Ottoman costume-book painting. From John Young, *A Series of Portraits of the Emperors of Turkey* (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1815).

Figure 362. Hamidiye Complex, Bahçekapı, Istanbul, 1775–80.
© AKİF KARTAL / Panoramio.

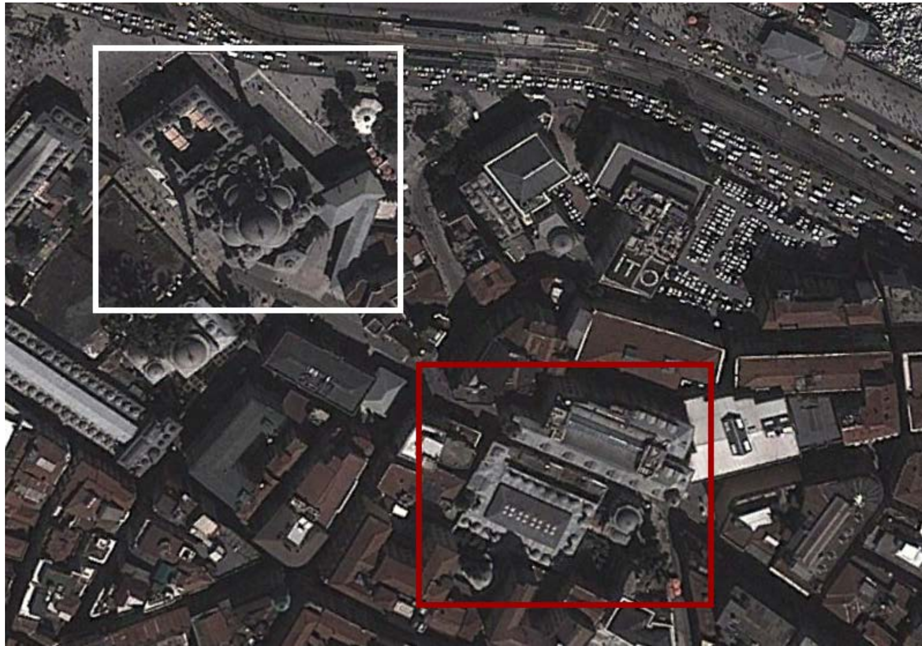


Figure 363. Satellite view of Eminönü and Bahçekapı, with the Hamidiye Complex framed in red and the Yeni Cami in white. From Google Earth.

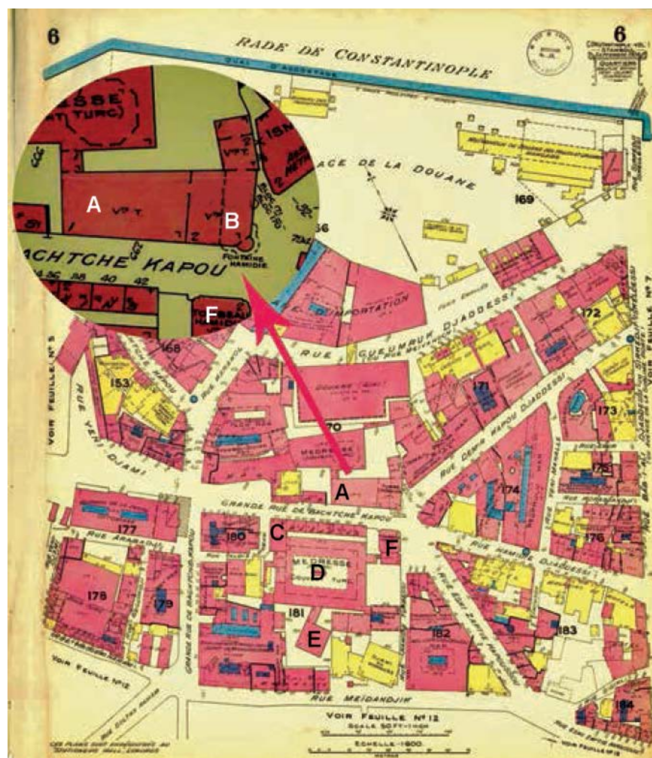
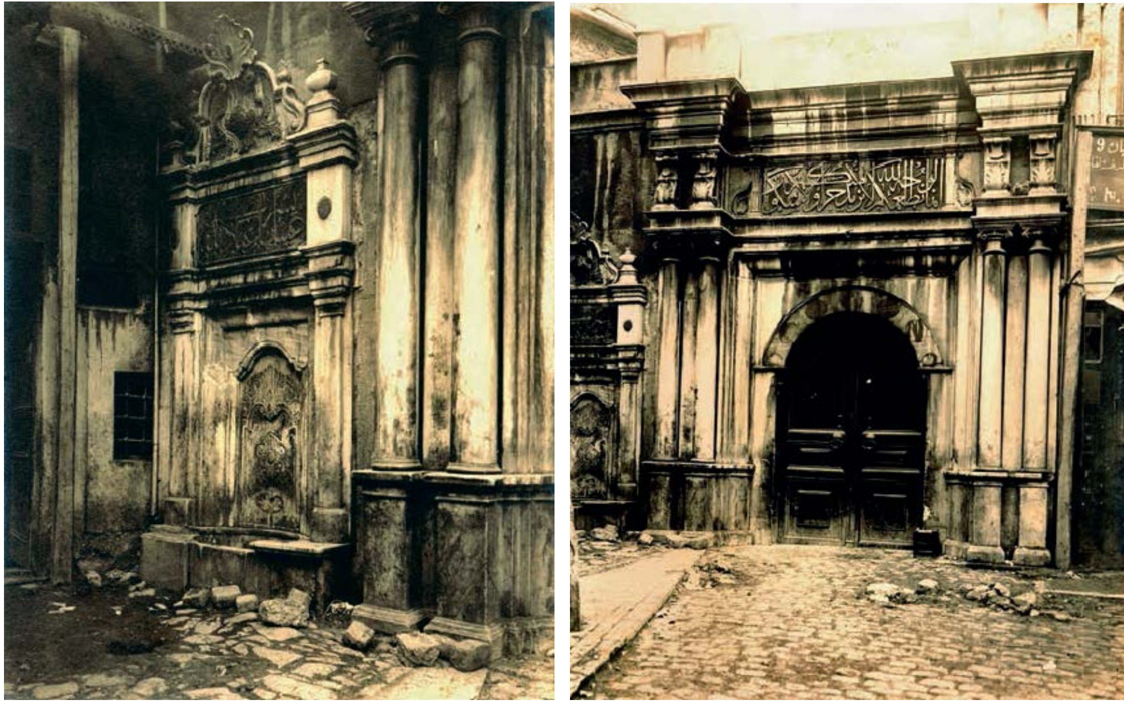


Figure 364. Early-20th-century maps showing the Hamidiye Complex and the surrounding streets: A. imaret; B. sebil and primary school; C. library; D. madrasa; E. masjid; F. tomb. From Bülbül, "Hamidiye İmareti," 9.

Figure 365. Hamidiye Complex, late 19th–early 20th century photograph of the sebil, primary school, and imaret in their original form,. From Bülbül, “Hamidiye İmareti,” 12.

Figure 366. Hamidiye Complex, late 19th–early 20th-century photograph of the sebil and primary school in their original form, with 19th-century rusticated cladding on the walls.
From Bülbül, “Hamidiye İmareti,” 12.

Figure 367. Dördüncü Vakıf Han, built in 1911 on the site of the Hamidiye sebil, primary school, and imaret. © Kasım OKTAY / Panoramio.



Figures 368–369. Hamidiye Complex, early-20th-century photographs of the imaret entrance and the fountain to its left. From Bülbül, "Hamidiye İmareti," 13.

Figures 370–371. Hamidiye Complex, early-20th-century photographs of the imaret courtyard. From Bülbül, "Hamidiye İmareti," 14.

Figure 372. The relocated Hamidiye sebil, Gülhane.

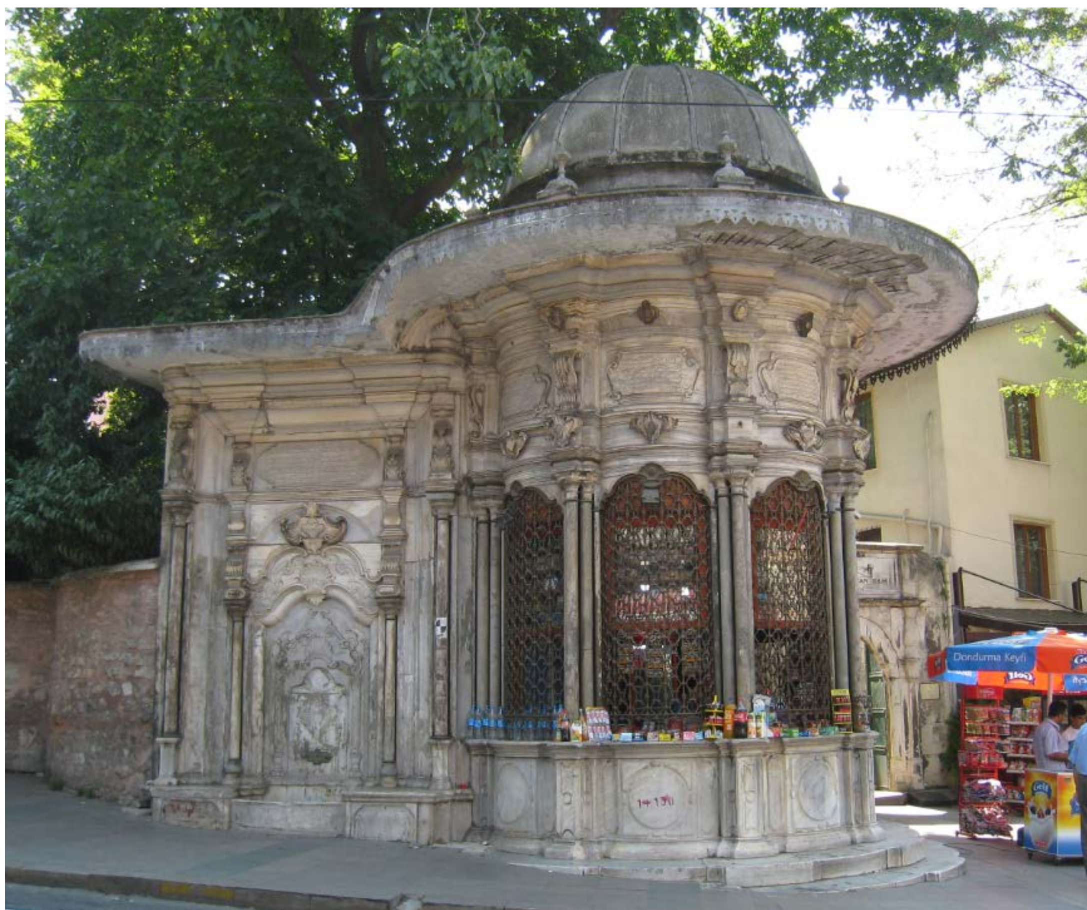


Figure 373. Hamidiye sebil.

Figure 374. Hamidiye sebil, wall fountain.

Figure 375. Hamidiye Sebil, upper part of the eaved projection.

Figure 376. Hamidiye Complex, projection containing the library and, to its right, the main entrance into the madrasa and library.

Figure 377. Hamidiye Complex, entrance hall of the building, containing the madrasa and library, with stairs leading up to the latter.

Figure 378. Hamidiye Complex, madrasa courtyard, now enclosed.

Figure 379. Hamidiye Complex, columns of the madrasa.

Figure 380. Hamidiye Complex, library interior.

Figure 381. Hamidiye Complex, column capital inside the library.

Figure 382. Hamidiye Complex, masjid exterior.

Figure 383. Hamidiye Complex, masjid interior, now a lecture room.

Figure 384. Hamidiye Complex, tomb.

Figure 385. Hamidiye Complex, tomb and the gate into its enclosure.

Figure 386. Hamidiye Complex, tomb, corner window flanked by little fountains.

Figure 387. Hamidiye Complex, tomb, exterior looking towards the entrance portico.

Figure 388. Hamidiye Complex, tomb, interior of the entrance portico.

Figure 389. Hamidiye Complex, tomb interior.

Figure 390. Madrasa complex of Sadr-ı Esbak Seyyid Hasan Pasha (today the Eurasian Institute of Istanbul University), Istanbul, 1745.

Figure 391. Madrasa complex of Sadr-ı Esbak Seyyid Hasan Pasha, upper floor, madrasa courtyard.

Figure 392. Late-19th/20th-century view of soldiers parading between the Hamidiye Complex. From Bülbül, "Hamidiye İmareti," 12.

Figure 393. Engraving of the interior of the Hamidiye library. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 1, pl. 32.

Figure 394. Beylerbeyi Mosque, Istanbul, 1778–78, renovated 1810–11.

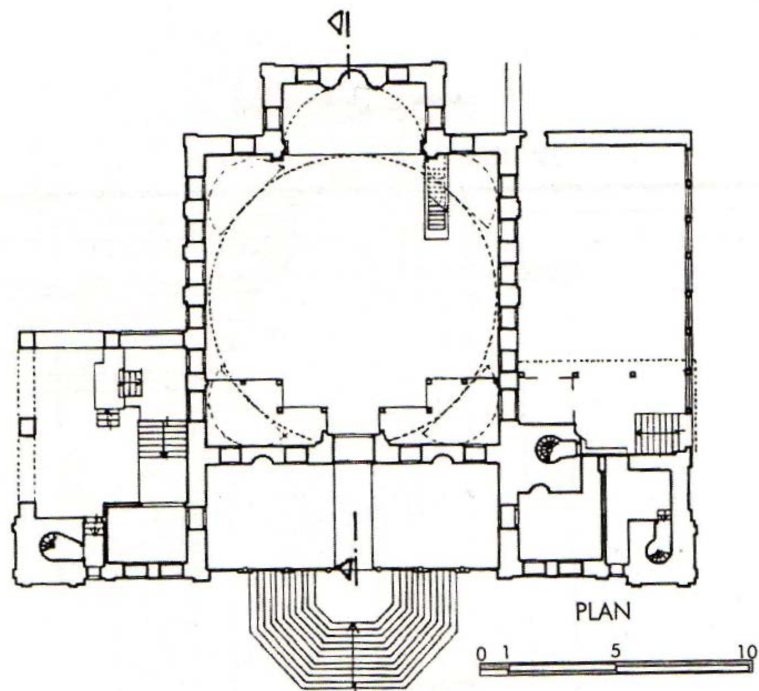


Figure 395. Beylerbeyi Mosque, plan. From Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 124.

Figure 396. Beylerbeyi Mosque, southwest side entrance.

Figure 397. Beylerbeyi Complex, primary school (left, late-eighteenth century), and timekeeper's office (right, 1811–12).

Figure 398. Beylerbeyi Mosque, viewed from the qibla side, with the entrance block of the sultan’s pavilion on the right.

Figure 399. Beylerbeyi Mosque, looking towards the entrance block of the sultan’s pavilion.

Figure 400. Beylerbeyi Mosque, staircase of the entrance block of the sultan’s pavilion

Figure 401. Beylerbeyi Mosque, lateral view of the front of the sultan’s pavilion.

Figure 402. Beylerbeyi Mosque, viewed from the Bosphorus.

Figure 403. Engraving by Thomas Allom showing the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (architect: Sinan), Istanbul, built 1547. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, vol. 2, plate between pp. 6–7

Figure 404. Beylerbeyi Mosque, pavilion façade.

Figure 405. Beylerbeyi Mosque, inscription over the main entrance.

Figure 406. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior of the entrance portico.

Figure 407. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking towards qibla.

Figure 408. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking towards the royal prayer loge.

Figure 409. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking towards the mihrab and minbar.

Figure 410. Beylerbeyi Mosque, Ottoman and Chinese tiles of the apsidal projection.

Figure 411. Beylerbeyi Mosque, upper part of mihrab.

Figure 412. Beylerbeyi Mosque, cap of the minbar and the adjacent pier.

Figure 413. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior looking towards the rear gallery, with the royal prayer loge on the right.

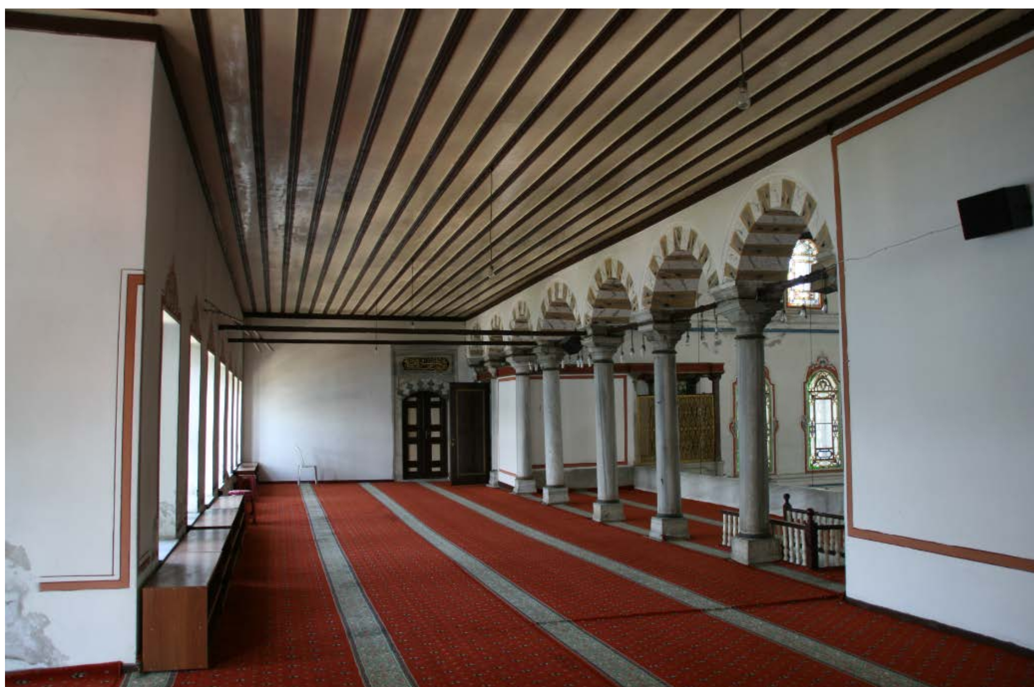


Figure 414. Beylerbeyi Mosque, rear gallery looking towards the royal prayer loge and the door into the entrance block of the sultan's pavilion.

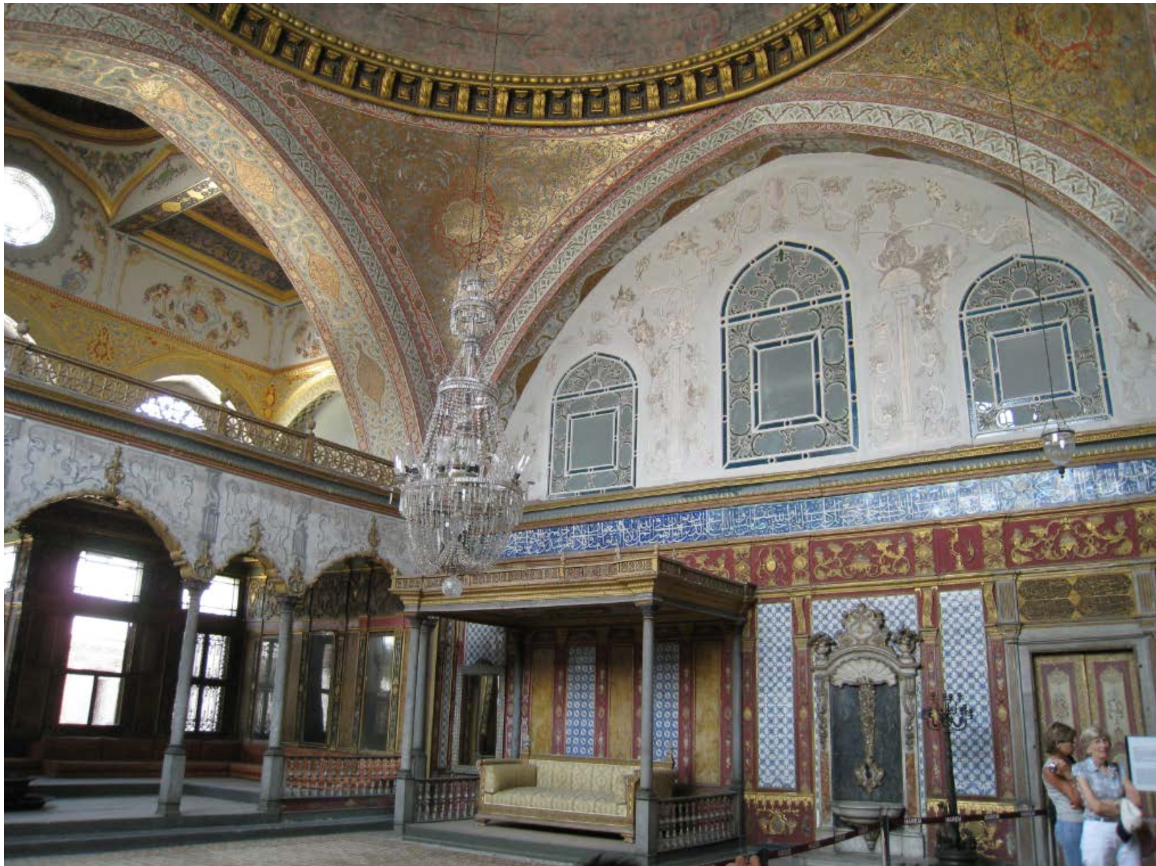


Figure 415. Imperial Hall, Harem, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, built 16th century, with later renovations.

Figure 416. Beylerbeyi Mosque, columns supporting the sultan's loge.

Figure 417. Hamidiye Complex, column of the vestibule connecting the masjid to the madrasa.

Figure 418. Privy Chamber of Abdülhamid I, Harem, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, 1774–89. From Atasoy, *Harem*, 69.

Figure 419. Beylerbeyi Mosque, interior of the royal prayer loge, with a 19th-century landscape painting.

Figure 420. Audience chamber of the Queen Mother, Harem, Topkapı Palace, rebuilt 1666–68, with later renovations.

Figure 421. Imperial Council Hall, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul built mid-16th century, with later renovations.

Figure 422. Imperial Council Hall, interior showing late-18th-century decorative scheme.

Figure 423. Engraving of the Imperial Council Hall during a dinner hosted by the grand vizier for a European ambassador, with the sultan watching through his grilled window. From Mouradgea d’Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 3, pl. 232.

Figure 424. Gate of Felicity, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, rebuilt 1774.

Figure 425. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, *Selim III Enthroned under the Gate of Felicity during Eid Festivities*, Istanbul, 1789–90. TSM, 17/163.

Figure 426. Engraving after Ludwig Fuhrmann showing Mahmud II attending the Beylerbeyi Mosque for Friday prayer. From Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży*, pl. 43

Figure 427. Engraving after Ludwig Fuhrmann showing the Beylerbeyi from the Bosphorus during a visit by Mahmud II. The mosque appears in its original form, with a single minaret. From Raczyński, *Dziennik podróży*, pl. 44.

Figure 428. Beylerbyi Mosque, rebuilt perimeter wall and gate, 1810–11.

Figure 429. Beylerbyi Mosque, view of the join between the minaret of 1810–11 and the existing sultan’s pavilion.

Figures 430–431. Mosque of Cezayirli Hasan Pasha and the surrounding barracks, Kasımpaşa, Istanbul, 1784–85 (barracks rebuilt in the 19th century). Fig. 430 from www.haberfx.net; fig. 431 from Bakır, *Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok*, 167.

Figure 432. Şebsefa Hatun Mosque, Unkapanı, Istanbul, 1787–88.

Figure 433. Kumbarhane Mosque, Halıcıoğlu, Istanbul, 1793–94, with a second minaret added *c*. 1800–1808.

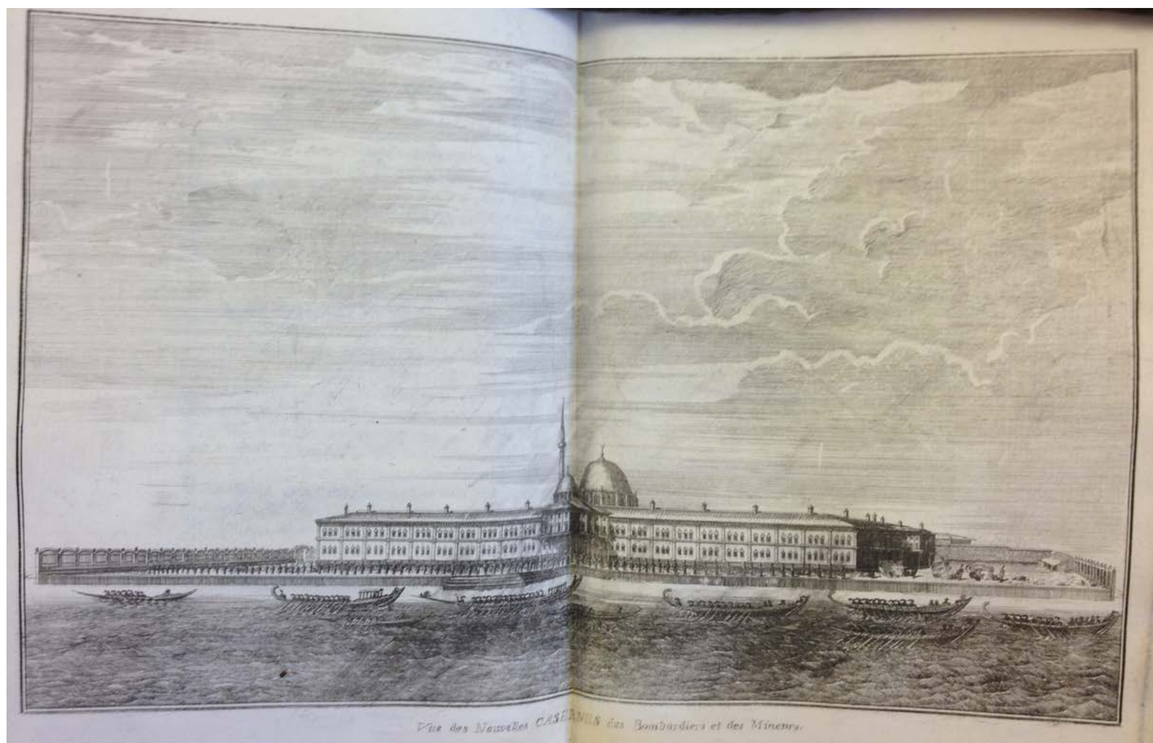


Figure 434. Engraving of the Kumbarhane Mosque, with its original single minaret, and the now-lost surrounding barracks. From Maḥmūd Raʿīf, *Tableau* (1798), plate between pp. 34–35.

Figure 435. Sebil of the Mihrişah Sultan Complex, Eyüp, Istanbul, 1792–96.

Figure 436. Engraving by Thomas Allom showing a newly girded sultan processing through the Mihrişah Sultan Complex. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, vol. 1, plate between pp. 48–49.

Figure 437. Emirgan Mosque, Istanbul, rebuilt 1838.

Figure 438. Beylerbeyi Mosque, viewed from the street gateway.

Figure 439. Konstantin Kapıdağlı, portrait of Selim III, Istanbul, 1803. TSM, 17/30.

Figure 440. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, Eyüp, Istanbul, rebuilt 1798–1800.

Figure 441. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, with the sultan’s pavilion on the right.

Figure 442. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, courtyard.

Figure 443. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, main entrance.

Figure 444. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, interior.

Figure 445. Eyüp Sultan Mosque, door of the minbar.

Figure 446. Engraving after Antoine-Ignace Melling showing the palace he built for Hadice Sultan in the 1790s at Defterdarburnu, Istanbul. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque*, pl. 29.

Figure 447. Selimiye Mosque (architect: Foti Kalfa), Üsküdar, Istanbul, 1801–5.
From Harvard VIA.

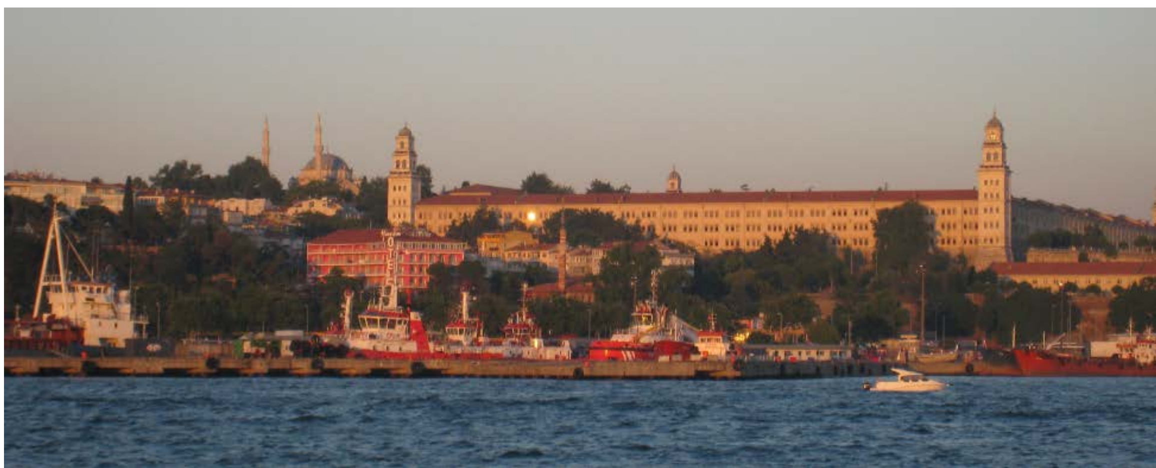


Figure 448. View from the Bosphorus of the Selimiye Mosque and, in front of it, the Selimiye Barracks (1800–3).

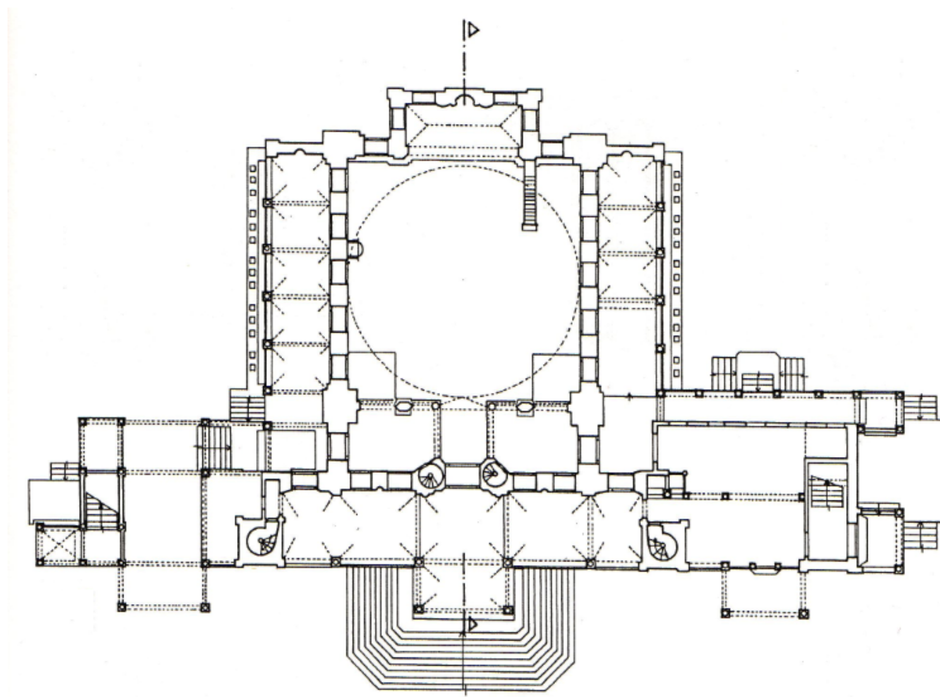


Figure 449. Selimiye Mosque, plan. From Bakır, Mimaride Rönesans ve Barok, 142.

Figure 450. Aerial view of the Selimiye Mosque and its environs: 1. mosque; 2. Nakşibendi lodge (now the Küçük Selimiye Çiçekçi Mosque); 3. barracks. From Google Earth.

Figure 451. Selimiye Mosque, precinct wall and main gate.

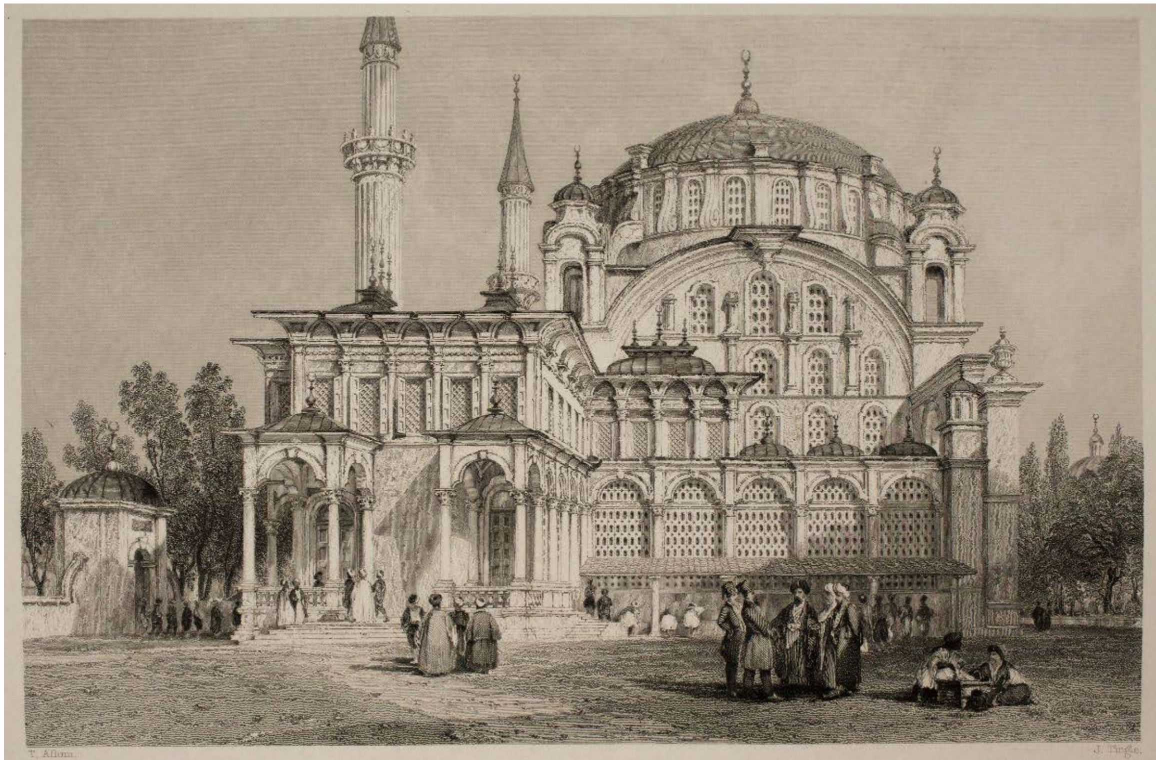


Figure 452. Engraving by Thomas Allom showing the Selimiye Mosque with its original minarets, looking towards the main (southwest) wing of the sultan's pavilion. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, vol. 2, plate between pp. 74–75.

Figure 453. Selimiye Mosque, looking towards the northeast, with the second wing of the sultan’s pavilion on the right,

Figure 454. Selimiye Mosque, baldachin tympanum.

Figure 455. Selimiye Mosque, looking towards the northeast wing of the sultan’s pavilion.

Figure 456. Selimiye Mosque, northeast wing sultan’s pavilion viewed from the side, with its door and stairway visible.

Figure 457. Selimiye Mosque, entrance portico and southwest wing of the sultan's pavilion.

Figure 458. Selimiye Mosque, entrance portico.

Figure 459. Selimiye Mosque, entrance portico and stairway.

Figure 460. Selimiye Mosque, main entrance.

Figure 461. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking towards the mihrab and minbar.

Figure 462. Selimiye Mosque, upper part of the mihrab.

Figure 463. Selimiye Mosque, flank of the minbar.

Figure 464. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking southwest, with the royal prayer loge on the right,

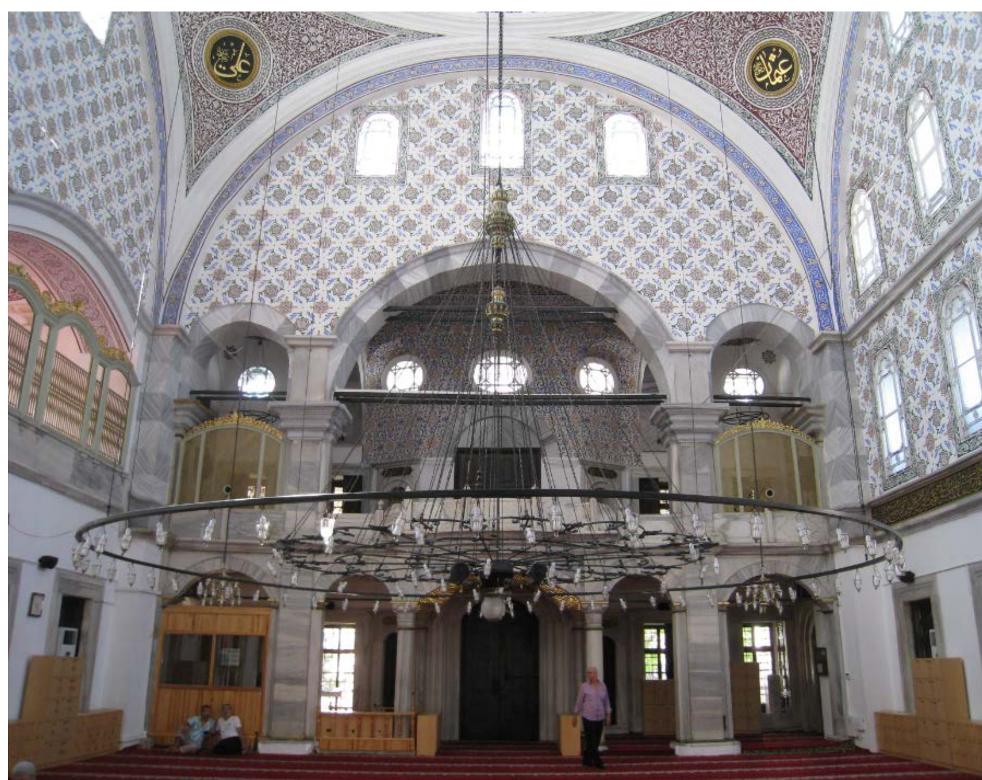


Figure 465. Selimiye Mosque, interior looking towards the rear gallery, with the royal prayer loge on the far left.

Figure 466. Selimiye Mosque, rear gallery and its fictive swags.

Figure 467. Selimiye Mosque, view down the corridor of the northeast wing of the sultan's pavilion. The door at the far end leads to the rear gallery of the prayer hall, and that on the right to a room with a fireplace and cupboards.

Figure 468. Selimiye Mosque, royal prayer loge viewed from the prayer hall.

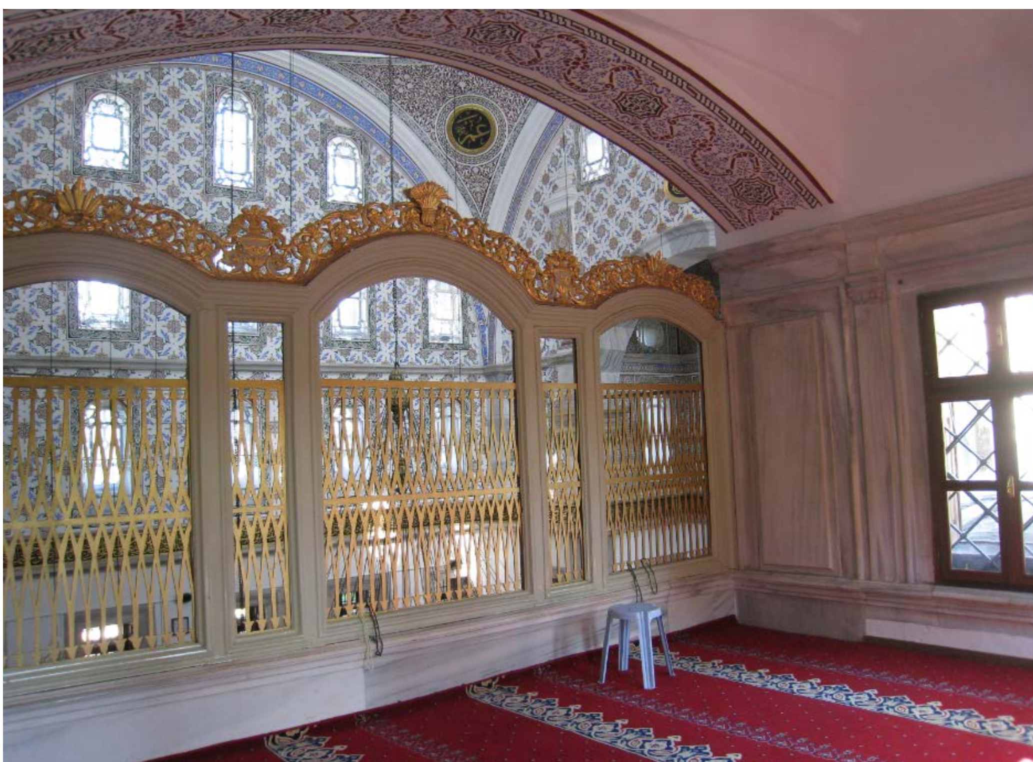


Figure 469. Selimiye Mosque, interior of the royal prayer loge.

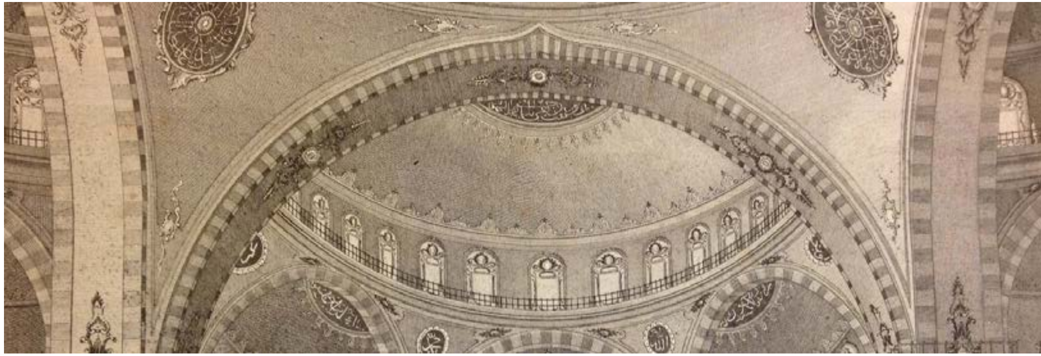


Figure 470. Detail of an engraving by François Denis Née after Charles-Nicolas Cochin showing the 18th-century paintwork of the Sultanahmet Mosque. From Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general* (1787–1820), vol. 1, pl. 25.

Figure 471. Early-20th-century photograph of the Süleymaniye Mosque interior, showing the 19th-century paintwork. © Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum.

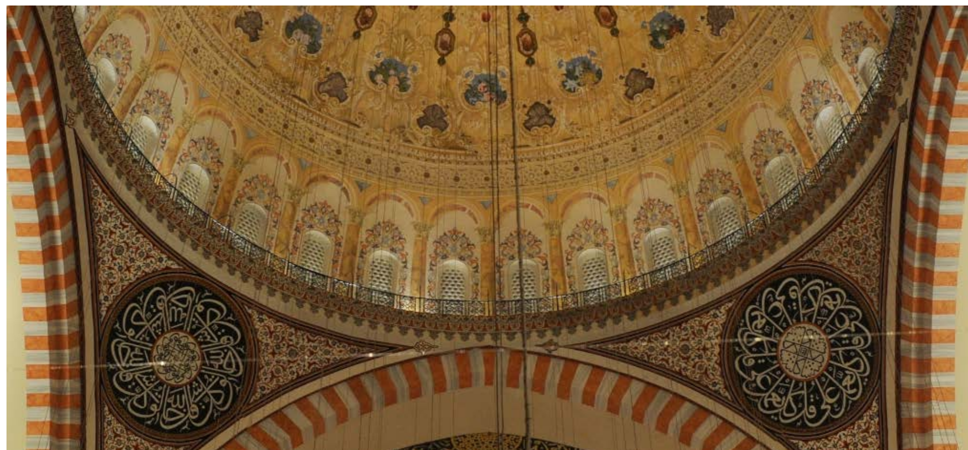


Figure 472. Süleymaniye Mosque interior, with 19th-century paintwork in the dome and modern archaizing paintwork on the pendentives. © Ggia / Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 473. Nusretiye Mosque (architect: Krikor Balian), Tophane, Istanbul, 1823–26.

Figure 474. Nusretiye Mosque, window pediment inside the prayer hall.

Figure 475. Postcard *c*. 1900 showing the Dolmabahçe Palace and the Bezmiʿalem Valide Mosque.

Figure 476. Bezmiʿalem Valide Mosque/Dolmabahçe Mosque (architects: Garabed and Nigoghos Balian), Istanbul, 1853–55.

Figure 477. Büyük Mecidiye Mosque/Ortaköy Mosque (architect: Nigoghos Balian), Istanbul, 1853–55

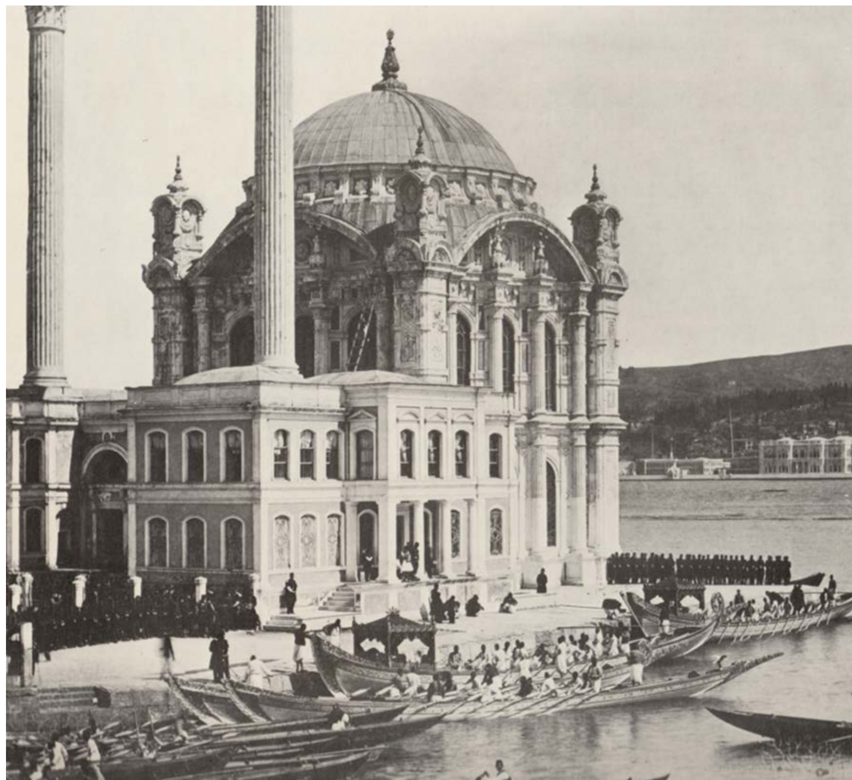


Figure 478. Photograph by Sébah and Joaillier showing a royal visit to the Büyük Mecidiye Mosque, 1880s.